



Lusaka: The New Capital of Northern Rhodesia

With an introduction by Robert Home



LUSAKA: THE NEW CAPITAL OF NORTHERN RHODESIA

This short account of the planning of Lusaka as the new capital of Northern Rhodesia, written for its official opening in 1935 as part of jubilee celebrations for King George V, was printed in a limited edition specifically for that event, and is now very scarce and difficult to obtain, but deserves to be made more widely available for scholars of planning and urban history, and especially all interested in African urban development.

The planning of Lusaka was a prestige project for British indirect rule administration in Africa during the 1930s, in the recovery from the Great Depression, and was claimed as an example of British garden city and town planning expertise being applied overseas to its imperial territorial acquisitions. Particular features of Lusaka's planning were the attention to public buildings, echoing on a smaller scale the grand imperial designs of Baker and Lutyens in South Africa and India, the importance attached to landscaping and tree planting, and the priority given to the new airport reflecting the great expansion of air networks during the 1930s.

The historical context also includes Lusaka's place on the projected 'Cape to Cairo' railway, and its importance as a colonial project at a time of rapid development by American and South African capitalism of copper mining in the Copperbelt. Town planning was seen in the Colonial Office as an important tool of colonial management, and successive colonial governors in Northern Rhodesia were associated with planning initiatives. Lusaka capital city was seen as a demonstration project which influenced negotiations over planning the new Copperbelt mining townships.

Lusaka's colonial origins are of increasing interest to present-day planners in Zambia, concerned with problems of rapid urbanisation and the recent recovery of the copper mining industry; it is also of wider interest for both its place in the history of town planning and garden city concepts beyond Europe and as a planned new capital in the Third World.

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LUSAKA INTRODUCTION

Abbreviations. BSAC=British South Africa Company; ODNB=Oxford Dictionary of National Biography; UK=United Kingdom; UKNA=United Kingdom National Archives (Kew, London); WWW=Who Was Who; ZNA=Zambian National Archives (Lusaka).

Note: Northern Rhodesia became Zambia in 1964.

The founding of Lusaka in context

Lusaka, the capital of Zambia, is now a city of 1.7 million inhabitants (2010 figures). Until independence in 1964 Zambia was known as Northern Rhodesia, and Lusaka became its capital in 1935, as *Lusaka 1935* celebrated. The book is a curious, slim little volume, inexpensively produced, and short (less than 20,000 words). The title page tells us that it was intended for private circulation, and probably as few as a hundred copies were printed as gifts for those attending the opening of the new capital during the jubilee celebrations to mark 25 years of the reign of King George V. The author is only identified at the end as 'K.B.'; to those in the know this was Kenneth Bradley, a junior colonial official in the protectorate.

The first sentence of the book sets a high tone:

To plan a city on virgin land, to build the nucleus of a capital for a country is essentially an act of faith, a looking forward to the increase that the years will bring.

In retrospect (and indeed at the time) Lusaka might seem rather improbable for a new British colonial capital. Adshead, the planning consultant who advised on its choice, wrote (wrongly as it turned out) that it 'could never become an important city' (quoted in Sampson 1971: 55). With the Great War of 1914–18 a recent memory, and the Great Depression still reverberating, the planning of Lusaka marked a returning confidence among Britain's imperialists, still imbued with the spirit of Cecil Rhodes, who hoped it would take its place with other ambitious imperial capitals such as New Delhi and Pretoria.

Lusaka soon acquired a reputation as a garden city capital. Adshead applied garden city thinking, intending to create a 'generous gracious city' with landscaping, open space and wide streets, and a later consultant (Jellicoe in 1950) was a prominent landscape architect of the day. Bradley was to write thirty years later that Lusaka was 'so spacious and so rich in trees and lawns and brilliant gardens that it looks much more like a garden suburb than a city' (Bradley 1966: 88). It has been called the 'first planned garden city in Africa' (Simon 1992: 147), although that is more correctly identified as Pinelands, a whites-only suburb of Cape Town, South Africa (Home 2013).

Researchers have written before about the establishment of Lusaka (Collins 1969, 1980 and 1986; Myers 1998 and 2003; Rothman 1972; Sampson 1971), and about colonial urban planning in Zambia (Mutale 2004; Rakodi 1986; Tipple 1981) and Africa generally (Home 2013; Njoh 2007). With the colonial legacy in Africa's geography becoming an important academic theme, it is appropriate to re-examine the planning of the Lusaka capital. This introduction to *Lusaka 1935* revisits those sources, and also government files held in archives in Lusaka and London, the memoirs of those involved at the time (especially Bradley 1966; Dundas 1956¹), and reports of various commissions of inquiry (Eccles 1938; Pim 1938; Russell 1935).

The symbolism of 'the prince, the governor and the architect'

One may as well start with the photograph frontispiece to *Lusaka 1935*, which invites some questions. Who are these three balding white men in suits? What are they doing in the middle of Africa, standing on a structure that looks like the product of a Boy Scout project, and how did they get there?

The prince in the photograph was Prince George, the fourth son of King George V.² In his private life he was a playboy, drug user and philanderer, with various rumoured 'love children' and affairs with both men and women from socialites to Hollywood celebrities. To try and give him a proper job, the Foreign Office was employing him – the first member of the royal family to work as a civil servant. When the photograph was taken (March 1934) he was 32 years old, and on a central African tour as representative of the Crown, the pinnacle of the British Empire. Victoria – the 'great white queen' – was long dead, and her grandson George V was old and sick, so his four sons toured the colonies and dominions to maintain imperial prestige. During his five-day visit to Lusaka, apart from climbing the platform to inspect the site of the new capital, he laid foundation stones for the new administrative headquarters building, and opened new roads named for King George and himself.

The governor was Sir Hubert Young, Prince George's host, who had been hurriedly brought in a few weeks before, largely to inject some life into the faltering Lusaka project. Colonial governors held their authority on behalf of the Crown, reporting to the Colonial Office in London, and were part of the

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newly formed colonial administrative service, moving from colony to colony (Lambert and Lester 2006). Young, for instance, transferred to Northern Rhodesia from neighbouring Nyasaland, and after four years moved on to be governor of Trinidad. As his deputy Dundas wrote later:

The Colonial Service was the very framework of the Imperial structure...sustained and inspired by the ideal of Empire. We did not see ourselves as merely employees of colonial administrations. We were servants of the Crown and we had pride in performing Imperial Service.' (Dundas 1956: 243)

The architect was John Hoogterp, not the Northern Rhodesia official one, but a private consultant brought in from Nairobi to design the public buildings for the new capital. This was a high time for architects like Herbert Baker, Edwin Lutyens and Aston Webb offering grand imperial designs for new capitals at Pretoria, New Delhi, Canberra and Ottawa (Vale 1992; Irving 1981). Baker himself, who had worked in South Africa for 20 years (1892–1912), was not available, being over 70 and busy on projects in London, but Hoogterp had been his assistant in South Africa, and was available from his fashionable practice among the white settlers in Nairobi.³

The meeting of these three individuals atop a viewing platform just outside the small railway township of Lusaka was somehow a symbolic act, a statement of intent to confound the doubters, for most of the white settlers in Northern Rhodesia thought the new capital project was an unnecessary and grandiose blunder. The viewing platform was assembled from local trees, and at some 20 feet high was about the height of a two-storey building, of which a few were emerging from the surrounding bush ('the relative scarcity of the buildings now in existence' – *Lusaka* 1935: 29). The roads Prince George opened were the only tarmac-surfaced ones, the rest being still unsealed. A newspaper report summarised the scene not long before the energetic Young arrived:

Dense bush and grass over 5ft high made it impossible to see for any distance over 50 yards; thick undergrowth smothered the trunks of the trees under which small buck sheltered from the noon-day heat, and snakes slid into rocky crevices when their solitude was disturbed. (*Bulawayo Chronicle* 4 May 1935: 45)

The three had probably flown by light plane from the existing capital, Livingstone, to a new landing strip at Lusaka. There were road and rail links between the two, but these were probably considered too hot and dusty for a visiting royal personage. A few years before Imperial Airways had successfully trialled an air route from Cairo to Cape Town, with refuelling stops in Northern Rhodesia at Ndola, Broken Hill and Livingstone. Air travel would put Northern Rhodesia symbolically on the imperial map for wealthy and important people,

offering exhilarating views of its wide open spaces, the Victoria Falls and new mining townships from above.⁴

**‘A terrier chasing a motor car’:
the protectorate and the mines**

The new capital project was indeed ‘an act of faith’ when the prince, governor and architect came together to view the site. Only ten years earlier the Crown had taken over the protectorate of Northern Rhodesia from the chartered BSAC, and the new administration which Governor Young headed was barely solvent, trying to assert imperial prestige through its new capital project, even though it was unwanted by the white settlers and mining companies, let alone the ‘natives’.

The British presence in Northern Rhodesia came about because of Cecil Rhodes’ dream of British territories connecting Africa from Cape to Cairo. The arch-imperialist Rhodes died in 1902, but after the Great War (1914–18) it seemed that his dream was being realised, as the British acquisition of German East Africa (later Tanzania) created a more or less continuous chain of British territories from South Africa through the Great Lakes to Egypt. A ‘protectorate’ under the imperial Crown was created in 1924 after tense negotiations with the BSAC, which under various dubious treaties in the 1890s held extensive land and mineral rights. Responsibility for the African population then passed to the Colonial Office, with the protectorate administration operating through a legislative council (of appointed officials and members elected by the white settlers) and executive councils of senior officials.

The white population of the territory around 1930 comprised a few hundred colonial officials, a few thousand farmer settlers (mostly from South Africa) and a greater and growing number of miners working in the Copperbelt (mostly also from South Africa). The promoters of the new capital admitted that ‘the Africans outnumber the Europeans by a hundred and twenty to one’ (*Lusaka 1935*: 44), and the real ratio was probably over five hundred to one, yet Africans had no elected representatives.⁵ The British protectorate claimed to be developing self-governing institutions within the African community under the Lugardian policy of indirect rule or trusteeship (Lugard 1965). As Dundas wrote, ‘Indirect Rule was the accepted policy, but I gained the impression that it was never quite understood nor wholeheartedly subscribed to’ (Dundas 1955: 175). This was a considerable understatement, with the white settlers vehemently opposed. When in 1930 the Colonial Secretary (Lord Passfield) confirmed that the interests of ‘natives’ should be paramount in Northern Rhodesia (following the 1923 Devonshire Declaration in Kenya), the white settlers on the legislative council attacked the policy as ‘uncalled for and inadvisable...the determination of the Imperial Government to prefer the interests of alien and barbarous races to those of their own’, and sought

unsuccessfully to get a paid trip to London to lobby the Colonial Secretary in person (*Correspondence* 1930: 4).

The reality on the ground was that African interests were only notionally paramount, and numerous ordinances were being brought in from Kenya and South Africa, which, while ostensibly under the rubric of trusteeship and indirect rule, imposed strict controls over Africans. ‘Half-way between East and South Africa it was in more than geographical sense a half-way house between these two zones.’ (Dundas 1955: 175; Kennedy 1987). In the towns, seen as European creations, there were ordinances about municipal corporations (1927), townships (1929), town planning (1929) and mining townships (1932). The Africans’ daily lives were subject to more intrusive controls which contradicted the paramountcy of native interests: ordinances on native registration, vagrancy, and native squatters (forbidding Africans from living on white farms unless employed there), employment of natives (1929), native authorities (1930), native reserves, and native beer (1930).⁶

‘[T]he increase that the years will bring’ in the opening sentence of *Lusaka 1935* referred to the promise of great mineral wealth. Africans had mined copper in precolonial days, and the BSAC had issued individual prospecting licenses, but only when large concessions were granted in the 1920s to mining companies with the necessary capital and expertise did the potential of the Copperbelt become known. Its reserves were believed could produce half of global copper output and free Britain from dependence upon ‘non-Empire’ sources (Butler 2007: 18). Imperial rivalries were involved between the British and Belgians, the latter already taking vast profits from Congolese copper, which it transported by rail through Northern Rhodesia and South Africa. These rivalries were reflected in the Anglo–Belgian boundary commission (1927–33), which proved to be the most expensive colonial boundary programme in Africa, planting boundary pillars every 500 metres and a half-metre-deep ditch that quite literally etched the boundary on the ground, to minimise ambiguities in defining mining concessions (Donaldson 2012).

The big decisions on copper extraction were being made, not by the trio of prince, governor and architect but another trio of ‘hard-headed financiers in London, New York and Johannesburg’ (Alford and Harvey 1980) – Chester Beatty, Ernest Oppenheimer and Auckland Geddes. The American Beatty through his Selection Trust first confirmed the extent of copper deposits in what became the Copperbelt.⁷ The Kimberley mining magnate Oppenheimer, who took control of De Beers in 1929, was looking to expand into Rhodesia, and joined forces with Beatty to create Rhodesian Anglo–American.⁸ Sir Auckland Geddes, who had succeeded Lord Milner as chairman of Rio Tinto, the world’s leading copper producer, wanted to diversify its operations beyond the original Rio Tinto mine in Spain, and allied himself with Oppenheimer to create the Rhokana Corporation in 1930, which was to be the dominant force in the economic development of Northern Rhodesia (and later Zambia).⁹

Capital investment in the Copperbelt was estimated at £23 million by 1934, and production grew from 6400 tonnes in 1930 to 211,500 in 1938, producing profits of two million that year (Butler 2007: 18). The protectorate administration wanted its share. Governor Young estimated that a million would meet its needs (Dundas 1955: 171), but its revenue was only £200,000 in 1932. The mining corporations contributed through income tax half of protectorate revenues in 1938, but they flatly refused to pay an export tax on copper. Negotiating with them the protectorate was in a weak position, compared to 'a terrier pursuing a motor car' (quoted in Butler 2007: 27).

At the East African governors' conferences, Young found himself in a minority: 'while he was interested in mining all the talk was of sugar and sisal' (Dundas 1955: 176). The Colonial Office policy of trusteeship for the African peoples under its 'protection' made for difficult relations with the mining corporations: 'it is not our business to increase the profits of a largely American absentee landlord by facilitating their control over our own [sic] people'.¹⁰ For Young, 'the question is the most important that has to be decided in this country'.¹¹ Town planning, then seen as a new tool for colonial management, had a prominent part in the negotiations. Colonial Secretary Lord Passfield (the Fabian Socialist, Sidney Webb) issued a circular to his governors commending it 'as an orderly and scientific method of controlling work already in progress or inevitable in the future, in a manner which secures the best and most far-reaching economical results from current expenditure as it takes place' (quoted in Home 2013: 187).

The Copperbelt mining townships were rapidly emerging as:

... great industrial centres, each with its new and splendidly equipped attendant township, the whole forming a concentration of highly developed "civilisation" surrounded by thousands of square miles of emptiness. (Bradley 1966: 85)

The mines, at that time under American management, were most up-to-date and the White employees were highly paid and enjoyed every sort of comfort and amenity. The native employees also were well cared for, well housed and provided with facilities for recreation and diversion. (Dundas 1955: 173)

The mining companies strongly resisted any interference by the administration with their South African model of mining townships, which accommodated African miners in barracks controlled by company police and a compound manager (Demissie 1998). The clumsy negotiated solution was to create 'twin townships', mining and public side by side, with the official involvement of professional town planners (Gardiner 1971). The protectorate pressed the mining companies to abandon their stark barracks in favour of bachelor or married huts, a new design concept acknowledging the so-called 'stabilisation' of labour, rather than expecting the African mineworkers to regard their village

as home and spend limited contract periods in the mines (Home 2000). Dundas saw the mine-workers as:

...a young generation growing up which being born at the mines knew no other home or way of learning. Until I went to this country I had thought of Africans as sons of the soil by nature and it was strange to see them now as workers under the ground. (Dundas 1955: 172)

In this dynamic situation the new capital at Lusaka created an opportunity for the protectorate to assert its superiority and imperial dignity, as well as its commitment to new-style town planning as a modern tool of colonial management. Three successive governors (Maxwell, Storrs and Young) spent much time in planning Lusaka between 1929 and 1935 and, while all were in the autocratic or at least paternalistic colonial governor mould, their different personalities and experience also mattered, as a narrative of the inception of the project in 1929 to the formal opening of Lusaka in 1935 shows.

Moving the capital 1929–35: ‘a really good show’

It was in March 1929 that a Colonial Office telegram raised the matter of moving the administrative capital away from Livingstone (by the Victoria Falls, on the border with Rhodesia), ‘having regard to (1) health and (2) communications’.¹²

The governor at the time was Sir James Maxwell. From Dundee and trained in Edinburgh, he was one of many Scottish medical men in the colonies, having started as a district medical officer in Sierra Leone in 1897. He also trained for the bar, and in 1900 transferred into the political service, first as a district commissioner in Sierra Leone and then as a resident commissioner in Nigeria under Lugard (1914–20). After periods as colonial secretary in Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast he was promoted in June 1927 to become the second governor of Northern Rhodesia, one of the so-called ‘West Coast governors’ brought from West Africa to bring Lugard’s doctrine of indirect rule to East and Central Africa.

