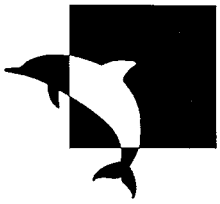


University
of Southampton

ISSN 0140-9875

Port-City Renewal in Developing Countries:

A Study of East African Waterfronts

Brian Hoyle

Discussion Paper 44

Department of Geography, University of Southampton
Southampton SO17 1BJ, UK

2000

Port-City Renewal in Developing Countries:

A Study of East African Waterfronts

Brian Hoyle

Reader in Geography

E-mail: bsh@dial.pipex.com

DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY, UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON,
SOUTHAMPTON S017 1BJ, UK

July 2000

Summary

The global spread of urban waterfront redevelopment, hitherto largely confined to advanced countries, is now starting to impact upon developing countries too as they seek to revive historic cities in contexts including Islamic renewal, tourism development and globalization. This paper reports on contrasted experiences in Kenya and Tanzania where waterfront redevelopment in four port cities is making progress as an element in coastal urban conservation, with the support of local, national and international organizations. Case studies are related to wider policy issues, to relevant literature and to experience elsewhere. The paper is relevant not only to Geography and African Studies but also within educational, urban planning and port management circles in other developing areas of the world.

Keywords: East Africa, port cities, urban renewal, waterfront redevelopment

Contents

List of Figures *following page*

List of Tables *following page*

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Urban waterfront redevelopment has generally been regarded hitherto as primarily the concern of advanced countries, and very little attention has been paid to date to the need for and possibilities of waterfront redevelopment in port cities in developing countries. In the 1970s and 1980s, attention centred almost exclusively on North America and Europe and on the spread of the movement to Australasia and Japan. Until recently the problem has been largely ignored in India, for example, and in Africa (outside South Africa). In the 1990s, however, some port cities have begun to develop new attitudes to the conservation of their colonial urban heritage and, notably, to obtain funding for waterfront revitalization in a context of urban renewal. In a wider context, the revitalization of the Islamic city is also receiving renewed attention (Arab Urban Development Institute, 1988; Rhgei and Nelson, 1994).

This paper is associated with earlier work in two related contexts. The broader field of waterfront redevelopment studies, linked on the one hand with urban planning and on the other with port development, has generated a substantial literature which includes reviews (*e.g.* Hall, 1993), analyses of politico-environmental and financial change (*e.g.* Gordon, 1996, 1997a and b), substantial case-study detail (*e.g.* Breen and Rigby, 1994 and 1996) and analyses of ideas and trends on a systematic basis (Hoyle, 1995; Hoyle *et al.*, 1988). Most of this literature is derived from the experience of advanced countries, whereas this paper focusses on developing countries. The specific research framework stems from studies of East African transport with special reference to seaports (Hoyle, 1983; Hoyle and Charlier, 1995).

The Indian Ocean shores of the East African countries of Kenya and Tanzania provide excellent examples of waterfront redevelopment processes at work, but in highly variegated forms (Fig. 1). The aim of this paper is to offer a comparative review of these processes in four contrasted historic port cities. On the north Kenya coast, the small historic port city of Lamu is beginning to renovate its working waterfront within a framework of urban conservation. Further south, at Mombasa, Kenya's principal port city, the conservation of the old town (long divorced from the modern port) is making some progress. In Tanzania an interesting contrast is provided by the island cityport of Zanzibar which, having accepted the potentialities of a well-organised modern tourist industry, is making great efforts to save some of the town's fine 19th century buildings; and Dar es Salaam, the Tanzanian commercial capital, is experiencing waterfront renewal to a more limited extent, partly in the context of the UNDP's 'sustainable cities' initiative.

These four examples – which belong to two worlds, modern independent Africa and the Muslim polities of the Indian Ocean - reveal a range of problems and attitudes which turn essentially on the question of the relevance of waterfront redevelopment and urban renewal to societies and economies in developing countries where other priorities are normally and necessarily accorded higher status. Such redevelopment has been regarded by some as a luxury irrelevant to the more basic needs of poor cities and countries. Today, however, in a context of modernization, urbanization and globalization, clear links are perceived between urban renewal and other socio-economic sectors: water supply, housing, employment, tourism. Costs are high, however, progress is slow, and returns on investments are not immediate; but a new spirit of revival is abroad and some international financial aid is available. There is also an increasing awareness in some quarters of the need to conserve architectural heritage, partly as a way of preserving the distinctiveness of individual locations. A process of transformation is underway, and deserves to be studied, analysed and publicised in the geographical and planning literature.

The research on which the paper is based aimed to locate ongoing debates in East Africa concerning redevelopment objectives, attitudes, plans and achievements in older cityports – with a special focus on their waterfront zones - within the wider contexts of port studies and waterfront redevelopment literature. Preparatory fieldwork undertaken in 1995 produced a substantial network of sources and contacts. These include the Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority, Zanzibar; the staff of the National Museums of Kenya, in Nairobi and at the coast, concerned with the urban heritage; the Sustainable Dar es Salaam Project, funded by the UNDP; and a number of consultants involved with urban planning and with the renovation of specific buildings. More extensive fieldwork in 1997, and subsequent library research, allowed the emergence of a more comprehensive view and the elucidation of many points of detail.

The available literature already includes much general material on urban conservation, the Islamic architectural heritage, the revival of Swahili culture, more specific work on the conservation of historic towns in Kenya and Tanzania, legal documents and a number of reports and plans covering the conservation and redevelopment of specific urban zones and individual buildings. Much of this available information is somewhat diffuse and is largely set in the context of architecture and urban design. The essential objective here is to bring new dimensions to this field in two senses: one, by looking at contrasted examples within the East African coastal zone on a comparative basis; and second, by situating the discussion within

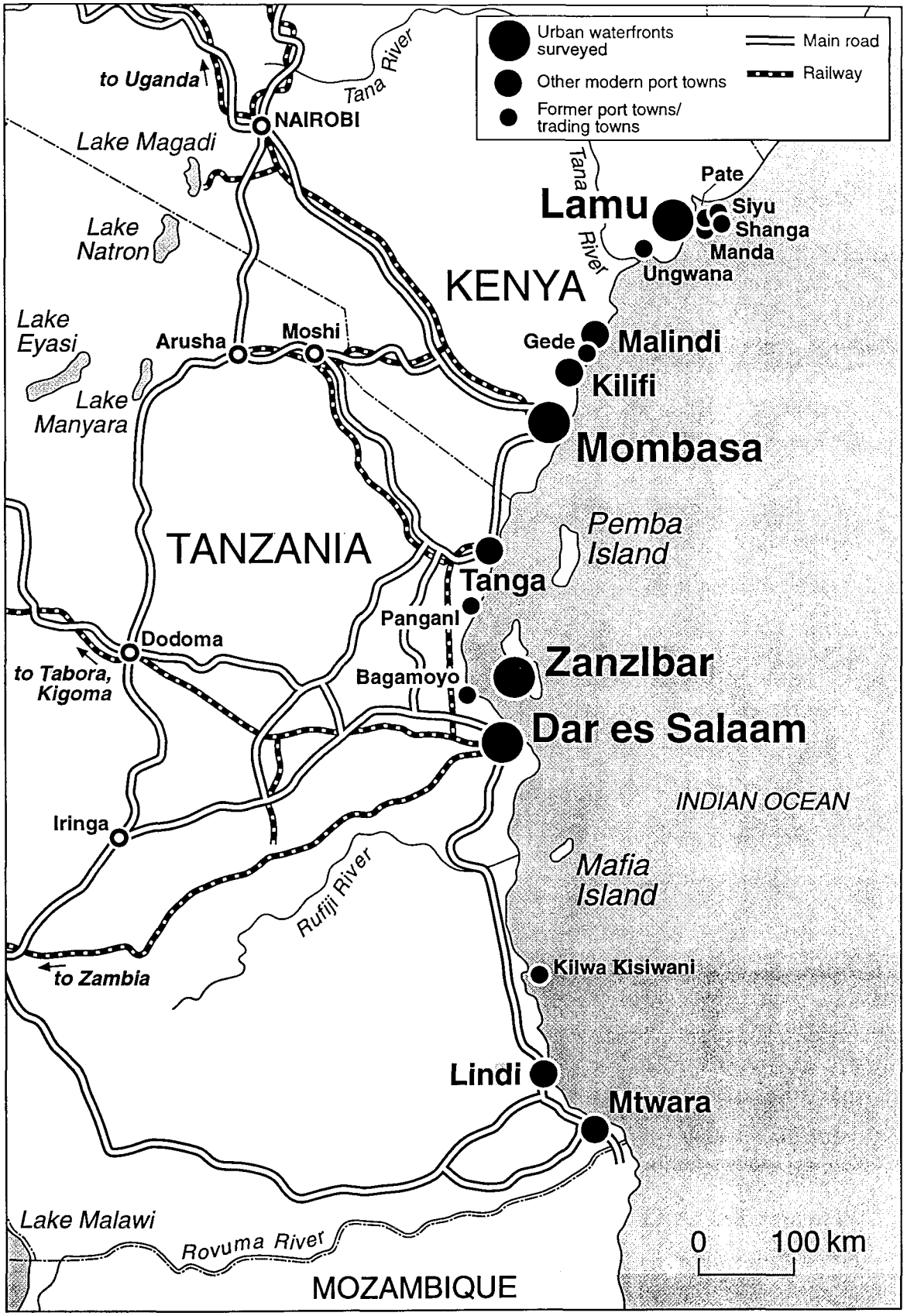


Figure 1: The coastal zones of Kenya and Tanzania and their immediate hinterlands

the specific field of waterfront redevelopment studies rather than the wider field of urban renewal.

2.0 HISTORICAL LEGACIES

Waterfront redevelopment in present-day East African port cities today cannot be understood without reference to historical contexts, as redevelopment invariably involves the re-evaluation of urban fabrics inherited from the recent or more distant past. Port activity on the East African coast, in developmental terms, involves two very unequal time periods, the first from the first millennium AD to the mid-19th century and the second from the later 19th century to the present day. Both periods illustrate, in different ways, the processes of interport competition and port concentration and the operation of factors on a range of scales.

The coastal zone of Kenya and Tanzania now constitutes the maritime facade of a developing region of considerable economic potential, and forms a vital, outward-looking link with the rest of the world. During earlier centuries, however, the ports and trade of the East African coast, like those of many other tropical areas, were dependent in commercial terms on the seasonal reversal of winds bringing sailing vessels from the north-east between November and March, and facilitating their return from early April. Within this coastal environment successive generations built up widely differing hierarchies of seaports, which comprised important if rather peripheral elements within the widespread network of trading towns and ports stretching in medieval times from eastern Africa through south-western and southern Asia to China.

In early medieval times port activity was quite widely dispersed along the Kenya coast, and several locations - including Pate, Manda, Lamu, Malindi and Mombasa - were seaports of significance, whereas Kilwa was the only major commercial centre on the coast of Tanzania (Chittick, 1974; Stiles, 1992; Sutton, 1990). Each of these ports probably dominated in turn varying areas of coast and hinterland, their fluctuating comparative importance reflecting their varying fortunes in trade and in warfare. Most trading centres were based on defensive islands which conferred a clear advantage (Biagini and Hoyle, 1999). Mombasa Island is known to have been settled as a maritime trading post in the 11th century, and it began to take shape as a town with the Shirazi migrations (from southern Arabia and southern Persia) in the 13th century.

There was a much fuller development of Islamic civilisation in the later Middle Ages, with rapid urban expansion and trade development especially in the 14th century, possibly associated with improved environmental and political conditions (Garlake, 1966). However, the full development of Arab settlements and their trade and culture on the East African coast

in the 15th century, dominated by Mombasa, immediately preceded a period of decline, as the Portuguese programme of African coastal exploration culminated in the celebrated voyage of Vasco da Gama to India in 1497-99. However, although competition came from a variety of other ports along the East African coast, none possessed Mombasa's combination of positive situation and site factors.

Soon the 13th century Shirazi town, on the eastern side of the island facing Old Mombasa Harbour, was paralleled and eventually superseded by the Portuguese town of the 16th and 17th centuries which today provides the essential framework of the traditional urban core. The impressive Fort Jesus now stands as the only substantial physical monument to Portuguese rule, and as a mark of Mombasa's long-continued importance as a maritime trade centre and as a port city of significance. The gradual emergence of a Swahili culture in the East African coastlands laid foundations for distinctive patterns of development in later times (Middleton, 1992).

Major changes, positive and negative, and on various scales, took place in 19th century East Africa; traditionally perceived largely in terms of a series of maritime invasions (Coupland, 1938) these changes are now considered as outcomes of interactive processes between diverse cultures (Beachey, 1996; Middleton, 1992; Nicholls, 1971). The rising tide of Arab-controlled slave trading severely disrupted the economic and social fabric of the hinterlands, and the offshore island of Zanzibar (selected by Omani Arabs as a regional emporium, and today part of Tanzania) became the chief centre of trade and innovation (Sheriff, 1987; Sheriff and Ferguson, 1991), "the very stadium of the great game" (Morris, 1994, 97) of African interior exploration, trade, partition and colonization (Von der Decken, 1869).

The re-entry of Europeans on the East African scene in the later 19th century coincided with important technological changes: the opening of the Suez Canal (1869), the change from sail to steam as a means of propulsion of vessels, the rapidly increasing size of ships, and the growing importance of railways. A combined result of these innovations was that in the early European colonial period arterial railways were built from port sites (Mombasa, Tanga and Dar es Salaam) selected for their ability to accommodate larger steamers in a context of increasing trade with Europe via Suez, and for their relationships with potentially productive hinterlands. There followed a process of port concentration whereby the traditionally fluid and largely localised port pattern, based on minor inlets and open shorelines, became crystallized in the 1890s as modern ports linked to global systems started to use more capacious, sheltered, deep-water harbours.

In Kenya, Mombasa was the principal beneficiary of this process. In Tanzania, the German authorities selected Tanga and Dar es Salaam as the ocean termini of their railways to the interior. This new 20th-century seaport system - for political, technological and economic reasons - largely replaced the earlier, 19th-century, concentration on the island port of Zanzibar. Mombasa and Dar es Salaam were both particularly fortunate at this point in time, for their general geographical location and their specific site conditions enabled each to establish and maintain a central place in the modern economic life of the East African coastal zone. They both became, quite quickly, the principal points of contact in terms of modern surface transport, between the local and the global systems. Ports favoured only by local circumstances (such as Lamu) declined, and the development of those unable to establish sufficiently extensive hinterland links (such as Tanga) was retarded.

The incorporation of East Africa within the European colonial system with its exploitative, exchange-based economy was clearly a major step towards what we now recognise as globalisation. The modern process of port concentration in East Africa effectively took place in the 1890s, when the beginnings of modern port development coincided with the start of railway construction to the hinterlands. In Kenya, the point of departure for the modern port of Mombasa was the purchase in 1895 of land near Kilindini Harbour as a base from which to direct the building of the railway through interior Kenya to Lake Victoria. Using Mombasa as an initial base, Britain has assumed political control of Kenya in 1895, and (as elsewhere) a standard procedure was to consolidate that control with an outline transport infrastructure, beginning with a railway to the interior from a selected port site. Mombasa was the obvious choice, as an established town, with a deep-water harbour of recognised potential.

From these beginnings, the port of Mombasa has grown throughout the 20th century, starting with lighterage wharves at Mbaraki and proceeding upstream with deepwater general-cargo berths and specialized facilities along the north-western shore of the island and on the adjacent mainland at Kipevu (Fig. 5 inset). Although the Kenya Ports Authority continues to administer and utilise the limited port facilities still available in Mombasa Old Harbour, port activity as an element in the life of the traditional town and the associated conservation area is extremely limited.

The experience of Tanzania has been rather different. The port of Zanzibar continues to serve the economy of the offshore islands but no longer fulfils its 19th-century role as a regional emporium. The degree of port concentration experienced during colonial and post-colonial times has been less marked in Tanzania than in Kenya. The intention was to create a more widespread diffusion of port activity, economic exploitation and political control, and to

avoid the apparent over-concentration on Mombasa shown by the British in Kenya. Tanga was the first of the modern seaports of the East African mainland to be developed, its primary role being to serve the agricultural economy of the northern part of the territory, initially using a rail link to Moshi and Arusha. However, the Germans originally chose Bagamoyo, seaward terminus of the trans-Tanzanian Arab caravan trade route to Lake Tanganyika and beyond, as their chief port and seat of government.

By 1891 it became obvious, however, that the sheltered harbour at Dar es Salaam, where a new Arab port and town had been founded in the 1860s, was more suitable. It was thus from Dar es Salaam that the construction of the central railway began in 1905, reaching Kigoma in 1914. The international role of Dar es Salaam as a port serving extra-territorial areas continued under the British Mandate (1919-63), and port growth was stimulated from the later 1960s onwards by rapid increases in Zambian traffic; additional deep-water berths were constructed in the 1970s with financial support from the Zambian government. In recent years, in a context of increasing competition between Dar es Salaam and Mombasa for extra-national traffic, the Tanzanian port has gained considerably (Hoyle and Charlier, 1995 and 1996).

3.0 THE PROBLEM: DECLINE, DISSOCIATION, NEGLECT

The processes of interport competition over longer and shorter time periods, together with patterns of colonial economic, political and urban development, have produced in the postcolonial decades a series of contrasted urban waterfronts along the East African coast. At Lamu, there has effectively been no modern urban or port development of major significance, and the port town remains largely 'frozen' in its 19th-century condition. The same is largely true at Mombasa, as far as the old town and port are concerned, although of course in this case East Africa's principal modern seaport has grown up a short distance away, on the Kilindini Harbour side of Mombasa Island and on the nearby mainland. At Zanzibar, also, there is an element of detatchment from the modern world, for much of the old Stone Town remains effectively in its 19th century state, although in this case there has been substantial recent urban growth beyond the confines of the original settlement and also some limited progress in modern port development. Only at Dar es Salaam, however, is the traditional pre-20th-century urban waterfront also the maritime façade of a modern, thriving city, although even in this case there are signs that the centre of urban gravity is beginning to move away from the established waterfront core towards new urban nodes located at some distance from the shores of the harbour.

Taken together, the four cases exemplify a pattern of decline, dissociation and neglect at two different levels. On the one hand, there is a *cultural dissociation* between the traditional urban forms, small-scale socio-economic and political nuclei, and the modern urban growth that has taken place in very different ways and to very varying degrees in different locations. This process is least in evidence at Lamu, where modern urbanism is present only to a limited degree, and is most clearly demonstrated at Mombasa, where the traditional town is an almost forgotten corner of a rapidly expanding metropolis. At Zanzibar the cultural dissociation between the central Stone Town and the more peripheral urban zones is perhaps nowadays less evident than in the past (although the town's ethnic structure has always been complex); while at Dar es Salaam the traditional downtown core largely retains its cultural supremacy despite extensive suburban growth and the emergence of alternative nuclei within the urbanized area as a whole.

On the other hand, there is a *spatial dissociation* between traditional and modern foci of port/urban development. This is most extreme at Lamu, where there is effectively no modern development in this sense; and is least in evidence at Dar es Salaam, where the modern deep-water berths lie adjacent to and are contiguous with the earlier lighterage wharves and the traditional late 19th-century waterfront. At Zanzibar, despite the gravitation in the 1890s towards mainland harbours, port activity has continued albeit with difficulty and the association between port and town has been maintained. At Mombasa, the juxtaposition of a thriving modern port and a moribund old harbour provides in some ways the least propitious circumstances for waterfront conservation and renewal; the port and urban waterfront that for centuries was Mombasa's front door was relegated by the switch to Kilindini to neglected back-door status from which recovery is difficult.

3.1 The search for a context for renewal and revitalization

Both Tanzania and Kenya have been relatively slow, for a variety of political and economic reasons, to develop policies and legislation covering urban waterfront conservation and to implement conservation plans. The sensitivity of coastal environments, in physical and human terms, is not widely appreciated in either country where opportunistic land-grabbing is widespread and where traditional attitides to the sea and to urban waterfronts are often in sharp contrast to those now found in many advanced countries and in some newly-industrializing countries too (Republic of Kenya, 1997a).

The government of Tanganyika introduced an Antiquities Ordinance as early as 1935 (Table 1), primarily to identify, investigate, record and protect monuments of historical significance. The 1964 Amendment was a mechanism whereby the government of independent Tanzania

sought to strengthen and diversify the pre-existing legislation; and by a further Amendment of 1979 to extend the traditional concept of preservation to include the more broadly based idea of conservation. Much of this legislation has not been specifically concerned with urban buildings of historical interest and value, but in 1997 Tanzania introduced a revised cultural policy providing automatic protection for urban structures over 100 years old. This covers, notably, several important waterfront buildings in Dar es Salaam which are now given enhanced status and protection in a context of conservation. To some extent, however, this policy, although significant, is *pro tem* an empty gesture as the provision of public finance for the rehabilitation of historic buildings is not, generally, perceived as a matter of the highest priority in modern Tanzania. This is understandable, but unfortunate, given that the diversity of the country's architectural heritage is a tremendously valuable long-term cultural asset and is now increasingly recognised as such by a range of influential people.

The conservation and redevelopment of old port cities and their waterfronts on the Kenya coast depend essentially on the National Museums Act (19) and the Antiquities and Monuments Act (1983) under which all sites and monuments founded or built before 1895 automatically receive protection. Within Kenya's multi-layered administrative system – at national, provincial, district and municipal levels – a critical relationship is that between the municipal administration and the conservation system. At Mombasa, for example, where there is a generally close cooperation between the Conservation Office and the Municipal Planning Office, new conservation by-laws were introduced in 1997 under a Local Government Act. Some account of Mombasa and Lamu in this context has been given by Abungu (1998) and Aldrick (1995).

The experience of the four urban waterfronts included in this study in terms of conservation has been very different, and in many respects Lamu has led the way. The earliest serious conservation study of an East African coastal town (as opposed to an archaeological site) was Ghaidan's analysis of Lamu (Ghaidan, 1975), which was followed by major repairs to the waterfront seawall between 1975 and 1985. A Conservation Area was officially gazetted at Lamu in 1986, the year in which Siravo and Pulver published their detailed study of the buildings of the old town (Siravo and Pulver, 1986). This led to the establishment of a Planning and Conservation Office at Lamu in the following year and to the initiation of a conservation project with the support of Dutch consultants whose final report was submitted in 1990 (DHV Consultants, 1990). Achievements in the 1990s include the rehabilitation of the Fort and other individual buildings.

Table 1 : Cityport conservation on the East African coast: a comparative sequence of events, acts, documents, and publications

(a) by country

Date	*Kenya*	*Tanzania*
1935		Antiquities Ordinance
1964		Antiquities Act amendment (declaration of monuments)
1979		Antiquities Act amendment (conservation as well as protection)
1983	Antiquities and Monuments Act	
1994	EU Programme for Revival and Development of Swahili Culture	
1996	UNDP/EU Conservation Trust Fund	
1997	*ARS Progetti* Swahili Cultural study	Revised cultural policy providing automatic protection for buildings over 100 years old
2000	*Foeken et al.*	

(b) by cityport (publications in italics are listed in References)

	Mombasa	*Lamu*	*Dar es Salaam*	*Zanzibar*
1914-18		Seawall built		
1923				*Lanchester*
1945			*Gillman*	
1955				Town and Country Planning Decree
1958				*Kendall & Mill*
1959				Planning Scheme
1960	*Boxer & Azevedo*			
1963			*Blij*	
1968	*Blij*			East German plan
1970			*Casson*	
1974	*Kirkman*			
1975		NMK Conservation Project *Ghaidan* Seawall repaired 1975-85		
1976		*Ghaidan*		

Table 1 (continued)

	Mombasa	*Lamu*	*Dar es Salaam*	*Zanzibar*
1978		*Ligale*		
1979				Six historic buildings gazetted
1981	*Varkey & Roesch*			
1982				Chinese masterplan
1984				UNCHS/Habitat report
1985	Conservation Project UNDP/UNESCO/NMK	Fort rehabilitation started		SCTDA created
1986	Conservation Project approved by Mombasa District Development Committee	Conservation Area gazetted *Pulver & Siravo* *Siravo & Pulver* Planning & Conservation Office established		
1987				
1988	Buildings inventory	Town entrance & square rebabilitated Waterfront paved		Stone Town Conservation Area declared
1990	Conservation Plan completed *McCrae et al.*	*DHV Consultants report* Fort rehabilitation completed		
1991	*King & Procesi* Conservation Area gazetted Conservation Office (MOTCO) established			
1992	Swahili Cultural Centre initiated		UNDP Sustainable Cities Initiative	Aga Khan Trust Survey Stone Town Conservation Plan
1993		*Group 5 Report*		Stone Town Planning Area Declaration Order
1994				Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority Act *Mack & Hudson*
1995	Swahili Cultural Centre opened	Swahili Cultural Centre opened		*Sheriff*

Table 1 (continued)

	Mombasa	*Lamu*	*Dar es Salaam*	*Zanzibar*
1996	Conservation Trust Fund (UNDP/EU)			Fort rehabilitation completed *Siravo*
1997	Swahili Cultural Study EDF/NMK	Swahili House rehabilitation completed	Sustainable Dar es Salaam Project	Serena Hotel opened Stone Town Cultural Centre (Old Dispensary) rehabilitation completed Customs House rehabilitation in progress Beit al-Ajaib rehabilitation on hold *Bianca*
1998				
1999				
2000				

	World Heritage Site?	World Heritage Site?		World Heritage Site?