Maxwell ‘ruled the country with a rod of iron’ (Dutton quoted in Myers 1998).¹³ Faced with new challenges of townships springing up around the new copper mines, he brought in a former colleague from Nigeria (Dr. Alexander, director of sanitary services there¹⁴), whose advice was that ‘We need a town planner’. In December 1929 the legislative council passed the Town Planning Ordinance, drawing from South African and Kenyan legislation. As Maxwell wrote to his Colonial Office superiors: ‘The extremely rapid urban development of the Territory makes legislation of this nature very necessary.’¹⁵

After investigations by Dr. Alexander and others Governor Maxwell recommended for the new capital the township of Lusaka, and the legislative council agreed (except for the Livingstone representative, concerned at the loss of trade if the capital moved from Livingstone and the Victoria Falls).¹⁶

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Lusaka was geographically central in the territory, at the junction where the so-called 'Great North Road' (a name borrowed from Roman Britain, but also a reference to Rhodes' Cape to Cairo Road) divided; one branch went north into the former North-Western Rhodesia, the Copperbelt and Belgian Congo, and the other east into the former North-Eastern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The railway linking Cape Town with Rhodesia and the Belgian Congo had also been completed in 1909, with sidings placed at ten-mile intervals to allow service centres to develop. Some of these sidings stayed merely 'name-boards in the bush', but Lusaka's location allowed it a modest expansion and prosperity serving travellers, settlers and the local people. Making a new capital created an opportunity to improve 'the formlessness, the bungalowoid growths, the corrugated iron of existing townships...lacking in design as they are in architecture' (*Lusaka 1935*: 24).

Maxwell asked the Colonial Office to find an outside consultant to report on his proposal, and, after consulting the Town Planning Department within the UK Ministry of Health, the Crown Agents commissioned Professor Stanley Adshead and water engineering consultancy Binnie to report on the best location for a 'Capital City and Government Centre'.¹⁷ Adshead was Professor of Town Planning at University College London; considered by some 'the dreamy and slow-moving type', at the age of 62 he had no experience of the colonies but was willing to earn a good fee over his university summer vacation. He left London for Cape Town on 25 July 1930 and spent August in Lusaka. He considered eight possible locations for the new capital (four of them in the Copperbelt) but neither the protectorate administration nor the mining corporations wanted to be too near each other, and Adshead confirmed the Lusaka recommendation in November. After some delay awaiting geological test results from Binnie's, the final report was approved in July 1931.

Once Adshead had returned to London after his summer consultancy, a planner with stronger colonial experience arrived in Northern Rhodesia in October 1930. This was Charles Compton Reade, well known to Colonial Secretary Passfield, who apparently started in an advisory capacity but soon joined the protectorate staff as Town Planning Engineer or Director of Planning and Development. He engaged in often difficult negotiations with the mining corporations, but lost his job in the spending cuts in 1932–33.¹⁸

Not much progress had been made when Maxwell prepared to go on leave in October 1932, but he warned the white community of Lusaka township that the administration was 'not going to allow the Government Capital area to be developed except on lines which it has laid down'. He wrote an article for *The Times*, giving the new capital 'his whole-hearted support' and asserting that 'everything is ready for a forward move at the first opportunity', but then died suddenly at sea *en route* to Britain, on 16 November 1932.¹⁹

His successor was another inflexible autocrat, but very different in experience and personality. Sir Ronald Storrs has been called one of 'the pantheon of noteworthy leaders of the British Empire' (a judgment that he would probably

have agreed with, for he was a vain man), but that was based upon his 28 years' service in the Middle East, while Northern Rhodesia was to mark the somewhat ignominious end to his career. A favourite of Lord Kitchener in Egypt and a friend of Lawrence of Arabia, Storrs was made governor of Jerusalem and Judaea after Allenby captured Palestine from the Turks in 1918, 'basking in Pilate's seat' (as his successor wrote of him). His next governorship, of the island of Cyprus, ended badly, when hostility to British colonial rule resulted in riots in October 1931: 'the rabble burned down Government House with all the art treasures and books Storrs had so patiently and skilfully collected... He attributed this to 50 years' toleration of seditious agitation, but, in fact, as later events have shown, it was more deep seated than that'.²⁰

The Colonial Office may have come to regard Storrs as damaged goods. As a colonial servant he had to go where he was sent, and his next (and last) posting was Northern Rhodesia, a place far from his experience or interests. He was 'assuredly lost in Central Africa. He was not there. He did not look as if he were there' (Dutton quoted in Myers 1998). He probably shared his deputy Dundas' view of it as a 'land of rascals, rogues and peddlers' (quoted in Myers 2003: 60). Storrs had always preferred cultivating his civilised interests to routine administration, and perhaps spent his time musing about Dante or Lawrence of Arabia, subjects that he was later to lecture on during his comfortable London retirement. In Egypt he had prided himself on his command of street Arabic and ability to mingle with the common people, and in Northern Rhodesia he abhorred 'the intolerable social protocol where the only black person that a white man could shake by the hand was the Lozi (Barotse) paramount' (ODNB).

Storrs also faced the unwelcome task of deep cost-cutting, with the post-Depression austerity measures demanding 'wholesale dismissals of staff' (Pim, 1938: 337). Thousands of Africans came to Lusaka seeking work on the new capital, but there was no work. In July 1933 the Provincial Commissioner wrote:

For the past six months Lusaka has been in some way the 'City of the Dead'. There has been no money in any pocket...an unpaid, largely starving community. (quoted in Sampson 1971: 57)

With Reade and other planners 'retrenched', the only survivor, Colonel P. J. Bowling, set about revising the Adshead proposals. In July 1933 Storrs referred his 14-page report to the Colonial Office in London, who referred it back for local decision, claiming that 'we lack the necessary knowledge of local requirements and of the science of town planning to comment usefully'.²¹

More to Storrs' liking was the project of making a new Government House, where his Cyprus experience helped. When in 1931 the rioters burned down the old Government House, Storrs enacted a special law extracting £34,000 in tribute from the Greek Cypriots to pay for a new one, designed by the London

architects Sir Aston Webb & Sons, which was finally completed in 1937 at a cost of £70,000. The year 1931 was also the year when the Indian Viceroy's splendid new House was inaugurated in New Delhi, with its four floors, 340 rooms and a massive 200,000 square feet (19,000 m²) of floorspace; but for budget restrictions it would have been even bigger. Storrs invited Hoogterp to produce plans and elevations for his Lusaka Government House, which were displayed at the Royal Academy reworked by the best architectural draughtsman in London at the time.²² The estimated building cost at £43,000 was over a tenth of the total £400,000 budgeted for the entire new capital, and when Storrs tried to justify this extravagance by citing the high freight costs of imported building materials and furnishings, the Colonial Office was not pleased, and demanded cuts in December 1933. Costly furniture from Heal's of London had to be substituted with locally produced versions using Heal's designs. The Colonial Office's penny-pinching seems to have been the last straw for Storrs, who was invalided home in February 1934 on grounds of ill health (perhaps depression) after less than 16 months in post. It was his last colonial appointment.

Now unexpectedly needing another new governor, and with Prince George's visit imminent, the Colonial Office transferred Sir Hubert Young from the next door protectorate of Nyasaland. Like Storrs, he was an old Middle East hand, having fought the Turks alongside Lawrence of Arabia, but was made of sterner stuff than Storrs, and thrived on the challenge of reviving the faltering Lusaka project.²³ His deputy Dundas found Young 'a lovable man, high-minded and able, with a strong personality [whose] bent was for creative work and he found it in the building of a new capital' (Dundas 1955: 168, 173).

When Young arrived, four houses for senior and six blocks of flats for junior officials had been built, also a few miles of road, and the Northern Rhodesia Regiment had moved into its 'askari lines' near the Government House site.²⁴ Among Young's first tasks were to show Prince George around and discuss the new capital with the executive council, after which he wrote positively to the doubtless relieved Colonial Secretary Cunliffe-Lister on 16 April 1934:

My dear Sir Philip, I am now in a position to give you some idea of what I am proposing to do about Lusaka...I am optimistic about the future of Lusaka and feel that there is quite a reasonable prospect of the undertaking paying its way in the near future.²⁵

The Beit Trust agreed to guarantee the interest on the £400,000 capital loan until revenues improved.²⁶ Young put in charge of managing the project Dundas' assistant chief secretary, Eric Dutton, a person of 'imagination and drive...a ruthless enthusiast and a demon of energy' (Bradley 1966: 88-90).²⁷

Young also had to overcome the determined opposition of Livingstone's white community to the new capital, which would affect their business interests. They called it 'a blunder of the first magnitude' (quoted in Sampson

1971: 62), and believed that the £400,000 budgeted for it would be better spent elsewhere. They nicknamed it 'Deadstone', and even unsuccessfully petitioned King George V (then terminally ill) to stop it. If they could not stop it, they wanted compensation for business losses incurred, but the Colonial Office refused because of the precedent that would set for future projects. Young by way of a sweetener agreed that the government would pay for Livingstone to get a memorial museum for the explorer Livingstone, tourism publicity, and a game park nearby.²⁸

With the project back on track, Young proposed to hold a 'Lusaka week', timed to coincide with the jubilee celebrations for King George V: 'we hope to have a really good show as a send-off to the new capital'.²⁹ The views of Buckingham Palace were sought on the order of precedence for official guests (all of them white), eliciting the response: 'the Lord Chamberlain is of opinion that the guard should only turn out for the first two on the list'.³⁰ A special train was hired from Livingstone for 'a mass migration of all departments headed by the Governor' over a single weekend in May 1935.³¹

The 'Official Programme of his Majesty's Jubilee Celebrations and the Formal Opening of the New Capital at Lusaka, May 28th to June 3rd, 1935' captures the feel of the event, rather like an English county show. On the evening of Tuesday 28th a cabaret by the local amateur dramatic society and dance were held in the 'Government Printing Office Building, situated near the Railway Camp'. The next morning (Wednesday) Governor Young and his wife visited the Hospital, Governor's Village and Native Trade School, and laid the foundation stone for the BSAC office building, while Governor Kittermaster opened the Gymkhana Club. After another dance on Wednesday evening, Thursday saw the airport opened with a fly-past, air rally and motor gymkhana, and a ball at the new Government House. On Friday the Governor opened the new administrative offices with a 17-gun salute, followed by an agricultural show, horse-jumping, inspection of Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, hockey and rugby matches, and another 'sun-downer' dance and cabaret, with firework display. On Saturday the agricultural show continued, with race meeting and gymkhana, more hockey and rugby, and a fancy dress ball, while Lady Young opened the Native Clinic and visited the Native Market and new power station.

The irony of these proceedings was that during the very same week there were disturbances on the Copperbelt – 'a new and startling manifestation of the march of progress in Africa' (Dundas 1955: 169).³² The announcement of an increase in poll tax provoked an all-out strike of African mine-workers from 22–25 May, and on 29 May police at the Luanshya mine shot dead six of them (Meebelo 1986; Russell 1935; Henderson 1975; Perrings 1977). The culminating grand event in Lusaka, a parade and trooping of the colour for the King's Jubilee on Monday 3rd June had to be cancelled, no doubt because of the disturbances. For Governor Young the 'whole affair came so entirely unexpectedly' (quoted in Butler 2007: 52) – just as the Cyprus riots of 1931

had for Storrs. The miners went on strike again in 1940, and were suppressed with machine guns. In their words: ‘When the Europeans went on strike they were listened to, but when we go on strike they bring up the Regiment’ (Russell 1935: 126).

Lusaka 1935: the book and its author

The book *Lusaka 1935* was written for the formal opening, ‘produced for private publication’ by Jonathan Cape and probably distributed to guests during that week of festivities.³³ The author (‘K.B.’) was Kenneth (later Sir Kenneth) Bradley (1904–77), at the time a 28-year-old district officer at Mumbwa, a hundred miles west of Lusaka. His family had been ‘dons, parsons or schoolmasters, or all three’ for four hundred years (like most district officers, according to him) (Bradley 1956: 4). His father died when Bradley was an infant, relatives paid for his public school and Oxford education, and Northern Rhodesia was his first colonial service posting (1926–42). In his memoirs he wrote that ‘hard poverty had taught me how to write for hard cash’, and for producing *Lusaka 1935* that cash probably came directly from Governor Young.

It marked the part-time start of what became a writing career for Bradley as a cheerleader for British colonialism.³⁴ In 1939 he was appointed ‘information officer’, to ‘maintain the morale and encourage the war effort of both Africans and Europeans’, and in 1942 left Northern Rhodesia for the Falkland Islands, followed by the Gold Coast in 1945. He retired early from the colonial service in 1948 to become the editor of *Corona*, a professional journal for the colonial service, and in 1953 was made Director of the Imperial Institute in London, getting a knighthood for the development of the new Commonwealth Institute building in South Kensington (opened in 1962). He had no doubts about the colonial masters right to rule, and, like many of them, was dismayed and perplexed that the empire ended so quickly, within his working lifetime. His history for primary schools reflected conventional colonial thinking, recommending that the Copperbelt mineworkers should not leave their wives and families behind in their villages (although his employer paid his wife’s passage from Britain to be with him), and considered them misguided to go on strike.

To take in turn the chapters of *Lusaka 1935*, Chapter I (‘Unveiling’) is a self-serving justification for the British colonial presence in central Africa. Cecil Rhodes and David Livingstone are the greatest of a few ‘great men’ bringing ‘light into the darkness’ (p.11). The Africans get a mention (but only those who did not resist colonial rule): Lewanika is ‘an ardent Imperialist [leading]... his people towards the fulfilment of which Livingstone had given them a glimpse more than half a century before’ (p.17). The BSAC which captured the territory’s land and mineral rights is presented as entirely a force for good, with ‘its splendidly carried burden of administration’ (p.20).

Chapter II (‘Origins’) explains the decision to choose Lusaka for a new capital, and associates it with other imperial capitals, Ottawa, Canberra, New

Delhi and Pretoria. It proclaims the benefits of the location: 'the wide vistas, the bracing air and the amenities of the capital itself and the surrounding countryside' (p.26), although in reality problems of drainage and malaria were already emerging.

Chapter III ('The Plan') gives 'a short descriptive and prophetic tour of the capital' (p.29) (prophetic because little was there in 1935), and stresses the importance of town planning and regulation. 'Every step in its development can be most carefully regulated. There is no reason why ugly houses, slovenly shops and garages, overcrowding or, in fact, any of the evils that characterize a city of undirected growth should ever arise' (p.34). Land uses are to be separated: 'no untidy mingling of shops and garages with private houses...the business of life and its more noisy and energetic forms of entertainment are carried on somewhere else' (p.28-29).

Chapter IV ('The Buildings') opens with a quotation from Sir Christopher Wren on the political uses of architecture. The mention of two-storey buildings in a land where there were hardly any structures over one was (literally) one-upmanship over the railway and mining townships, while corrugated iron was to give way to more European buildings, designed to look like the houses of the Italian countryside or 'an adaptation of a house once seen and coveted in the Austrian Tyrol' (p.38). Hoogterp's assistant, Rinaldi, supplied his artist's impressions of the new designs.³⁵ With the Colonial Office disapproving of high freight costs, much was made of the use of locally sourced building materials, creating local jobs and skills. Bradley's self-deprecating humour acknowledged the budget limitations: 'The number of Government offices ... has been reduced to the lowest compatible with efficiency. There is only one' (p.40). By way of contrast the Union Buildings at Pretoria, completed in 1913, were probably the largest building work undertaken in the Southern Hemisphere at that time. Lusaka's new Government House attracts three pages as a statement of the dignity of the Crown.

Chapter V ('The Native Side') wrote optimistically that 'the ideal is to make the compounds into a 'self-contained' African town, planned and developed on careful and progressive lines which, it is hoped, will provide an edifying comparison with the slums which constitute the native quarters of so many of the older townships in the tropics' (p.52). Instead of the barracks of the mining compounds, traditional huts were built, but with improved ventilation and high ceilings following British building regulations. The main innovation was the Governor's Village, intended as a demonstration project for new forms of African housing, on which Dutton worked with zeal.

Chapter VI ('The Airport') was an enthusiastic forward look, since 'air travel was just coming into vogue and it was, of course, of enormous advantage in the vast spaces of Africa' (Dundas 1955: 167). The rapid expansion of air travel was seized upon by imperialists as a new way of knitting the empire together, and the chapter opens by quoting Sir Samuel Instone, an aviation entrepreneur

whose airline had recently merged with Imperial Airways (the precursor of BOAC and later British Airways).

Chapter VII ('The Trees') discusses the planting which made Lusaka's later reputation as a garden city. 'Not only has Africa been combed for its most pleasant trees, but others have been brought from all over the tropical world, from South America, Mexico, India, China, Madagascar, Australia, from Persia and the South Sea Islands' (p.59). An appendix recommends species for shade, flowering and climbing plants, and Dutton's initiative established a nursery and planted the Ridgeway with wild fig trees and blue jacaranda. They matured to create a landscape 'so spacious and so rich in trees and lawns and brilliant gardens that it looks much more like a garden suburb than a city...a more attractive place than anyone could have expected it to be' (Bradley 1956: 88–90).

The Adshead and Bowling plans are presented together in *Lusaka 1935*, and a comparison of them is revealing on racial segregation, the social pretensions of administrators, and the austerity measures of 1933. Bowling kept Adshead's basic layout of roads and circles, with the Ridgeway as the main spine road, but downplays the place of the railway station on the far west, removing Adshead's 'new station' and formal avenue. Instead Bowling gives much more emphasis to the proposed airport, and clusters around it 'residences' of senior officials, the Gymkhana Club (the social centre for the British, which Adshead placed next to the government centre), an arboretum and a golf course (aircraft noise being probably regarded as welcome contact with home rather than environmental pollution). Bowling makes the Government House site bigger than Adshead's plan, with a grander entrance drive, while the government and municipal centres are smaller (Bowling accepting that the administrative offices would be less grand than the secretariat buildings recently built in New Delhi and Pretoria). Bowling also proposed various 'character zones' and expanded the business area, moving away from Adshead's brief for an administrative capital. Both Adshead and Bowling made the 'native' areas smaller than the European and administrative areas, and placed them at the southern edge of the layout, near the regimental barracks or 'askari lines'. Adshead showed a market square near the railway station and a separate 'native market' inside the 'native compound', while Bowling adds some more detail with the 'Governor's village' (for African government employees) conveniently located near Government House, and a 'personal servants compound'. Adshead shows a 'native hospital' and 'native industrial schools' north of the 'native compound', but Bowling drops the native hospital and puts the 'African trades school' next to the Governor's village and the army camp, while a school site and hostel (presumably for Europeans only) appears in the European area to the north-east. Adshead's 'site for Cathedral' disappears, and Bowling introduces a nursery in the south-west corner, doubtless responding to Dutton's interest in trees.