The first substantial steps towards the conservation of Mombasa's Old Town date from the 1980s. In 1981 the National Museums of Kenya (NMK) sponsored a pilot study (Varkey and Roesch, 1981). In 1985, with funding by the UNDP and technical assistance provided by UNESCO, NMK (with some help from the Mombasa Municipal Council) set up a conservation planning study designed to provide a legal and technical framework for the preservation and development of the Old Town, to promote a better understanding of the area's historical and architectural heritage, and to generate employment through restoration and rehabilitation activity. Detailed studies carried out in 1985-89 included an inventory of buildings (Aldrick, 1996) and led in 1991 to the gazetting of a 31-hectare Conservation Area, roughly corresponding to the 16th-century Portuguese walled town, now inhabited by about 7000 people and including about 700 buildings; to the establishment of a Mombasa Old Town Conservation Office (MOTCO); and to the preparation and publication of a detailed Conservation Plan (King and Procesi, 1991).

The implementation of the plan involves monitoring construction activity, advising on adaptive re-use of buildings and the improvement of public open spaces, and implementing public awareness programmes. Specific objectives include the rehabilitation of sites of special interest including the waterfront zone. The local Mombasa community was initially slow to understand and accept the nature and objectives of the plan, but later became much more favourably inclined towards the perceived benefits. The Municipal Council, for its part, delayed approval of recommended by-laws designed to control building developments but in 1997 announced a 50% remission of rates on Old Town plots.

While the Tanzanian government has until very recently appeared to take relatively little interest in the conservation of historic buildings in Dar es Salaam, there has been considerable interest in urban redevelopment in Zanzibar where the establishment of the Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority in 1993 was a notable landmark. In 1994 the Zanzibar Government approved the Stone Town Conservation Plan which provides an overall planning framework and identifies action areas for detailed attention. Again, one of these is the waterfront, with its outstanding buildings and generous open space where deterioration should be stopped and space reorganized for the benefit of everyone. UNESCO has shown some interest in these developments from the 1970s (UNESCO, 1975) and in the late 1990s the candidature of Lamu, Zanzibar town and Mombasa Old Town for designation by UNESCO as World Heritage Sites was under consideration. However, none of them was included on the revised list of sites announced in December 1999.

4.0 FIELD OBSERVATIONS AND SOURCE MATERIALS

The fieldwork component of the research reported here was carried out in late 1997. The first field objective was the making of a detailed record of the present condition and use of buildings on each of the four waterfronts. The character and functions of all individual waterfront buildings were recorded, as far as possible, in writing and by photographs. In Lamu, Zanzibar and Dar es Salaam this was done firstly on shore, on foot, going over the ground in each location several times; in Mombasa, however, it is not possible to employ the same technique as the shoreline is not generally open to public access except at specific points. In all four places, however, it was possible to observe and record details of buildings from the water.[1] These methods resulted in a continuous photographic sequence of each waterfront, as well as many other photographs of individual buildings, together with detailed classified notes of their condition and functions.

Some account is given below of each of the four waterfronts, both in terms of historical evolution and present-day characteristics, looking both at each waterfront as a whole and at individual buildings of interest or distinction. The results of the field surveys are presented in the form of maps and tables. For each waterfront, a map shows the location and general disposition of waterfront buildings and associated features, while further details of individual buildings are given in an associated table. These maps and tables are based on 1997 observations, but occasional updating has been introduced as appropriate during the preparation of this paper.

5.0 LAMU

The waterfront at Lamu (Fig. 2, Table 2) is accessible, lively, and consistently interesting. For virtually its entire length within the Conservation Area (some 800 m) the waterfront buildings give onto a causeway of variable width and quality which is bounded and protected by a seawall. Two jetties extend from the waterfront to serve larger vessels (naval, passenger and commercial craft); smaller sailing vessels can land or take on board goods or passengers at many other points along the shore. The twice-daily arrival at the Town Quay of a passenger ferry from the mainland road terminus at Mokowe, or of passenger ferries from the airstrip on Manda Island (Fig. 2 inset) give rise to a higher than normal level of waterfront activity.

Elsewhere the loading of mangrove poles for export, or the activities of fishermen lend colour and character to the daily scene. The daily traffic flows along the waterfront, and between the waterfront and the main urban market around the Fort, have changed relatively little for many years. There are today more foreign visitors, attracted by the town's character and reputation

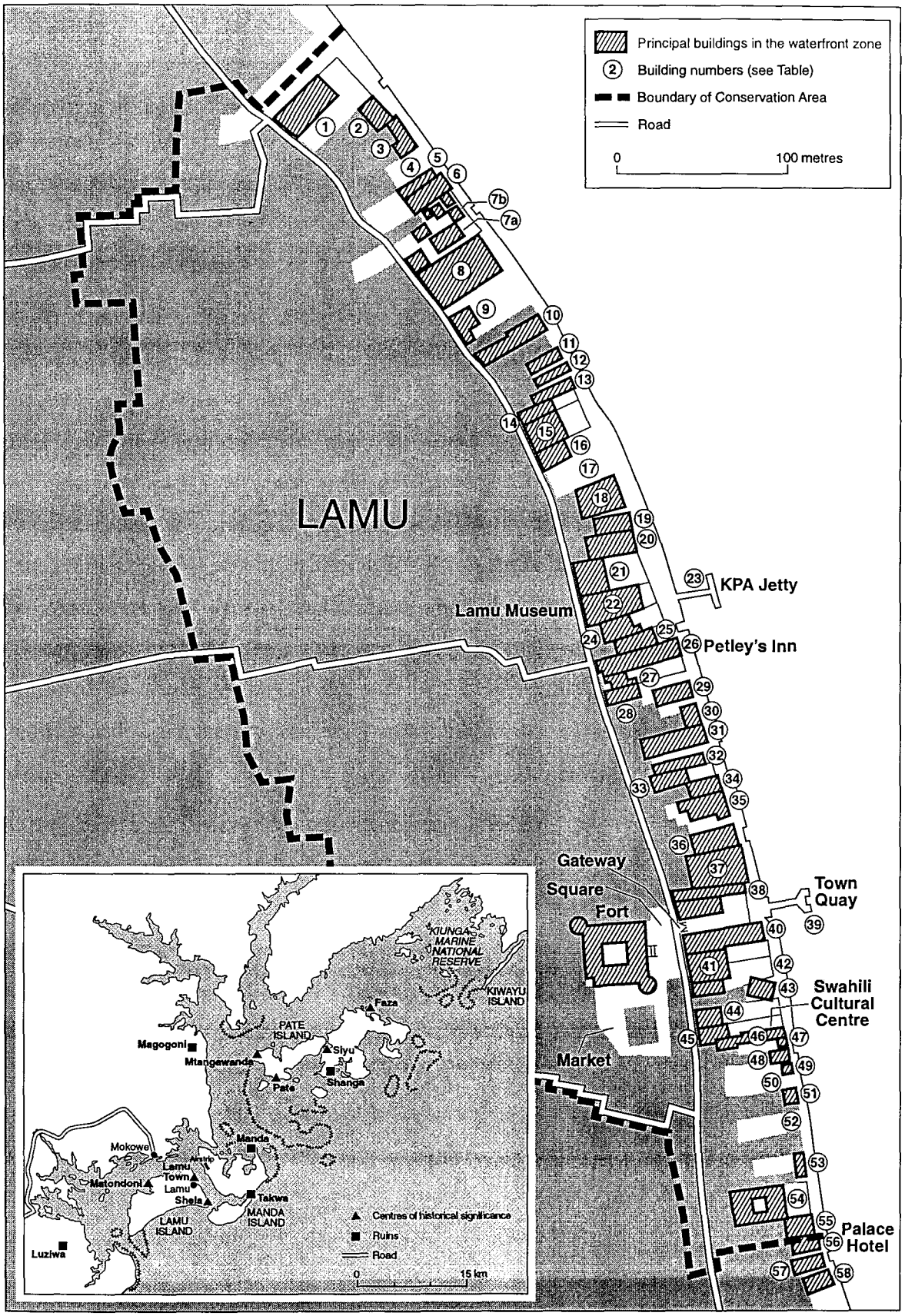


Figure 2: The Lamu waterfront

(Bwana, 1985). Apart from a few government landrovers there are almost no motor vehicles; transport on land is by donkey (for goods and passengers) or by two-wheeled handcarts called *mkokotoni* essential for goods transport between the waterfront and the commercial storage and sales premises of the town. By water, transport involves a wide variety of sailing vessels, some of which are motorized although many still rely as for ages past on the winds and tides of this island environment.

The maritime trading history of the Lamu Archipelago (Fig. 2, inset) has been the focus of numerous studies including the pioneer archaeological work of Kirkman (1964, 51-73) and detailed surveys of specific sites such as Manda (Chittick, 1984) and Shanga (Horton, 1996). Other writers have provided more general accounts (Martin and Martin, 1973). The essential foci throughout such studies are on the port function, on the role of coastal settlements in maritime trading networks and on the urban forms, fabrics and conditions deriving from settlement and trading activity. Although not often specifically mentioned, it is obvious that the urban waterfront of each East African coastal settlement, as for example in many Mediterranean cityports associated with the ancient Greek thallasocracy, provided a traditional functional gateway to the wider world of maritime trading systems and thus formed a critical and sensitive component of the urban fabric in functional and morphological terms.

Although its early history is somewhat obscure, the development of Lamu as a coastal settlement and port from medieval times to the present day is generally well documented (Ghaidan, 1975 and 1976). By the 14th century Lamu was a prosperous cityport, exporting ivory, timber, amber and spices, and importing porcelain, silks and carpets from across the Indian Ocean. By the 17th and 18th centuries Lamu had come under the influence and authority of the Sultan of Oman as he extended his trading empire southwards, and many of the town's stone houses were built and rebuilt by Omani settlers and traders. In the 19th century Zanzibar superseded Lamu and became the principal East African focus of maritime trade; but, unlike other settlements of its archipelago, Lamu remained alive as a local centre of trade and culture. The population of Lamu was recorded as 10,628 in 1989, projected to increase to 16,161 by 2001 (Republic of Kenya, 1994 and 1997b).

The Kenya Government through the National Museums of Kenya initiated the Lamu Conservation Project in 1975; a conservation study was carried out (Ghaidan, 1975) and in the years 1976-85 several monuments were restored and the seawall was strengthened. In 1986 a conservation proposal was published and Lamu was gazetted as a monument under the Antiquities and Monuments Act of 1983. Work began on the rehabilitation and conversion

of the Lamu Fort in 1985, and in the following year the Lamu Town Planning and Conservation Office was established with the support of the government of The Netherlands (DHV Consultants, 1990; Pulver and Siravo, 1986; Siravo and Pulver, 1986). The conservation project aims to restore houses, to upgrade public areas and urban infrastructures, to promote tourism compatible with local cultures and to educate the community notably in pollution control. The waterfront promenade has been partly paved, and both the town entrance (*lango la mui*) and the town square in front of the Fort (*mkunguni*) were improved in the late 1980s, substantially reducing congestion and enhancing the quality of the urban environment.

5.1 The Lamu waterfront

The buildings of Lamu's historical core zone date largely from the 18th century, but those on the waterfront are generally more recent, reflecting the town's growing 19th-century involvement in maritime trade and an inclination to build trading houses along the foreshore on reclaimed, water-encroaching sites (Fig. 3). Waterfront plots began to be developed in the mid-19th century; and others were added by trading companies and by the British colonial administration. To protect these properties, a seawall was constructed during World War I, using labour provided by prisoners of war. Many of these waterfront buildings are substantial structures built with coral rag (undressed coral bonded in coral lime or mud) faced with plaster, usually single- or double-storeyed although some have three or occasionally four floors. Balconies, sometimes enclosed, are common on one or more sides of a building. Roofing materials include traditional *makuti* (woven from coconut palm thatch), corrugated iron (*mabati*), and modern clay tiles. Flat rooves are not uncommon. The general condition of some waterfront buildings, especially those that have recently been restored, is excellent. Many others, however, can only be described as adequate for their purposes, and some are in a poor or derelict condition.

5.2 The Fort

Central to the southern half of the waterfront is the Town Quay and the stone gateway leading to the town square and the Fort. On the northern side of a paved walkway between the pier and the gateway stands the District Commissioner's Office (38)[2] with its substanial, pillared ground floor and new roof; on the southern side is a pillared *baraza* (sitting place, public forum) (40) with a *daka* (or built-in stone seat) on the site of a former customs godown or warehouse.

Although not strictly a waterfront building the Fort is of considerable interest as it dominates the urban fabric of the southern part of the Conservation Area and is considered to be one of

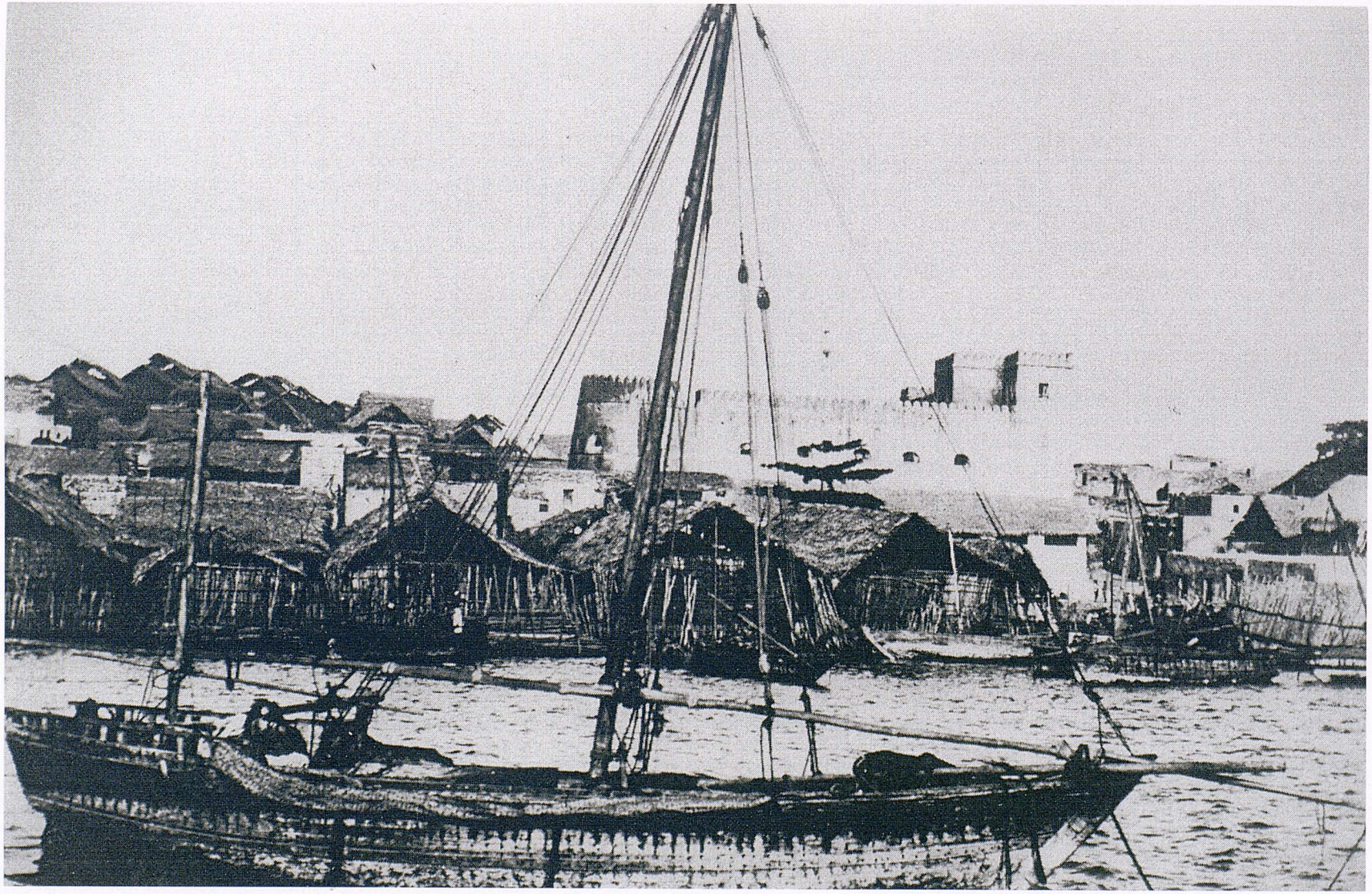


Figure 3: The waterfront at Lamu in 1892
One of two photographs taken by Adolph Jacob Hertz (1865-1912) during his visit to the East African coast. Enlarged copies are displayed in the Fort. Note that the waterfront was closer to the Fort than at present. Many 19th-century buildings along the waterfront were built on reclaimed land. (Reproduced by permission of the Staatsarchiv Hamburg).

Table 2: The Lamu waterfront: building characteristics

No	*Plot*	*Date*	*Building/function*	*R*	*S*	*B*	*C*
1	1240	Early C20th	Ministry of Lands & Housing + Ministry of Natural Resources & Environment	Mb	2	B	P
2	170	1970s	Skanda Gallery + workshop	Mb	1	B	G
3	172	1970s	Juakali workshops	Mb	3	B	G
4	899		Vacant plot House beyond	- F	- 2	- 	- G
5	899		House	Mk	1	-	P
6	201		Wellcome Hotel	F	2	B	P
7a 7b	1201	1971 1970-94	Lamu Social Hall Lamu County Council offices	Mk F	1 1	- -	G G
8	226, 217	1940s	Three small houses	Mk	1	-	P
9	665 239		Garbage dump Salama Guest House (closed)	- Mk	- 3	- 	P D
10	56	Early C20th	Ford Kenya Lamu Branch	Mb	3	-	A
11	277		House + curio shop	Mk	1	B	P
12	265		House + fish shop	Mk	2	B	P
13	296		House	Mk		-	A
14	29		Ghai restaurant (closed)	Mk		-	D
15	315		Former Government veterinary services office	T	2	B	D
16	316		Donkey sanctuary + house	Mk T	- 2	- -	G G
17	1195		Vacant site (walled)	-	-	-	D
18	207		Former Lamu District Council offices	-	2	-	D
19	514		Kenya Ports Authority offices + residential	T	2	B	P
20	208		Casuarina Rest House (former Police Station)	Mk	4	B	G
21	228	Late C19th	Sunni Mosque	F	1	-	G
22	1230	1892	Lamu Museum	Mb/F	2	B	R
23		19	KPA Jetty	-	-	-	G
24	1277 GL		Roman Catholic Church	T	1	-	R
25	628		Prestige Air Services office (former hotel annexe)	F	1	-	P
26	268		Petley's Inn	Mk	3	B	R
27	304		Garden of Petley's Inn	-	-	-	A
28	324		Storage for wood, pipes etc	F	1	-	C
29	350		Kenya Commercial Bank	F/T	2	B	G
30	1196		Aladdin's Oasis restaurant Small shop	Mk F	1 1	- -	G G
31	1197		Liwali House	-	2	B	D
32	359		Bush Gardens restaurant	Mk	1	-	A
33	361		Hapa Hapa restaurant	Mk	1	-	A
34	364	Early C20th	Full Moon Guest House	Mb	2	B	A
35	368	Late C19th	Storage + residential (former Mackenzie Dalgety Co)	T/F	2	B	C
36	372	C19th	Glory Bed & Breakfast	Mk	3	B	A
37	375	1850s	District Health Office and Kenya Wildlife Service	F/T	3	B	A
38	375	1850s	District Commissioner's Office	F	2	B	A
39	1266 G.L.	1991	Town entrance and quay	-	-	-	R
40	705	1991	Pillared baraza and storage	T	2	-	G
41	705		Lamu Post Office	Mb	2	B	A
42	705		Vacant plot	-	-	-	D
43	708	Late C19th	Shia Ismaili mosque	T	1	-	G
44	709		House (under renovation) Garden (neglected)	Mk -	4 -	B -	C D

Table 2: The Lamu waterfront: building characteristics (continued)

No	*Plot*	*Date*	*Building/function*	*R*	*S*	*B*	*C*
45	710	1888	Old German Post Office Museum	F	2	-	R
46	710		Swahili Cultural Centre and garden	F	2	-	R
47	714		Storage shed	Mk	1	-	P
48	714		House	Mb	2	B	A
49	714		Hadramut restaurant	Mk	1	-	P
50	714		Open space - parking for *mkokotoni* (handcarts)	-	-	-	A
51	716/729		General store (godown) for building materials	F	1	-	A
52	1298		Open space for storage of mangrove poles	-	-	-	A
53	1297		Storage space for mangrove poles	Mk	-	-	A
54	755		Vacant plot (former Ismaili mosque) (newly walled)	-	-	-	C
55	777		Labanda fish shop, restaurant above	Mk	2	B	G
56	782	1991	Palace Hotel	F	3	B	G
57	787	1989	Lamu Archipelago villa	Mk	3	B	G
58	787	1970s	Shop + residential	F	2	B	G

Key

No	=	Number of plot / building as shown on map		
Plot	=	Number of plot as recorded by Conservation Office		
R	=	Roof	MP	mangrove poles or other local materials
			Mb	*mabati* (corrugated iron)
			Mk	*makuti* (coconut leaf thatch)
			T	tiles
			F	flat
S	=	number of storeys		
B	=	Balcony or verandah on one or more levels, sometimes enclosed		
C	=	Condition:		R = restored G = good A = adequate P = poor D = derelict C = construction in progress

the most imposing historic structures on the East African coast, comparable with the rehabilitated fort at Zanzibar and the ruined fort at Siyu (Fig. 2 inset), and exceeded in size only by Fort Jesus at Mombasa. Construction of the Fort was started in 1813 shortly after the Battle of Shela (in which Lamu forces defeated invaders from Pate and Mombasa) and completed in 1821 reputedly with the cooperation of Sultan Seyyid Said of Oman, who at that time was cultivating his promising alliance with Lamu and sent a garrison of Baluchi soldiers.

When first completed the fort marked the southern corner of the traditional stone town and provided protection against invaders from the sea. The Fort stood close to the water's edge (Fig. 3), and during spring tides the sea lapped at the steps leading up to the main entrance (Ghaidan, 1976, 10). In the European colonial period the Fort was first used as government offices and from 1910 as a prison. Restored by the National Museums of Kenya in 1986-90, the fort now serves as a cultural and social centre, with a library and an extensive display on the coastal environment. The open spaces on the southern and eastern sides of the Fort are utilized daily as a produce market.

5.3 The southern waterfront

The southern part of the waterfront zone, between the Lamu Museum (22) and the Palace Hotel (56) is the most active area in terms of pedestrian flows and maritime activities. South of the Fort and the Town Quay are several waterfront buildings of interest and importance. A late-19th-century Shia Ismaili mosque (43), recently renovated and occupying a walled plot, is unusual among waterfront premises in that it is orientated towards Mecca and not towards the sea. Of special interest is the Swahili House, also known as the Old German Post Office (45), opened in 1888 as the first post office on the East African coast, which until 1891 served the communications needs of the shortlived Witu Protectorate established by the Germans just south of Lamu Island (Beachey, 1996, 151 *et seq.*). The house was built by Mrs Mwana Madina on land reclaimed from the sea in the late 19th century at a time when many merchants from Europe, the Near East and the Far East were finding their way to Lamu and other seaports on the East African coast. The Post Office was the initiative of Clemens Denhardt. After its closure in 1891 his brother Gustaf restored the house and renamed it Swahili House. Later owners included the British East India Company. The house was later purchased by the National Museums of Kenya and with funding from the German Embassy in Nairobi and the German Government has been renovated and was re-opened as a museum in 1997. Displays include some of the original equipment plus contemporary maps and photographs. An adjacent building (46) has been redeveloped as a Swahili Cultural Centre which includes craft training facilities.

The next section of the waterfront includes various open spaces, some for the storage of mangrove poles, others for parking the *mkokotoni* or handcarts that provide a virtually universal means of goods transport around the narrow lanes and alleys of the town. Other buildings are used as small shops and restaurants. The site of a former Ismaili mosque (54) lies vacant but newly walled, as if new construction were intended. Just beyond the boundary of the Conservation Area the Palace Hotel (56) was completed in 1991 in a modernised Arab style, and in 1997 the Lamu Archipelago Villa begun in 1989 remained uncompleted. The waterfront walkway continues southwards, largely unpaved, to the village of Shela.

5.4 The central waterfront

The central part of the Lamu waterfront, between the Town Quay (39) and the Museum (22), contains an interesting mixture of buildings associated with administration, transport and tourism (Fig. 4). There are several restaurants (30, 32, 33) and two guest houses (34, 36) one of which, the Glory Bed and Breakfast (36), has a unique two-storey stone verandah with two rows of arches. Petley's Inn (26), restored after a major fire in 1993, and the Lamu Museum (22) are the only Grade 1 Listed waterfront buildings in Lamu. Just north of the inn stands the Roman Catholic Church (24) with its walled forecourt and small tower.

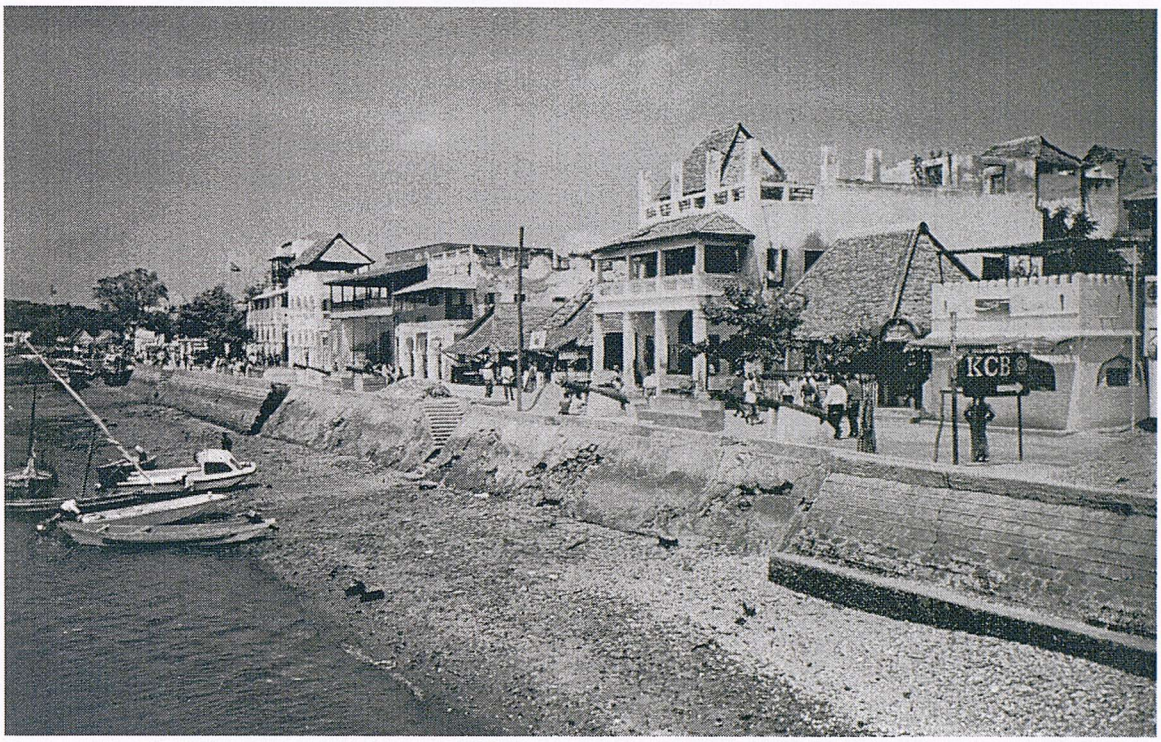
Other buildings of note in this zone include the Kenya Commercial Bank (29), with large pillars; the former headquarters of the prominent Mackenzie Dalgety Company, the only building with cast iron columns in Lamu (35); another pillared building housing the District Health Office and the Kenya Wildlife Service (37); and the now roofless building known as Liwali House (31), damaged in the 1993 riots and not yet restored.

The Lamu Museum (22) is perhaps the most remarkable structure on the Lamu waterfront, not only because of its contents but because of its structure and design. Completed in 1892, the building is said to be Indian rather than Arab in style, with traditional U-shaped verandahs at the ground- and first-floor levels, and exemplifies a 19th-century waterfront residential style quite different from the traditional stone houses of earlier periods. Used as the residence of a succession of District Commissioners from the early 20th century to 1970, the house became the first museum in Lamu in 1971. Near the Museum is the recently-extended concrete jetty (23) operated by the Kenya Ports Authority whose offices (19) are close by. Also adjacent is the Sunni Mosque (21) with its walled forecourt.

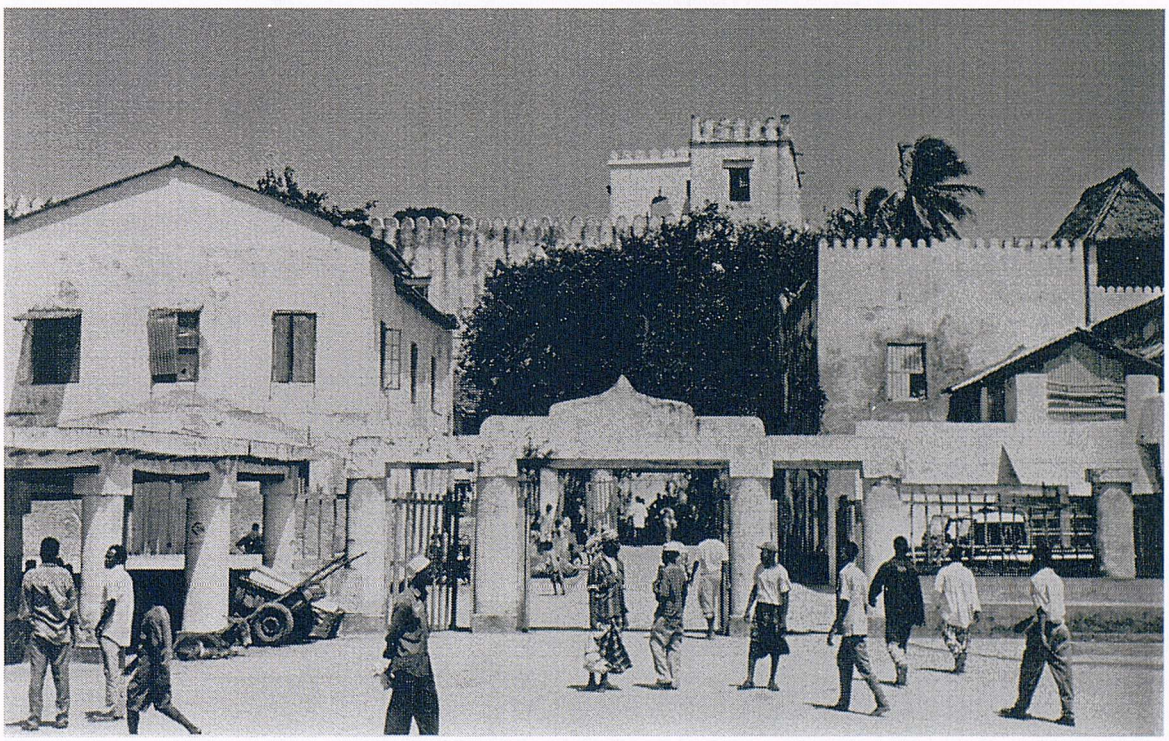
5.5 The northern waterfront

The functional mixture characteristic of the central and southern parts of the urban waterfront continues north of the Museum where again there are several government and administrative

Figure 4: The Lamu waterfront in 1997



This photograph, taken from the KPA jetty (23) looking south towards the Town Quay (39), shows the central section of the Lamu waterfront, dominated by the pillared, two-storey Liwali House (31) (centre). The condition of this stretch of the seawall is poor.
(Source: author's photograph)



From the Town Quay (39) a gateway leads between the District Commissioner's Office (38) (right) (where one of Lamu's few motor vehicles is parked) and the pillared *baraza* (40) to the town square, the market and the Fort. This area was substantially renovated in 1991. Note the donkey and the *hamali* cart beside the *baraza* (left).
(Source: author's photograph)

buildings (1, 7b), guest houses (6, 20), food shops (12) and private houses (4, 5, 8, 11-13, 16). Many of the buildings along this northern stretch of the waterfront are in poor condition. Some are closed (14) or disused (9) and there are vacant plots (4, 9) one of which is used as a garbage dump (9). The Salama Guest House (19) is one of only two traditional stone houses built on the seaward side of the main street. The other is the former Government veterinary services office (15), with its Indian-style open verandah, which was identified by Ghaidan (1976) as a building of exceptional architectural merit but has been unused since a fire in 1987.

The former Lamu District Council building (18), with pillared portico, is also disused since this office moved to the nearby mainland at Mokowe; and only the Ministry of Lands and Housing and the Ministry of Natural Resources and the Environment remain (1) at the northern end of the Conservation Area in a generally neglected early 19th-century building with a partly enclosed verandah and a walled forecourt.

Three other buildings are noteworthy on this stretch of Lamu's waterfront: the Skanda Gallery (2) and adjacent Juakali workshops (3), developed from the 1970s to provide employment and maintain skills in local crafts; the Lamu Social Hall (7a) (opened by former President Jomo Kenyatta in 1971) and Lamu County Council Offices (7b); and the premises occupied by the Lamu branch of the political party known as Ford Kenya (10). There is also a donkey sanctuary (16) occupying a tidy walled plot with a house behind.

6.0 MOMBASA

Whereas the urban waterfront at Lamu faces directly onto the sea, and provides a zone of constant and varied interaction with maritime activities, access to the urban waterfront in the Old Town of Mombasa (Fig. 5, Table 3) is considerably more difficult. Unlike Lamu (and, for that matter, Zanzibar and Dar es Salaam), the Old Town is mostly orientated inwards towards itself and towards the central business district of the modern town, and so to a large extent turns its back to the harbour and the sea. Part of the reason for this is that here, as elsewhere on the East African coast, raised coral reefs dating from the Pleistocene period are much in evidence; much of Mombasa Island, including the area occupied by the Old Town, is composed of coral reef and coral breccia which provide a somewhat uneven plateau surface bordered along the Old Town waterfront by steep, often almost vertical cliffs between 7 and 10 metres high (Caswell, 1953; Hoyle, 1983, 35-9).

There is no waterfront causeway, not even a footpath, along most of the maritime perimeter of the urban Conservation Area; public access to the Old Harbour is available only at certain points such as Fort Jesus (49) and the Leven Steps (12). Although certain functional access

points such as the Old Port (18) obviously provide clear exceptions to this general lack of water-orientated activity, many properties, public and private, appear to turn their backs to the water and also, regrettably, to use the sea cliff and the foreshore as a garbage dump. While this practice is in some respects understandable, as the municipal garbage collection and disposal service (here as elsewhere in Mombasa) requires substantial improvement, it leads to much visual pollution and to insanitary conditions, and demonstrates that in the eyes of local inhabitants the Old Town urban waterfront is often perceived as a negative area of little interest. Some attempt has been made to re-landscape the small waterfront garden near the Mombasa Club, but maintenance is minimal.

At Lamu and Zanzibar the waterfront remains a principal thoroughfare and focus of commercial and social maritime-related urban activity; this is also still the case at Dar es Salaam, despite signs that alternative non-port urban areas are acquiring supremacy. At Mombasa, however, where the essential focus of modern port activity began to move away from the Old Harbour to the new developments at Kilindini on the other side of the island in the 1890s, the growing town had effectively turned away from its medieval core and gateway by the beginning of the 20th century. Old Mombasa's maritime façade, the town's original front door to the world of the Indian Ocean and its trade networks, became during that century a back door through which the garbage is put out.

After a hundred years of relative neglect, the conservation of what remains of the Old Town is a challenge not only in terms of practical planning at the local level, and as a test of the extent to which at the national level modern Kenya values and understands its long and complex history and can ultimately reconcile the continuing dichotomies of its political geography. The core/periphery contrasts so well represented in Kenya's modern national geopolitical structure – in which the coastlands are part of a functional and cultural periphery despite their seminal role in the country's history and development – are reflected in microcosm in the urban geography of Mombasa (Blij, 1968) where the activities and orientations of the deep-water port and the modern town centre largely ignore the cultural and historic roots of the entire cityport complex, symbolised by the 16th-century gateway to and from the sea beside the monumental Fort Jesus (Republic of Kenya, 1997c).

6.1 The Old Town waterfront

The administrative sections and general limit of the Conservation Area in Mombasa's Old Town are indicated in Figure 5 which also shows that between the Old Fish Market at the northern end of the waterfront zone and Fort Jesus at the southern end there are about 50 plots (most of which are occupied by one or more buildings) associated in one way or another

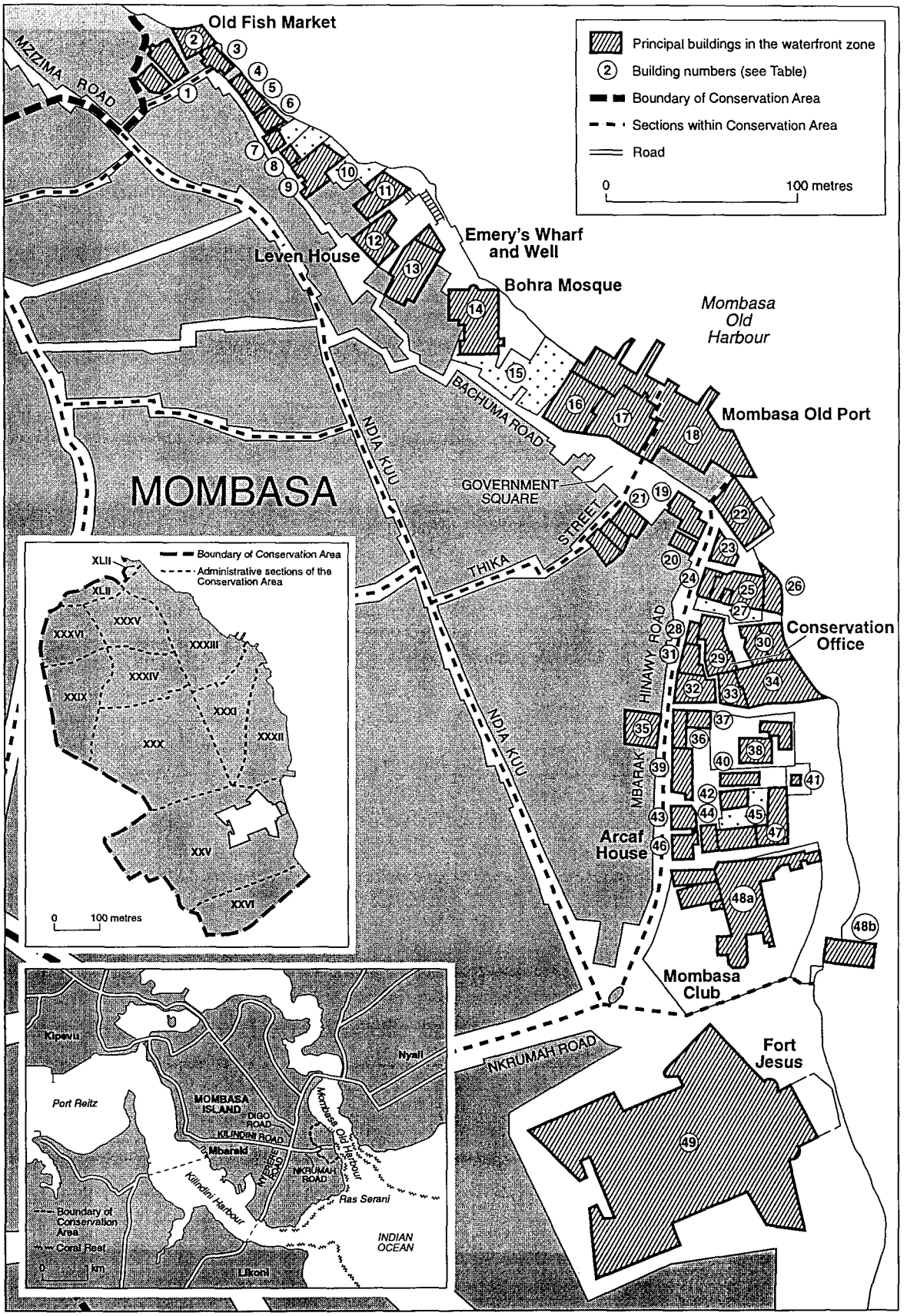


Figure 5: The waterfront of Mombasa Old Town

Table 3: The Mombasa waterfront: building characteristics

No	*Section*	*Plot*	*Date*	*Building/function*	*R*	*S*	*B*	*C*
1	XLIII	72-3		Fish warehouses	Mb	1	-	A
2	XLIII			Old Fish Market and steps to beach	Mb	1	-	P
3	XXXIII	16		Private residential	Mb	3	1	P
4	XXXIII	17		Pumping station	Mb	1	-	A
5	XXXIII	18		Private residential	Mb	3	B	A
6	XXXIII	19		Private residential	Mb	3	B	A
7	XXXIII	20		Private residential	Mb	3	B	A
8	XXXIII	21		Private residential	F	3	B	A
9	XXXIII	24, 103		Private residential	F	3	B	A
10	XXXIII	25		Open space	-	-	-	-
11	XXXIII	6		Private residential	Mb	2	B	A
12	XXXIII	33	1906	Leven House	Mb	3	B	P
		102	1825	Emery's Wharf, well, tunnel and steps	-	-	-	P
13	XXXIII	5		Private residential	Mb	2/3		
14	XXXIII	5	1983-4	Bohra Mosque	F	1	B	G
15	XXXIII	59-64, 100		Open spaces associated with Bohra Mosque	-	-	-	G
16	XXXIII	3		Fish Market	Mb	1	-	A
17	XXXIII	101		Old Port Customs Building	Mb	2	-	A
18	XXXIII	73		Mombasa Old Port: KPA warehouses	Mb	1	-	A
19	XXXI	8	1899	Lamu Gallery (Old Post Office)	Mb	2	B	A
20	XXXI	9		Curio shop/private residential	Mb	2	B	A
21	XXXI	10	1899	Sanaa Gallery (Allidina Visram's House)	Mb	2	B	A
22	XXXII	14		Private commercial warehouse	Mb	1	-	P
23	XXXII	15		?				
24	XXXI	12		Residential				
25	XXXII	7	1930s	Private residential/storage	Mb	2	-	P
26	XXXII	4	1989	Private residential	T	4	B	G
27	XXXII	16		Private driveway to Plot 19	-	-	-	-
28	XXXII	17	1901	Mahandry Mosque Well	-	-	-	A
29	XXXII	18	1930s	Conservation Office	F	2	-	G
30	XXXII	12, 19	1970s	Private residential block of flats	F	2	-	G
31	XXXII	6	pre-1914	Traditional residential houses	Mb		B	P
32	XXXII	23		Private residential/storage, Nansherd & Co			B	P
33	XXXII	22	1990	Modern private house	F	3	B	G
34	XXXII	13, 20, 21	1880s	Private residential	F	4	B	G
35	XXXI	5	1904	Private residential, former Africa Hotel	Mb	3	B	P
36	XXXII	25	after 1909	Private residential	F	3	-	P
37	XXXII	24		Private residential	F	3	-	A
38	XXXII	9a, 9b	1980s	Private residential, multiple occupancy	Mb	2	-	A
39	XXXII	26	1951	Private residential	Mb	2	B	P
40	XXXII	27		Private residential, older buildings altered	Mb	3	B	G
41	XXXII	8		Sewerage station	F	1	-	A
42	XXXII	28		Private storage/commercial	Mb	2	-	A
43	XXXII	34	1900	Residential/commercial, curio shop	Mb	2	B	P
44	XXXII	33		Private residential, multiple occupancy	Mb	3	B	G
45	XXXII	29, 31-2		Private open land	-	-	-	-
46	XXXII	35	1978	Arcaf House: residential/offices/curio shop	F	4	-	G
47	XXXII	30		Private residential	F	3	B	P
48a	XXXII	1	1897	Mombasa Club	T	3	B	G
48b		36		Swimming Pool				G
49	XXV	80	1596	Fort Jesus	F/T	3	B	R

(Key next page)

Key

No	=	Number of plot / building as shown on map				C	=	Condition:	R = restored
Section	=	Conservation Area section number							
Plot	=	Plot number							
R	=	Roof	Mb	*mabati* (corrugated iron)					G = good
			T	tiles					A = adequate
			F	flat					P = poor
S	=	number of storeys							D = derelict
B	=	Balcony or verandah on one or more levels, sometimes enclosed							C = construction in progress

with maritime activities or which occupy sites on or close to the waterfront. Today, most of these buildings are reached from Mbarak Hinawy Road which leads north from Fort Jesus to Government Square and continues as Bachama Road towards Leven House and the Old Fish Market. This vehicular route, narrow and in poor condition, largely defines for present purposes the urban waterfront zone of the Old Town which lies between it and the Old Harbour to which some buildings retain direct access.

In terms of vehicular and pedestrian traffic flows there are two principal nodes within this waterfront zone: Government Square, which serves Mombasa Old Port, and is the chief focus of commercial traffic in the zone; and the area immediately north of Fort Jesus (where Nkrumah Road, Ndia Kuu and Mbarak Hinawy Road converge) which has long been an important socio-cultural location and is also today a focus of tourism-related activities. The central point of the modern town, in contrast, in terms of pedestrian and vehicular traffic flows and general commercial activity, lies about 1 km to the west at the intersection of Nkrumah, Nyerere, Moi and Digo roads (Fig. 5, inset).

6.2 Government Square

Government Square, strongly associated with European administrators and Asian entrepreneurs in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Seidenberg, 1996) provides access to Mombasa Old Port (18) now managed by the Kenya Ports Authority (Fig. 6A). The port complex includes the Customs Building (17), commercial warehouses (22) and a fish market (16) which give rise daily to considerable vehicular and pedestrian traffic and to substantial quantities of garbage piled high in the open square. On the south side of the square are several buildings which formed part of the early British colonial government/trading complex in the 1890s. The curio/carpet shop now known as the Lamu Gallery (19) occupies the site of Mombasa's first Post Office which later became a temporary immigration office during the First World War. The dominant building on the south-western side of the square is the Sanaa Gallery (21), which from 1899 was the house and main office of Allidina Visram (1851-1916) who, as his memorial in Treasury Square, Mombasa, indicates, was a "leading Indian merchant and planter ... one of the pioneers who helped to open up the country to trade and civilization". He established his business in 1899 and developed a network of trading offices in Kenya and Uganda, employing 500 Indian clerks, carpenters and masons. He provided and provisioned a labour force for railway building, and owned several factories in Mombasa processing cotton, soda ash and timber for building and furniture manufacture. This building also housed at different times around the turn of the century the East Africa and Uganda

transport offices, a parcel post office and the National Bank of India (Playne, 1909, 120-121; King and Procesi, 1990, Appendix 3; Aldrick, 1995, 13).

Government Square received special emphasis in the 1990 Conservation Plan: some improvements (including re-paving) have been achieved, with financial support from the Kenya Ports Authority and the local Bohra community, despite opposition from some port users. To the north of the square the Bohra Mosque (14) is an important modern building occupying a commanding position overlooking the Old Harbour. Standing on the site of an earlier mosque built in 1901 by the Jevanjee family, the present mosque was constructed in the early 1980s as a replica of a mosque in Sanaa, South Yemen. Those brave enough to ascend the narrow minaret are rewarded with a fine panorama of the Old Town and Harbour. Most of the waterfront buildings north of the Bohra Mosque are residential in character, but at the northern limit of the Conservation Area there is an Old Fish Market with warehouses and the remains of a steep flight of stone steps to the beach (1, 2). Until relatively recently these facilities, which have now fallen into disuse, provided the basis for an important dhow-based trade in dried, salted fish (McCrae *et al.*, 1989).

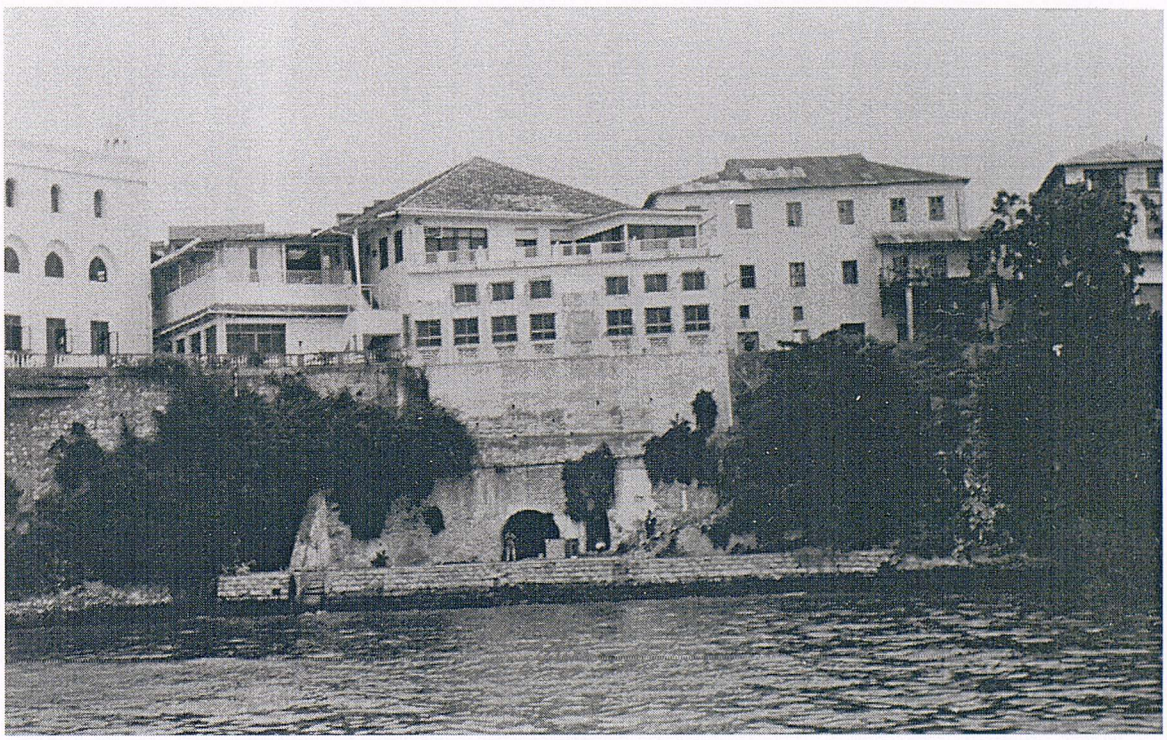
6.3 Leven House

Within this northern part of the waterfront zone stands one of the most interesting and historically significant building complexes in Mombasa's Old Town. This is Leven House (12) which with its associated steps, tunnel, wharf and well marks an early moment of British interest in Mombasa in the 19th century and one of the earliest known port facilities constructed on the shores of Mombasa Old Harbour. The site is associated with the short-lived unofficial British occupation of Mombasa, sometimes known as Owen's Protectorate, established in 1824 because the governing family of Mombasa, the Mazrui, needed support against the Omani Arabs and encouraged the British to perform this role, and because the British needed a mainland base from which to mount operations against the Arab-controlled slave trade (Al Mazrui, 1995).