**‘Oppressive and negligent at the same time’:
implementing the plan**

How the Lusaka capital proceeded is not to be compared with the development corporations that implemented the British new towns programme in later years. Adshead visited only briefly and did not return, while Bowling moved to South Africa before the formal opening, leaving the main work to Dutton and the local Public Works Department. Compared with Pretoria or New Delhi, there was never enough money, as indeed Dundas recognised applied to the whole British colonial dilemma:

Planning without knowing how to meet the cost is no more than mere speculation. The UK held out prospects of generous contribution, but one suspected that Britain, like the old woman who lived in a shoe, had so many charges she would not know what to do. (Dundas 1956: 232)

The revenues that the administration hoped would flow from copper were slow to materialise. The mining companies, registered in the UK, declared their profits there, and refused to pay either rates or export tax to the local administration, although it drew a growing revenue from income tax paid by the miners. Interest charges on the £400,000 budget set with the Colonial Office were guaranteed by the Beit Trust, but only in 1938, with the Second World War looming and copper production booming, did revenues allow anything like the spending on social infrastructure that was being recommended by the Pim and Eccles inquiries.

The land for the capital was mostly claimed by the administration as Crown or public land under the Public Lands Acquisition Ordinance 1930. Some had, however, been sold off as freehold land by the BSAC, including most of the old railway township (such as Fairview Farm, which appears on the Adshead and Bowling plans as Fairview Township, where many of the white settlers and traders lived). The site of Government House itself was next to private farmland, whose white owner had built ‘poor class bungalows in the field of vision’, so that Governor Young had the design ‘swung round on its central axis’ in order to ensure a suitably dignified view.³⁶

Design, decision-making and supervision of the new capital rested with a handful of white officials. Initially Lusaka was split into two townships: the ‘Old Township’ to the west on either side of the railway, and the ‘New Lusaka Township’, centrally funded and controlled, with the Provincial Commissioner as a one-man local authority. Township boundaries were adjusted as the administration saw fit, and only in 1949 was a single urban district created, to which the central government reluctantly agreed to pay rates on its buildings. A municipal corporation was created in 1954 and upgraded to city council status

in 1960, although representation by the African majority was only achieved at independence.

The Adshead/Bowling plan was never formally adopted as a statutory plan under the Town Planning Ordinance 1929 and neither were the two plans prepared by consultants after the Second World War (Bowling and Floyd in 1948, Jellicoe in 1950). A development plan got statutory approval in 1952, over 20 years after Governor Maxwell approved the original Adshead plan. Meanwhile, as the roads and buildings emerged from the bush, Adshead's spacious layout meant that the new capital came to cover a larger area than Broken Hill, Livingstone and Ndola combined, with much unused land reserved for future expansion, and to achieve racial and social segregation. The officials lived and worked on and around the Ridgeway (nicknamed Snobs Hill, with the social and geographical distance that implied, to the administration's embarrassment), while the self-made merchants of old Lusaka stayed in Fairview, resisting the government's offer of free plots if they moved (but no compensation for their existing businesses) (Rothman 1972: 49). The low-density layout meant high costs of servicing, so that Lusaka lagged behind other towns, and only in 1952 got its first sewerage treatment plant.

For all the rhetoric of trusteeship and 'our people', the capital Lusaka was intended for Europeans, and the 'intrinsic racism of colonial space' (Myers 1998: 22) made little provision for the local African population who were from the start the majority. The Adshead plan envisaged a population of only 10,000, comprising 5000 Europeans, 1000 African police, and 4000 other Africans, which was considered 'ample provision'. In 1938 the Pim Report found that official housing accommodated fewer than 1500 Africans, yet there were already 10,000 within ten miles of the town centre (twice Adshead's figure).³⁷ In 1950 the Jellicoe plan reserved 7000 acres for a projected future European population of 22,000, but only 5280 acres for a projected 133,000 African population (densities of 4 Europeans per acre but 30 Africans per acre). Less than 20 years later Lusaka's population was a quarter of a million.

The management board's 'basic principles' for town planning in 1946 reflected these attitudes (Rothman 1972: 211). 'European development' was to be concentrated on the better land to the east and north-east. African housing was to be separated by buffer zones 220 yards either side of the main roads (out of sight, out of mind). African housing was to be 'reasonably near' the place of employment, so that employers could evade the responsibility of housing their workers.³⁸ This was similar to the *apartheid* realities of South Africa or Kenya. 'Judging from the complaints voiced by organizations during the period, the local authority was all too potent and impotent, overzealous and lax, oppressive and negligent at the same time' (Rothman 1972: 325).

Services for the African urban population were separately financed under the so-called 'Durban system', which originated in Natal with the *togt* or day-labour system, and under which labourers paid a registration fee for their own policing and accommodation. Profits from a municipal monopoly over beer

halls were paid into a 'Native Revenue' account, kept separate from other municipal finances to pay for African community services (Swanson 1976). Africans soon recognised the injustice of the system: 'How much beer must I drink before my children can drink water? Do other countries make poor people drink beer to collect money for water?' (Hall 1964: 135). 'African affairs' remained separate from general urban administration, the African Affairs Department only disappearing in 1962, while the beer halls ran at a deficit.

Movement of the African population was supposedly controlled by registration papers (they could be arrested in the township if they lacked a resident or visitor permit), and policing was oppressive (Eccles called them 'an absolute menace'). An anonymous notice at the Nkana mining compound at the time of the 1940 disturbance said 'We are like slaves because of the police' (quoted in Rothman 1971: 79), which was ironic considering that combating the slave trade was supposed to justify the British colonial presence. The 'location' was devised in South Africa as an area where the urban African was allowed to live, and in Lusaka there were various locations and compounds, such as the Governor's Village (for employees of the government), personal servant compound, and messengers' compound, with resident compound managers and a location elders' committee. The inadequacies of African housing were much criticised (Pim 1938; Eccles 1944; Jameson 1945), but little was done. 'Judging from the complaints voiced by organizations during the period, the local authority was all too potent and impotent, overzealous and lax, oppressive and negligent at the same time' (Rothman 1972: 325).

Conclusions: Lusaka as imperial grand design

The Lusaka capital project began at a time when the British empire was at its greatest extent. It sought to send a confident message to the various critics of colonial administration in Northern Rhodesia, be they white settlers, mining companies or Africans. The territory was set to become one of Britain's richest colonies from copper exports, and the 'colonial masters' wanted a capital of appropriate distinction.

Those most actively involved in planning the new capital were all white colonial officials, uninterested in consulting with its other potential occupiers, least of all the local African population who from the start were the majority. The key people among the planners had all fought in the Great War (Young with Lawrence of Arabia, Bowling on the Western Front, Dutton grievously wounded at Gallipoli), an experience which doubtless influenced their urge to plan and build anew. They were also much concerned with the dignity of the Crown in whose name they claimed to rule. Thus the biggest item in Lusaka's capital budget was Government House, which was claimed as 'the newest and most sumptuous of gubernatorial residences in the colonial empire' (writing of the year 1935 in Dundas 1955: 179), and 'a spacious and imposing building fully equipped and necessarily expensive to maintain' (Pim 1938: 163), whose

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‘great occasions will be the outward and visible sign at all times of the dignity of the Crown’ (*Lusaka 1935*: 44).

Yet the British Empire was soon to unravel. The abdication of King Edward VIII in the year after the opening was a blow to the Crown’s dignity. Dundas was at the time acting governor and wrote later:

As I drove into the grounds of Government House my eye lit on the ornate Royal Monogram but recently affixed to the wrought-iron gates. They would have to be changed from E.R.I. to G.R.I. It was but a trifle, yet one of thousands of like sort necessitated all over the empire. (1955: 179)

Within a generation the British empire was gone, and within 30 years of Lusaka’s opening it became the capital of an independent Zambia in 1964 – an event that to the British colonial masters in 1935 was inconceivable. Even in the week of the grand opening that *Lusaka 1935* celebrated there were new and unexpected disturbances on the Copperbelt, which soon emerged as a forcing ground for African trade unionism and nationalism. Also a new world war was looming, and other strikes and nationalist stirrings were spreading across the empire. An African leader of the Watch Tower movement did not shrink from telling Governor Young to his face that he was ‘an agent of the Evil One’ (Dundas 1956: 179), which was less than a ringing endorsement of a colonial policy that paid lip service to the ‘paramountcy’ of African interests. Colonial provision for Lusaka’s rapidly growing African population was always inadequate, and its plans failed to foresee and indeed were instruments for resisting its explosive growth, which soon spread far beyond the boundaries of the colonial city (Hansen 1997; Schlyter 1979).

How might this story of long-gone colonial masters be relevant for present-day Lusaka and its inhabitants? After all, the various British planners, governors and officials behind the Lusaka project only stayed in the country for a few years, sometimes only weeks or months. But their plans affected the city’s urban landscape profoundly. A few grand buildings like Government House (now State House), in a territory where structures above a single storey in the 1930s were virtually non-existent, provided symbols for the future new nation states, as part of a spread of designed capitals in Africa and globally such as Lilongwe, Abuja, Dodoma and Chandigarh (Vale 1992). The design idiom of Lusaka’s public buildings predated the architectural modern movement, deriving from the imperial style of Herbert Baker, and adapted building materials from what was locally available. Lusaka’s most distinctive image was that of a garden city capital, the result of Adshead’s spacious layout and Dutton’s active tree-planting programme, even if the garden city character related only to the landscaped central area around the Ridgeway, where the white ‘colonial masters’ once lived and worked.

Among the less attractive legacies have been neglect of representative local government, weak planning for future urban growth, and inadequate infrastructure and housing provision, which have resulted in most of the population living in unplanned informal settlements, with widespread poverty and inequalities that mineral wealth has not alleviated. A growing civic conscientiousness and public awareness of a 'right to the city' can be helped by a better understanding of Lusaka's historical origins and the factors influencing its physical form. Lusaka has been a product of powerful external globalising forces that profoundly and irreversibly transformed lives, and building settlement forms, and such processes continue with the recent involvement of China in Zambia's mining and infrastructure development. The rise of so-called 'resource nationalism', seeking to keep more benefits from natural resources for the local people, may yet lead to a better future for the city of Lusaka.

Notes

- 1 Dundas' memoirs have been particularly useful. Sir Charles Dundas (1884–1956), fifth son of an English viscount, was 36 years in the colonial service, including three years as chief secretary (and acting governor) in Northern Rhodesia 1934–37. He was then appointed Governor of the Bahamas, where he was succeeded by the Duke of Windsor, exiled from Britain because of his pro-Nazi sympathies.
- 2 Prince George (1902–42) was created Duke of Kent a few months after his return to Britain from his African tour, in anticipation of his forthcoming marriage to his third cousin Princess Marina of Greece and Denmark. Their marriage on 29 November 1934 at Westminster Abbey was the last to date between a son of a British sovereign and a member of a foreign royal house. He was killed in a plane crash in Scotland in 1942, on active service during the Second World War. His older brothers were Edward VIII (who abdicated and became the Duke of Windsor), King George VI and Prince Henry, Duke of Gloucester. The Duke of Kent's daughter was to marry Angus Ogilvy, a director in the central African mining company and conglomerate Lonrho, which was declared by Prime Minister Heath in 1973 to be 'the unpleasant and unacceptable face of capitalism'; Ogilvy resigned, ending his City career. Lonrho (restructured as Lonmin) is still active in southern Africa, and at its Marikana platinum mine 36 protesting miners were killed in 2012.
- 3 John Albert Hoogterp FRIBA (1892–1972) was of Dutch parentage born in Johannesburg, South Africa. After training in Amsterdam he returned in 1909 to South Africa and worked for Baker on New Delhi, the Union Buildings in Pretoria, and public buildings in Kenya, where he established a successful practice and married the divorced second wife of Baron Bror-Blixen (the first being Karen Blixen, author of *Out of Africa*). In about 1935 he relocated back to Johannesburg, where he died. In Lusaka he was responsible for the design of Government House and the BSAC offices. Biographical details from contact@artefacts.co.za. Sir Herbert Baker (1862–1946) designed the Union Buildings in Pretoria, Groote Schuur (Rhodes' house and the official residence of South African prime ministers),

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- South Africa House and India House in London, and Rhodes House in Oxford (Irving 1981).
- 4 As portrayed in the 1980 film *Out of Africa*, in which Robert Redford pilots Meryl Streep over the Kenyan countryside. Redford played Denys Finch Hatton, an aristocratic big-game hunter, and Streep his lover and author of *Out of Africa*, Karen Blixen. Finch Hatton was killed in a plane crash in Kenya in 1931. For imperial air travel see Pirie 2009.
 - 5 In 1949 the population comprised 32,000 whites and 1.6 million Africans, a ratio of 1:530 (Hall 1976: 180).
 - 6 *Laws* 1936. As at 1931 the first three, which imposed restrictions on African movement, were not yet in force because they contradicted the paramountcy of 'native' interests.
 - 7 Sir Alfred Chester Beatty (1875–1968), known as the 'King of Copper', was born in New York, graduated from Columbia University as a mining engineer, and made his first mining fortune in Colorado. He never visited Northern Rhodesia, but enjoyed a millionaire lifestyle in London, accumulating a world-class collection of Oriental art and books. In protest at the post-war Labour government's taxation policy, he moved to Ireland and became an Irish citizen, and his bequest to the Irish nation is the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin Castle (ODNB; Phillips 2009).
 - 8 Sir Ernest Oppenheimer (1880–1957) took control of De Beers in 1929, and acquired interests in Northern Rhodesia after 1924 (Gregory 1962; Jessup 1979; ODNB). Oppenheimer's brother-in-law, Major Leslie Pollak (d.1934), as deputy chairman of Anglo-American and managing director of Rhokana handled the corporation's local negotiations with the protectorate administration.
 - 9 Sir Auckland Campbell Geddes (1st Baron) (1879–1954) had been director of manpower recruitment for the War Office in the First World War (Alford and Harvey 1980; ODNB). His brother, Sir Eric Geddes (1875–1937) was the first chairman of Imperial Airways and flew the Cape to Cairo link in 1932.
 - 10 Colonial Office minute, 9 September 1932, in CO/759/50/36295 (UKNA).
 - 11 Young in SEC/LAB/177 (ZNA, quoted in Hall 1976: 56).
 - 12 Telegram 23 March 1929, in CO 795/38/3, 'Removal of capital from Livingstone 1930', UKNA.
 - 13 Sir James Crawford Maxwell (1869–1932) served in West Africa 1897–1927 (WWW). Other 'West African' governors were Cameron in Tanganyika and Gowers in Uganda, both appointed in 1925.
 - 14 David Alexander (d. 1944) educated in Glasgow, joined the West African medical staff in 1903, and became Director of Medical and Sanitary Services in Nigeria (WWW).
 - 15 Governor Maxwell to Colonial Office, 9 December 1929, in CO 795/30/12, 'Town Planning Ordinance' (UKNA).
 - 16 Maxwell to Colonial Office, 1 April 1930, in CO 795/38/3, 'Removal of capital from Livingstone 1930' (UKNA).
 - 17 Stanley D. Adshead (1868–1946) was the first Professor of Civic Design at Liverpool University 1909–14, and Professor at University College London 1914–35 (ODNB; WWW). The firm of Sir Alexander Binnie Sons & Deacon, named after its founder, a Victorian engineer, and run by his son and grandson, undertook consultancies in Britain and the colonies, especially in water engineering. For

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- the Lusaka consultancy Adshead was paid a fee of a thousand pounds (plus travel, 'outfit' and expenses), while Binnie's got two thousand (CO 795/38/3 *ibid.*).
- 18 Charles Compton Reade (1880–1933) was a founder member of the Town Planning Institute, and worked in five colonies (New Zealand, South Australia, Malaya, Northern Rhodesia and South Africa). After losing his job in Northern Rhodesia, he went to South Africa as Town Planning Officer for the Witwatersrand, but apparently committed suicide by shooting himself in a Johannesburg hotel soon after arriving in October 1933. It is conceivable that he was murdered by the mining interests, who did not want him interfering as he had done in Northern Rhodesia (Home 2013: ch. 6).
 - 19 *Times* obituary 18 November 1932: 16, col.d. His article 'Looking forward in Rhodesia' is in *The Times* 3 November 1932 (p. 13, col f); 'lines which it has laid down', quoted in Rothman 1972: 32.
 - 20 Sir Ronald Storrs (1881–1955) was governor of Jerusalem and Judea 1920–26, and Cyprus 1926–31. *Times* obituary 2 November 1955, p.11, col.a.; ODNB; Morgan 2010. The 'later events' were the EOKA uprising, which began months before Storrs' death and led to Cyprus gaining independence in 1965. 'Basking in Pilate's seat' from Miller (2000: 114).
 - 21 *Minute*, 27 February 1934, in CO 795/66/9 'New Capital at Lusaka: Layout and Zoning Proposals' (UKNA). Peter James Bowling (1889–1957) trained as a Royal Engineer, served in the First World War and was planning consultant to Chelmsford Council before working in Northern Rhodesia 1932–34. He left in April 1934 to work with the Witwatersrand Planning Committee 1935–40 (as Reade's successor), and became a prominent figure in South African town planning.
 - 22 William Walcot (1874–1943) grew up in South Africa, and practised as an architect with commissions from Lutyens and Baker. When his practice was ruined by the Second World War, he committed suicide. A previous Royal Academy exhibit from Storrs' time in Jerusalem had been McLean's planning scheme in 1919 (Home 2013).
 - 23 Sir Hubert Young (1885–1950) came from a family tradition of imperial service: his father and grandfather had been lieutenant-governors of the Punjab, and a brother was governor of Hong Kong and prisoner of the Japanese (1941–45). Hubert started his career in the Indian army, and served in the Middle East (1915–32) before becoming governor of Nyasaland (1932–34), Northern Rhodesia (1934–38) and Trinidad (1938–42). He was sacked from Trinidad by Churchill for his uncooperative attitude to the Americans, who were building Lend-Lease bases vital to Anglo–American wartime cooperation (ODNB).
 - 24 Annual report of Public Works Department 1934 in CO 799/13, UKNA. The only tarmac-surfaced (or 'sealed') roads were King George V Avenue (1.3 miles), Cairo Road (0.7 miles) and the Ridgeway (0.7 miles).
 - 25 CO 795/66/10, 'New Capital at Lusaka: Effect on, and development of, Livingstone' (UKNA).
 - 26 The Beit Trust was set up to provide for infrastructure development in Rhodesia under the will of Alfred Beit (1853–1906), a gold and diamond magnate, co-founder of the BSAC in 1888, and a Jameson Raid conspirator in 1895 (ODNB).
 - 27 Eric Dutton (1895–1973), a parson's son, suffered crippling wounds at Gallipoli in 1915 but recovered to work in five colonies (Lesotho, Uganda, Kenya, Northern Rhodesia and Zanzibar). He knew Herbert Baker, and was a dedicated imperialist

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- in the Cecil Rhodes tradition, believing in establishing British civilisation in new territories (Myers 1998).
- 28 CO 795/66/10 and CO 795/74/5 'New Capital at Lusaka' (UKNA). The origin of 'Deadstone' is unclear: perhaps a combination of Deadwood and Tombstone, reflecting settler dislike of the new mining towns, and perhaps a sarcastic reference to the Keystone Cops silent movies, reflecting their dislike also of colonial officials rushing around being important. Governor Young estimated that of 1600 residents of Livingstone in 1931, 268 were government officials, and that fell to 86 in August 1935, 65 of whom had transferred to Lusaka.
 - 29 Young to Colonial Office, 8 January 1935, CO 795/74/2 'Plans for Opening of New Capital at Lusaka' (UKNA).
 - 30 These were the governors of Southern Rhodesia (Sir Herbert Stanley, previously the first governor of Northern Rhodesia 1924–27) and Young's successor in Nyasaland, Sir Harold Kittermaster. Buckingham Palace to Colonial Office, 17 April 1935, in CO 795/74/2 *ibid*.
 - 31 Dundas (1956: 169): 'I had been ill and was on recuperative leave in Cape Town. I was glad to escape the commotion of transference of a whole capital and altogether my illness had been well timed.'
 - 32 Also, by coincidence Lawrence of Arabia, friend and wartime comrade of both Storrs and Young, died after a motorcycle accident on 19 May 1935, a few days before the formal opening of Lusaka.
 - 33 The London-based Jonathan Cape, founded in 1921, also published Sidney Webb, Lawrence of Arabia, and the James Bond series, before merging with Chatto and Windus (later Random House).
 - 34 Among his books were *The Story of Northern Rhodesia* (1941), written for use in primary schools, *Copper Venture* (1952), a promotional book for the Copperbelt, and *The Colonial Service as a Career* (1950). His most successful book, *Diary of a District Officer* (1943), offering a view of a world far removed from wartime Europe, sold a hundred thousand copies in a few months and was republished in 1947. His memoirs, *Once a District Officer*, were published in 1966.
 - 35 Raymond Clement Rinaldi FRIBA (1908–87) trained in London and in 1929 started work in Nairobi before joining Hoogterp's firm there and in Johannesburg. He retired in 1973. Biographical details from contact@artefacts.co.za.
 - 36 Hoogterp plans and elevations, 5 July 1933, in CO 795/58/9 'New Capital at Lusaka – New Government House' (UKNA).
 - 37 The 1500 comprised 1024 in the new town compound, 270 personal servants and 170 in the governor's village. The ten thousand included a thousand in the old township compound at Chibolya and a further thousand in a temporary labour camp.
 - 38 Under the Employment of Natives Ordinance 1929 (s. 45) employers were responsible for ensuring that their servants were 'properly housed', except where 'a servant returns to his home at the conclusion of his daily work' (Laws 1936).

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Chronology of Lusaka's planning

Date	Events inside Zambia	Events outside Zambia
1929	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New capital proposed • Town Planning Ordinance • Townships Ordinance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • June - Passfield becomes Colonial Secretary
1930	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lusaka Town Management Board appointed • August - Adshead preliminary report • October - Reade arrives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Colonial Office circular advocates town planning • Rhokana Corporation created
1931	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • July - Lusaka chosen as site of new capital 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • July - Labour government loses office, Passfield out
1932	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • March - Dutton memorandum to Maxwell on Lusaka project • July - Northern Rhodesian Regiment moves to Lusaka • October - Governor Maxwell leaves 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Anglo-Belgian Congo-Zambia boundary commission
1933	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • July - Bowling revises Lusaka plan 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • January - Nazi party takes power in Germany • October - Reade 'commits suicide' Johannesburg
1934	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • February - Young succeeds Storrs as governor • Bowling leaves, Dutton supervises Lusaka project • Prince George visits Lusaka 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • June - Pollak dies in Johannesburg
1935	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • May - Official opening of Lusaka • Copperbelt 'disturbances' 	
After 1935	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1944 Eccles report on urban administration • 1950 Jellicoe town plan for Lusaka • 1952 first Lusaka development plan • 1964 Zambian independence 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1936 George V dies, Edward VIII abdicates • 1937 Trinidad strike • 1939 Mombasa dock strike • 1947 Indian independence starts 'end of empire'

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THE PRINCE, THE GOVERNOR AND THE ARCHITECT
(reading from right to left)

LUSAKA

LUSAKA

The New Capital of
Northern Rhodesia

Opened
Jubilee Week
1935

1935
Produced for Private Circulation by
Jonathan Cape
London

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PLANS

PROFESSOR ADSHEAD'S PLAN
PLAN OF LUSAKA TO-DAY

LUSAKA

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CHAPTER I
UNVEILING

One Empire grew from the adventurous spirit of our fathers.
Stanley Baldwin

To plan a city on virgin land, to build the nucleus of a capital for a country is essentially an act of faith, a looking forward to the increase that the years will bring. Yet it is only fitting that we should look back for a moment and remember with gratitude those who have made its undertaking possible.

It is said that history is the biography of a few great men. Certainly in the wilder places of the earth history would never have been made if great men had not come to bring light into the darkness and others had not followed to build by the light that was handed on to them.

In Central Africa, pre-eminently, exploration and development have been the achievements of individuals. One by one they came to reveal to the world more and more of the veiled immensity, the terrifying unknown that lay between the Zambezi and the Nile.

The first of them was a Portuguese, Doctor Francisco José Maria de Lacerda e Almeida, mathematician, administrator and explorer, and sometime Astronomer. Royal to Her Most Faithful Majesty Donna Maria I. He landed at the mouth of the Zambezi in 1797 and was appointed Governor of Sena, in the Captaincy of Moçambique, but under the authority of the Governor of Angola. The significance of this was that he had come out with the avowed object of finding

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a route from the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic: annexation of the whole interior was to follow and a barrier was to be placed across the continent to check the inevitable expansion of the British from the Cape. Fortunately, however, for the British, de Lacerda had been born a century too late. The glory of Portugal in Africa was already declining, and the vision and fine courage of a single man could not avail against the sloth and cowardice of those on whom he must rely for help. A year had passed and de Lacerda was already sickening to his death before he could collect even the most inadequate following for his expedition. Then with disaffected white men, rebellious slaves and poor equipment, he started for the north and west. Soon he became too ill to walk and he was carried in a litter for many weeks to Lake Mweru on what is now the border of the Belgian Congo. There he died and there the expedition crumbled into pieces. In isolated groups they began the long journey back to Tete, each group doing its best to rouse the natives to annihilate those who came behind. The one faithful man was de Lacerda's priest, and he has left us an account of that nightmare trek. He it was who saved de Lacerda's diaries at the risk of his own life and brought them back to civilization. It is those diaries, even more perhaps than the quality of the man himself, that entitle de Lacerda to an honoured place in the roll of African explorers. He was ill, he could not walk, he was encompassed by every imaginable hardship and embarrassment, yet his notes gave a detailed and accurate description of all the tribes he met, of the soil, of the vegetation, of the topography of his route.

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The *viagem à contracosta* was, in fact, discovered within the next ten years. Two Portuguese traders wandered from Angola through to Tete, but no one took any particular notice of the achievement and the traders were principally concerned with the disposal of their slaves.

The last expedition of the Portuguese took place in 1831. It deserves mention only as a wry comment on what had gone before. Two soldiers, Major Monteiro and Captain Gamitto, with a motley following were sent inland to develop trade. They had no instruments and no medicines. They reached Chief Kazembe's village, in sight of which de Lacerda had died, and Gamitto rode among the huts astride a donkey saddled with a tiger skin. He wore a blue tunic, white trousers, a scarlet cord with tassels about his waist, his beard was long and his hair hung over his shoulders. The donkey brayed and bolted into the crowd, and such was the admiration of the bystanders that nothing would induce them to pay any attention either to the remainder of the expedition or to the objects which it had come so far to attain.

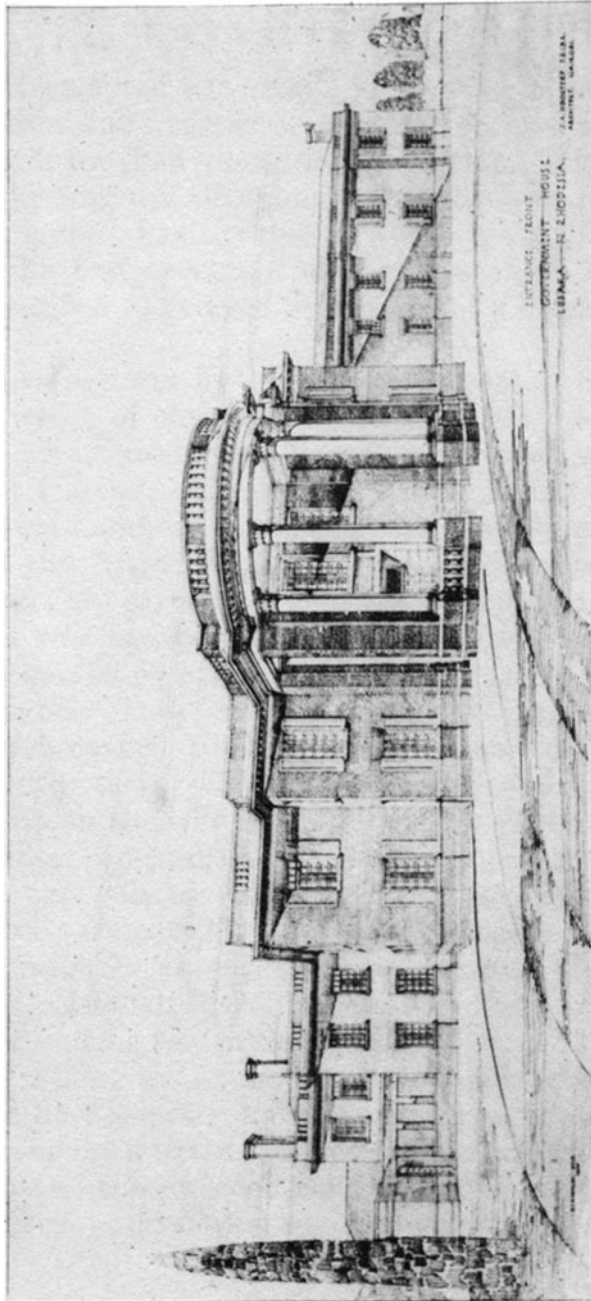
Shortly before this there fled northward from South Africa two chiefs, both of whom were destined to play important parts in the history of this country. Uzwangendaba, leader of the Angoni, must have been a great warrior and a greater leader. Fleeing from the wrath of Chaka, he led his *impis* on an odyssey that began on the borders of Zululand, touched the shores of Victoria Nyanza, and came to rest in Nyasaland and in the hills about Fort Jameson. It is true that Uzwangendaba was dead before his people found a

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home, but his influence lived on. The Angoni were cattle-raiders, marauders, men of blood, and for many years they enslaved and bullied a million of their neighbours and did little else, but their virility and keen intelligence have survived many generations of inter-breeding with their slaves, and it is Uzwangendaba whom we have to thank to-day for many of the leaders of our native thought and enterprise.

The other chief who took part in this backwash of the Bantu migration towards the Cape was Sebotoane, who led his people, the Makololo, a Basuto clan, to find a new home in the far north-west. He fought his way across the Kalahari and reached the Victoria Falls in 1845. Within a year or two he had made himself Chief of the Barotse, having already conquered all the country lying south of the Kafue. There are many stories of his bravery and clever generalship, but our indebtedness is rather to his statesmanship and his humanity. He died about 1851, and yet in that short reign he had succeeded not only in preserving Barotseland from the devastation of the Matabele and in uniting the Barotse peoples into a nation, but in introducing a system of government and a culture which has remained virtually unchanged to this day. In 1865 the Barotse rose and massacred every Makololo male and yet to-day the language of Barotseland is Sekololo. . . . Perhaps the greatest service that Sebotoane rendered was the protection and friendship he gave to David Livingstone, which ensured him a welcome everywhere and banished hardship from all his journeys in the west.

It was no fault of Sebotoane's that after his death



ENTRANCE FRONT
GOVERNMENT HOUSE
LIBERIA, N. Z. 1851.
DRAWN BY T. H. A.
ARCHT. 1851.

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Barotseland relapsed for many years into bloodshed and confusion and refused to accept the missionaries whom Sebotokane had promised to receive. 'He had the art of gaining the affections both of his own people and of strangers.' Livingstone writes of him, 'He was decidedly the best specimen of a native chief I ever met. I never felt so grieved by the loss of a black man before.'

David Livingstone by his travels unveiled to the world the whole of Northern Rhodesia except what is now the Central Province. His early journeys revealed the Batoka plateau, Barotseland, the Victoria Falls and the lower Zambezi; his last journey opened up the country of the Angoni and the Wemba plateau. No account can be given here of these explorations. Those who will can read his own accounts of them. His initials carved on a tree on an island on the brink of the Victoria Falls on that unforgettable spring morning of discovery, the 5th of November, 1855, can still be faintly seen. The inscription carved by his servant Jacob on the tree near Chitambo's village, five hundred miles up-country, beneath which his heart lies buried can still be read, 'LIVINGSTONE - MAY 4 - 1873 - SOUZA - MNIASERE - YCHOPERE' (These last three words are probably names. Susi was one of his two servants.) Dr. Moffat, his nephew, is still at the mission which he founded a few miles away.

This is, rather, an opportunity to assess what his labours and final sacrifice have meant for us in Africa.

Livingstone once wrote, 'We came to a grave in the forest; it was a little rounded mound as if the occupant sat in it in the usual native way; it was strewn with

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flowers and a number of large blue beads put on it; a little path showed that it had visitors. This is the sort of grave I should prefer; to be in the still, still forest, and no sound ever disturb my bones.' His body was carried to the coast by his servants and now lies in Westminster Abbey, but his heart rests in the still forest. It is fitting that part of him at least should be in Westminster at the centre of the Empire, for Livingstone knew no boundaries in Africa and the harvest which he sowed is to-day being reaped from sea to sea. He 'opened the door' to Central Africa and called upon mankind to put a stop to slavery, 'to heal the open sore of the world'. That door was never shut again and slavery has gone.

Missionaries, settlers and administrators have, in their several ways, made their separate contributions, yet none of them could have given the African anything of lasting worth unless they had worked together. One of Livingstone's biographers says: 'The British Imperial Government has frankly admitted and applied the principle of Trusteeship to all its dealings with the populations and resources of the extensive territories under its rule in Africa . . . This was Livingstone's vision; for this he wrought and hoped and suffered for the greater part of his natural life, and for this in the end he died.'¹

Not unnaturally the missionaries were the first to respond to Livingstone's appeal, Coillard, in this country, and Père Van Oost, and hard on their heels came the emissaries of Rhodes.

The nature of the 'open sore' which they came to

¹ *Livingstone*, by Dr. Campbell.

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heal should never be forgotten. From Tanganyika to the Zambezi the country was overrun with Arab slavers, and the warrior tribes, the Awemba, the Angoni, the Baila and the Barotse were fast exterminating those few survivors whom the Arabs left. Even among the victims each petty chief bullied and slaughtered where it suited him.

We are sometimes accused of having with our rapacity ruined and commercialized a golden age in Africa. That age was red with the blood of a carnage that would not have ended as long as a potential slave remained.

The Barotse were admittedly as bloody-handed as the rest, but Lewanika, who re-built Sebotsoane's kingdom during the last thirty years of the century, was something more than a Chaka or a Lobengula. When he was finally persuaded in 1890 to seek the protection of Queen Victoria and make a treaty with the Chartered Company, he was quick to throw off the brutality and barbarism which were his inheritance, and to develop his ability into statesmanship. He went to England for King Edward's coronation and astonished London by his courtliness and dignity. He returned an ardent Imperialist, abolished even domestic slavery, and until his death in 1916 continued, in loyal co-operation with the Chartered Company, to lead his people towards that fulfilment of which Livingstone had given them a glimpse more than half a century before.