Following a visit in February 1824 by Captain W.F.W.Owen in HMS *Leven* (Owen, 1833), Lieutenant J.J. Reitz was left in charge of the British base but shortly died and was replaced as governor by Lieutenant J.B.Emery within the same year. Emery's diary, held among Admiralty papers in the Public Record Office, London (Gray, 1934-5) is a key source on which Sir John Gray based his later account of *The British in Mombasa, 1924-26* (Gray, 1957). Correspondence between Emery and the geographer W.D.Cooley[3] is preserved in the archives of the Royal Geographical Society in London; and Emery contributed a short note on Mombasa to the Journal of the RGS (Emery, 1833). Sir Frederick Jackson (Governor of

Figure 6: Mombasa - the Old Town waterfront in 1997

A view of the southern part of Mombasa Old Town, taken from the minaret of the Bohra Mosque (14) looking towards Fort Jesus. Government Square contains (in addition to a substantial pile of garbage) several important buildings including the Old Post Office (facing the square, centre left) now the Lamu Gallery (19). At right angles (with red roof, facing lorries) stands Allidina Visram's House, now the Sanaa Gallery (21). Both buildings date from 1899.



Leven House (12), with Emery's wharf and well, seen from the harbour. Below the terrace of the Bohra Mosque (14) and residential properties (13) is the stone wharf built by Lieutenant Emery in 1825 and the well arch cut into the cliff face. Immediately to the right of the well arch is the entrance to the enclosed stairway leading up to Leven House. The present Leven House is the yellow three-storey building (upper right). Almost hidden in the vegetation is an open stairway between the wharf and the house. Note the garbage tip (right).

Uganda, 1911-18) claimed to have seen a ghost at Leven House, and a useful note on the house is appended to his account of this experience by H.B.Thomas (Jackson, 1951). The Church Missionary Society records in London contain details of the renovation of the house in the 1870s (Price, 1878). Aldrick (1986) has provided a recent summary account of its fortunes.

The building now identified as Leven House is not the original building on this site. An earlier house, originally owned by the Mazrui, was offered to Lt Emery in 1824 and at a later date was named after Captain Owen's ship. Emery recorded that the house "has seven rooms and is situated near the water at the upper end of the town not far from the customs house, with rather a partial view of the sea but a commanding view of the harbour" (cited in Gray, 1957, 72). In his *Narrative of voyages* Captain Owen remarked that: "Perhaps there is not a more perfect harbour in the world than Mombas. It possesses good riding ground at the entrance, sheltered by an extensive reef on either side; an anchorage, which, from its vicinity to the coast, constantly enjoys the sea-breeze; and a steep rocky shore, in many places rendering wharfs unnecessary, and in others forming a shelving sandy strand, where vessels can be hauled up and careened, favoured by a tide rising twelve or fourteen feet" (Owen, 1833, vol. 1, 412).

Lieutenant Emery, however, saw the need for some basic port facilities, and in 1825 set about building a stone wharf on the waterfront below Leven House, partly as a replacement for the nearby pre-existing customs-house steps, but also somewhat closer to his own accommodation. "I commenced making a landing-place abreast of the house by cutting through a rock at the expense of the establishment, my having repeatedly spoken to the sultan and chiefs of Mombasa to have a fit place for landing but all to no avail. The customs-house steps have been falling down for the last two months and I cannot get them repaired without I do it myself at the expense of the establishment." (Cited in Gray, 1957, 123).

Some of the stones used in the construction were quarried from a Portuguese fort and chapel at Ras Serani, south of Fort Jesus; and a quantity of gunpowder was expended in blasting operations. Funding for these works came from customs duties; the Mazrui initially made no financial contribution. A certain amount of paid employment was provided for freed slaves, in accordance with the British antislavery policy. In November 1825 Emery's diary contains references to "thirty slaves from the fort breaking stones for the customs-house wharf" and to "the fort slaves blowing the rocks to build the wharf" (*ibid.*, 124). "Wishing to give the negroes, whom I had rescued from slave-vessels, a practical knowledge of *free* industry, I

employed them under two Swahili masons in improving the port, and paid them every Saturday for their labour" (*ibid.*, 105).

On the wharf Emery made a lateral excavation into the solid rock of the cliff, in the form of an arched entrance to a vault, and at the far end sank a well (Fig. 6B). "Here fresh water was found, which surprised the natives very much, as the top of the well was only two feet above high-water mark. The depth of the well was eight feet. I chose that spot for sinking a well because it was abreast of the anchorage, and vessels of any size might anchor within a cable length of it" (*ibid.*, 124). The well is still used by local people today. Access between the wharf, the well, and Leven House on the cliff top above was provided by a flight of stone steps. Writing in 1834 to W.D.Cooley, Emery explained the constuction and layout of the steps leading down from Leven House to the wharf: "Owing to the height of the cliff I was obliged to make three angles, the first line led by a flight of ten steps to a square landing, the second by twenty steps to another square landing, the third by four steps on a stone wharf from which I ran out a jetty" (*ibid.*, 123).

The jetty was presumably a wooden structure, long since disappeared. The steps described in this letter are not those that lead today, in a dilapidated and barely usable condition, from Leven House via the cliff edge down to the wharf; although they appear approximately to follow Emery's description, they are of later construction. A more discreet access from the house to the wharf was provided by steps cut within a steep tunnel; the lower entrance from the wharf is still clearly identifiable, but for safety reasons the upper entrance within the grounds of Leven House has been sealed. Emery does not make it clear in his diary that his steps were enclosed in this way. It should be remembered, however, that from the British perspective the basic purpose of the unofficial protectorate governed by Emery was to constrain and ultimately abolish the slave trade, and that in this context Leven House was essentially the initial British anti-slavery base. Rapid and unseen access from the house, from which the movement of vessels in the harbour (including slave ships) could be monitored, and the availability of Emery's patrol boat moored at the wharf, was essential to the active pursuit of this locally unpopular policy.

The British garrison was withdrawn from Mombasa in 1826. When the Omani Sultan Seyyid Said captured Mombasa in 1837 and broke the power of the Mazrui, he doubtless appropriated Leven House. Because it was for many years the only house in Mombasa to be fitted out in western style, Leven House was used by various European visitors in the mid- and late-19th century. In 1844 the Church Missionary Society pioneer Dr Ludwig Krapf used the house; his wife and daughter died there; and in 1846 his colleague Johann Rebmann

arrived (Krapf, 1860). After Rabai, on the nearby mainland, became the centre of their work, Rebmann continued occasionally to use the upper storey of the 'old mission house'. The explorers Richard Burton and John Hanning Speke came in 1857; Burton recorded that "we ascended the cliff by a flight of steps in a dark dwarf tunnel ... (which) opens upon the Mission House, a double-storied box of coarse masonry" (Burton, 1872, II, 38; cited in Jackson, 1951, 162; also in Aldrick, 1986, 44). It seems that the property was used at this time by the Sultan's customs agents, the upper floor being retained as a rest-house for visiting missionaries and other European travellers.

CMS work in Mombasa reached a low ebb in the 1860s but was given new life by the arrival of the Revd. William Salter Price (Secretary and Director of the East Africa Mission) in 1874. Two contrasted illustrations of Leven House house before and after the substantial improvements effected in 1875 (Fig. 7) were first published in the *Church Missionary Gleaner* (Price, 1878) and reproduced in the *Uganda Journal* (Jackson, 1951, 165) and in Gray's history (Gray, 1957, 93). Price also bought property at Kisauni on the mainland opposite where he established a settlement for freed slaves known as Freretown. This became the headquarters of the Mission and the Mombasa house was thereafter only occasionally occupied. Other visitors included the explorer Joseph Thomson in 1883, on his way to Masailand; and in 1888 George Mackenzie, the first administrator of the Imperial British East Africa Company, took up residence and hoisted the British flag over Leven House. The IBEA bought the house in 1891, but used it for only a few years. In 1894 it briefly housed the first school on the island to teach English.

When Kenya became a British colony in 1895, Leven House was in a dilapidated condition; the new colonial government had no use for it, and a proposal to sell it back to the CMS did not succeed. There is apparently no record of the original house after 1895, and it is believed that it was largely demolished around the turn of the century. The present Leven House was built, partly on the original foundations, as offices for the German traders William O'swald & Company in the first decade of the 20th century and later served as the German Consulate (Aldrick, 1986; Gray, 1957; Jackson, 1951). During World War I (1914-18) the British confiscated German property and the house was sold to an Indian ivory trader, Valji Bhanji. When he became bankrupt in 1932 the house was acquired by the Pujara family. The entire site is given priority in the Conservation Plan, and the NMK would like to purchase it from the present private owners. There may be grounds for compulsory acquisition if the owner does not undertake urgent restoration (Aldrick, 1996, 48).

In some sources there appears to be confusion between the site of Leven House and that of the Customs House. This may be related to Emery's account of his wharf construction which was at least partly designed to replace less satisfactory facilities at the Customs wharf and steps. The Admiralty Chart of Mombasa dated 1888 shows a clear distinction between a Landing Place (on the site of the present-day Old Port customs and warehouse buildings) (17, 18), and Leven House (12) further north. This distinction remains obvious today: Figure 3 and Table 3 indicate Leven House (12) and the Old Port Customs Building (17) quite separately. However, Gray says that the original Leven House "stood on the site of the present customs establishment at the old port of Mombasa" (Gray, 1957, 73) and Jackson claimed that "the site has been absorbed into the Customs establishment ... a godown now encroaches on the still visible foundations of the old house" (Jackson, 1951, 164). These statements cannot be entirely correct unless either Leven House or the Customs House at some time occupied a different site, which is unlikely. From a commonsense geographical standpoint, moreover, customs and port activities centred on Government Square conveniently occupy an easily accessible low point on the island's eastern shoreline, whereas Leven House to the north (like Fort Jesus to the south) occupy much higher ground. It may be that Gray meant to say 'near' rather than specifically 'on' the site of the customs establishment. Jackson's reference may have been to the brief ownership of Leven House by the Imperial British East Africa Company (between 1891 and 1895) at a time when British administration was being set up by the Company, from 1888 at Leven House and after 1895 in the Government Square area. The 'encroaching godown', however, is puzzling.

6.4 Mbarak Hinawy Road

Between Government Square and Fort Jesus a variety of buildings occupy the zone between the Old Harbour and Mbarak Hinawy Road (formerly Vasco da Gama Street); most are orientated towards the road rather than the harbour. Most are residential, wholly or partly, some in multiple occupancy. Many are in poor condition, but others are well-maintained and some have been radically altered in recent years. The building now occupied by the Conservation Office (29) was given to Mombasa as a social services clinic in the 1930s, and was partially reconstructed in 1983.

Because Mbarak Hinawy Road is used here as the boundary of the urban waterfront zone, buildings on the western side of the road are not generally included in this discussion. An exception to this rule, however, is made in the case of the residential building formerly identified as the Africa Hotel (35) (which dates from 1904 and was the oldest hotel in Mombasa) because until at least 1909 it had a clear, open view of the water. Foran (1936,

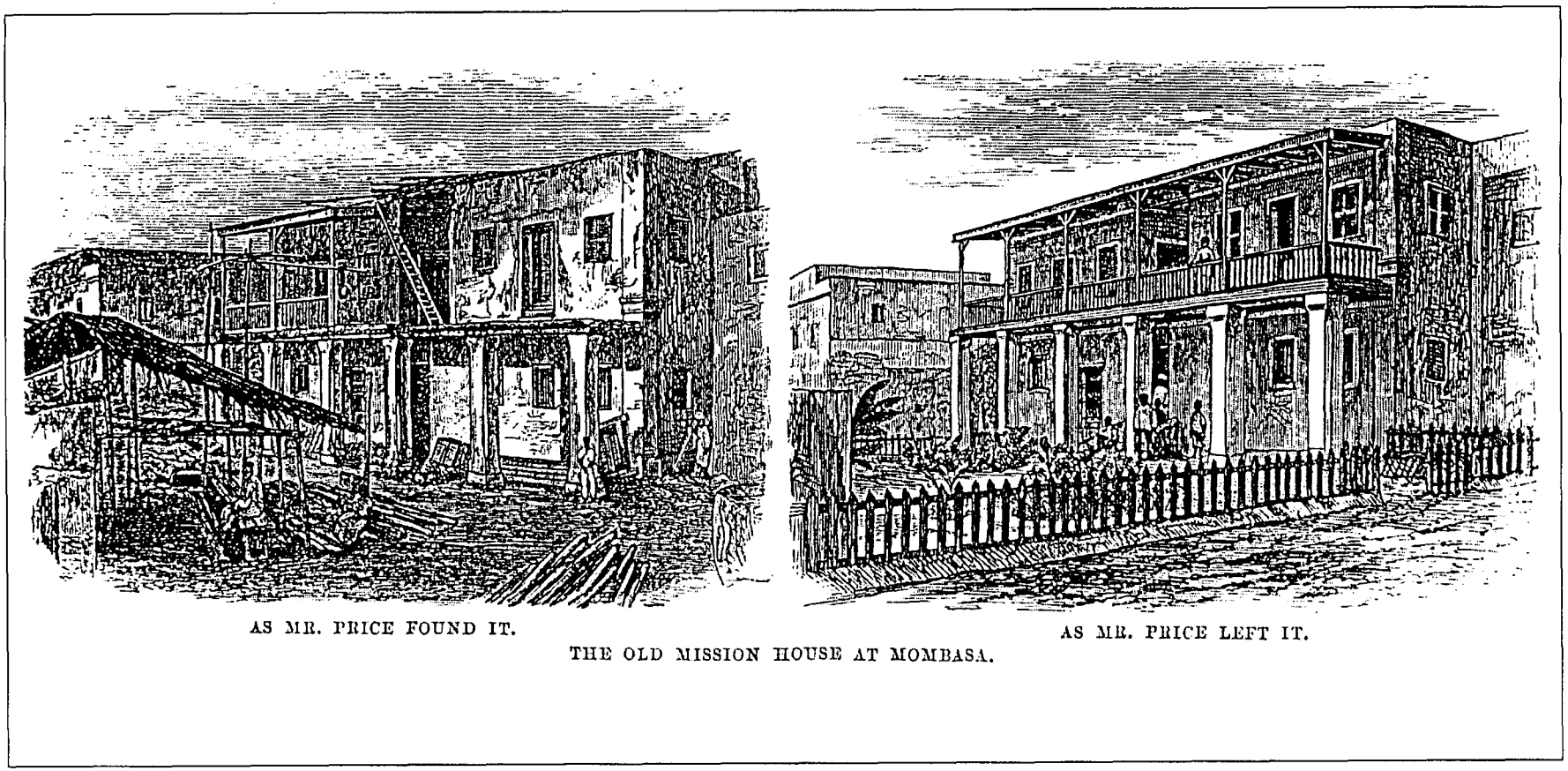


Figure 7: Leven House, Mombasa, before and after its restoration in 1875.
The Rev. W.S. Price undertook the restoration of 'the old mission house' with the aid of "skilled artizans from Bombay, under the direction of two English mechanics". These illustrations were first published in *The Church Missionary Gleaner*, April 1878.
(Source: Church Missionary Society Archive).

53-56) gives a lively account of an uncomfortable night spent at the hotel in 1904 battling bed-bugs, fleas and an army of ravenous mosquitoes. An earlier building that still retains a harbour view is the Mombasa Club (48), built in 1897, which served the expatriate community throughout the British colonial period (Foran, 1936, 223-225), and continues beyond its centenary to flourish as a multiracial, international social venue, occupying a prime site overlooking Fort Jesus and the entrance to the Old Harbour from the Indian Ocean.

Several buildings along Mbarak Hinawy Road are of interest for their connections with the early development of Mombasa as a European trading settlement, and for their modern role in the developing tourism economy of the Old Town. Many tourists who visit Fort Jesus also make a brief foray into the Old Town along Mbarak Hinawy Road or Ndia Kuu where numerous shops sell artefacts and souvenirs of varying style and quality. Arcaf House (46) is a modern construction on the site of a fine two-storey building occupied in the 1890s by William O'swald & Company. In contrast, a neighbouring building (43) on the east side of the road remains largely unaltered since the time when it was occupied from 1903 by Thomas Hulton & Sons, general merchants and safari agents.

6.5 Fort Jesus

At the southern end of the Old Town's urban waterfront zone stands Fort Jesus (49), first completed by the Portuguese in 1596 and today without doubt the principal historical monument not only of Mombasa but of Kenya as a whole. The fort stands on a site which must have been very carefully chosen by its original architect, João Batista Cairato, who arrived in 1593 with his Master of Works Gaspar Rodrigues under the command of Mateus Mendes de Vasconcelos. The central part of the fort occupies a coral ridge around which stone bastions and ramparts were constructed; on the harbour side, mid-channel rocks and shoals caused vessels to sail close to the fort, while sandy coves to the north and south provided fortified access. Given the considerable height of the fort above sea level, a flooded moat was impractical, but on the landward side great ditches were excavated in the rock to create a dry moat designed to render uninvited access extremely difficult.

Much has been written about the history and archaeology of the fort, notably by Boxer and Azevedo (1960) and Kirkman (1964, 1974), and a more recent study has drawn attention to the military design and functioning of the fort in comparison with other colonial forts around the Indian Ocean and elsewhere (Nelson, 1994). From the standpoint of modern urban conservation in the Old Town, however, the importance of Fort Jesus rests on the fact that it cannot be ignored by anyone with the slightest interest in the history of Mombasa or in the cultures of the East African coast. The sheer physical bulk of the fort is enormously

impressive, and it is not surprising that a visit to the fort is a standard item on the itinerary of a large number of tourists who visit Mombasa.

The fort is increasingly well-marketed towards this tourist clientèle by well-qualified staff who carefully balance the interests of conservation and those of revenue-earning activities; there is a good museum and a bookshop inside the fort; there are dramatic sound-and-light performances re-creating the history of the building, sometimes followed by candle-lit dinners amid the ruins, with waiters costumed as Portuguese warriors. An enterprising tourism organization might initiate visits to the fort by dhow, arriving at the watergate from the Old Harbour; and some tourism-related renewal of facilities in the Old Port might one day be attempted (Stimman, 1993; Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1992). There is also a flourishing Fort Jesus society (the Friends of Fort Jesus) which promotes continuing interest in cultural activities associated with the fort and with the wider context of Mombasa as a port city.

The Old Town urban waterfront as defined in this paper is a relatively small and restricted zone within the Conservation Area, and it is relevant to note a proposal to gazette the entire south-eastern Indian Ocean coastal zone of Mombasa Island between Fort Jesus and the Likoni Ferry (Fig. 5, inset) as a protected area. At present much of this zone comprises open green space in government ownership, including Government House and grounds. The gazetting of government-owned land does not necessarily deter speculative land development, but the acquisition of land titles by the National Museums of Kenya would provide a more reliable safeguard against inappropriate land use in this sensitive area.

7.0 ZANZIBAR

Within the United Republic of Tanzania, Zanzibar is highly distinctive as an historic town, as a group of small islands, and as a controversial component of a large but very poor modern country. Zanzibar has been trading with other places around the Indian Ocean – Arabia, Persia, India - for at least 1000 years, and in the 19th century the island became for a time East Africa's chief centre of trade and innovation. A central character in this process was Seyyid Said, ruler of Oman from 1806 to 1856, and founder of the Al-Busaidi dynasty which ruled Zanzibar until 1964. He consolidated his trading dominion to the south, and effectively transferred his court and capital to Zanzibar in 1840.

Said's initiatives in urban development, as in agricultural innovation (notably clove production), and his involvement in the slave trade, attracted increasing interest from India, Europe and North America, so that by the later 19th century Zanzibar had become a politico-economic focus *sans pareil* on the East African coast, the western shore of the Indian Ocean,

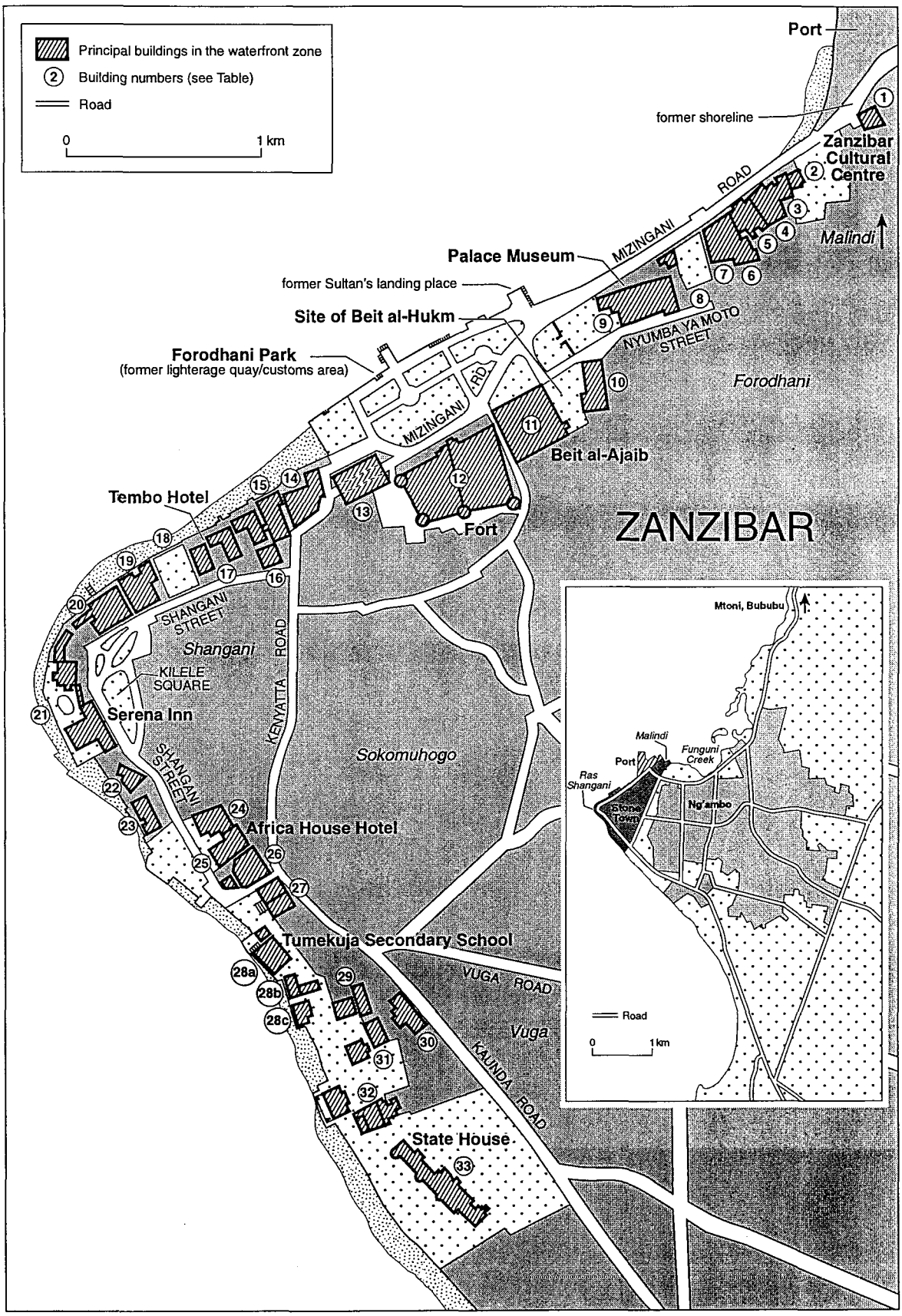


Figure 8: The waterfront of Zanzibar Stone Town

facilitating multifaceted interaction between African and non-African worlds. The link with Oman was broken in 1860 when Zanzibar became a separate sultanate, and a British protectorate was established in 1890. Zanzibar achieved independence in 1963 but in 1964 a violent revolution ousted the Arab-dominated government and led to union with Tanganyika to form the united republic of Tanzania. Zanzibar continues, however, to guard its autonomy, and in some respects the union remains fragile. The international clove market has collapsed, and international cultural tourism is reviving rapidly but is not universally welcomed in a conservative Muslim society.

The evolution of Zanzibar's Stone Town waterfront is difficult to trace in great detail, as the earliest records are often obscure and because many buildings have changed in appearance, ownership and function while some have been replaced or demolished. Generally, however, the main outlines are reasonably clear and it is possible to identify a series of phases in the development of the town's maritime façade from the pre-Omani period to the present day. The waterfront has presented a well-known image since it was recorded in some detail by Guillain (1856) and Burton (1860 and 1872), among others. Approaching the town from the sea, Burton recorded that "Now we could distinguish the normal straight line of Arab town, extending about a mile and a half in length, facing north, and standing out in bold relief, from the varied tints and the grandeur of forest that lay behind. A Puritanical plainness characterized the scene – cathedrals without the graceful minarets of Jeddah, mosques without the cloisters of Cairo, turrets without the domes and monuments of Syria; and the straight still sky-line was unrelieved except by a few straggling palms. In the centre, and commanding the anchorage, was a square-curtained artless fort, conspicuous withal, and fronted by a still more contemptible battery. To its right and left the Imam's palace, the various Consulates, and the large parallelogrammic buildings of the great, a tabular line of flat roofs, glaring and dazzling like freshly whitewashed sepulchures, detatched themselves from the mass, and did their best to conceal the dingy matted hovels of the inner town. Zanzibar city, to become either picturesque or pleasing, must be viewed, like Stambul, from afar" (Burton, 1872, II, 33-34).

Later on, Elton (1879) also gave it as his opinion that Zanzibar "like all port towns was best to be admired from a distance". Burton's *The Lake Regions of Central Africa* (1860) contains a frontispiece view of the waterfront which shows a variety of Arab palaces, local sailing vessels and foreign trading houses putting out their diverse flags; and his two-volume *Zanzibar: City, Island and Coast* (1872), which includes another such view (facing p. 144) is an unparalleled mine of information on the character and condition of the growing port town

and its socio-economic and political system. Numerous later writers (*e.g.* Lyne, 1905; Playne, 1909; Pearce, 1920; Ingrams, 1931; Gray, 1962 and 1963; Martin, 1978; Sheriff, 1987, 1995a and b; Sheriff and Ferguson, 1991) have underlined, updated, elucidated and re-interpreted the ever-fascinating complexities involved.

Seyyid Said encouraged the development not only a new port – utilising various points along the sandy shore of the Shangani peninsula for the transhipment of goods - and a new town in which, unusually for Zanzibar, most houses were built of stone, but also encouraged a web of caravan routes far into the interior of the continent, even occasionally as far as the Atlantic shore (Anon., 1854), linking the trading activities of inland Africans, coastal Swahili, Indian immigrants and the Omanis themselves. Imports from overseas were increasingly diverse, and the most lucrative export commodities, among many others in this trading system, were ivory and slaves. In *The Scramble for Africa* (1991) Thomas Pakenham describes how "Down to the coast and the great central market of Zanzibar came strings of porters carrying on their heads the tusks of ivory ... and up country they returned carrying Manchester or Bombay cloth, Birmingham brass and Sheffield knives". The most important external factors encouraging commercial growth were European and American interests in Zanzibar as a trading emporium and as a political foothold.

Despite Pearce's curious claim that "It must be confessed that Zanzibar possesses no building of interest" (Pearce, 1920, 199), today much remains of very considerable interest from that critical second half of the 19th century. Figure 8 highlights the waterfront zone of the triangular 'Stone Town'. Some of the individual buildings along this waterfront are not only very interesting and historically significant, but also provide elements within a generally attractive waterfront complex and an urban fabric of enormous cultural value as well as tourism potential. Some additional details are presented in Table 4. The Stone Town stands on a triangular promontory culminating in Ras Shangani (Fig. 8 inset). In the early 19th century the tip of this promontory was virtually an island, separated from the more easterly parts of the peninsula (*Ng'ambo*, 'on the other side') by a shallow creek, mostly now infilled (Hoyle, 1983, 46-8).

For about 100 years, from the later 18th to the later 19th century, the waterfront at Zanzibar was developed as the prosperous maritime façade of the growing Arab trading town. Dominated first by the Fort (12), then by the palaces of the rulers and the mansions of the landowners "with their beautifully carved wooden doors exhibiting modest riches and subdued elegance" (Sheriff, 1995a, 2-3; see also Aldrick, 1990), culminating in Sultan Barghash's Beit al-Ajaib (11) as an expression of new building techniques, the established

Table 4: The Zanzibar waterfront: building characteristics

No	*Plot*	*Date*	*Building/function*	*R*	*S*	*B*	*C*
1		1894	Zanzibar Cultural Centre (former Ithna'sheri Dispensary)	T	3	B	R 1997
2			Residential	Mb	3	B	P
3			State Fuel & Power Corporation	F/T	3	-	G
4			Commercial/residential (former Port Office)	Mb	4	B	A
5	0577		Former Customs Office (partly renovated)	Mb	3	-	C
6	0576		Residential	F	3	-	P
7	0575		Residential	F	3	-	P
8			Makusurani Graveyard	-	-	-	G
9		1828	Palace Museum (former Sultan's Palace)	F	3	B	R 1997
10			Stone Town Conservation Office (former Beit al-Hukm)	F	3	-	A
11		1883	Beit al-Ajaib (scheduled for renovation)	Mb	4	B	D
12		1780	Fort (renovated with amphitheatre, shops)	T/F	1	-	R
13			Ministry of Social Welfare (Former Orphanage)	Mb	2	-	P
14	128 128a		Residential Lookmanjee Arts & Antiques	Mb Mb	3 2	- -	G A
15	0048	 1840	Zanzibar Ports Corporation (former 1st British Consulate)	Mb	3	B	P
16	0052		Ministry of Water etc	Mb	3	-	A
17	0045 0046 0047	1895	Tembo Hotel (former Tembo House: Cowasjee Dinshaw)	T	3	B	R 1995
18			Vacant plot (with new wall)				
19	0043	 1951	Starehe Club (former Zanzibar Sailing Club)	Mb	1	-	P
20		1850	Office of the Registrar General (Mambo Msiige building)	T/Mb		B	A
21	0041 0042	1997 1921	Serena Inn (former Extelcoms Building) (former Chinese Doctor's House)	F/T	3	B	R 1997
22			Residential	Mb	3	B	A
23			Residential (former Judges' Lodgings)	T	2	B	A
24	0030		Residential, restaurant, garden	Mb	1	-	A
25	0029	1890	Africa House Hotel (former English Club)	Mb	4	B	P
26	0028		Tanzania Housing Bank	Mb	4	B	A
27	0027a & b		Ministry of Information, Culture, Tourism & Youth	Mb	3	B	A
28a 28b 28c		1866 1892	Tumekuja Secondary School (main building) Partly disused/roofless school building School building	Mb (Mb) Mb	3 3 2	B	P P/D D
29			Attorney General's Chambers (new roof)	T	3	B	G
30			High Court	T	3	B	G
31			Egyptian Embassy (former German Consulate)(new roof)	T	3	B	G
32	0012 0010		Ministry of Planning & Finance (former Chinese Consulate)	Mb	3	B	G
33			State House (former British Residency)	T	3	B	G

Key

No	=	Number of plot / building as shown on map				C	=	Condition:	R = restored (date)
R	=	Roof	Mb	*mabati* (corrugated iron)					G = good
			T	tiles					A = adequate
			F	flat					P = poor
S	=	number of storeys							D = derelict
B	=	Balcony or verandah on one or more levels, sometimes enclosed							C = construction in progress

late 19th-century waterfront was substantially affected by two significant events. The first of these was the bombardment of the palace complex in 1896 by British forces, provoked by a disagreement between the colonial administration and Sultan Barghash's son Khalid who, with German support, unsuccessfully tried to seize the throne. The second was the development of new port facilities in the 1920s on reclaimed land to the north of the Stone Town, designed to replace a lighterage quay (known as the *Forodhani* or Customs Quay) begun in 1892 (Hoyle, 1983, 113-4).

7.1 Planning the Stone Town waterfront

The waterfront was a major element in early planning schemes introduced under the British administration. In 1923 Henry Vaughan Lanchester designed several rather grand waterfront projects that were never realised - including a central hotel, a post and telegraph office, and shipping offices – as part of his plan intended to apply corrective improvements to the fabric of Zanzibar town (Lanchester, 1923; Siravo, 1996, 53-55). Although enormous infrastructural improvements were made during the British period the essential attitude of the protectorate administration towards urban planning was one of general *laissez-faire* and piecemeal building development and improvement. A later plan introduced in 1958 was especially concerned with road transport problems in and around the Stone Town, including a seafront promenade and road around the tip of Shangani Point (Kendall and Mill, 1958; cited in Siravo, 1996, 55-56).

The 1964 revolution introduced physical and socio-economic changes and the Stone Town began a steady course of decline and deterioration. The replacement of many urban owners and occupants by rural families, who did not identify with urban traditions and had neither the interest nor the means to maintain old stone houses, led to a period of neglect and collapse when the Stone Town seemed to be on the verge of extinction. An East German plan drawn up after the 1964 revolution recognised the need to maintain Stone Town buildings for appropriate uses but was more concerned with the rapid transformation of Ng'ambo as population growth necessitated housing developments there. Similarly, the so-called Chinese Masterplan, which was drawn up in 1980-82 and still forms the legal basis for urban planning in Zanzibar, proposed somewhat unrealistically that government functions be removed from the historic area and vacated buildings converted for tourist use. In 1979 six historic structures were gazetted; in 1985 the Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority (STCDA) was created as an outcome of a detailed study made in 1982 by the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (UNCHS/Habitat); and in 1988 the Stone Town was gazetted as a conservation area by the Ministry of Water, Construction, Energy,

Lands and Environment. In the 1990s there was substantial renewed interest in the conservation of the Stone Town on the part of government and international aid organizations, and this has led to the renovation and adaptive re-use of several waterfont buildings.

A further detailed field survey of the Stone Town was conducted in 1992 by the Historic Cities Support Programme of the Aga Khan Trust for Culture (Siravo, 1996) as a basis for a conservation plan (Zanzibar Government, 1992) approved by the Zanzibar authorities in 1994 (Zanzibar Government, 1994). These outcomes reflect, for the first time, a close focus of planning attention on the Stone Town and within that on the special character and potential of the waterfront. Considerable progress has thus been made, but in legal and inter-institutional terms many difficulties remain. "Confusion, duplication and a lack of coordination between different branches of the administration have often hampered efforts in the historic area" (Siravo, 1996, 111). The 1994 plan identifies a 'seafront action area' – between the Zanzibar Cultural Centre (1) and the Orphanage (13) – as "the most visible and significant public open space in the town", which during the 20th century "acquired more and more social and recreational significance" (Siravo, 1996, 139).

7.2 The Stone Town Cultural Centre and the northern waterfront

Because the new port facilities, opened in 1929, radically altered the shape of the northern section of the waterfront, several old Omani houses along the original shoreline in the Malindi quarter were demolished after losing their waterfront location and finding themselves obscured from view behind the enlarged and relocated facilities. In the late 1990s, however, the most spectacular of these houses was renovated. Today at the northern end of the urban waterfront zone, on the margin of the Malindi and Forodhani quarters (Fig. 8), there stands the Stone Town Cultural Centre (1), formerly known as the Old or Ithna'sheri Dispensary.

This remarkable building originated in 1887, when one of the richest merchants in Zanzibar, Tharia Topan, laid the foundation stone for his Jubilee Hospital to celebrate Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee. "Grandiose even today, with its plaster mouldings and carved multi-storied wooden balconies, it still dominates the northern section of the waterfront. The design ... was based on Anglo-Indian motifs, and the craftsmen and the timber were imported directly from India" (Siravo, 1996, 19-20). Topan was a personal adviser to Sultan Barghash, and accompanied him on his state visit to London in 1872. Battle (1995, 91) has suggested that, in the context of the politics and rapid socio-economic changes of the later 19th century, "the building functioned first as a gesture, a statement, significant in the wider context of the politics and power struggles of the day, and ... its utilitarian role came second". Completed

Figure 9: Zanzibar waterfront in 1857
Comparison with a watercolour of the Zanzibar waterfront painted *ca.* 1845 by an American visitor (reproduced in Siravo, 1996, 15) shows substantial growth in the intervening years. Identifiable buildings include the Fort (12), the Beit al-Sahel (9) and the Beit al-Hukm (10). Flags flying above various foreign trading houses (including the British consulate) are also shown.
(Source, Burton, R.F., *The Lake Regions of Central Africa,* 1860).

by Topan's widow in 1894, this somewhat ostentatious building never opened as a hospital due to a shortage of funds, but it served for many years as a dispensary and as an apartment house.

The 1964 revolution caused the occupants to flee; the building fell into disuse, and by the 1980s it was in a very dilapidated state. However, with the coming of more liberal Zanzibar Government policies, the Aga Khan Trust for Culture was able to undertake the restoration of the building under its Historic Cities Support Programme and a contract was signed in 1994, exactly 100 years after the building's first completion (Bianca, 1997). Re-opened in 1997, the Old Dispensary has become the Stone Town Cultural Centre, magnificently restored and a wonderful symbol of the renaissance of Zanzibar. The planned reorganization of the nearby port area (with EU funding), and the proposed removal of the University of Dar es Salaam's Marine Sciences Institute to an alternative site, may eventually enhance the impact of this remarkable building by restoring to some extent its waterfront location and outlook.

The waterfront zone between the Cultural Centre (1) and the Palace Museum (9), in the Forodhani quarter of the town, is lined by a series of massive but simple Arab houses built from the 1840s onwards by prosperous landowners and merchants often from families related to the Sultan. Behind the waterfront in the Forodhani quarter there lies a labyrinth of bazaars where once the Arab and Indian merchants lived and traded. Most of these waterfront buildings are today in public ownership, used as government offices, and listed as Grade II buildings in the 1994 plan. The waterfront Mizingani Road (Fig. 8) was never planned for pedestrian use and has no walkway or formal edge. The seawall is in a serious state of disrepair and its planned rehabilitation should include a waterfront promenade. A large Omani mansion in this northern waterfront zone, built close to the Sultan's palace by an Arab landowner with royal connections, became the Customs House (5) in 1928, shortly before the opening of the artificial port extensions and the consequent removal of the transit sheds which stood in front of the Fort (12) from the 1890s. This group of buildings (4-7) also housed the short-lived late-19th century Hotel de l'Afrique, a girls' secondary school, and government offices. UNESCO funding has been made available to support the renovation of the Customs House as a centre for conservation, including a restoration training course and a materials conservation laboratory.

7.3 The central waterfront: the Palace Museum, the Beit al-Ajaib and the Old Fort

Construction of a palace on the site of the present-day Palace Museum (9), now one of the principal buildings on the waterfront, began in 1828 during Seyyid Said's first visit to Zanzibar and continued in the 1840s after he took up permanent residence on the island. It

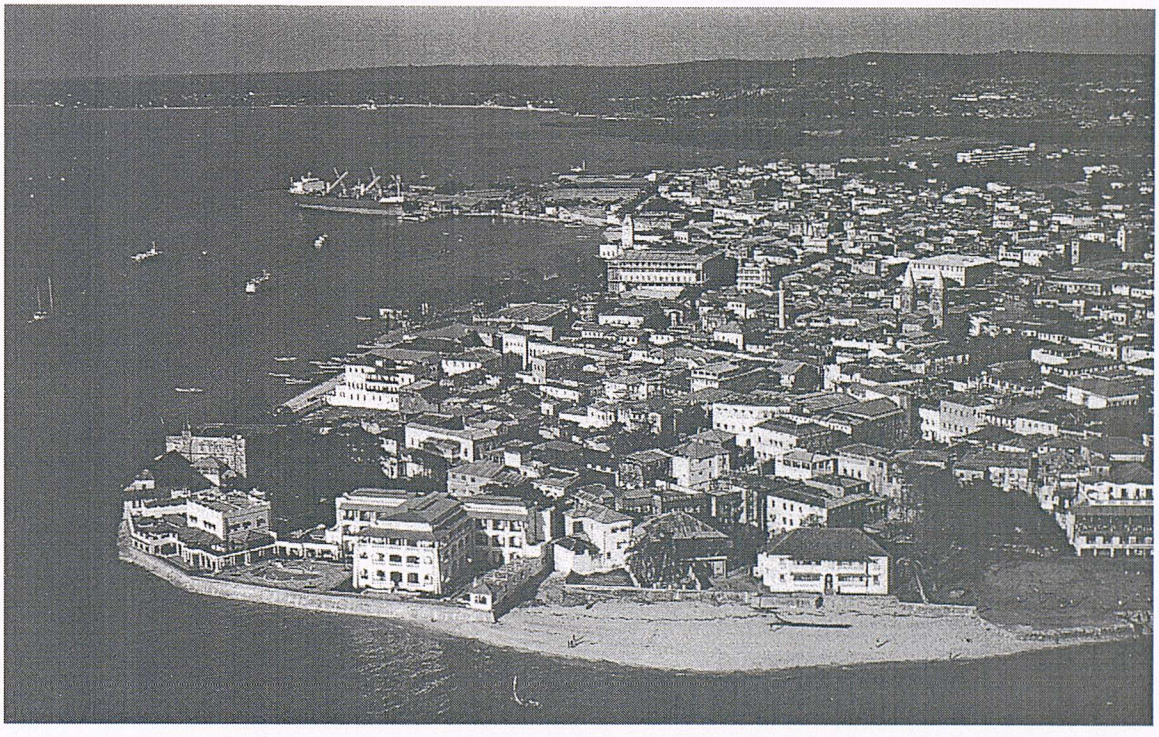
was known in the 19th century as the Beit al-Sahel, the palace by the shore (in contradistinction to a larger palace at Mtoni and various other 'palaces' built by the Sultan). Said's daughter Salme included in her autobiography a detailed account of life inside the palace in the 1850s and 60s (Ruete, 1989, pp 25-40); and Burton (1872, I, 256-261) described the palace and his reception by Seyyid Majid. Subsequently the building has undergone many changes including partial destruction in the 1896 bombardment. During the British period when administrative control was firmly in the hands of the Resident whose headquarters were ultimately located in the building now known as State House (33), it was in and from this waterfront palace that the Sultan "retained the dignity and façade of an Arab state" (Sheriff, 1995, 11)

The palace complex was once considerably more extensive and included the Beit al-Hukm, built between 1832 and 1856 principally to accommodate the Sultan's harem, and which stood adjacent to the Beit al-Ajaib (11) prior to the 1896 bombardment. Buildings in the pre-1896 palace complex were linked by *wikios*, covered passages conveniently connecting the private apartments above street level and which permitted royal ladies to move about without being seen (Sheriff, 1995). The site of the Beit al-Hukm lies between the Beit al-Ajaib (11) and the building now occupied by the Stone Town Conservation Office (10) which may also have formed part of the palace complex. The renovated, post-1896 palace served until 1964 as the principal residence of the Al-Busaidi sultans of Zanzibar, notably during the long reign of Seyyid Khalifa bin Harub (1911-60) when a new façade was added and a garden developed on the site of the southwestern part of the pre-1896 structure. Immediately north-east of the Palace lies the Makusurani graveyard (8) (Issa, 1995, 70) where most of the Al-Busaidi sultans are buried, including Seyyid Said who died in 1856 at sea while returning from Oman to Zanzibar.

Today the building has been renamed 'The Palace Museum' (9). One of the gateposts is sinking, but the building is generally in good order and contains, remarkably, a considerable quantity of furniture, paintings and other artefacts from the pre-revolutionary period. The principal rooms in the oldest part of the building, the central block around the staircase, are open to the public, and from the balcony there is a fine view of the harbour and the waterfront. Displays recall the British Protectorate, the sequence of Arab Sultans and their varied achievements as well as their taste in furniture from 19th-century Arab designs to those of the 1930s Art Deco period and the functionalism of the 1950s. Of particular interest to many visitors is a room devoted to the story of Seyyida Salme, *alias* Emily Ruete, one of the younger daughters of Sultan Seyyid Said and half-sister of his successors Seyyid Majid and

Figure 10: Zanzibar waterfront in 1997

The northern waterfront between the banyan tree (next to building 2) and the old orphanage (13) includes the Old Fort ((12) and the Beit al-Ajaib (11) (centre) and the Palace Museum ((9) and graveyard (8). Forodhani Park, redesigned as Jubilee Gardens in the 1930s, occupies the area developed in the 1890s as a lighterage port and later used as the terminus of the Bububu railway. Note the triangular artificial port area opened in 1929.
(Reproduced by permission of Javed Jafferji)



Near the tip Ras Shangani stands the dark bulk of Mambo Msiige (20). To the north the white walls of the Tembo Hotel (17) stand out, while to the south the Serena Inn (21) has been developed from the former Extelcoms Building. Also visible are the former Judges' Lodgings (23) and the Africa House Hotel (25), which was the English Club during the British protectorate. This photograph was taken in 1997, the year in which the Serena Hotel was opened.
(Reproduced by permission of Javed Jafferji)

Seyyid Barghash. Born in 1840, she eloped in 1866 and married her lover Heinrich Ruete, a German trader working in Zanzibar, and after his early death in Hamburg she lived as a widow in Germany for many years, with three children, returning only once to Zanzibar in 1885. In her later years she wrote a remarkable account of her early life in Zanzibar – the harem, the palaces, the coming of Europeans, slavery, court intrigues, parties, family rows, social customs and much else; her book, translated from the German, gives remarkable and unique insights into life in Zanzibar's ruling family in the mid-19th century (Ruete, 1989).[4]

Seyyid Said's immediate successor, his son Sultan Majid, who reigned from 1856 to 1870, seems to have had little impact on the development of the Zanzibar waterfront, although in 1866-70 he was much concerned with the early development of a new port and town at Dar es Salaam. Sultan Barghash, in contrast, was in a Zanzibari context a great builder, having seen something of the opulence of the Raj during his exile in Bombay in the 1860s and having also witnessed modern amenities in England in 1872. During his reign (1870-88) he refurbished older palaces and introduced electricity and piped water supplies to Zanzibar town. His principal contribution to the architecture of the waterfront was the Beit al-Ajaib or House of Wonders (11), designed by a Scottish naval engineer and completed in 1883 as a ceremonial palace with an imposing free-standing tower in front. Repairs after the bombardment of 1896 included the addition of a new tower to the roof, incorporating the clock from the earlier lighthouse tower.

Under the British Protectorate the House of Wonders became the Secretariat, but after the 1964 revolution the building fell into a state of disrepair from which it has not yet recovered. The name of the building – with four storeys and wide verandahs supported by cast iron columns - is often said to derive from the fact that it was the first in East Africa to be provided with electricity, but may also be associated with the fact that in India, as Barghash must have known, a museum was often called a 'house of wonder' (Morris, 1994, 83-7). Its design reflected the development of prefabricated cast iron building elements and techniques - columns, beams and balustrades - in England during the 1840s and 1850s, but also incorporated elements of classical and Arab architecture including large carved wooden doors common in Zanzibar and elsewhere on the East African coast (Aldrick, 1990). Martin (1978, pp 9-10) described a visit to the interior of the building in 1975. In 1997 the interior still contained some splendid rooms and a grand staircase, dilapidated and dusty after years of neglect, and an Otis lift which it is said could be restored to working order. The central court contained several wrecked motor cars including a 1960s Ford Zephyr which belonged to Sheikh Abeid Karume (independent Zanzibar's first President, who was assassinated in

1972), in stark contrast to the Sultan's red Rolls Royce which stood outside the Palace in 1961. The wide, upper balconies, although clearly in need of renovation, provide panoramic views of the town and harbour (Fig. 10A).

On the basis of careful assessments and imaginative proposals, it is intended to redevelop the Beit al-Ajaib as a Museum of History and Culture, a focal point in the government's strategy of encouraging interactive learning within local communities and the promotion of cultural tourism. The 'house of wonders' is an undeniably evocative phrase; some have thought that architecturally it has no merit (Pearce, 1920, 199), but this is not the opinion of modern conservation authorities. The challenge is to create displays, facilities and services within this remarkable building so as to create an international centre of excellence worthy of the expectation created by its name (Mack and Hudson, 1994). The installation of a camera obscura in the tower has been proposed as a focus for audiovisual presentations of the history and character of the town. Financial support for the renovation of the building was to have been made available by the European Union, but as with other current projects political difficulties have caused some delay.

Immediately behind the Customs Quay (1892-1929), next to the Beit al-Ajaib, stands the Old Fort (12) built in the 18th century by the Omanis on the site of an earlier fortification (and a small Portuguese chapel) and similar in design and date to forts built in Lamu and Siyu (Fig. 2 inset) to consolidate their hold on the coastal region. Used as a garrison and then as a prison in the 19th century, and with a bustling market around its walls, the Fort was used in the British period partly for customs purposes and partly as the main depot and workshops for a railway built in 1904-05 by Arnold Cheney & Company, an American firm, from the town terminus in front of the Beit al-Ajaib along the waterfront past the Sultan's Palace and thence via Mtoni to Bububu, a village near the coast seven miles north of Zanzibar town.

Advertised in contemporary travel guides as a tourist attraction, the railway carried passengers and goods to and from the town for over 20 years but received a mixed reception from local people and was closed in 1927 as a result of increasing competition from motor traffic (Patience, 1995). It is said that taxi drivers deliberately mustered at the times trains were due to leave and took prospective passengers away.[5] The railway workshop in the Fort was removed and a new gateway built over the access line from the waterfront. A few traces of the railway embankments can still be seen near Mtoni and Bububu but no longer on the Zanzibar waterfront. EU funding has facilitated recent renovation of the Fort which now contains a large open-air auditorium and several retail outlets.

In front of the Fort, the Jubilee Gardens (today known as Forodhani Park) were laid out (on the site of the Customs sheds and offices removed after 1929) to commemorate the Silver Jubilees of King George V in 1935 and Sultan Khalifa in 1936 (Fig. 10A). The park is a popular location, for local people and for visitors, especially in the early evening; but the recent informal proliferation of stalls selling foodstuffs and miscellaneous artefacts, while enlivening the waterfront scene, has led to environmental degradation (Siravo, 1996, 142-5) although not yet on the scale seen at Dar es Salaam. The lighterage wharf, and its continuation north-eastwards as a sea-wall, is now in relatively poor condition, and some of the landing places with steps leading down to the water are dilapidated. EU funding has been sought to rehabilitate the waterfront as a roadway and as a pedestrian walkway.

7.4 Ras Shangani: Tembo Hotel, Mambo Msiige and the first British Consulate

Between Forodhani Park and Ras Shangani several interesting buildings are located along what must have been in the early 19th century a very desirable and functionally convenient waterfront location for prosperous Arab merchants and landowners. Tembo House ('Nyumba Tembo', the house of the elephant, constructed in 1885 on the site of an older Arab house) was the commercial/residential premises of traders Cowasjee Dinshaw & Brothers until 1965 when the building was confiscated by the revolutionary government. Together with an adjacent building it has been converted into the Tembo Hotel (17), opened in 1995.[6]

Other buildings in this zone are used for residential, commercial or government purposes (14, 16). In 1997 one substantial plot (18) was vacant, but surrounded by a new wall. The Zanzibar Sailing Club, built in 1951, became the Starehe Club (19) in 1966. On the northern side of the recently renovated Kilele Square stands a substantial house known as Mambo Msiige ('the inimitable') now partly restored as the Office of the Registrar General (20). Built in 1847-50 by Salim bin Bushir al-Harthi, this building was occupied by the Universities Mission to Central Africa (UMCA) in the early 1870s. A room at the top of the building was reputedly converted for the use of H.M. Stanley when preparing his expedition to find Dr Livingstone in 1871. Later, Mambo Msiige housed the British Consulate from 1875 to 1913, and served as a European hospital from 1918 to 1924.