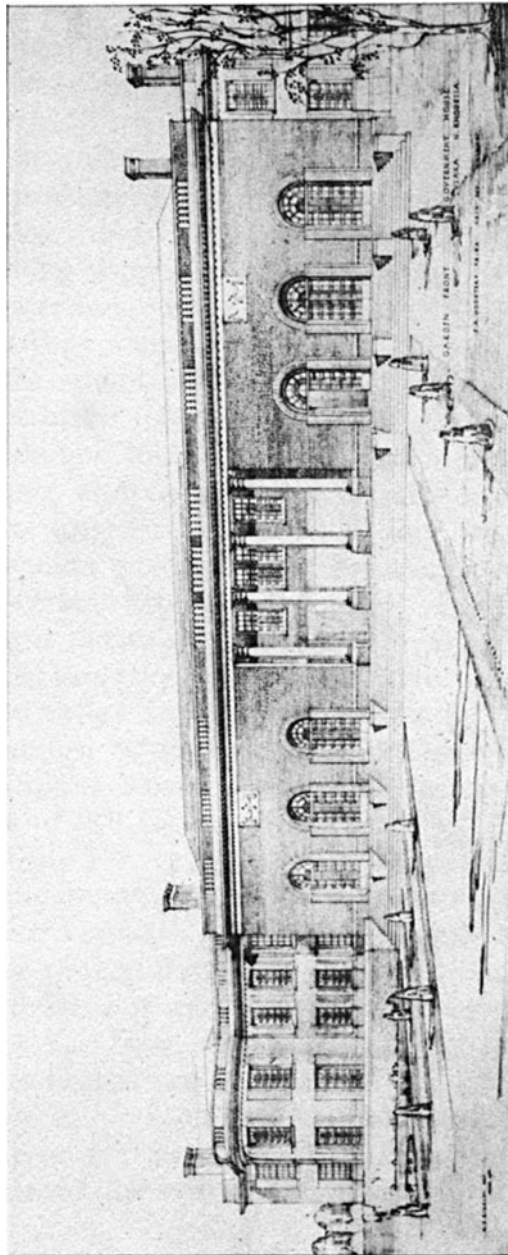
With the name of Lewanika must be coupled those of François Coillard and Coryndon, the one the missionary who gained his confidence and brought him to the decision which saved his people, the other sent

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by Rhodes to be his councillor and guide through the difficult years which followed the coming of civilization. Coryndon persuaded Lewanika to put down slavery, and it is to him we owe the peaceful development of these provinces and the loyalty of their many tribes which was to be so magnificently proved after he had gone.

Meanwhile, through the door which Livingstone had opened in the East, others had come to win the interior for the Empire and to heal the open sore; Alfred Sharpe, Joseph Thomson, Robert Codrington and others in their train, Rhodes's men. Sir Alfred Sharpe is still, happily, alive. Will he ever give us the full story of those journeys he made between 1889 and 1891? He says nobody would believe him. We would. We know that he won over every chief in the East except Mpeseni of the Angoni and Chitimukulu of the Awemba, and would have won the Katanga, too, but for one of those misunderstandings which seem to be so inevitable in Africa. We have a picture of him stranded on the Luapula river with a roll of calico and one carrier, nine hundred miles from 'home', with hostile chiefs in front of him and behind. Instead of turning back as an ordinary mortal would have done, he tried to make a bark canoe to cross to the other side.

Thomson had started from Nyasaland at the same time as Sharpe, and they had planned to meet in the Katanga. Thomson took the southern route and made treaties with all the chiefs as far west as Lewanika's borders. Long before he reached Chitanda's country, north-west of the site chosen for this Capital, smallpox had broken out among his carriers and he



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had been compelled to send most of the expedition home. He pushed on with a handful of natives, making west and north. Then he fell ill himself, though not with smallpox, and finally was compelled to abandon the Katanga project. He reached Nyasaland alive, he alone knew how, and there met Sharpe who had just returned. Being English, they were probably both far more concerned with their failure to secure the Katanga than they were satisfied with having between them virtually added about 100,000 square miles to the British Empire. Mpeseni and Chitimukulu remained outside the fold. Mpeseni had made a treaty with a German, and the country about Fort Jameson came into the Empire by the back door, as it were, when the German's concession was taken over a few years later by an English company. In 1898 the Angoni thought better of their bargain; for a week or two the *impis*, ten thousand strong, swarmed among the hills. One volley and a show of force by the Europeans was enough to scatter them. After all, it was nearly a hundred years since their ancestors had fought as one of Chaka's regiments.

It was a White Father, Père Van Oost, who in 1896 followed Livingstone into the Wemba country. Chitimukulu sat in his village, whose stockade was decorated with heads of malcontents and enemies, and vowed that he would kill any white man who came into his country. Père Van Oost, who was in Africa to convert the heathen and cared not a jot for his own life, walked into the village in his high sun-helmet and long white robe with one or two carriers and doubtless began to preach. Chitimukulu was so astonished that he not

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only spared his life, but promised to welcome all missionaries and traders. Next year the chief died and his people, whom experience had taught to expect, on such occasions, a sacrificial massacre of unusual proportions, fled to the White Fathers. Robert Codrington, who was now Administrator, seized the opportunity for which he had been waiting, and by 1902 there were sixteen administrative stations between Lake Tanganyika and the Luapula river. Yet it must not be thought that the Arab slave traders had released their hold on this part of the country without a struggle. During the last few years of the century they had been trying desperately, now that Harry Johnston had driven them out of Nyasaland, to maintain the resistance of their allies, the Awemba. Mackinnon and Young, with a few native police, had many a brush with the Arabs or the Awemba or both before they cornered the last slaver at Mporokoso and could report that the open sore was healed.

So the new century came in with Northern Rhodesia swept and clean, ready for civilization to move in, with Codrington in the east and Coryndon in the west, and Sir Robert Williams and George Pauling building a railway bridge for Rhodes across the gorge of the Victoria Falls. These few pages do not allow even the briefest account of the incoming of that civilization, of the union of the two territories in 1911, of the War, of how in 1924 the Crown relieved the Chartered Company of its splendidly carried burden of administration, of the development of the copper belt during the last ten years. If the roll of our great men must be closed with the names of Coryndon and Codrington,

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that does not mean that there have not since been others equally worthy of remembrance. History will one day tell their story.

Yet, after all, it is to the old adventurers that the mind returns. We hear so much in these modern days of those who cross Africa from end to end and from side to side by every possible route, by aeroplane and in motor cars. Let us think of the dangers that de Lacerda, Livingstone, Sharpe, and Thomson faced; de Lacerda dragging himself from his litter to prevent mutiny among his followers; Livingstone floundering to his death through the Bangweulu swamps; Sharpe, with one roll of calico and one carrier, trying to cross the Luapula in a bark canoe; Thomson watching his carriers die one by one of smallpox and knowing that none could be found to replace them. They lived on mealie-meal, cassava, ground-nuts and native fowls. They were clothed in leather jerkins, in doublet and hose, and later 'in knicker-bockers tucked into gaiters', and by the time they reached home, in rags, patched no doubt with the skins of the animals they had shot. Their arms were pikes, flint-locks, and later guns that took minutes to load and were only effective against elephant and lion because of the skill and courage of those who used them. Their worst enemies were fever and hunger and hostile natives; yet, however imminent those dangers were, and however little hope was left, they went forward until they died or the attainment of their goal was proved impossible.

Salute, then, to Adventurers! And with our toast two names, Cecil Rhodes and David Livingstone, who were the greatest of them all.

CHAPTER II

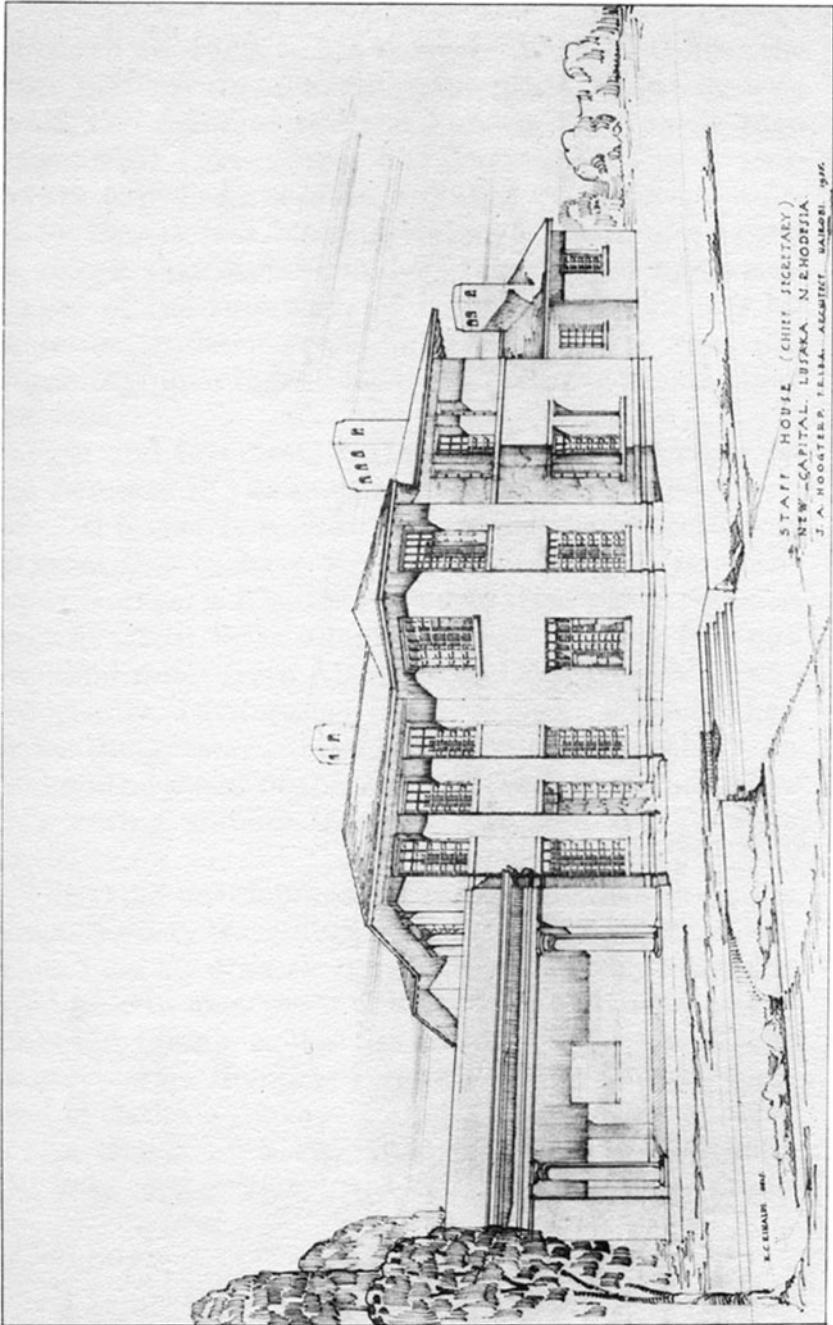
ORIGINS

Qui reste dans la vallée ne passera jamais la montagne.
Voltaire

THE building of a brand new capital such as this is an undertaking for which no country can provide us with a precedent. Canberra and new Delhi are radically different in conception since they are intended to be purely administrative centres, whereas Lusaka, small though it may be, is expected and indeed is intended to become the commercial as well as the administrative capital of this Territory.

Yet capital-moving, if not capital-building, is no new experience for Northern Rhodesia. Fort Jameson was once the capital of North-Eastern Rhodesia, and Kalomo of 'North-West'. Then, in 1907, Kalomo, having acquired an evil reputation for black-water fever, was abandoned. Livingstone was at that time the only place which had a superfluity of buildings, and the Government therefore removed itself to Livingstone. This was to be a purely temporary measure until a more central and suitable site could be chosen and developed. In 1911, when the two territories were united, Fort Jameson ceased to be a capital and Livingstone, her temporary status beginning to wear an air of permanency, became the capital of Northern Rhodesia.

The prevalent idea that the building of a new capital elsewhere than at Livingstone was first thought of during the Governorship of the late Sir James



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ORIGINS

Maxwell in 1929 is not correct. Lack of funds, the war, perhaps the charming amenities of Livingstone itself, the Zambezi and the Victoria Falls, made men forget that Livingstone had been chosen as a temporary expedient because twenty-two years ago some of its houses had been unoccupied. It is interesting to record that Robert Codrington was no more convinced of the suitability of Livingstone than was his successor in later years. The reasons for that unsuitability must indeed have been as clear then as they are now.

First and foremost, Livingstone is tucked away on the Zambezi in the southernmost corner of the Territory. It is clearly undesirable for an inland country so large as this to have its capital clinging to its outer edge; Northern Rhodesia is more than three times as large as Great Britain and Northern Ireland; it is one thousand miles from Abercorn to Livingstone.

Secondly, Livingstone lies at a lower altitude than by far the greater part of the Territory. It is built on sand on the slopes of the Zambezi Valley and has a less invigorating climate than the plateaux lying to the north.

The rapid development of the copper belt along the Congo border, the influx of some ten thousand Europeans into an area so remote from Livingstone, the rapid growth at so great a distance from what was undoubtedly going to be the industrial centre of the country, were forcible reminders that it was high time to make a move.

The choice of a site was difficult. In Northern Rhodesia the railway was built before very much

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settlement had taken place and the engineers, for conveniences of traffic, placed sidings along the line at ten mile intervals. Some of these sidings have remained until this day little more than name-boards in the bush. Others, however, have become townships, with the result that most of the settlements have grown up according to commercial needs, haphazard and on unsuitable sites, and are as lacking in design as they are in architecture. It is not surprising therefore that, having for many years endured the formlessness, the bungalow growths, the corrugated iron of existing townships, the Government should from the outset have determined to break clean away from such a tradition, if it can be called a tradition, and to make the very best of its opportunity to build the nucleus of a carefully sited and carefully planned city. Several sites were considered and, before a decision was made, the expert assistance of an eminent town planner, Professor Adshead of London University, and of a firm of water engineers, Sir Alexander Binnie Sons & Deacon, was obtained. Needless to say, in an undeveloped tropical country the provision of an adequate water supply for a prospective city was likely to be as difficult as it was undoubtedly of the first importance.

As a result of the report submitted by these experts, the ridge lying to the east of Lusaka was chosen as the best of all possible sites for the building of the capital.

Geographically, Lusaka lies at the centre of Northern Rhodesia. The remotest corner can be reached by aeroplane in a single day, and the copper mines and Livingstone are within a few hours' flight. Lusaka lies on the Great North Road at its junction

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with the Territory's two other arterial roads, that leading to Fort Jameson in the east, and that leading to Kasempa in the north-west. It is, as far as a railway is concerned, midway between the Congo border and the Victoria Falls and, if ever the talked-of railway line is built from Kafue to Sinoia in Southern Rhodesia, it will become the principal depot for the import and export trades operating through the port of Beira.

Not only is Lusaka within easy reach of the northern copper belt, but it is itself the centre of farming areas which supply so many of the needs of the country. It should also be remembered that not only the Congo border, but the whole of Northern Rhodesia is a potential source of great mineral development. A mining man said recently, 'Gold? The country has hardly been scratched for gold!' Yet already it is being mined both east and west of Lusaka on a considerable scale, and prospecting is being carried on in many different areas. Lusaka therefore is ideally situated from administrative and commercial points of view.

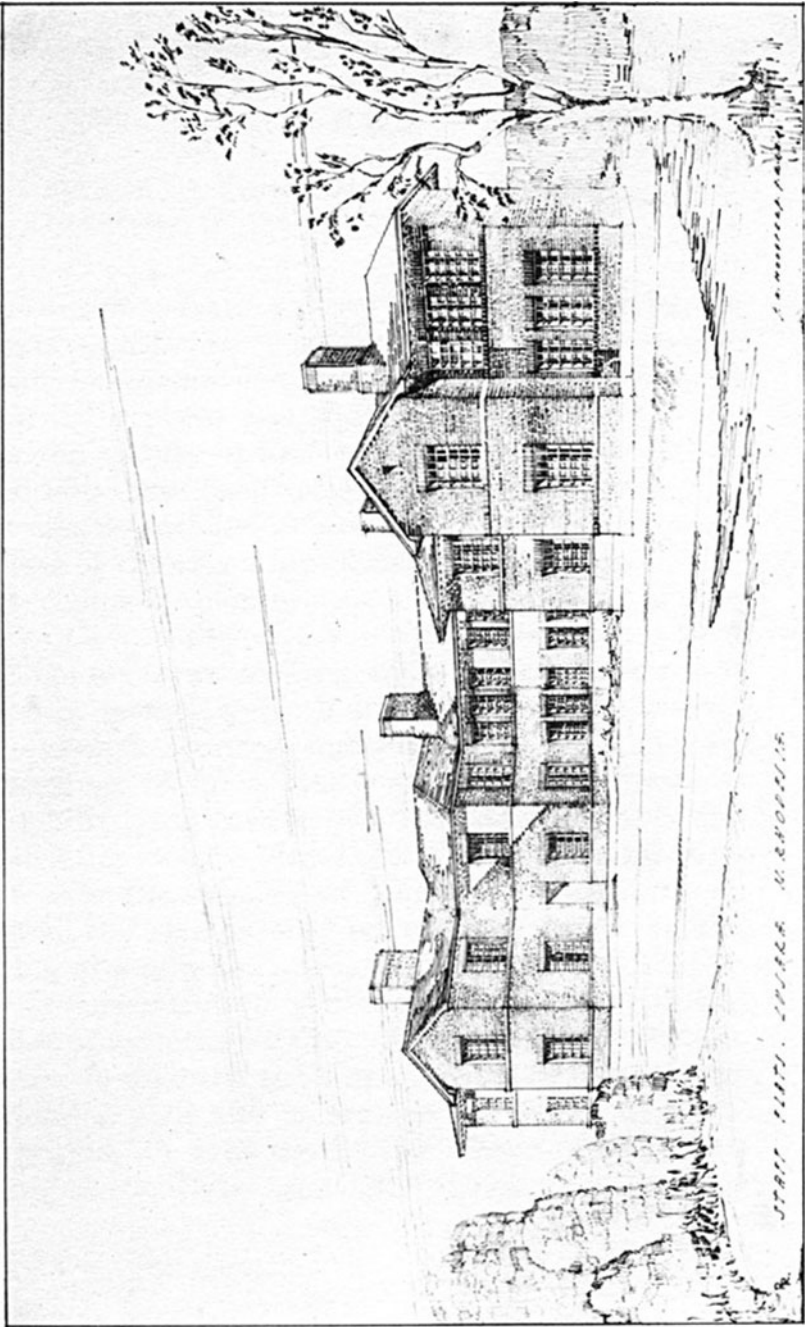
Climatically, Lusaka benefits by being a thousand feet higher than Livingstone, and it would take an Englishman to grumble at the climate anywhere in Northern Rhodesia at over four thousand feet. There are cold winds in Lusaka at certain times of the year; there are correspondingly cool breezes and fresh nights, even in October, and the robust health of the most confirmed of the local complainants is evidence enough to defeat his case.