In this zone a building first constructed on the waterfront as a substantial Arab house, and today used as government offices (15), was the first British Consulate in Zanzibar, from 1841 to 1874, and thus a focus of much political and trading activity during a critical period in the political and socio-economic development of Zanzibar (Fig. 11). Initially rented in 1840 from Sultan Seyyid Said, the year in which Zanzibar effectively became capital of the Omani realm and Said's permanent residence, the building required substantial structural improvements

when it housed the first British Consul, Atkins Hamerton. At that time various consulates with water frontages imported goods over their own beaches as their titles included foreshore freehold. A succession of British Consuls – most notably Christopher Palmer Rigby – served between 1858 and 1868 after which Dr (later Sir) John Kirk became effectively resident British mentor in the last years of Majid's reign and continued to serve as Agent and Consul-General, later Resident, during that of his successor Sultan Barghash. Close collaboration between Kirk and Barghash led in 1873 to a treaty prohibiting the export of slaves, and the closure of all public slave markets.

In the mid-19th century Zanzibar was not only a growing centre of transit trade and commercial agriculture but also a focus of considerable political activity and intrigue as European powers scrambled for position in the great game of opening up the African interior. Britain became the dominant external power involved in this process, partly as a result of efforts to contain the slave trade and to abolish slavery. The British Consul, in this building, provided for the needs of European travellers who made their way to or from the East African interior. Several of those whose names are now inscribed around the walls of the Royal Geographical Society lecture theatre in London – Burton, Speke, Grant, Livingstone, Stanley – stayed in this building; and from the roof terrace, in 1860, James Grant took the very first photographs (now in the RGS archives) of the Zanzibar waterfront and of the nearby slave market (see also an illustration in Burton, 1872, II, facing p. 256). It was here, too, in 1874, that David Livingstone's body rested on its long journey from the East African interior, via Suez and Southampton, to the burial in Westminster Abbey.

This remarkable and important building was severely damaged in the hurricane of 1872 but was subsequently restored. Elton recorded that 'shortly after' the hurricane this building became the Vice-Consulate, a large house previously used by the Universities' Mission to Central Africa (UMCA) being purchased for the Agency and Consulate-General (Elton, 1879, 35). This was Mambo Msiige (20). Some account of the history of the old consulate has been given by Crofton (1935). There is evidence that substantial reconstruction, particularly of the waterfront façade, was completed in 1890. Lyne (1905, facing p. 212) includes a photograph, taken from the sea, showing the old and new consulate buildings.

For many years up to the early 1960s the old consulate was used by Smith, Mackenzie & Co., the shipping company, and in 1961 it was in excellent condition with ground- and first-floor floor offices and living quarters above. In 1969 the building was still owned by Smith, Mackenzie & Co. but partly occupied by the African Wharfage Company. Later the building was occupied by the Zanzibar State Trading Corporation and the Zanzibar Wharfage

Figure 11: The Old British Consulate at Zanzibar
Now used as government offices, this building (15) (which stands next to the renovated Tembo Hotel) (17) housed the first British consulate in Zanzibar between 1841 and 1874 and is closely associated with European explorers including Livingstone. Used for many years by the Smith Mackenzie shipping company, the old consulate is in dire need of renovation. Note the narrow beach used (like those in front of other foreign consulates) for importing and exporting goods. This photograph was taken by the author in 1997.

Company which were amalgamated in 1997 as the Zanzibar Ports Corporation whose main offices are in the port area. Sometimes still referred to as the Mackenzie Building, the old consulate has again become very dilapidated, and deserves restoration. Essentially functional, it may not have the elaborate design qualities of the Old Dispensary, but it could usefully be rehabilitated as a small hotel, a cultural centre or a museum of the British connection, so critical to Zanzibar's development over more than a century.

7.5 The Serena Inn and the southern waterfront

In complete contrast, one of the most agreeable places to stay in Zanzibar today is the Serena Inn (21), opened in 1997 on the tip of Shangani Point (Fig. 10B). This modern hotel has been developed largely from the East African Telegraph Company (Extelcoms) Building which in the British period was a major hub in the undersea telegraphic cable network that circled the globe in the days before modern telephones, e-mail and the internet. A cable and wireless station was opened here in 1921, and the present building was first constructed by the Eastern Telegraph Company, later the Eastern and South African Telegraph Company Ltd. After 1945 the Cable and Wireless company became involved. An adjacent building known as the Chinese doctor's house, where Dr Livingstone once stayed in the 1860s, has been incorporated into the sensitive restoration of the building group as an hotel complex, at great expense, by the Aga Khan's Historic Cities Support Programme, with the help of the Cable and Wireless company. Old brass telecommunications equipment discovered in the basement is now displayed in the foyer. Between the buildings there is an attractive swimming pool.

South of Ras Shangani, between the Serena Inn (21) and State House (33), a variety of buildings occupy the southwest-facing waterfront. Many are substantial properties, and most originated as the private residences of Arab landowners and traders in the 19th century. Several remain in residential use, having been subdivided: these include the former Judge's Lodgings (23), a short walk from the High Court (30), and neighbouring buildings on either side (22, 24). The Africa House Hotel (25), now but a shadow of its former self, functions as a modest hostelry with a popular terrace bar. Formerly the English Club, the building was a significant social focus until the coming of political independence; as a postcard dated 1903 displayed in the Serena Inn (21) states, "les Anglais savent partout s'installer avec luxe et confort, à Zanzibar comme ailleurs." The Italian marble stairs remain, but the billiard table has gone. The former club library, now not normally open to visitors, still contains a substantial number of books from the British period, although large numbers of books bearing the club stamp can also be found in Stone Town antique shops. On the walls of the former dining room there is a series of remarkable framed photographs of Zanzibar scenes

and characters taken in the 1950s by Fergus Wilson, Director of Agriculture and later Professor of Agriculture at Makerere University College, Uganda.

Further south, the Tumekuja Secondary School (28) occupies several buildings some of which are in an appalling condition not untypical of many neglected premises in the Stone Town. The main building (28a) dates from 1866 when a French missionary, Abbé Fava, established a convent and school for Goans, Parsees, Indians and African girls; the façade facing the sea and the steps leading down to the beach are now in ruins. An adjacent waterfront building (28b) was built in 1890-92 as St Joseph's Mission, the only European hospital in Zanzibar until 1911. Used for a time as the Netherlands Consulate, the building was later incorporated into the school. The older, waterside part now has no roof because it blew off in a storm in 1988 and there is no money to repair it; on the landside there is a relatively adequate school hall built in 1956. Visitors are shown an underground cellar once used for keeping slaves in. Another school building (28c) is largely in ruins. St Joseph's Mission School was renamed Tumekuja School in 1964, and now provides secondary education for 850 boys and girls. In Swahili 'Tumekuja' means 'we are coming' (or possibly 'come and get involved') which is a good name for a school and perhaps an invitation to those who might finance the renovation of structures of immediate value to younger Zanzibaris.

There is a striking contrast in this part of the waterfront between these educational premises and several other buildings which house government offices including the Ministry of Information, Culture, Tourism and Youth (27) and the Ministry of Planning and Finance (32). Nearby are the Egyptian Embassy (31), the Tanzania Housing Bank (26) and the Attorney General's Chambers (29). All of these buildings are in good, or at least adequate, condition. Beyond, marking the end of the urban waterfront zone included in this account, lies State House (33), formerly the British Residency and now the official residence of the President of Zanzibar and Vice-President of Tanzania. Standing on the site of Mji Mpiya, a small 19th-century fishing community, this building was one of several in Zanzibar town designed by John H. Sinclair, an architect who first came to Zanzibar in 1896 as British Vice-Consul and became Chief Secretary and eventually Resident in 1922-24. Standing on the edge of the Stone Town, State House is the Zanzibar equivalent of the former Governor's residence (now also called State House) at Dar es Salaam, and of Government House at Mombasa.

In the later 1990s some difficulties arose between local authorities and some overseas donors involved or interested in helping Zanzibar to rehabilitate the urban waterfront and other elements of the Stone Town. The general election of October 1995 in which President Salmin

Amour and his party gained a narrow victory was controversial, and involved accusations of human rights violations and persecution of opposition Civil United Front members. In protest, Norway, Sweden and Denmark suspended indefinitely all aid to Zanzibar, and Finland followed suit in August 1997. Projects directly affected included proposed photogrammetric documentation of the Stone Town. The European Community and several other individual western countries including Britain and Germany are reviewing their positions on aid, unhappy with the political situation in Zanzibar and with the slow pace of economic reform.

8.0 DAR ES SALAAM

The modern cityport of Dar es Salaam originated in the early 1860s as an Arab settlement, close to the site of a Swahili village named Mzizima, when Sultan Majid of Zanzibar decided to try to exploit the commercial potential of the mainland harbour. He built a substantial palace towards the western end of the waterfront zone, but this fell into decay after his death in 1870; the site was later used by the German authorities for railway and port developments, and the stones provided material for later constructions elsewhere in the town. Dar es Salaam became the main military depot of German East Africa in the late 1880s, and in 1891 became the colonial seat of government. After World War I Tanganyika emerged as a League of Nations mandated territory under British control until independence came in 1961. Tanganyika became, with Zanzibar, the United Republic of Tanzania in 1964. Aspects of the development of Dar es Salaam as a city and port have been analysed by various authors (Gillman, 1945; Blij, 1963; Hoyle, 1983, 98-105; Mascarenhas, 1970; Sutton 1970; Hoyle and Charlier 1996). Casson (1970) provided a useful commentary on the architecture of the city.

The idea of an attractive waterfront facing onto the harbour was central to the original design and layout of the city, as conceived by its Arab founders and German planners, and as maintained during the British mandate, but does not seem to be part of the current urban culture. Throughout the greater part of the city's history, the harbour has formed the essential focal point, and port traffic the *raison d'être* of the cityport's existence. As cityports grow, however, there is normally a gradual separation of port-related and urban functions, as the latter become more complex and as the former serve more extensive hinterlands. This process is now happening at Dar es Salaam; as the urban economy develops new focal points away from the shoreline, the city begins to turn away from the sea and to regard the harbour as a backwater rather than as the front door it has traditionally been.

The layout of the Dar es Salaam urban waterfront, along the north shore of the harbour, is shown in Figure 12, and details of the principal waterfront buildings in this area are given in

Table 5. Buildings in the vicinity of the Railway Station, but not on the urban waterfront, are not included; but some account is given of major buildings (State House and the Ocean Road Hospital – see Fig. 12 inset) facing the Indian Ocean. Shown on a map dated 1891 as 'The Strand', the waterfront road was known later in the German period as Wilhelms Ufer and in the British period as Azania Front (Gillman, 1945). After political independence in 1961 it came to be known as Kivukoni Front. Like those at Mombasa, the harbour at Dar es Salaam is based on a drowned river valleys or *rias*, and along the northern shore the urban area stands on a series of raised coral reefs derived from Pleistocene changes in sea level (Hoyle, 1983, 41-3; Temple, 1970).

Casson remarks that "German architecture in Dar es Salaam, as elsewhere in Tanzania, seems to portray the heavy hand of German officialdom, modified in some cases by Islamic features and the use of simple materials such as corrugated iron for roofs. It was built to last in a solid manner befitting the administrative purposes of the new German Colonial Empire. Although these purposes were defeated by the 1914-18 war, the buildings, because of their solidity and coolness, coupled with the stringent economy practised during the period of the British Mandate, are still used largely for their original purposes" (Casson, 1970, 183). Today, the architecture of the Dar es Salaam urban waterfront is diversified by a number of modern buildings as well as by the adaptation, revitalization or neglect of those inherited from earlier eras in the city's growth.

The overall condition of the urban waterfront zone between the harbour's edge and Kivukoni Front is variable but generally poor. Focal points in terms of urban mobility and traffic generation are the Kigamboni Ferry and the Fish Market near the harbour entrance; and, closer to the city centre, the bus station. Both these sub-zones create substantial visual and noise pollution and create or exacerbate traffic circulation problems along the waterfront zone. Between these two points, the junction of Azikiwe Street and Kivukoni Front, marked by the New Africa Hotel (13), the War Memorial Gardens (12) and the Lutheran Church (14) is the key intersection point in terms of traffic and transport in this part of the city.

Concern has been shown in Dar es Salaam by local authorities and external observers at the demolition of older buildings that are part of the city's architectural heritage, and at the extent of financial corruption inherent in the urban expansion and development process now being experienced. The essential problem, as always, is how to fund the rehabilitation of older buildings when financial support for new buildings may be less difficult to obtain. Dar es Salaam is in danger of losing its unique identity for the sake of modernity, and is not yet doing enough to enhance the character of its urban heritage.

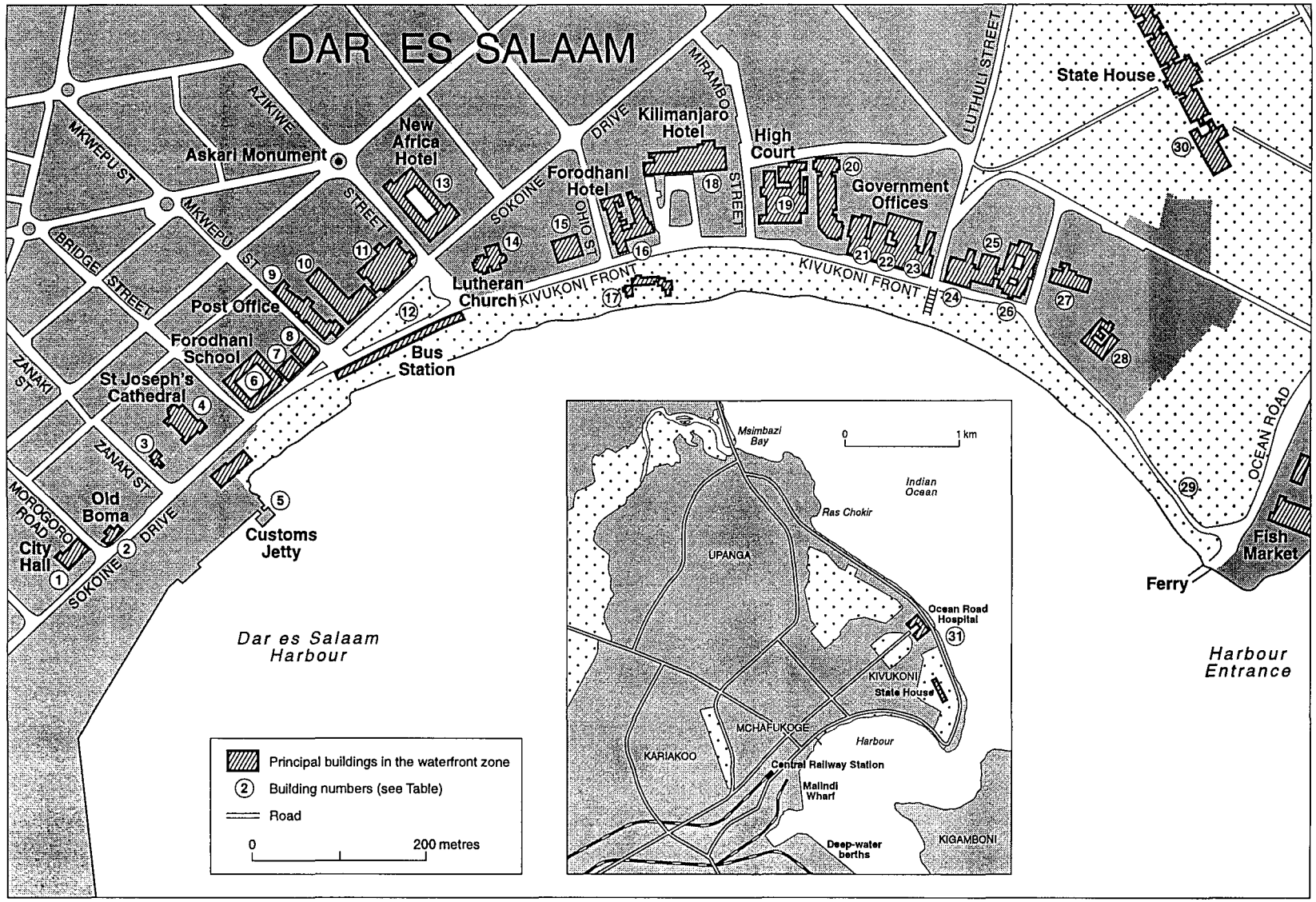


Figure 12: The urban waterfront of Dar es Salaam harbour

Table 5: The Dar es Salaam waterfront: building characteristics

No	*Date*	*Building/function*	*R*	*S*	*B*	*C*
1	1903	City Hall	Mk	5	B	G
2	1870s	Old Boma	F	3	-	R
3	1970s	Avalon House: National Housing Corporation and other offices	Mb	4	B	G
		Avalon Cinema		2	-	G
4	1902	St Joseph's RC Cathedral	T	-	-	G
	1953-55	Administration/residential	T	3	-	G
5	1880s	Customs and Jetty	T	1	-	A
6		Forodhani School:				
	1960s	modern block (secondary)	F	3	B	A
		older block (primary)	Mb	2	B	A
7	1880s	Atiman House (White Fathers)	F	2	B	A
8	1970s	Ministry of Water, Energy and Minerals	Mb	12	B	A
9	1880s	Post Office	Mb	3	B	P
10	1880s	Toyota International Motors Ltd, Karimjee offices on 1st floor	T	2	B	G
11	1970s	National Bank of Commerce	F	10	-	G
12	1927	Open space, gardens, war memorial 1914-18 and 1939-45	-	-	-	G
13	1997	New Africa Hotel	F	10		G
14	1901	Lutheran Church	T	-	-	G
	1992	Azania Front Cathedral Centre	T	2	-	G
	1970s	Luther House and Centre		7	-	A
15	1970s	National Development Corporation	F	7	-	G
16	1880s	Forodhani Hotel: Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism	T	3	B	G
17		Police Station (Marine)	Mb	1	-	A
18	1965	Kilimanjaro Hotel	F	10	B	P
19	1970s	High Court of Tanzania, Court of Appeal	T	2	-	G
20	1970s	Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Justice	T	3	B	G
21		Bureau of Statistics	T	3	B	G
22	1890s	Pillared portico	Mb	1	-	A
23	1890s	Surveys and Lands Division	Mb	2	B	A
24	1890s	Resident Magistrate's Court	Mb	2	B	A
25	1890s	Office of the Controller and Auditor General	Mb	2	-	A
26	1890s	President's Office: Planning Commission	Mb	2	B	A
27	1970s	Ardhi House: Ministry of Lands and Urban Development	F	10	-	A
28	1970s	Ministry of Community Development and President's Office: Civil Service Department	T	1	-	A
29	1887	Berlin (Lutheran) Mission *(site of)*	-	-	-	-
30	1922	State House	T	3	B	G
31	1897	Ocean Road Hospital	T	3	-	P

Key

No	=	Number of plot / building as shown on map				C	=	Condition:	R = restored
R	=	Roof	Mb	*mabati* (corrugated iron)					G = good
			T	tiles					A = adequate
			F	flat					P = poor
S	=	number of storeys							D = derelict
B	=	Balcony or verandah on one or more levels, sometimes enclosed							C = construction in progress

The beach around the northern side of Dar es Salaam harbour is littered with rubbish and with several abandoned, rusting ships which clearly constitute not only an eyesore but also a risk to health and security (Fig. 14A). The steep slope between the beach and the urban area (between 5 and 10 m wide) is occupied by rough grass, a few trees and a considerable amount of garbage. Above this slope, numerous good trees along the urban waterfront provide shade for informal street sellers, but the absence of a proper paved walkway with modern street furniture means that a harbourside walk is unattractive and potentially hazardous. As at Zanzibar and Mombasa, there are occasional relics of stairways (as at the junction of Luthuli Street and Kivukoni Front) that once led from the waterfront buildings to the beach. There are no paved sidewalks along much of the waterfront, on either side of the road, and those that exist are often in very poor condition.

The attitude of the Tanzania Harbours Authority towards the rehabilitation of the waterfront zone on the north side of the harbour at Dar es Salaam is constructive, and the Authority is particularly concerned about the removal of abandoned, obsolete rusting vessels that now litter the foreshore and provide not only environmental pollution but also physical dangers. The view of the Authority is that the essential problem is a legal one, in that when shipowners (sometimes uninsured) fail to pay port charges or repair bills, their crews are repatriated and the vessels impounded. Legal action against the owners usually proves unproductive; although a scrap market exists for such vessels, legal problems as well as logistics delay solutions and it is not always clear which Ministry accepts responsibility for the problem. Additional dredging and straightening of the entrance channel is already in hand, and the fish market is scheduled to be moved to a different location.

In this context, ideas on the cohesive redevelopment of the waterfront zone are generally welcomed. In detail, there is widespread agreement that the waterfront needs a thorough clean up, with the removal of garbage, wrecks, unsightly kiosks and unwanted vegetation, the relocation of the fish market and the bus station, and the re-creation of an attractive, paved and shaded urban walkway linking the city and the harbour, sheltered by a new seawall. Issues such as road improvements, the privatization of urban cleansing operations, the rationalization of urban transport (with a new bus station on the edge of the city centre rather than on the waterfront), and urban traffic management are all under consideration by the city's planning authorities.

In some ways it may be fortunate that Dar es Salaam cannot at present afford to implement some of the ideas that have been put forward in recent years – for example, by Japanese and Yugoslavian planning teams – for radical and imaginative, if unrealistic, urban restructuring

and redevelopment programmes. As in many other cityports around the world, a key to successful waterfront rehabilitation is the enhancement of public access to the water for leisure/recreation and the reorientation of the city towards the sea. In this context, the improvement of transport facilities is essential, but this should not mean the enlargement of waterfront road or rail routes (which create unnecessary artificial barriers between urban areas and the waterfront) but rather the re-creation of attractive and safe pedestrian zones within the environmentally sensitive waterfront zone.

8.1 The Old Boma

Several buildings of the Sultan Majid period survive on the waterfront, of which the most interesting is the Old Boma (2). According to Casson, "Both in its style and construction, the Old Boma includes a number of features traditional of East African coastal architecture. The thick walls are of coral rubble set in lime mortar and plastered white, and the floors are of coral blocks laid on cut rafters and mangrove poles. The pointed crenellations to the tower and the carved entrance door with a floral and geometrical pattern can be paralleled in other nineteenth-century buildings, notably at Zanzibar and Bagamoyo" (Casson, 1970, 181) (Fig. 13).

Together with a similar adjacent building (demolished in 1968) this served at various times as a prison, an hotel, an administrative headquarters and also housed various government departments under the German and British administrations. Narrowly saved from demolition in the 1970s by a High Court injunction obtained by concerned citizens, the renovated Old Boma now houses a United Nations Information Office and the offices of the Dar es Salaam Development Plan sponsored by the UNDP. Nearby Atiman House (7), another of the oldest surviving buildings in the city, has since 1921 been the Dar es Salaam headquarters of the Missionaries of Africa (White Fathers); originally this building may have housed Sultan Majid's harem, but it has been carefully restored and adapted for its very different modern use.

8.2 The western waterfront

The basic street plan of the core zone associated with the traditional waterfront was essentially the work of the German colonial authorities in the 1890s. Many of the most interesting and unusual waterfront buildings date from this period (Sykes and Waide, 1997). The Customs Jetty (5), of solid stone construction, is the only remaining pier from the early German period when - as Dr Bruckner's photograph of 1906 (Fig. 13) shows - at least two such jetties were built out into the harbour from the north shore. The Customs Jetty served as a passenger landing and embarkation pier throughout the 20th century and still does so today,

Figure 13: Dar es Salaam waterfront in 1905
Attributed to Dr Bruckner, this photograph predates the construction of the lighterage quay but shows two jetties and other port installations. Of the various German waterfront buildings shown, the Old Boma (centre) still survives.
(Source: National Museum of Tanzania, Dar es Salaam).

although most passengers now use hydrofoils rather than passenger liners. City Hall (1), completed in 1903, was originally built by the Germans as the New Boma, or District Office; more recent extensions have been added at the rear.

St Joseph's Cathedral (4) was built between 1897 and 1902; associated more recent buildings house the Diocesan Episcopal headquarters and provide for other administrative and residential functions. Nearby stands the Forodhani School, renamed in the 1970s but originally founded by Benedictines from Germany as a school, orphanage and hospital complex known as St Joseph's Convent. The school was at first a single-storey building at the rear of the lot, with godowns and other small buildings on the water side. After World War I the complex was taken over by the Capucine Fathers from Switzerland who in 1928 added a second storey to the original school building which now serves as a primary school. New buildings occupied in 1956 house the junior section.

8.3 The central waterfront

At a discreet distance stands the rival Lutheran Church (14) (Fig. 14A), built 1898-1901, "which with its profusion of little tiled roofs would be more at home in the Bavarian Alps" (Casson, 1970, 182). The open space and gardens near the Lutheran Church provide the setting for the War Memorial, originally unveiled in 1927 and later adapted to commemorate those killed in the 1939-45 conflicts (12). Nearby, modern 1970s office blocks accommodate the National Bank of Commerce (11) and, further west, the Ministry of Water, Energy and Minerals (8).