One thing only does Lusaka lack that Livingstone possesses, the Zambezi River. It has no such perfect natural water supply. Yet Sir Alexander Binnie's

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representative considered that an ample supply could be obtained from bore-holes, and this has been proved to be the case. As a water-supply the Zambezi was perfect, but to most of those who have gone to Lusaka the loss of its beauty is of much more serious concern. The quiet, palm-fringed reaches of the upper river, the birds, the sunsets, the cool comfort of running water and green trees moving in the wind, the ever-changing grandeur of the Falls, the echoing solitudes of the Gorges, so familiar but always a little frightening; for these there can be no substitute.

Nevertheless, the Kafue, some thirty miles from Lusaka, is a wide and beautiful river, and no doubt before many years are past aeroplanes and a good road will have brought it within the reach of everyone living in Lusaka. About sixty miles away, down among the mountains of the Zambezi valley, lies the confluence of that river and the Kafue. At present the valley is known to few except hunters, prospectors and district officers, but there is already a landing ground where the two rivers join, and in years to come the people of Lusaka will find that they possess a treasure-house of wild and unspoiled hills, of animals and birds and scenery of whose existence most of them to-day are not aware. Meanwhile, those who have grown to love the islands of the Zambezi must content themselves with the wide vistas, the bracing air and the amenities of the capital itself and the surrounding countryside.



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CHAPTER III

THE PLAN

*Here shall broad streets their stately walls extend,
The circus widen and the crescent bend.*

Erasmus Darwin

THESE lines are from a poem written in 1788 by the father of Charles Darwin about Sydney in Australia. Not only had he never been there, but Sydney did not yet exist; his poem was a prophecy of the great city that is the Sydney of to-day, and he even forecast the bridge across the harbour mouth. So accurate a prophecy affords encouragement for committing to paper our ideas of the city which Lusaka may become.

The capital is planned upon a ridge about a mile and a half east of the old township and the railway line. The ridge is four miles long and one mile wide and it commands open views in all directions over undulating, bush-savannah country, lightened here and there by the clearings of farm lands, and with the crests of distant hills lying low on the horizon. Probably the most striking feature of the capital as it is to-day is its extent. For the number of buildings in existence or projected, the area covered is unusually large. In the planning of a new town it is possible either to adopt a policy of concentration with resulting economy of the provision of essential services, and to permit subsequent extension to take the form of suburbs, or to begin on an extended plan and to provide for future development within the area itself. The second of these two systems, particularly on a site which is quite un-

occupied and where land is inexpensive, is clearly the more sound. Initial expenditure will be heavier, but the preservation in the future of the original carefully conceived plan of the city is assured. Professor Adshead was taking this, the long view, when he wrote, 'It will cost practically nothing to acquire land . . . (for wide streets and open spaces) at the outset, and when once settled upon they can never be altered and, in the second place, our methods of transport have so changed and the uncertainties of the future are so great, that it is wise to err on the side of being too widely spaced rather than to have the buildings conveniently near with a possibility of being overcrowded in the future.'

The capital is materializing very much on the lines suggested four years ago by Professor Adshead. Deviations from his plan have of course been made in the light of experience, but they are mostly in matters of detail. Experience is such a ruthless teacher, and expedience such a taskmaster in undertakings of this kind that the degree of conformity between the capital as it is and as Professor Adshead originally planned it is a great tribute to his imagination and ability.

One essential feature of the plan is the separation of the various branches of civic activity one from another: the trading area is distinct from the residential area as far as is compatible with convenience – there is to be no untidy mingling of shops and garages with private houses. Similarly, the sports grounds, native compounds and public buildings are all given their own sections of the town, each one convenient within itself, but each quite distinct and removed from the

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residential area. When people are at home they like to be quiet, and the only way to ensure this is to see that the business of life and its more noisy and energetic forms of entertainment are carried on somewhere else.

Another basic feature has been a deliberate effort to eschew the chequer-board design which not only makes so many modern cities ugly and monotonous, but has proved inconvenient and almost impossible to modify once building has taken place. In Lusaka shall 'the circus widen and the crescent bend'.

For the sake of comparison, both Professor Adshead's original plan and that which is in present use have been put at the end of this book. As, however, the crowded appearance of the present plan is apparently belied by the relative scarcity of the buildings now in existence, a short descriptive and prophetic tour of the capital may help to show more clearly what has been done and what it is hoped to do.

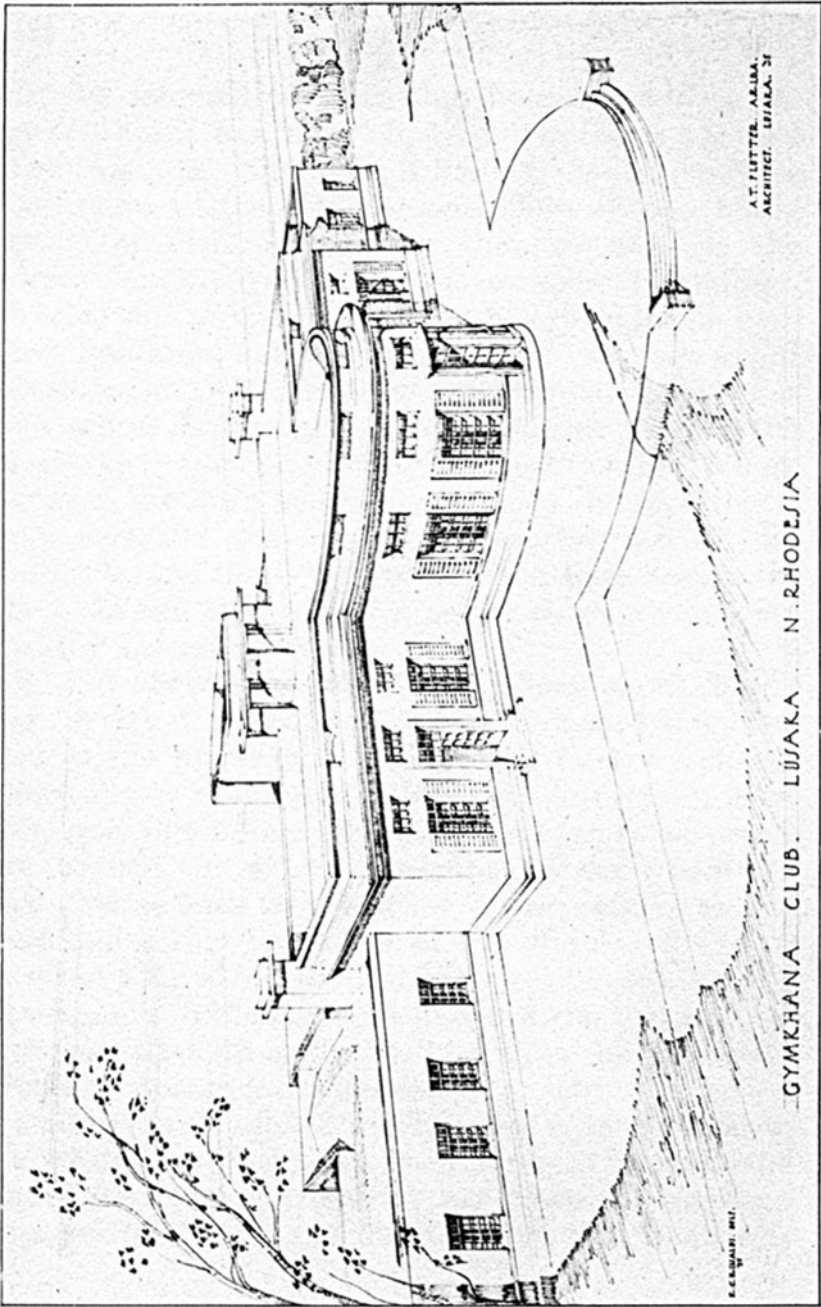
The old town lies on the west of the railway station along the Great North Road. On the east lies the area dedicated to warehouses and industry. King George's Avenue, opened by Prince George when he visited Lusaka in 1934, starts from a point on the Great North Road just to the south of the old town and runs, perfectly straight, up the top of the capital ridge. Not very far up the avenue, on the right-hand side, lies the second-class trading area, which at present consists of small shops dealing in native trade and lying round two sides of a square. On this square is to be built a large market hall for the sale of native produce. At the back of the square, invisible from the Avenue,

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lie the native compounds. This neighbourhood is to be entirely African, a self-contained town with its own sports-grounds, churches, schools and other amenities. On either side of the Avenue, at the base of the ridge, will be the shopping area for Europeans. As yet no shops exist and the site is to be identified only by the bunkers of an old golf course, but eventually most of the shops serving the residential area will be collected here. The plan of the shopping centre is octagonal, with roads radiating from it to the residential area. Naturally a few shops will be allowed on the hill for the sake of convenience – the householder must be able to ‘slip round the corner’ for a packet of cigarettes and the housewife for starch on a busy Monday morning. The segregation of a trading area cannot be as rigid as that of sports grounds or a native compound. Of the trading area itself, the lower half will consist of shops and the top half of commercial offices conveniently adjoining the municipal centre at the top of King George’s Avenue.

The municipal centre is in the form of a circus which is to lie in a square surrounded by the municipal offices and other administrative buildings of the capital itself. The Centre will be about the size of Trafalgar Square.

From here a good idea can be obtained of the lay-out of the whole capital. To the north-east can be seen the bungalows and tall, double-storeyed houses of the main residential area, already completed. Down Queen Mary’s Avenue beyond the ridge lies a park, the air port and the Gymkhana Club, together with the golf course, tennis courts and sports grounds. Professor



A. T. FLETTER, A.S.A.,
ARCHITECT, LISAKA, S.F.

GYMKHANA CLUB. LŪSĀKA. N. RHODESIA

LEGEND: M.F.

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Adshead assumed 'several Club houses would be required', but it has, after all, been decided to combine all clubs in one. Similarly, it has been found desirable to combine all the Government offices in one block, capable of extension, rather than to have at the Government centre a collection of separate buildings. He said, 'one or two of the main blocks might be two-storey buildings, but the general offices I suggest, might consist, as at Delhi, of a one-storey quadrangle.' For these offices he chose a site on the northern side of the Ridgeway to the east of the Municipal Centre. When, however, the bush had been cleared it was seen that a more beautiful site lay just across the road on the south side, and this is where the offices have been built. The block can be seen crowning the ridge as you drive up King George's Avenue.

The Ridgeway, on which the offices stand, is the main artery of the capital. It runs eastward along the crest of the hill from the Municipal Centre and will eventually be over three miles long. At present, however, only one mile of this road has been constructed. Just beyond the offices is another circus where the road divides into two, leaving a space for trees and grass and a ride for horses in the middle. Professor Adshead pointed out that the main road in front of the Government buildings, and between the two circuses is the same length as the Mall between the Admiralty Arch and Buckingham Palace.

On the south side of the Ridgeway, in addition to the offices, have already been built a hospital and houses for its staff, while further down the southern slope are the barracks of the Northern Rhodesia Regi-

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ment, the African Trades School, and the nursery which is providing all the trees and shrubs for the gardens of the houses.

The northern slope is a continuation of the residential area, occupied now by Government House on the east, and by blocks of flats and other Civil servants' houses, the two largest of which, intended for the Chief Secretary and the Attorney-General, are also the nearest to Government House.

In time other Government houses will be built there, including one for the Judge of the High Court. It is not, however, any part of our intention to make the capital into a preserve for Civil servants, and undoubtedly this area will become more and more built up both with houses and hotels by private enterprise as development proceeds. The Law Courts will probably be sited across the road from the Government offices, and already the British South Africa Company is building a large block of offices here and is about to erect six dwelling houses to the west of Government House.

Great care is of course being taken to intersperse the areas set aside for buildings with reserves for parks and public gardens. At present the only public park that has been at all developed is that lying to the north of the ridge, near the air port and the sports grounds of the Club, but others will be cleared as soon as there is a need for them. All the unoccupied parts of the ridge are at present covered with virgin bush.

The plans of Professor Adshead have been adhered to in all essentials. The angles of roads, the sites of certain buildings and other details have had to be

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altered for purely local reasons necessitated by practical difficulties of experience. Professor Adshead saw the land as bush and for him, standing in that wilderness of trees and scrub, planning must have been extraordinarily difficult. He has been vindicated to such a remarkable extent already that it will perhaps not be saddling him with too dangerous a burden to set out some of the indications he gave of the sort of city Lusaka might become. He of course made no such picturesque a prophecy as Erasmus Darwin, but he was carefully planning for fifty years ahead.

'In planning the new streets,' he wrote, 'a width of a hundred and twenty feet has been suggested as suitable for the main road from the station to the new capital, other important streets being ninety feet and sixty feet in width.' Regent Street is ninety feet wide and Kingsway a hundred feet. 'As regards business streets and the main thoroughfare within the solidly built-up area (wide streets are) undoubtedly an advantage and by no means a defect, as in these days of universal motor cars such wide streets offer ample opportunity for parking along the pavement and the prevention of obstruction, such as is to-day experienced in almost all European cities.

'Solidly built-up areas.' This conjures up Johannesburg.

'By far the finest site (for a University) would be at the termination of the avenue at the south-eastern end of the ridge.'

'A site for a Cathedral has been set aside adjoining what is practically the highest point along the ridge, opposite an open green, and in a position where it

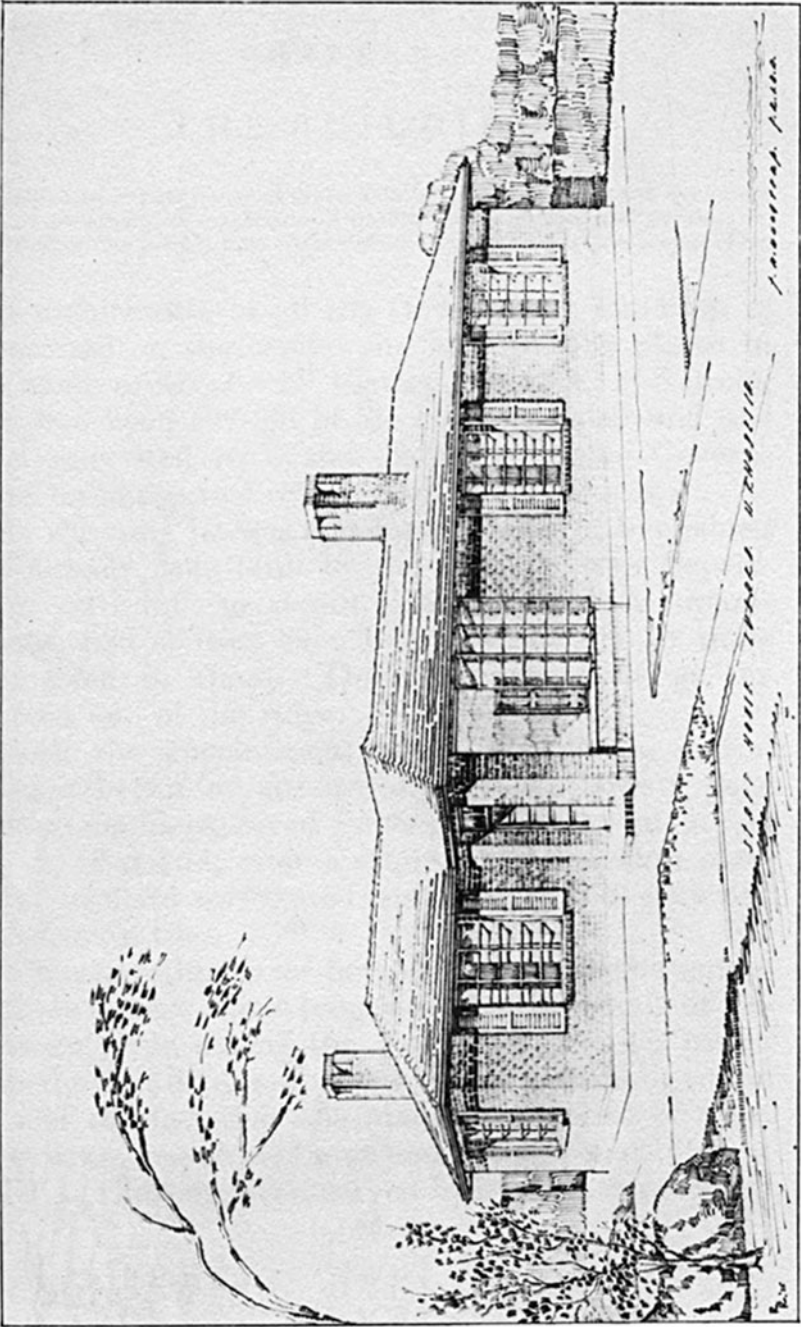
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would probably appear as the most important building in the city as seen from the railway and from the surrounding country on all sides.'