The much altered and renovated International Motors Building (10) originated as the house of a German businessman, Paul Devers, and was later bought by the Karimjee Jivanjee family of traders who arrived in Zanzibar from India in 1824 and then established themselves on the mainland. The Post Office (9), much altered and now less attractive than formerly, has fulfilled its original function since 1911. The Kaiserhof, the principal hotel of the German colonial town, was built in 1906 by the Ost Afrikanische Hotel Gesellschaft (an enterprise closely associated with the railway company); this became the New Africa Hotel under the British but was demolished in the late 1960s and replaced by a modern building which in the 1990s was substantially extended and refurbished (13).

Nearby is the Forodhani Hotel Training Institute (16), built by the Germans and later used by the British as 'The Club', and for much of the colonial period was "open only to higher grade government officials and the cream of non-official society" (Gillman, 1945, 11). Visiting Dar es Salaam during the last years of the British mandate, Evelyn Waugh wrote that "Whenever one finds a building of any attraction, it usually turns out to be German ... One of these was

the Club, where I was kindly lodged. It stands on the sea-front behind a broad terrace, ... solidly built with much fine joinery in dark African timber and heavy brass fittings on doors and windows ... It was very much like being on board ship. In the time of the German occupation it had a beer-hall, skittle-alley and an adjoining brothel. Now there is instead an excellent library" (Waugh, 1960, 59). The Institute stands opposite the former Yacht Club (opened in 1933, and moved outside the harbour in 1965), now a Marine Police Station (17). Although the once splendid view of the harbour is not what it once was, the old European club has been carefully refurbished as a training school for students in the hotel industry, supervised by the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, and many of its splendid rooms have been brought back to life.

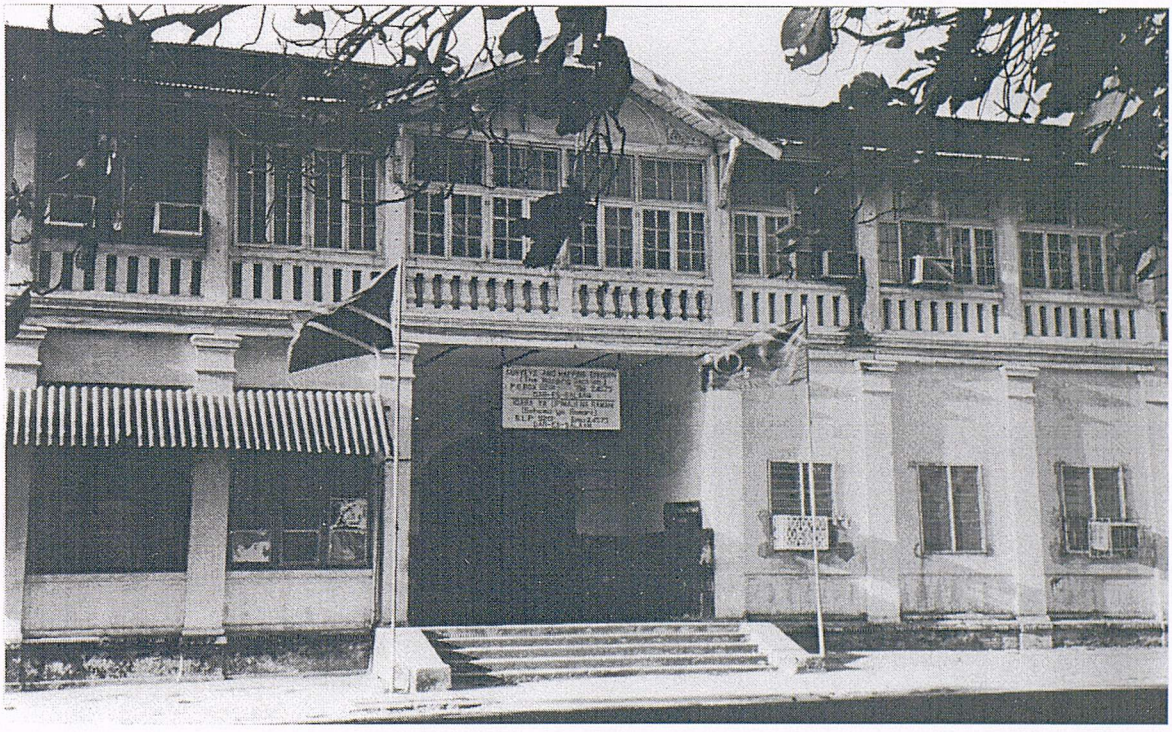
8.4 The eastern waterfront

Along the eastern part of the waterfront, the Kilimanjaro Hotel (18), designed and built by Israelis and completed in 1965 during the early years of independence, occupies a commanding position on the waterfront. In 1997 the hotel was scheduled for much-needed refurbishment, having been outclassed by the refurbished New Africa Hotel and by the more upmarket Sheraton Hotel, the latter located in a rapidly developing urban area away from the waterfront. Other modern buildings include Luther House and Centre (partly a hostel) and the Azania Front Cathedral Centre (a modern office block on church land, partly sublet), both associated with the Lutheran Church (14); the National Development Corporation building (15); the High Court and Court of Appeal (19); the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (with telecommunications equipment in the forecourt) and the Ministry of Justice (20); and, towards the harbour entrance, the monolithic modern office block of Ardhi House (27), occupied by the Ministry of Lands and Urban Development. Nearby, several inter-connected smaller buildings are used by the Ministry of Community Development and the Civil Service Department of the President's Office (28); in the grounds is an Arab cemetery dating from Sultan Majid's time.

A number of government office buildings dating from the German period remain along the eastern part of Kivukoni Front. This group includes, from west to east, the Bureau of Statistics (21) connected by a pillared portico (22) to the classic German-style Survey and Mapping Division (23) with its now enclosed balcony (Fig. 14B); the Resident Magistrate's Court (24) with its pillars and open balcony; the Office of the Controller and Auditor General (25), a German building with some Indian influence; and the Planning Commission of the President's Office (26) which was originally the office of the German Governor and later housed the Chief Secretary and Secretariat during the British period. "These offices were

Figure 14: Dar es Salaam waterfront in 1997

A notable building on the central waterfront in Dar es Salaam is the Lutheran Church (14) behind which stands the recently extended New Africa Hotel (13) on the site of the German Kaiserhof. Note the traffic congestion along Kivukoni Front, near the bus station, the abandoned vessels on the beach, and the varied uses made of the grassy slope above the beach.
(Photograph taken by the author in 1997).



Along the eastern waterfront at Dar es Salaam government buildings, originally German and dating from the 1890s, include the Surveys and Mapping Division (23). The enclosure of formerly open balconies and the introduction of air conditioning has created a more comfortable working environment without improving the appearance of the building.
(Photograph taken by the author in 1997).

constructed from 1891 onwards in a simple classical style ... Their lower storeys were built of masonry ... (and) the upper storeys consisted of wide verandahs of steel joists and carved timber rafters and screens, pre-fabricated in Germany ... The high ceilings, large wide verandahs and white painted plasterwork with black painted joists and frames, combine with absence of ornament to give these buildings a simple dignitiy and coolness. The buildings originally provided offices and mess rooms on the ground floor, whilst upper floors held living quarters during the early years of German administration" (Casson, 1970, 182; see also Gillman, 1945, 8).

The entrance to the harbour is today the site of a lively fish market and the ferry to Kigamboni. Close by, slightly to the north, is the site of the Swahili fishing village of Mzizima which predates the late-19th-century Arab settlement at the western end of the waterfront zone. Just beyond the fish market on the harbour side is the site of the first permanent European building in Dar es Salaam, the Evangelisches Missions Gesellschaft fuer Deutsche Ost Afrika, also known as the Berlin (Lutheran) Mission. Gillman (1945, 4-5) gives a good account of the history of this building, and more detail is provided by Osborne (1960). The original buildings of 1887 were destroyed during the Arab revolt against the Germans in 1888-89. They were replaced by a new double-storeyed stone building which was "perhaps the most brutally severe piece of German architecture with no decorative features to relieve its broad outline" (Casson, 1970, 181; see also photograph in Osborne, 1960, 64). "With its walls 2½ ft thick, it was built to last, and also to withstand the fierce heat of the sun" (Osborne, 1960, 66); and in fact the building survived a variety of uses until being demolished in 1959, having served briefly in 1891 as the residence of the first German Governor, Freiherr von Soden; as a hospital between 1891 and 1897 (when the Ocean Road Hospital was opened), as well as fulfilling its original purpose between the two world wars.

As the inset map of Dar es Salaam (Fig. 5) shows, the city's waterfront continues beyond the harbour entrance to include an extensive zone facing directly onto the Indian Ocean. Two substantial and important waterfront buildings of German origin are located in this area. State House originated as the German governor's residence but was badly damaged by British naval gunfire in 1914 and reconstructed in 1922 on a larger scale and in a more ornate style. The Ocean Road Hospital (now used largely for the treatment and care of cancer patients) was completed in 1897 for Europeans in a style showing both German and Arab elements "with twin square towers, each surmounted by a dome flanked by minor cupolas" (*ibid.*, 181).

9.0 TOWARDS SOLUTIONS: CULTURE-DEPENDENT APPROACHES

Writing about Zanzibar in the later 19th century, Emily Ruete wrote that: "It is commonly thought, but without reason, that the Arabs, in token of their love and respect to their dead, allow the houses formerly inhabited by them to fall into ruins. This is incorrect – it is not this sentiment, but their innate indolence that makes them look with indifference on decay. Arab houses are but seldom repaired or renovated – their lime and bricks are of a nature to be easily decomposed by the climate – so that when a house gets rather too much out of repair, a new one is built instead, and the old one is left to crumble away" (Ruete, 1989, 288). Arabs were not alone in adopting this attitude, however. As Graham *et al.* have recently pointed out, "In the nineteenth century, the idea that some buildings and even cityscapes should not be replaced when physical and functional obsolescence dictated was ... a novel one" (Graham *et al.*, 2000, 16).

Today, in the context of contrasted cultures, it is sometimes argued that one of the problems of urbanization in the developing world is that there is generally no culture of conservation as far as older buildings are concerned. Although considerable respect is now paid to indigenous structures of great age – for example in Zimbabwe, Peru and Thailand – comparatively little attention is generally paid to the more numerous and often more utilitarian urban buildings left behind by the tides of Arab or European colonialism, as in India, Hong Kong and Nigeria. The replacement rather than the renovation of buildings is obviously a normal but variable component of urban development and is a function of cultural attitudes as well as of economic capabilities.

There is also a link here with attitudes towards urban growth and the modernization of society in economies where resources are particularly limited and priorities are focussed towards more basic needs. It is at least understandable, in countries where access to health and education services is limited, where food shortages are not uncommon, where environmental conditions are often unfavourable, where political disturbances are not infrequent, and where the rapid growth of at least the larger towns has outstripped the ability to maintain and developed adequate urban service infrastructures, that the conservation of historic sites and dilapidated old buildings is not universally regarded as a matter of the highest priority.

Conservation is, in one sense, a sensible practicality; and in another sense, it is a cultural construct. People of limited means naturally conserve what is or may be *practically* useful, whether it be food or money or buildings, so as to avoid the cost of replacement; but people do not necessarily conserve what is or may be *culturally* valuable to themselves or their descendants. One reason for this is that people do not always – perhaps not often – fully realise the parameters and attributes of their own culture, or fully appreciate unique

elements that are quite ordinary in local terms but highly exceptional in a wider framework. Another is that people whose outlook, as a reflection of economic circumstances and educational levels, is focussed sharply on the problems of today and the immediate future are unlikely to consider wider questions or longer time-perspectives in great depth.

The conservation of waterfront buildings (or other structures within traditional urban areas) thus gives rise in this context to cultural dilemmas and requires a culture-dependent approach. At one level, this involves some appreciation of history and particularly of cultural interactions over time. Writing of British buildings in India, Jan Morris has claimed that "Lofty or modest, elegant or preposterous, they are testimony to a great historical adventure, and to the passage through these improbable landscapes of a remarkable people" (Morris, 1994, 189). Many people, some of them very remarkable, have also passed through the East African coastlands, some to settle and trade, others to penetrate the interior, or to establish a temporary hegemony over certain areas and places. The historical legacy within the modern built environment in the coastal towns is a product of the complex interaction, over varying time periods, of a wide range of cultures – including Arab, British, German, Mazrui, Portuguese, Shirazi and Swahili. These and others have all left their mark on the urban environments of today, despite the fact that some of them were involved for quite short periods of time. Decolonization, however, has produced a marginalization or suppression of European heritage values, while local inter-cultural tensions have been released, emphasizing the complexities of multicultural heritage in postcolonial societies (Graham *et al.*, 2000, 99).

At another level, a culture-dependent approach to building conservation, on the waterfront or elsewhere, involves some measure of integration between the perceived value of inherited structures and the practicalities of social change and economic development. Writing about Lamu in the 1970s, Andrew Ligale identified the essential dilemma as being "how to ensure that the people ... can continue to have an interest in the conservation of their unique houses and culture while at the same time participating in socio-economic changes which may not always be in harmony with existing patterns" (Ligale, 1978; cited in Group 5, 1993, 3).

In both Kenya and Tanzania there are many threats and challenges to waterfront redevelopment within the wider contexts of urban renewal and the conservation of the cultural patrimony. In practical terms, many historic buildings occupy very valuable sites. Development is often perceived as a way of generating large sums of money, and long-term cultural resource management strategies are not seen in this context as a priority. Conservation is ultimately a question of perception; of education; of how a society sees itself – culturally rather than politically - in terms of where it has come from and where it is going; and of commitment to longer-term values and objectives. In developing countries, as

commonly also in the advanced world, such issues do not always receive the support and understanding they deserve. The Kenya Coastal Zone has, however, been the subject of close attention from a variety of directions in a wider context. For example, the Afrika Studiecentrum at Leiden (Netherlands) has published a *Kenya Coast Handbook* (Foeken *et al.*, 2000) which offers an authoritative interdisciplinary account of many inter-related aspects of the environment, economies and societies of the coastal zone.

The National Museums of Kenya (NMK) have been fortunate to receive the support of various donor agencies over the years for urban conservation programmes involving specific cultural dimensions. The intriguing world of the Swahili has generated a substantial and authoritative literature covering specific issues and periods (e.g. Nicholls, 1971; Glassman, 1995) and the broader sweep of cultural change and development (Allen, 1993; Middleton, 1992). On the East African coast today, in both Kenya and Tanzania, there is widespread awareness of the need to revitalize aspects of traditional Swahili culture. A European Union programme for the revival and development of Swahili culture on the Kenya coast started in 1994, aiming not only to safeguard historical sites and monuments, and to define institutional frameworks, but also through training to strengthen capacity to carry out conservation and to disseminate knowledge (ARS Progetti, 1997; European Community, 1994). With the support of the NMK, the ILO and the UNDP, a Swahili Cultural Centre was established close to Fort Jesus, Mombasa, in 1995 where training is provided in traditional masonry, woodcarving, leatherworking, needlework and other crafts considered important in the context of the revival of Swahili culture. A similar Centre is located in Lamu. Both provide employment for young people, maintain knowledge of traditional skills, and enhance general awareness of and positive attitudes towards the Swahili cultural revival policy. These centres, although modest in scale, clearly demonstrate practical links between skills, cultures and employment; and the point is not lost on the young people involved.

An important element in recent EU initiatives is the establishment of a Conservation Trust Fund designed to provide grants to assist home-owners to rehabilitate or restore historic buildings within the gazetted conservation areas of Mombasa and Lamu Old Towns in accordance with the guidelines laid down in their respective Conservation Plans. Established with EU funding in 1996, and said to be the first of its kind in subsaharan Africa, the Fund provides 75% of the restoration costs of buildings selected according to the urgency of intervention and the willingness of owners to provide 25% of the costs. This is an encouraging development as it is clearly a way of helping people to help themselves and of improving urban environments by example and involvement.

Another aspect of the cultural context within which urban conservation takes place is the need to try to ensure that, as far as possible, all organizations involved are on the same

wavelength. It is clear that in the East African cases discussed in this paper, an appropriate degree of integration and coordination is frequently lacking. Responsibility for specific activities is not always accepted; organizations are not always able to implement the plans and policies they have designed; and appreciation of and support for the efforts of those striving to achieve progress in the field of conservation is not as widespread as it could or should be. As Francesco Siravo has argued, with regard to Zanzibar, "It is a shift in attitude that is required to a more sensitive approach to the Stone Town's fabric, including recognition of the specialized nature of conservation action and management, reorganization of the institutional arrangements and administrative procedures, active mobilization of resources, and better overall coordination of investment and planning activities. Ultimately, it is only through a concerted and continued effort at all levels – political, institutional, economic, technical and community – that the present cycle of deterioration and unplanned change can be stopped and a process of conservation and sustained development for the Stone Town begin" (Siravo, 1996, 192).

The conservation and rehabilitation of the urban waterfront and other urban structures that comprise part of the heritage of today's society also invariably highlights the cultural differences that are apparent between, on the one hand, present-day communities that inhabit or use historic buildings and, on the other hand, those communities for whom these structures were initially created or that have used them in the past as generations and systems have evolved. These cultural contrasts are apparent in any settlement with a substantial history, but they are sharper in places where a given urban environment has been utilized and developed by successive and highly differentiated societies. In this context, for example, the core zone of Dar es Salaam, including the urban waterfront around the harbour, is in cultural terms a multi-ethnic African city bearing a British imprint but designed by Germans on Arab foundations. The contrast is more noticeable at Zanzibar, where the Stone Town of Arab design became an African town after the 1964 revolution. Steve Battle has emphasized the effects of these changes: "The historic city is a shell. The social body that now inhabits it is quite different from the body around which this shell originally formed. The conflict that results is one of the chief causes of damage to buildings within the town. The uses the social body demands of its urban environment have changed, and now that tourism has come to Zanzibar they will change more rapidly still. The problem is how to help the old, ossified, partly fallen body of the Stone Town to adapt to the new, virile social dynamic that is surging within. ... The result of all this is a gradual erosion of the particularity of the building stock. It is not over yet, but there is a line beyond which will be lost that intangible essence that makes Zanzibar unique" (Battle, 1995, 98-99).

Dar es Salaam is one of several cities in developing countries chosen by the United Nations Development Programme in 1992 for attention within its Sustainable Cities Initiative, and

by 1997 the Sustainable Dar es Salaam (SDSM) project had become involved and integrated within the overall planning of the city, albeit as a quasi-independent element (Haughton and Hunter, 1994). In the words of an anonymous spokesperson for the project, "this means enhanced cooperation and involvement, with everyone singing from the same hymn sheet". The SDSM Project was essentially conceived as a think tank to identify and promote urban sustainability in a context of rapidly rising population totals, widespread unemployment and underemployment, and infrastructural weakness. At Dar es Salaam there are, not surprisingly, internal disgreements between government departments and authorities – for example between Urban Development, Antiquities, and the Port Authority – all of which have different perspectives and priorities. A critical area of debate is the drive for modernization rather than the conservation of the urban cultural heritage; in an ideal world, the goal should be the appropriate revitalization of specific zones and localities within a wider context of planned overall urban renewal and growth. An encouraging sign is a growing awareness that Dar es Salaam needs to preserve the idea of a city that looks to its harbour (which is, after all, the basic reason for its existence on this site) and treasures the relationship between city and port rather than as at present beginning to turn its back on the water's edge, using the foreshore as a garbage disposal site, a public lavatory, a low-order retail sales strip for food and basic consumer goods, and a haunt of thieves and drug-pushers. A city that desecrates the essential reason for its growth and development over more than a century needs practical help in resolving the planning and financial issues involved but also needs a programme of public education designed to change the cultural attitudes within which such desecration is accepted.

For all the port-urban waterfront zones reviewed in this paper, as for many others in the developing world, improvement of the quality of urban space and urban life is a necessary intermediate step towards the restructuring of local economies towards urban services and notably towards urban tourism. This has been reflected in the great efforts made by larger European cities in economic decay to redesign and redevelop urban waterfronts (Liverpool, Rotterdam), usually involving adding to the architectural heritage while producing new spaces for flourishing activities and lively uses – leisure activities, culture, housing. The interlinkages between tourism and waterfront redevelopment are complex and varied (Cau, 1999), and it is increasingly clear that while the promotion of cultural tourism is an anticipated effect of waterfront revelopment, the growth of recreation and tourism industries can itself provide a catalyst for urban waterfront redevelopment (Craig-Smith and Fagence, 1995).

Urban tourism is considered to be the major industry of the 21st century, and urban waterfronts offer highly attractive prospects at the interface between the built environment and the water. Inherent virtues include a high degree of accessibility over land and water,

exploitable by a variety of transportation modes; and environmental amenities exploitable by the use of promenades with views towards the city and the sea and activity spaces along, over and on the water. Although national and international tourism are quite well developed in Kenya and Tanzania, the essential focus is on the spectacular scenery and wildlife of inland national parks and, at the coast, on extra-urban beach hotel complexes. At Mombasa, Moi International Airport handles substantial numbers of tourists, but few stay in the town although many visit Fort Jesus and other parts of the Conservation Area. In mainland Tanzania, Kilimanjaro Airport in the north of the country is more important as a tourist transport node than the international airport at Dar es Salaam, and as at Mombasa many tourists who visit the city do so only as an incidental excursion associated with a beach-focussed holiday. At Lamu and Zanzibar, however, the urban area in general, and the waterfront in particular, are themselves major tourist attractions. Both towns present a small-scale, pedestrian-friendly environment; and Zanzibar, in particular, offers a range of buildings of considerable interest to many cultural tourists. In both cases, however, extra-urban beach-related hotel complexes already offer attractive alternative accommodation, albeit to a limited extent.

The growth of urban tourism in East African coastal towns is a controversial phenomenon from many points of view (Mturi, 1985). The juxtaposition of apparently very rich visitors (whether international or national, of whatever ethnic group) and apparently very poor local people can create problems for both groups and can lead to exploitation, cultural attrition and occasionally violence. As elsewhere in the developing world, particularly in conservative Muslim societies, it is very easy for insensitive visitors to offend local susceptibilities. Both mainland Tanzania, and more especially Zanzibar, have for these and other reasons been somewhat reluctant until relatively recently to encourage the growth of tourism; the potential value of a well-organized tourist industry to the country's weak economy has, however, been a factor in the formulation of more open policies in this context. In contrast, Kenya's tourist industry, in the context of that country's more capitalist economy, continues generally to flourish and to provide at least some worthwhile economic advantages for the coastal towns.

Ultimately, however, urban waterfront redevelopment within the context of comprehensive urban design constitutes a significant means for abolishing some cultural and spatial disadvantages and thereby enhancing the image of a city within the global urban system. The production of a high quality built environment by means of renewal and redevelopment schemes enlarges a city's potential to attract investments in growing economic sectors including urban tourism – "this great growth industry, itself a reflection of the globalised economy" (Hall, 1998, 407). In this context, the revitalization of waterfronts has a significant and sometimes central role to perform.

10.0 CONCLUSIONS

The rationale that underpins the phenomenon of waterfront revitalization in port cities, and the global diffusion of this phenomenon, are now widely recognized if incompletely understood. Overall, successful waterfront redevelopment demands an understanding of *universal* processes and an appreciation of the distinctiveness of *individual* locations and environments. It is never easy to bring these contrasted dimensions together. The now extensive literature on waterfront redevelopment generally supports the view that we can recognise a common sequence of stages and a common set of factors underlying the processes involved, and acknowledge that this sequence and these factors underpin both the similarities between different places and the distinctiveness of each location. This principle applies to present-day processes of waterfront redevelopment in developing countries as forcefully as to established examples in more experienced advanced countries.

In East Africa, as elsewhere, waterfront redevelopment involves a set of trends that are in the process of changing the face of port cities, and other cities on water, in many countries around the world, not of course for the first time; but now these global trends, impacting upon local places, are creating new and more attractive urban environments for the 21st century whilst simultaneously responding to changes in the technology of maritime transport and to demands for inner-city revitalization. Understanding the revitalization diaspora involves an appreciation of interactions on the waterfront between global forces and local circumstances (Hoyle, 2000a).

At the local level, a basic difficulty involved in waterfront redevelopment schemes in port cities is the reconciliation of the many inter-related influences, objectives and interests involved. The search for a common, shared vision may be present, but it is rarely totally successful. How, in any case, is success to be judged? The popular success of many revitalized waterfronts brings citizens and visitors back to the water's edge, and provides a tangible sign of the continuing vitality of cities. But waterfront redevelopment is not yet the worldwide urban success story that some writers have claimed (Breen and Rigby, 1996). It is happening in many countries all around the world, but not everywhere. In North America it is regarded primarily as an urban renewal process. From a European perspective, it is considered ultimately to be an outcome of maritime transportation changes that have provided opportunities for urban restructuring. Experience to date in Africa suggests that waterfront redevelopment is seen as an element in urban redevelopment and conservation, but is not yet accorded a very high priority, for understandable reasons but, as this paper shows, there is evidence that attitudes are changing. Wherever relative success is achieved, in advanced or developing countries, it is not simply a matter of financial investment, nor of creating a modern waterside playground, nor of avoiding too much emulation or too painful

a replacement of traditional communities by imported artificial counterparts (Norcliffe *et al.*, 1996). It involves, ideally, a unique set of compromises based on a more deep-rooted reunion in a given location between different components of the urban fabric, and between the city and the sea.