'The fore-court in front of the Central Block of Government Buildings . . . (would be) about the same depth and twice the width of the Horse Guards Parade.'

Nothing was lacking from Professor Adshead's city, churches, hotels, schools, banks, museums, libraries, a swimming bath and 'neighbourhood centres' of small shops and post offices. These were all in his mind and, in carrying out his ideas, the Government has never lost sight of the fact that this nucleus of offices and houses will one day become the city of manifold activities that he imagined. Every step in its development can be most carefully regulated. There is no reason why ugly houses, slovenly shops and garages, overcrowding or, in fact, any of the evils that characterize a city of undirected growth should ever arise.

The African township, the busy streets of shops and offices, the wide square with its municipal buildings and Town Hall, the residential areas with their shaded roads and white-walled houses set in gardens gay with lawns and brightly flowering trees and shrubs, the great Avenue itself lined with hotels and offices stretching away past Government House and the Cathedral to the distant University; the picture of all that is to come can be built upon the few evidences that are to be seen to-day. The size of the Central Offices and Government House, the airport building and the Club is an earnest of the Government's belief in Professor Adshead's imagined city.



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CHAPTER IV

THE BUILDINGS

Architecture has its political uses. Public buildings being the ornament of a country, it establishes a nation, draws people and commerce, makes the people love their native country. *Sir Christopher Wren*

THE architecture of all the Government buildings to be erected on the capital site was in 1932 placed in the hands of Mr. J. A. Hoogterp, F.R.I.B.A., of Nairobi, who had been a pupil of Sir Herbert Baker and had been associated with the designing of the Government buildings in Pretoria and New Delhi.

By the time he was appointed a score of bungalows had already been built by the Public Works Department according to recent designs which, if unambitious, had at least been found satisfactory by those who lived in them. These bungalows lie at the western end of the ridge.

With the appointment of Mr. Hoogterp, radical changes began to appear. Bungalows largely gave place to double-storeyed houses, uniformity of design was avoided and, after a while, even the most carefully disguised corrugated iron roofing was discarded in favour of tiles.

It is interesting to see how ideas about the designing of these houses have progressed as the result of experience, even during the short time that has passed since the first double-storeyed houses were built and in spite of the fact that one man, an architect of great experience, has throughout had the responsibility.

The earliest double-storeyed houses are those which

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lie about the water-tower to the east of the original bungalows. Though there are several different designs amongst them, they all have very much the same appearance, tall and airy, compact and with a cleanliness of line that few bungalows have ever yet achieved. With their gently sloping, wide-eaved roofs and the pale plastered walls, they call to mind the houses of the Italian countryside. The illusion is particularly strong at sunset when there is added to them that glow which always seems to emanate from an Italian house. In no case, however, is the plaster pink – the effect is purely atmospheric! Mosquito gauze is fitted to the windows. Inside, as in all the buildings of the capital, are electric light and a modern system of water and sanitation. These were the first houses to be built with glassed-in sleeping porches rather than the traditional veranda cages of Central Africa. The cold winds of Lusaka seemed to demand this more adequate protection.

It has been a constant source of complaint in the past that houses in Northern Rhodesia have been built solely for protection against the heat and in complete disregard of the fact that for nearly four months of the year morning and evening temperatures are in the neighbourhood of forty degrees, while on the plateaux many days in the rains, a further four months of the year, are almost as cold and much more chilly. In fact, really tropical days, with the thermometer between ninety degrees and a hundred at noon, only come in September, October and early November, while for the rest of the year a fire is more often than not wanted in the evenings.

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The design of the new double-storeyed houses was the first serious effort to meet this objection while, at the same time, providing adequate protection against the midday heat; hence the substitution of a Southern European type of house for the tropical bungalow; hence the compact, windproof design, the large attractive fireplaces and the wide eave-spread of the roof. If anything, the protection against cold was at the expense of the protection against heat, and so it came about that before very long houses were given roofs of tile, more steeply pitched and were, in some cases, provided with open sleeping verandas on the upper storey, or spaces of flat roof where people can sleep in the open if they are hardy or should have the rare experience of a hot night at Lusaka.

The object of avoiding uniformity was two-fold, to give each householder a sense of individuality in his home and to escape the deadly symmetry of that type of suburb or garden city which is so great an eyesore in modern development.

It would be wearisome to detail the various designs of all the later houses, some are red brick, some are plastered, some are high, some are low, some have dormer windows, some have loggias. A Provincial Commissioner in this Territory once wearily remarked, 'Thank God the issue of Government furniture is all exactly alike! Then there can be no arguments.' In the building of houses for our civil servants valour has been thought the better part of discretion.

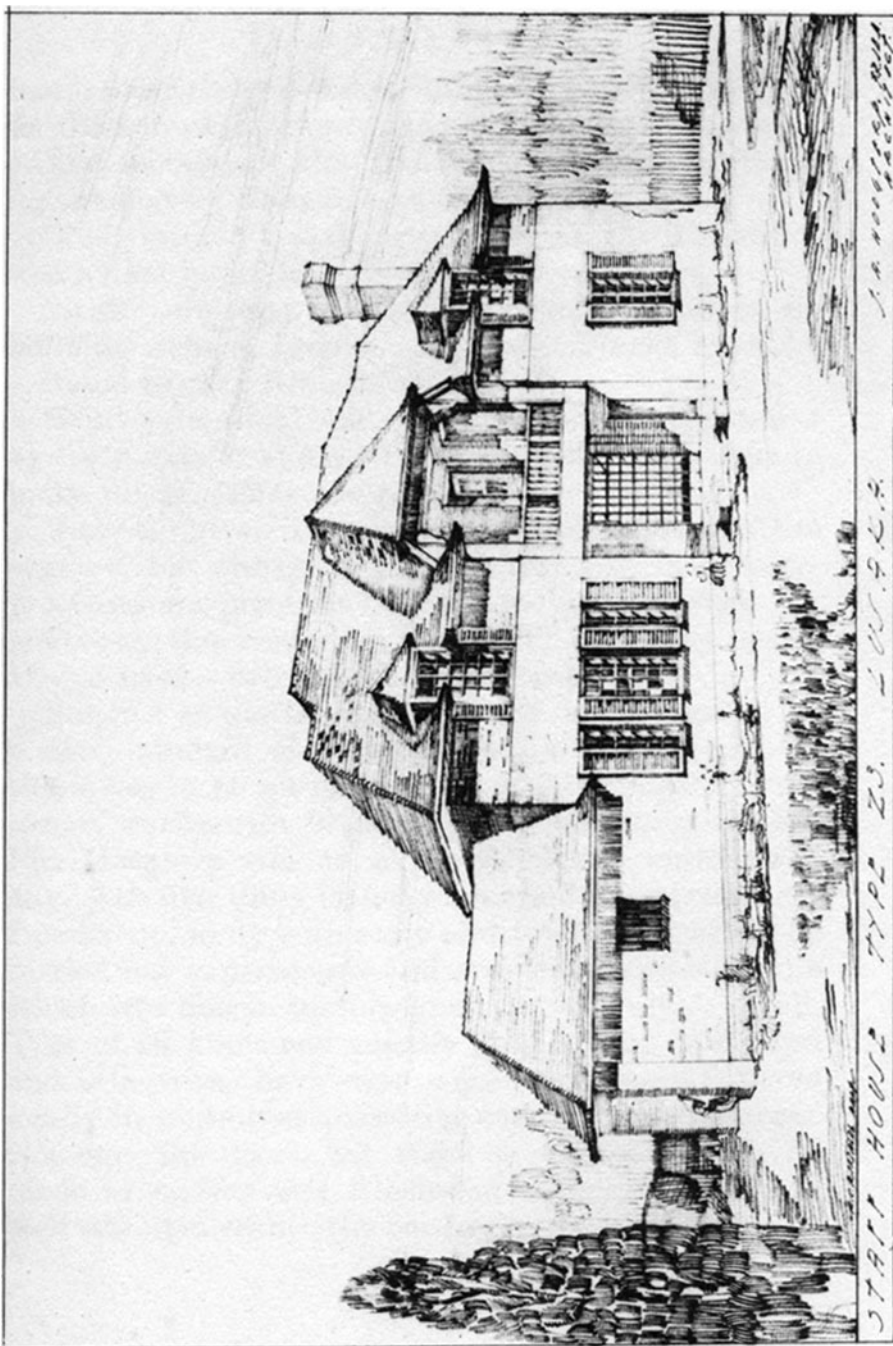
Before, however, leaving the subject of civil servants' houses, attention must, in particular, be drawn to the blocks of flats and the Yodel house. There are six

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blocks of eight flats each. They are designed for junior unmarried officials, men and women, each flat consisting of two rooms with a kitchen and bathroom. As with all the houses, garages and fuel bins are placed close at hand.

The small house of which a drawing appears facing page 36 is affectionately called the Yodel house because it is an adaptation of a house once seen and coveted in the Austrian Tyrol. Perhaps the most incongruous as well as the least conspicuous adaptation is that the garage is built on to the house in uniform design with a door leading into it from the dining-room. This may be a commonplace in Europe and America, but it constitutes a minor revolution in Central Africa where the average householder is used in the wet season to paddling through fifty yards of mud and torrential rain to fetch his motor car.

Before passing to the other buildings, the Printing Works and the Electricity Supply Station, the Gymkhana Club, the hospital, the Central Offices and Government House itself, something must be said of the materials of which the houses and the public buildings have alike been made. True, tiles are tiles and bricks are bricks all the world over and in themselves they are of little interest except to the architect and the builder; yet the tiles and bricks and timber of the capital have a wider significance, they are historic. When a man in England orders a new house he says, 'Oh, yes, red brick – and tiles, of course, and be sure to get decent timber for the doors.' He may even, if he is particularly interested in his house, specify that the tiles shall be pantiles and the doors mahogany, but, once he has given the order,



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that is often the end of it for him. So, when the designs for the new capital were being discussed, it seemed easy at first to talk of tiles and bricks and decent timber for the doors. Then the difficulties began.

'But you can't make good tiles in this country – every tiled house leaks like a sieve, you know.'

'Bricks are easy enough. Anyway, there is no building stone at Lusaka. Anyone can make bricks.'

'Good bricks? Sand-faced bricks?'

'Well – the usual hole in the ground, mud trampled by the *piccanins* and a kiln. Everybody knows how to make bricks. They are not bad.'

'Now timbers. There are beautiful timbers in the country, but either they are soft and neither borer-proof nor ant-proof, or they are too hard to work. In any case, the seasoning is difficult and they warp. We've tried – better stick to imported deal.'

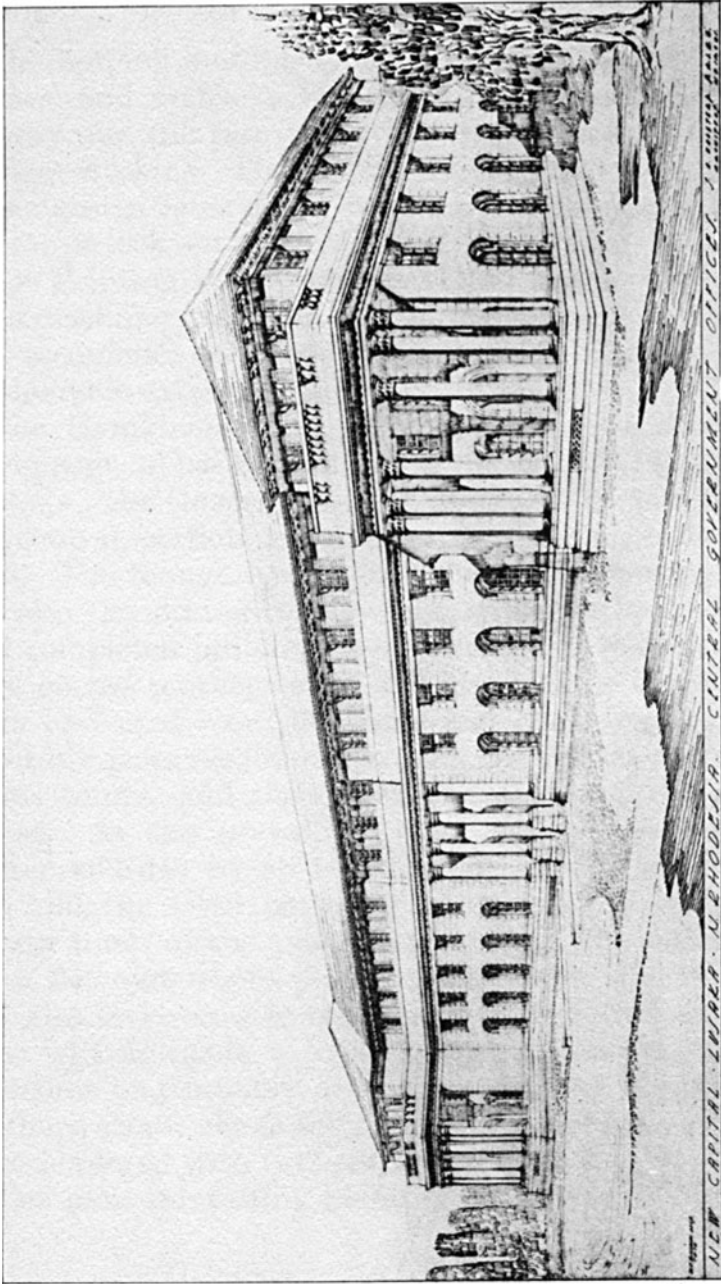
But just as the Government had determined to set a new standard of architecture for the country, so there was to be no more truck with corrugated iron, coarse, amateurish bricks or doors of imported deal. Mr. Hoogterp was an experienced and enthusiastic ally. The first thing he did was to find a good clay near Lusaka and to fly with some of it to Nairobi, where he carried out experiments and evolved a Marseilles tile which was fine in texture and rang as truly as a bell. Tiles of all kinds and equally good bricks, sand-faced and otherwise, have ever since been manufactured locally in unlimited quantities and with great success. Not only the doors, but stairs and banisters are all made of *mukwa* and Rhodesian mahogany, cut and well seasoned within the borders of the Territory.

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The importance of these facts is four-fold, money has not only been spent locally, but much has been saved, a higher standard of building has been set for the future and, by the breaking down of prejudice, the way has been opened for local industries making use of local products.

In carrying out this programme there have been two governing factors, time and money. The King's birthday, 1935, was chosen as the date of completion and the money set aside for the building of houses and offices, for roads and layout, for electric light and water services was strictly limited to £435,000. The work has been finished a trifle before its time and only £400,000 has been spent. This is a tribute to those who have laboured for the capital both at headquarters and at Lusaka.

The number of Government offices in the capital has been reduced to the lowest compatible with efficiency. There is only one. Others may rise in future years, but for the present all the Headquarter departments situated in Lusaka will be housed in a single block. The Central Offices are sited, as has been said, on the southern side of the main avenue along the ridge. They are an imposing three-storeyed block of white stucco and tiles, which can be seen as the capital is approached from the railway. The block as it is at present is large, but it is designed to be larger still. Not only will two wings reach out towards the south, but two further wings will be added to the east and west. Not only every headquarters department will find accommodation in this single building, but also the Legislative Council.



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The hospital buildings include nurses' quarters, the doctors' and matron's houses, the somewhat palatial laundry and the rest of the buildings necessary to its efficient working. The hospital itself is built to provide for extension later on, is very modern in design and the wards look out on fine northern views.

The Printing Works have been designed to take the latest machinery, and the large electricity supply station is in accordance with modern methods and is capable of considerable extension.

The Gymkhana Club, of which a sketch appears facing page 30 has been designed by Mr. A. T. Flutter, A.R.I.B.A., the Government Architect. At present only the central portion, containing the lounge, is being built. The lounge has a sprung floor, for dancing, as has also the dining-room which will open out of it. The completed building, with two wings enclosing a lawn on the southern side, will also include a billiard room and card room, kitchens and changing rooms. The Club faces north, overlooking the cricket ground, tennis courts, and the eighteenth green of the golf course. As the prevailing wind is north-east, the shelter afforded by an inner loggia on the southern side and the lawn between the two wings will, at certain times of the year, be welcome. The building has a flat roof where people can have tea and which will also serve as a grandstand, and eventual extensions will be made to include a squash court, some bedrooms and possibly a swimming pool. Along the northern front, above the drive, runs a gravel terrace to be bordered with turf and flowers.

The most interesting building has been left till the

last, Government House. Originally it was designed to be very much larger than it is, but an entire wing has had to be sacrificed in the interests of economy. Those who went to the Royal Academy in 1934 may remember having seen two drawings from the original design. They were the work of Mr. Walcot, F.R.I.B.A.

It might be feared that the absence of a wing would destroy the balance of a building, but it has been possible to adapt the plans to give the present symmetry. This has been facilitated by the style of the architecture. The house is designed in the Old Colonial Georgian manner and built of sand-faced bricks which will mellow pleasantly with time. It is in the style of an English country house and that, it seems, is in the appropriate tradition. It is only two storeys high, but the manner in which its proportions have been built up to the *porte cochère* in the centre gives it a quite unexpected mass and height. The approach from the Ridgeway is in this respect peculiarly fortunate. The visitor enters the grounds through wrought-iron gates and down a sunken drive, at the bottom of which stands the *porte cochère*, with its tall pillars, facing slightly away to the right. The house is set at this angle to avoid the prevalent winds and to catch the view of the hills.