Beyond this, many factors and elements contribute towards successful outcomes as waterfront revitalization schemes are initiated, grow and mature. Such waterfront schemes should not be developed in isolation, but perceived and planned in the context of the wider urban fabric of port cities, themselves considered as elements within the wider environmental and management structures of the coastal zones within which they are situated and the national and international urban networks to which they belong (Hoyle, 1996). An essential component is the reinforcement of historical identity and architectural heritage: the preservation, conservation and renewal of the historical fragments of urban space; the refurbishment of buildings of character and interest, the small-scale redesign of open spaces, the introduction of appropriately signed historical and archaeological promenades, and the integration of such features into a continuous system of pedestrian public open spaces.

The successful implementation of such objectives requires, of course, close attention to the practicalities of public and private finance, urban services, administrative skills, the promotion of cultural tourism, and the enthusiastic involvement of local people. Key issues here include the promotion of the waterfront as a *positive* element in urban tourism, as a *central* rather than a periperheral component; the development and modernization of *infrastructures* including, particularly, transport and telecommunications; the development of *qualified human capital* to support the development of new flourishing economic activities such as new-technology industries, services, educational functions, arts, crafts and cultural activities; and the careful development of *mixed* patterns of land and water uses, including leisure activities.

In the competitive environment of the new global urban system, the geography of development at different scales suggests that it is essential to preserve and enhance the distinctiveness of individual locations. Urban waterfronts in advanced countries have developed a tendency towards similarity, in terms of the mixed-use elements they contain, and have sometimes been criticised for failure to preserve and enhance the distinctiveness and identity of place. Urban waterfronts experiencing revitalization in developing countries should make every effort to avoid any such loss of individual character.

In the era of globalization, planners place increased emphasis on the importance of urban design as a means of development. Major urban design schemes are no longer seen as an out-product of economic growth but as an intermediate step towards urban development.

Thus urban design, including the revitalization of waterfronts, has undertaken an important new role as a means of development. In large cities in advanced countries this can maintain a city's metropolitan status through a prestigious urban landscape. In peripheral cities in developing countries, where resources are limited, it can help to transform urban space into a competitive tourist location on the world map. It is argued that episodic, step-by-step urban design interventions may improve the quality of the urban environment but cannot effect a rapid and substantial upgrading of the global image that is necessary in the competitive environment of the increasingly global city system. Smaller cities with special characteristics, such as those on the East African littoral, present opportunities to grow successfully in this competitive global urban system, their future mainly associated with services, tourism and residential development. Urban design, especially the application of new trends in the protection and enhancement of heritage and in the form and function of public open space, becomes very influential in maintaining city status and reinforcing growth potential.

During the 1990s the four port cities included in this study experienced substantial changes in practical terms and in terms of attitudes towards conservation and development. The slow pace of progress is inevitably frustrating to those directly involved, often involving a curious mixture of confrontation, consultation and cooperation (Hoyle, 2000b); but delays and difficulties – while sometimes allowing restoration to be overtaken by deterioration – can provide opportunities to consider the wisest use of limited available funding. At a casual glance, it may seem that decay continues largely unchecked, and that the political, financial, environmental and cultural odds against conservation and revitalization are too numerous and weighty to overcome. But a more positive interpretation is that foundations for progress are in place, thorough studies have been made, staff and equipment provided, and craftsmen trained in traditional building techniques. Local councils show support, international financial assistance is being provided, and the people of the coastal towns are now much more favourably inclined towards conservation than previously, as the practical benefits of the new policies have been demonstrated.

Naturally there is a good deal of variation in these respects between the four locations considered. The waterfront zones at Lamu and Zanzibar, in different ways, have made the most rapid progress. At Mombasa the Conservation Area is now well established although inadequately financed, and some elements of the waterfront zone are seriously neglected. Dar es Salaam has yet to develop a well-designed policy involving waterfront renewal. Success in all cases requires an appropriate balance between external finance and local support, between the demands of modern society and respect for traditional cultures, and a far more widespread appreciation not only of short-term gains but also of the longer-term value of action while there is yet time. In all four locations some remarkable buildings have

been sensitively rehabilitated, including the Old Dispensary at Zanzibar, Fort Jesus at Mombasa, the Old Boma at Dar es Salaam, and the Fort at Lamu. Others have been lost, notably several German buildings at Dar es Salaam including the Berlin Mission; and some irreplacable treasures – for example the Old British Consulate at Zanzibar, the Leven House complex at Mombasa, Liwali House at Lamu, and the Ocean Road Hospital at Dar es Salaam - are still at considerable risk.

Urban waterfront redevelopment involves a spatial domain where, by means of physical redesign, substantial beneficial change and development can be effected at relatively low cost. The port/city interface as a whole is sensitive and controversial, and needs careful, appropriate planning solutions; and the urban waterfront is a key element in this wider framework. Three of the four historic cities examined in this paper – Lamu, Mombasa and Zanzibar – have been proposed for inclusion in the United Nations' list of World Heritage Sites (Pocock, 1997; Graham *et al.*, 2000). Although such international distinction may be premature, the substantial progress already achieved deserves more widespread recognition. The collective experience to date of the four locations discussed can be seen as an example of the process of changing the established framework and practice of urban design towards larger-scale interventions and the more advanced physical design of space; it can be conceived as a challenge to improve the quality of the built environment in the traditional heart of the town, building on the long-established relationship between the city and the sea; and it can be seen as a vision for the development of the towns in the future, placing them on the global map as an urban group with waterfronts of special interest, quality and distinction.

Acknowledgements

I am indebted to the British Academy for financial support which enabled me to undertake fieldwork in East Africa. In Nairobi I valued the advice of Dr George Abungu (Director, Regional Museums, Sites and Monuments, National Museums of Kenya). I am particularly grateful for the information and assistance provided in Mombasa by Mrs Judy Aldrick, Mr Kalander Khan (Director of the Conservation Office), Mr Abubakar Maddy (Chief Planning Officer of the Municipal Council) and Mr Athman Lali Omar (Head of Coastal Archaeology). In Lamu I received much useful assistance from Mr Joseph Cheruiyot (Principal Curator, Lamu Museums) and Mr Ahmed Sagaff (Conservation Officer). In Zanzibar I renewed contact with Professor Abdul Sheriff (Zanzibar Archives) and was assisted by the Director General of the Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority, Mr Ahmed S. Ahmed, and his colleague Mr Mwalim Ali Mwalim (Director of Technical Services). Other useful meetings were held with Mustafa Aboud Jumbe (Director General, Zanzibar Ports Corporation) and representatives of the Aga Khan Foundation including Mr Mohamed Bhaloo (Liaison Officer). In Dar es Salaam I had very useful meetings with Dr J A C Waane (Head of the Department of Antiquities at the National Museum) and with Dr A M Hayuma (Director of Urban Planning) and his colleague Mr Elias Nyabusani; discussions with Sr Salvena (Forodhani School) and with Mr Hatim Karimjee (International Motors) were also particularly instructive. In addition, I am greatly indebted to many individual occupants of buildings in all four locations in which I was interested for allowing me to visit and discuss their premises. The UNESCO World Heritage Centre, Paris, also provided useful information.

Notes

1 In Lamu and Zanzibar I hired a small local sailing boat; in Mombasa I sailed by motorized *dhow* from Kilindini to the Old Harbour entrance and along the historic waterfront; and in Dar es Salaam I persuaded the Tanzania Harbours Authority to provide an official launch.

2 Numbers in parentheses following the names of individual buildings refer to the building numbers listed in Tables 2, 3, 4 and 5.

3 William Desborough Cooley was the best-known of the so-called 'armchair geographers' who from about 1835 used information from a variety of written sources including missionaries' reports to produce speculative books and papers on East African geography. See R.C. Bridges' Introduction to the second (1968) edition of Krapf (1860), pp 60 *et seq.*

4 Some further details of the story of Emily Ruete and of her links with the Rigby family are given in Russell, 1935, 308-9.

5 Personal communication from A.C. Ledger, formerly of Smith, Mackenzie & Co., 26 July 1965.

6 There may be an association between Tembo House and Francis George Tembo, a slave-boy rescued by Rigby who became "a faithful retainer of the consulate" (Russell, 1935, 283) not only during Rigby's years of office as Political Agent in Zanzibar (1858-61) but also for over 30 years afterwards. Tembo was a well-known local figure, and must have witnessed the transfer of the consulate to Mambo Msiige in 1874 and the building of Tembo House in 1885. (See also *Illustrated London News*, 4 July 1863).

References

Abungu, G. and L. (1998), 'Conservation in East Africa: saving Mombasa and Lamu Old Towns', *NMK Horizons* 4, 3-7.

Aldrick, J. (1986), 'Leven House', *Kenya Past and Present* 18, 43-6.

Aldrick, J. (1990), 'The nineteenth-century carved wooden doors of the East African coast', *Azania, Journal of the British Institute in Eastern Africa* 25, 1-18.

Aldrick, J. (1995), 'The Old Town of Mombasa', *Kenya Past and Present* 27, 11-15.

Aldrick, J. (1996), 'Renovating Old Town Mombasa', *Kenya Past and Present* 28, 46-49.

Allen, J. de V. (1993), *Swahili origins: Swahili culture and the Shungwaya phenomenon* (London: James Currey).

Al Mazrui, Shaykh Al-Amin bin 'Ali (1995), *The history of the Mazrui dynasty of Mombasa*, trans. J. McL. Ritchie (London: Oxford University Press).

Anon. (1854), 'Notice of a caravan journey from the east coast to the west coast of Africa', *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 44, 266-271.

Arab Urban Development Institute, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia (1988), *Preservation of Islamic architectural heritage*, Proceedings of the conference on the preservation of architectural heritage of Islamic cities, 22-26 April 1985, Istanbul, Turkey.

ARS Progetti (1997), *Strategic study of the revival and development of the Swahili culture, Final Report* (Rome, ARS Progetti S.r.l. for the National Museums of Kenya)

Battle, S. (1995), 'The Old Dispensary: an apogée of Zanzibari architecture', *The history and conservation of Zanzibar stone town*, ed. Sheriff, A. (Department of Archives, Museums and Antiquities, Zanzibar; London: James Currey; and Ohio University Press), pp. 91-99.

Beachey, R.W. (1996), *A history of East Africa*, 1592-1902 (London: Tauris).

Biagini E. and Hoyle, B. S. (eds) (1999), *Insularity and development: international perspectives on islands* (London: Pinter).

Bianca, S. (1997), *Historic Cities Support Programme: Zanzibar Stone Town Projects* (Geneva: The Aga Khan Trust for Culture).

Blij, H.J. de (1963), *Dar es Salaam: a study in urban geography* (Northwestern University Press).

Blij, H.J. de (1968), *Mombasa, an African city* (Northwestern University Press).

Boxer, C.R. and Azevedo, C. de (1960), *Fort Jesus and the Portuguese in Mombasa, 1593-1729* (London: Hollis and Carter, in association with the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation).

Breen, A. and Rigby, D. (1994), *Waterfronts: cities reclaim their edge* (New York: McGraw-Hill).

Breen, A. and Rigby, D. (1996), *The new waterfront: a worldwide urban success story* (London: Thames and Hudson).

Burton, R.F. (1860), *The Lake Regions of Central Africa* (London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts)

Burton, R.F. (1872), *Zanzibar: city, island and coast* (London: Tinsley Bros., 2 vols).

Bwana, O. (1985), 'Conservation and tourism: the case of Lamu', *Conservation and tourism, Basle 1985*, Second International Congress on Architectural Conservation and Town Planning (London: Heritage Trust), 81-85.

Casson, W.T. (1970), 'Architectural notes on Dar es Salaam', *Tanganyika Notes and Records* 71, 181-4.

Caswell, P.V. (1953), *Geology of the Mombasa-Kwale area*, Report 24, Degree Sheet 69 (Nairobi: Government Printer, for the Geological Survey of Kenya).

Cau, L. (1999), *Waterfront redevelopment and tourism: an integrated approach.* University of Southampton, Department of Geography, unpublished PhD thesis.

Chittick, N. (1974), *Kilwa: an Islamic trading city on the East African coast* (Nairobi: The British Institute in Eastern Africa, Memoir No. 5).

Chittick, N. (1984), *Manda: excavation at an island port on the Kenya coast* (Nairobi: The British Institute in Eastern Africa, Memoir No. 9).

Coupland, R. (1938), *East Africa and its invaders* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).

Craig-Smith, S.J. and Fagence, M. (eds) (1995), *Recreation and tourism as a catalyst for urban waterfront redevelopment* (London: Praeger).

Crofton, R.H. (1935), *The old consulate of Zanzibar* (London: Oxford University Press).

DHV Consultants (1990), *Final Report 1986-90, Evaluation Report on the technical assistance provided by the Netherlands to the Lamu town conservation project* (Amersfoort, The Netherlands).

Elton, J.F. (1879), *Travels and researches among the lakes and mountains of Eastern and Central Africa* (London, John Murray).

Emery, Lieutenant J.B., R.N. (1833), 'Short account of the Mombas and the neighbouring coast of Africa', *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 3, 280-83.

European Community (1994), *The revival and development of Swahili culture: strategy and workplan* (Nairobi: National Mueums of Kenya).

Foeken, D., Hoorweg, J. and Obudho, R.A. (eds) (2000), *Kenya coast handbook: a study in local and regional development* (Leiden, Netherlands: African Studies Centre).

Foran, Major W.R. (1936), *A cuckoo in Kenya: the reminiscences of a pioneer police officer in British East Africa* (London: Hutchinson).

Garlake, P.S. (1966), *The early Islamic architecture of the East African coast* (Nairobi and London: Oxford University Press, for the British Institute of History and Archaeology in East Africa, Memoir No. 1).

Ghaidan, U. (1975), *Lamu: a study of the Swahili town* (Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau).

Ghaidan, U. (ed.) (1976), *Lamu: a study in conservation* (Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau).

Gillman, C. (1945), 'Dar es Salaam, 1860-1940: a story of growth and change', *Tanganyika Notes and Records* 20, 1-23.

Glassman, J. (1995), *Feasts and riot: revelry, rebellion and popular consciousness on the Swahili coast, 1856-1888* (London: James Currey).

Gordon, D.L.A. (1996), 'Planning, design and managing change in urban waterfront redevelopment', *Town Planning Review* 67 (3), 261-90.

Gordon, D.L.A. (1997a), 'Managing the changing political environment in urban waterfront redevelopment', *Urban Studies* 34, 61-84.

Gordon, D.L.A. (1997b), 'Financing urban waterfront redevelopment', *Journal of the American Planning Association* 63 (2), 244-265.

Graham, B., Ashworth, G.J. and Tunbridge, J.E. (2000), *A geography of heritage: power, culture and economy* (London: Arnold).

Gray, J.M. (1934-5), 'A precursor of Krapf and Rebmann', *Uganda Journal* 1, 71.

Gray, J.M. (1957), *The British in Mombasa, 1824-26, being the history of Captain Owen's Protectorate* (London: Macmillan, for the Kenya History Society).

Gray, J.M. (1962), *History of Zanzibar* (London: Oxford University Press).

Gray, J.M. (1963), 'Zanzibar and the coastal belt, 1840-1884', in Oliver, R. and Mathew, G. (eds), *History of East Africa*, Volume I (Oxford: Clarendon Press), Chapter 7, pp 212-51.

Group 5 Consulting Engineers (1993), *Final Report, Technical Assistance Programme 1992-93 for the Lamu Town Conservation Project* (Delft, The Netherlands, for the National Museums of Kenya).

Guillain, C. (1856), *Documents sur l'histoire, la géographie et le commerce de l'Afrique orientale* (Paris: Bertrand, 3 vols and atlas).

Hall, P. (1993), 'Waterfronts: a new urban frontier', in Bruttomesso, R. (ed.), *Waterfronts: a new frontier for cities on water* (Venice: International Centre Cities on Water), 12-19.

Hall, P. (1998), *Cities in civilization: culture, innovation and urban order* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson).

Haughton, G. and Hunter, C. (1994), *Sustainable cities* (London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers).

Horton, M. (1996), *Shanga: the archaeology of a Muslim trading community on the coast of East Africa* (London: The British Institute in Eastern Africa, Memoir No. 14).

Hoyle, B.S. (1983), *Seaports and development: the experience of Kenya and Tanzania* (New York and London: Gordon and Breach).

Hoyle, B.S. (1995), 'A shared space: contrasted perspectives on urban waterfront development in Canada', *Town Planning Review* 66, 345-69.

Hoyle, B.S. (ed.) (1996), *Cityports, coastal zones and regional change: international perspectives on planning and management* (Chichester: Wiley).

Hoyle, B.S. (2000a), 'Revitalizing the port-city waterfront: retrospect and prospect', *Geographical Review* (in press).

Hoyle, B.S. (2000b), 'Confrontation, consultation, cooperation? Community groups and urban change in Canadian port-city waterfronts', *The Canadian Geographer* 44(3), in press.

Hoyle, B.S. and Charlier, J.J. (1995), 'Inter-port competition in developing countries: an East African case study', *Journal of Transport Geography* 3, 87-103.

Hoyle, B.S. and Charlier, J.J. (1996), *Inter-port competition in developing countries: the case of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania* (Le Havre: Association Internationale Villes et Ports).

Hoyle, B.S., Pinder, D.A. and Husain, M.S. (eds) (1988), *Revitalising the waterfront: international dimensions of dockland redevelopment* (London: Belhaven).

Ingrams, W.H. (1931), *Zanzibar, its history and people* (London: Witherby; repr. Frank Cass, 1967).

Issa, A.A. (1995), 'The burial of the élite in nineteenth-century Zanzibar stone town', *The history and conservation of Zanzibar stone town*, ed. Sheriff, A. (Department of Archives, Museums and Antiquities, Zanzibar; London: James Currey; and Ohio University Press), 67-80.

Jackson, Sir Frederick J. (1951), 'The ghost of Leven House, Mombasa', *Uganda Journal* 15 (2), 159-64.

King, J. and Procesi, D. (1991), *A conservation plan for the Old Town of Mombasa, Kenya* (prepared for the National Museums of Kenya and the Municipal Council of Mombasa, with financial and technical assistance from the UNDP and UNESCO).

Kirkman, J. (1964), *Men and monuments on the East African coast* (London: Lutterworth Press).

Kirkman, J. (1974), *Fort Jesus: a Portuguese fortress on the East African coast* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, for the British Institute in Eastern Africa, Memoir No. 4).

Krapf, J.L. (1860), *Travels, researches and missionary labours during an eighteen years' residence in Eastern Africa* (London: Trübner). Second edition with a new Introduction by R.C. Bridges (London: Frank Cass, 1968).

Lanchester, H.V. (1923), *Zanzibar: a study in tropical town planning* (Cheltenham: E. J. Burrow & Co.).

Ligale, A. (1978), *Lamu Workshop Conference Report* (Nairobi: Star Printers).

Lyne, R.N. (1905), *Zanzibar in contemporary times: a short history of the southern east in the nineteenth century* (London: Hurst and Blackett).

Mack, J. and Hudson, C. (1994), *House of Wonders: creating the National Museum of History and Culture, Zanzibar* (London: Chris Hudson Designs).

McCrae, J., Maitland-Jones, J., Aldrick, J. and Macdonald, R. (1989), *The Old Town of Mombasa: a historical guide* (Mombasa: The Friends of Fort Jesus, 2nd edn).

Martin, E.B. (1978), *Zanzibar: tradition and revolution* (London: Hamish Hamilton).

Martin, C.M.P. and Martin, E.B. (1973), *Quest for the past: an historical guide to the Lamu archipelago* (Nairobi: Marketing and Publishing Ltd).

Mascarenhas, A.C. (1970), 'The port of Dar es Salaam', *Tanzania Notes and Records* 71, 85-118.

Middleton, J. (1992), *The world of the Swahili: an African mercantile civilization* (London and New York: Yale University Press).

Morris, J. (1983), *Stones of Empire: the buildings of British India* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books).

Mturi, A. A. (1985), 'Problems and prospects for urban conservation in Tanzania: Zanzibar Stone Town, Bagamoyo, Dar es Salaam and Kilwa Kivinje', *Conservation and Tourism, Basle 1985*, Second International Congress on Architectural Conservation and Town Planning (London: Heritage Trust), 86-96.

Nelson, W.A. (1994), *Fort Jesus of Mombasa* (Edinburgh: Canongate Press).

Nicholls, C.S. (1971), *The Swahili coast*: politics, diplomacy and trade on the East African littoral, 1798-1856 (London: Allen & Unwin).

Norcliffe, G., Bassett, K. and Hoare, T. (1996), 'The emergence of postmodernism on the urban waterfront', *Journal of Transport Geography* 4 (2), 123-34.

Osborne, J.M. (1960), 'The Berlin Mission', *Tanganyika Notes and Records* 54, 64-8.

Owen, Captain W.F.W. (1833), *Narrative of voyages to explore the shores of Africa, Arabia and Madagascar, performed in H.M. ships Leven and Barracouta* (London: Bentley), 2 vols.

Pakenham, T. (1991), *The scramble for Africa, 1876-1912* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson).

Patience, K. (1995), *Zanzibar and the Bububu Railway* (Bahrain: Dar Akhbar Al Khaleej Press and Publishing House).

Pearce, F.B. (1920), *Zanzibar: the island metropolis of eastern Africa* (London: T. Fisher Unwin).

Playne, S. (1909), *British East Africa: its history, people, commerce, industries and resources* (London: Foreign and Colonial Compiling and Publishing Company).

Pocock, D.C.D. (1997), 'Some reflections on world heritage', *Area* 29 (3), 260-8.

Price, W.S. (1878), 'The Old Mission House at Mombasa', *The Church Missionary Gleaner*, April 1878, p 46.

Pulver, A. and Siravo, F. (1986), 'Lamu: a conservation plan for Kenya's oldest living town', *Kenya Past and Present* 18, 17-31.

Republic of Kenya (1994), *Lamu District Development Plan, 1994-96* (Nairobi: Government Printer for the Ministry of Planning and National Development).

Republic of Kenya (1997a), *The eighth National Development Plan for the period 1997-2001* (Nairobi: Government Printer).

Republic of Kenya (1997b), *Lamu District Development Plan, 1997-2001* (Nairobi: Government Printer, for the Office of the Vice-President and the Ministry of Planning and National Development).

Republic of Kenya (1997c), *Mombasa District Development Plan, 1997-2001* (Nairobi: Government Printer, for the Office of the Vice-President and the Ministry of Planning and National Development).

Rghei, A.S. and Nelson, J.G. (1994), 'The conservation and use of the walled city of Tripoli', *Geographical Journal*, 160, 143-58.

Ruete, E. (1989), *Memoirs of an Arabian princess from Zanzibar* (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers). Reprinted 1996.

Russell, Mrs Charles (ed.) (1935), *General Rigby, Zanzibar and the slave trade* (London: George Allen and Unwin).

Seidenberg, D.A. (1996), *Mercantile adventurers: the world of East African Asians, 1750-1985* (New Deldi: New Age International Publishers Ltd).

Sheriff, A. (1987), *Slaves, spices and ivory in Zanzibar: integration of an East African commercial empire into the world economy, 1770-1873* (London: James Currey).

Sheriff, A. (ed.) (1995a), *The history and conservation of Zanzibar stone town* (Department of Archives, Museums and Antiquities, Zanzibar; London: James Currey; and Ohio University Press).

Sheriff, A. (1995b), *Historical Zanzibar: romance of the ages* (London: HSP Publications).

Sheriff, A. and Ferguson, E. (ed.) (1991), *Zanzibar under colonial rule* (London: James Currey)

Siravo, F. (1996), *Zanzibar: a plan for the historic Stone Town* (Geneva: the Aga Khan Trust for Culture, Historic Cities Support Programme).

Siravo, F. and Pulver, A. (1986), *Planning Lamu: conservation of an East African seaport* (Nairobi: National Museums of Kenya).

Stiles, D. (1992), 'The ports of East Africa, the Comoros and Madagascar: their place in Indian Ocean trade from 1-1500 A.D.', *Kenya Past and Present* 24, 27-36.

Stimmann, H. (1993), 'Renewal of the historic port as a contribution to Old Town development', in Bruttomesso, R. (ed.), *Waterfronts, a new frontier for cities on water* (Venice: International Centre Cities on Water), 144-7.

Sutton, J.E.G. (1970), 'Dar es Salaam: a sketch of a hundred years', *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, 71, 1-19.

Sutton, J.E.G. (1990), *A thousand years of East Africa* (Nairobi: British Institute in Eastern Africa).

Sykes, L. and Waide, U. (1997), *Dar es Salaam: a dozen drives around the city* (Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers).

Temple, P.H. (1970), 'Aspects of the geomorphology of the Dar es Salaam area', *Tanzania Notes and Records* 71, 21-54.

Tunbridge, J. and Ashworth, G. (1992), 'Leisure resource development in cityport revitalization: the tourist-historic dimension', in Hoyle, B.S. and Pinder, D.A. (eds), *European port cities in transition* (London: Belhaven Press), 176-200).

UNESCO (1975), *The conservation of cities* (Paris: UNESCO).

Varkey, K. and Roesch, K. (eds) (1981), *Report on pilot study for conservation and revitalization of Old Town Mombasa* (Nairobi: University of Nairobi).

Von der Decken, Baron Claus (1869), *Reisen in Ost-Afrika in der Jahren 1859 bis 1861* (Leipzig und Heidelberg: C.J. Winter'fche Berlagshandlung).

Waugh, E. (1960), *A tourist in Africa* (London: Chapman and Hall).

Zanzibar Government (1992), Ministry of Water, Construction, Energy, Lands and Environment, *Zanzibar Stone Town Conservation Plan: descriptive report and planning statement with maps* (Zanzibar: Government Printer).

Zanzibar Government (1994), *Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority Act, 1994* (Zanzibar: Government Printer).