Behind the *porte cochère* and, of course, invisible from the outside, is a small turfed *patio* with cypresses and a playing fountain. Beyond it a pillared loggia leads directly to a wide stone terrace which runs along the whole north front of the house. To the right and left of the loggia are the ball-room and the dining-room. For state occasions folding doors can be opened

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to turn these two and the loggia into one great room. Tall french windows open from both the dining-room and the ball-room on to the terrace. The windows are made of steel and they slide into grooves in the wall, a device which does away with the irritating obstruction caused by the usual type of french window when standing open.

Beyond the dining-room are the kitchens, sadly reduced from the original plan. The east end of the house is occupied by the Governor's office and private apartments.

Great care has been taken to make the interior furnishings of the house worthy of the whole; the curved staircase, paved with *terrazzo*, has a banister of wrought-iron work lacquered in old gold. The fireplaces are varied and modern in design, free use being made here also of coloured *terrazzo*. Ceilings are lofty and moulded in the Adams style. Floors and doors are of *mukwa* and other red-woods.

The furnishing of the rooms has sought to combine the best of English tradition and modern design with the strength and durability essential to African conditions. Messrs. Heal of London helped to solve the problem by lending many of their furniture designs. Local woods have been used and the furniture has been made locally; this is the first time that English designs have to any great extent been carried out in African timbers. All the materials inside the house are British.

It is noticeable that by far the greater part of the house is taken up by rooms designed principally for social occasions. The ball-room is, as it were, the

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centre round which the house is built, and it is into the ball-room that the wide staircase opens which leads down from the upper storey. It might even be thought that the personal comfort of the Governor has been limited in the interests of entertainment. If the eastern wing originally included in the design had been built, the Governor would undoubtedly have had more room to himself, but there is a tradition of hospitality in Rhodesia which cannot be denied. Moreover, a Government House is essentially something more than the residence of a Governor: it is the social centre of a Colony, the repository even of all that is most dignified in its life and of such pageantry as can be contrived. It is not only a house, but, as the residence of the King's representative, it is a national treasure, the evidence that a Colony gives to the world of that state of civilization which it has achieved. The lack of an adequate Government House has for too long deprived Northern Rhodesia of that element of dignified ceremony which its state occasions have rightfully demanded.

Yet there is one further consideration which more than any other justifies the building of a Government House on this scale and in this balance of design. Northern Rhodesia is a Protectorate in which the Africans outnumber the Europeans by a hundred and twenty to one. To them, this House and its great occasions will be the outward and visible sign at all times of the dignity of the Crown.

CHAPTER V

THE NATIVE SIDE

In this new Society the Native must be helped to fit his past, find his present and plan his future. *J. Merle Davis*

THE miscellaneous African population of the capital has, for the purposes of accommodation, been divided into two classes, personal servants and others, and these classes have been provided with separate compounds.

It has been considered wise to discontinue the practice of providing each house with its own native compound. Quarters are only provided for one unmarried boy on each plot. The other servants, with their families, live at a distance in the Personal Servants' Compound. Thus, not only is the residential area freed from *piccanins* and other manifestations of domestic untidiness and noise, but an opportunity is afforded to provide these families with a life of their own more like that to which they have been accustomed, and with dwellings which have a definite educational value.

In a compound it is possible not only to have separate houses for each family, but to site and build them in such a way that the compound becomes, in effect, an improved type of African village. It is hoped that the inhabitants, and particularly the women, will take away with them to their homes a determination to build a better and brighter Africa. That this hope is not unfounded is, as a matter of fact, already proved by the quite astonishing improvements in architecture and village plans recently to be seen in those districts

whence the majority of the population have formed the habit of going to work on the copper mines.

A differentiation has been made between personal servants and others because, generally speaking, the 'boy', through association with European family life, has reached a higher standard of domestic culture and civic behaviour than the more unsophisticated labourer, and is therefore likely to prefer to associate with his fellows. The general compound, however, also accommodates many natives of superior education, whose standard of living is even higher than that of the 'boy' – clerks, *capitao*s, orderlies. These men, being engaged in different occupations, have not the same community of interests – the same narrowness of interests – as domestic servants, and it is considered that by living in the general compound they will be able to bring a very valuable influence to bear on the more primitive members of the community without themselves suffering any social inconvenience.

Indeed, there is nothing to choose between the two compounds, both are planned on the same lines, both provide similar accommodation, both have equal access to the amenities provided.

A third compound has been built between Government House and the hospital. This, which is known as the 'Governor's Village', is more elaborately designed than the others and houses personal servants employed in Government House and the buildings at the eastern end of the ridge, together with the native staff of the hospital. That part of the town is too far distant from the other compounds for the convenience either of the servants or their masters.

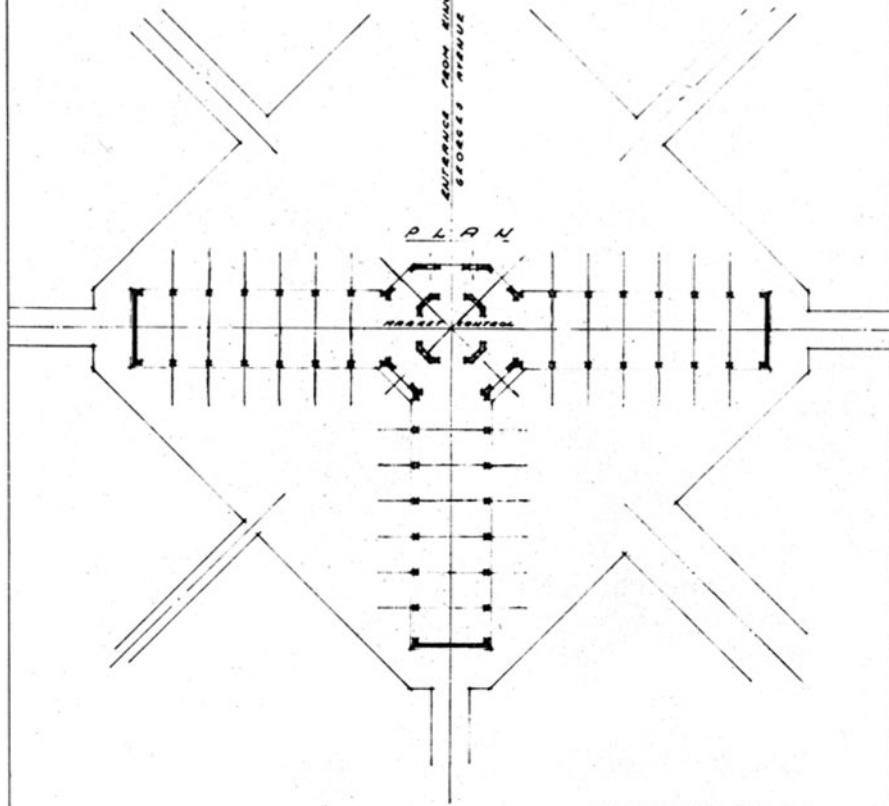
NEW CAPITAL LUSAKA N RHODESIA
NATIVE MARKET



ELEVATION TO KING GEORGES AVENUE

ENTRANCE FROM KING
GEORGES AVENUE

PLAN



J. M. HOSKINS A.S.A.

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THE NATIVE SIDE

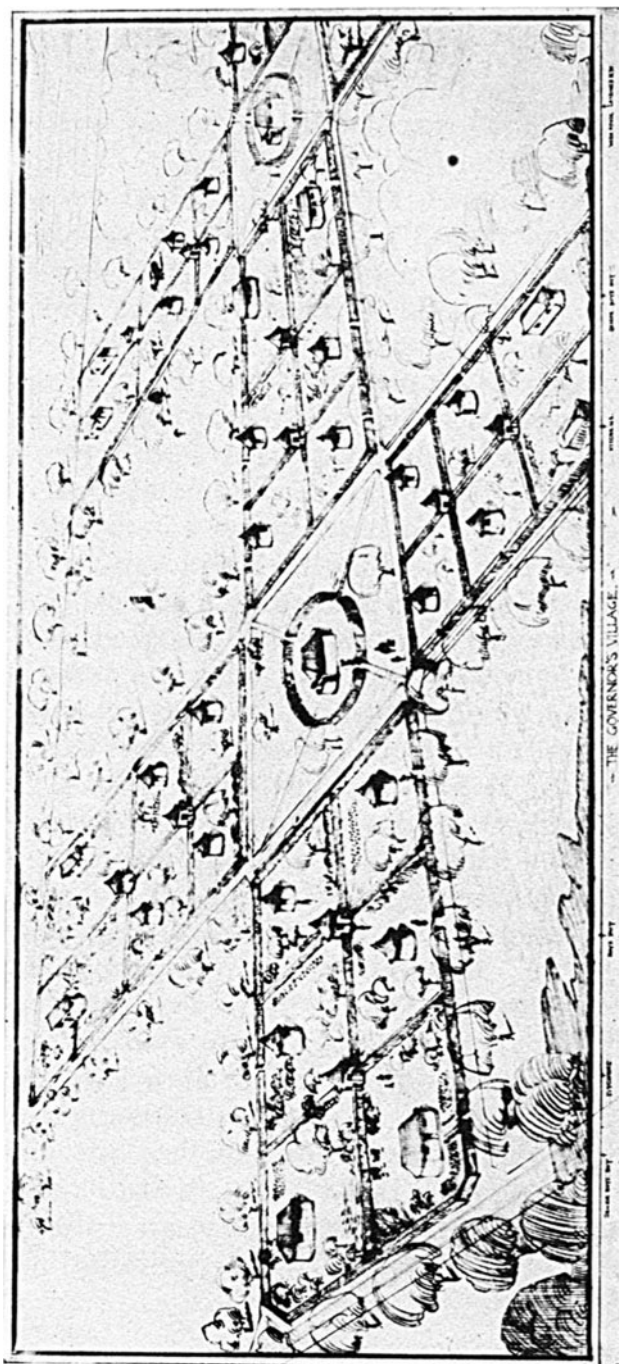
The lay-out of the compounds has been carefully designed with the object of preserving what is best in the traditional plan of the African village. At first sight, most villages do not appear to have a plan, but to be merely conglomerations of huts, yet there is nearly always some underlying plan based on the demands of tribal custom. This plan varies with almost every tribe, but there is one common factor which can be isolated and incorporated to some extent in a compound, and that is the family unit. In some tribes a man surrounds the huts of himself and his wives and near relations with a fence; in all tribes a family builds its huts next door to each other. The family is still the essential unit of African life. Now, in a compound a man is unlikely to have more than one wife – the other or others will be at his village – and therefore it is not possible to preserve the family unit of huts as such, but it is possible to preserve for each householder that sense of intimacy which he had from feeling that, however large the village, he was living in one clearly defined section of it and was concerned only with that section. In designing these compounds the usual plan consisting of an immense number of huts marshalled in rows and not sub-divided in any way has been abandoned. The compounds consist of several units of four huts, each unit, so to speak, looking into itself and divided by an appreciable space from its neighbour. In this way, to some extent, the African system of villages within the village has been preserved.

The modern village housewife is no longer content to do her cooking in her hut, and always makes her

husband build her a separate kitchen a few yards away. This development was, of course, one to be encouraged, but if every hut in a compound was to be provided with its own kitchen the cost of the compound would have been very nearly doubled. On the other hand communal kitchens were, in the interests of peace, unthinkable. A compromise has therefore been devised which, while admittedly not being an advance on the village system, does meet the demands both of economy and the housewife. The four huts of each unit in the main compounds stand on the corners of a square, or the circumference of a circle, and in the centre is a circular kitchen divided into four segments by partitioning the walls, and each containing its own fireplace. That this plan is not disliked by the women is shown by the fact that already some have made formal paths from their huts to the kitchen, a distance of some twenty yards, and have bordered them with stones or flower-beds. It is hoped that each community of four families will develop a pride in its little 'square' and do much to improve it in such ways as this.

In the 'Governor's Village' the lay-out takes the form of a series of crosses, the 'family units' being formed by the huts enclosing each angle of the cross. Kitchens are either single or double, according to the station of the occupants. A feature of this village is the mulberry and lantana hedges separating the different sections.

Sanitary accommodation has been provided by means of septic tanks and water-borne sewage, and water for household purposes has been laid on at conveniently situated taps.



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THE NATIVE SIDE

The educative policy mentioned above has been principally applied in the designing of the huts themselves, the object being to provide a dwelling on the African model but of an improved design and one, moreover, that the African will both want to copy and be able to copy on his return to his village. The African hut is round and not square – though this generalization is, again, subject to many exceptions – and therefore the huts provided in the compounds are for the most part round. It is very much easier to keep a round hut clean than one with corners, and it is very much easier to thatch a round building than a rectangular one. The three principal failings of the average village hut are lack of height, lack of windows and a low door. The compound huts are over thirteen feet high in the centre and have adequate doorways. The question of windows was rather more difficult, because the African, like most foreigners, does not share the Englishman's passion for fresh air, and if you put an ordinary window in his hut he will inevitably keep it shut or, if it has no glass, stuff it up with a sack or cast-off clothing. It has been observed, however, that many huts in the villages are now being built with very small windows high up in the wall. In other words, the African likes a little ventilation and light, provided that he does not feel a draught. In the compound huts, the walls are, as it were, battlemented at the top with generous embrasures, the spaces which occur between the wall and the roof both serving to admit light and a through ventilation. The light is not very much, but it is more than the African allows himself to his own buildings, and the ventilation is excel-

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lent and in no way productive of those draughts to which he has so violent and understandable an objection.

While it has been possible by these means to provide an improved hut of African design, it has not been possible to be so helpful in regard to the materials of which the hut is made. Thatch has, of course, been used and not corrugated iron, and the thatching is better than that done by the average tribe. So far so good, but the construction of the walls and floor raised a more serious problem. The village hut is made of poles, plastered with mud, and, with the ravages of weather and white ants, does not last more than three or four years. Clearly, while it was desirable to build a hut of materials which the African could gather for himself in the bush, it was not possible financially to make the huts of anything but permanent materials. The entire compounds could not be rebuilt every four, or even ten years. There is really only one permanent building material available in Northern Rhodesia, and that is burnt brick. Of burnt brick, therefore, lime-washed inside and out, the huts were built. In certain areas the more progressive natives are building in burnt brick and as there is no essential reason why every village should not, in years to come, make bricks for itself, the use of bricks in these compounds may not prove to be so irrelevant after all. Lastly, the floors of a village hut are made of clay, often mixed with cow-dung. For many years they must continue to be made of clay, even if the cow-dung is omitted, but, again, clay is impermanent and unsuitable and some substitute had to be found for the compound huts.

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Concrete, suitably drained, was used in the interests both of permanence and cleanliness. In the 'Governor's village', as well as huts of the ordinary circular type, oval two-roomed houses have been provided for the senior and better-educated people.

The diversions of a village are beer-drinking and dancing. These amenities are also provided, under suitable control, in the compounds. Beer is sold very cheaply at a beer-hall between certain hours. The hall is rigidly controlled and drunkenness is not tolerated. No beer may be made or sold elsewhere within a radius of several miles, and as the African maintains just as strongly as the British working man that a modicum of beer is essential to his existence, a well controlled beer-hall is a good, though much criticized, institution. If there were no hall, beer would be brewed, prohibition or no prohibition, and innumerable abuses would arise. All the profits made from the sale of beer are dedicated to improving the amenities of the compounds.

Dances, with drums and other music, are regularly held in the open spaces.

In addition to these African diversions, sports grounds are provided and soccer and athletics are extremely popular. As beer-hall profits accrue, which they do very rapidly, a library, recreation rooms and even a cinema will be built.

One church is already in existence near the compounds, that of the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa, and others will come as the followings of the various missionary societies ask for them.

Also, close at hand, lies the second-class Trading

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Area, devoted entirely to native trade, and in the open square provided for the purpose is being built a large market hall. Here African traders from far and near will be able to hire stalls, and the housewife from the compound will be able to buy all the different kinds of local produce which she cannot normally find in the shops – fish, fresh from the Kafue, and dried, goats, chickens, sweet potatoes, water-melons, and the like. The market hall has been designed on an unusually large scale because there is no doubt that the demands of an ever increasing African population in the compounds will be met by a corresponding expansion of local village industries. The advantages of a market-place to housewife and trader alike over the former uncertain system of hawking from house to house are obvious.

It will be seen, then, that the ideal is to make the compounds into a self-contained African town, planned and developed on careful and progressive lines which, it is hoped, will provide an edifying comparison with the slums which constitute the native quarters of so many of the older townships in the tropics.

While the main centres of direct educational work among the Africans are not at Lusaka, there is one institution included in the new capital which deserves attention. The Trades School, situated to the south of the Governor's village, is intended, as its name implies, to train craftsmen and artisans. The school has been open now for two years, and at present it contains fifty-four Africans, all of whom have had a previous general education at their Mission schools, and are now learning the trades which will enable

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them in after life to support themselves in that standard of life for which their education has fitted them.

The buildings of the School have been designed on the same principle as those of the compounds, though, since the pupils have already progressed further than the average compound resident, their houses have been modelled on more advanced lines. The shape of the huts has been varied, though rounded corners have been carefully preserved, they are larger and have more civilized methods of ventilation. Particular attention has been paid to the thatching, an attempt having been made to popularize the very efficient and attractive thatching of Barotseland. Not only does this thatching lend itself to all manner of embellishment and design, but its life may be as much as twenty years, compared with the four-year span of the thatch common to other tribes in Northern Rhodesia.

CHAPTER VI

THE AIRPORT

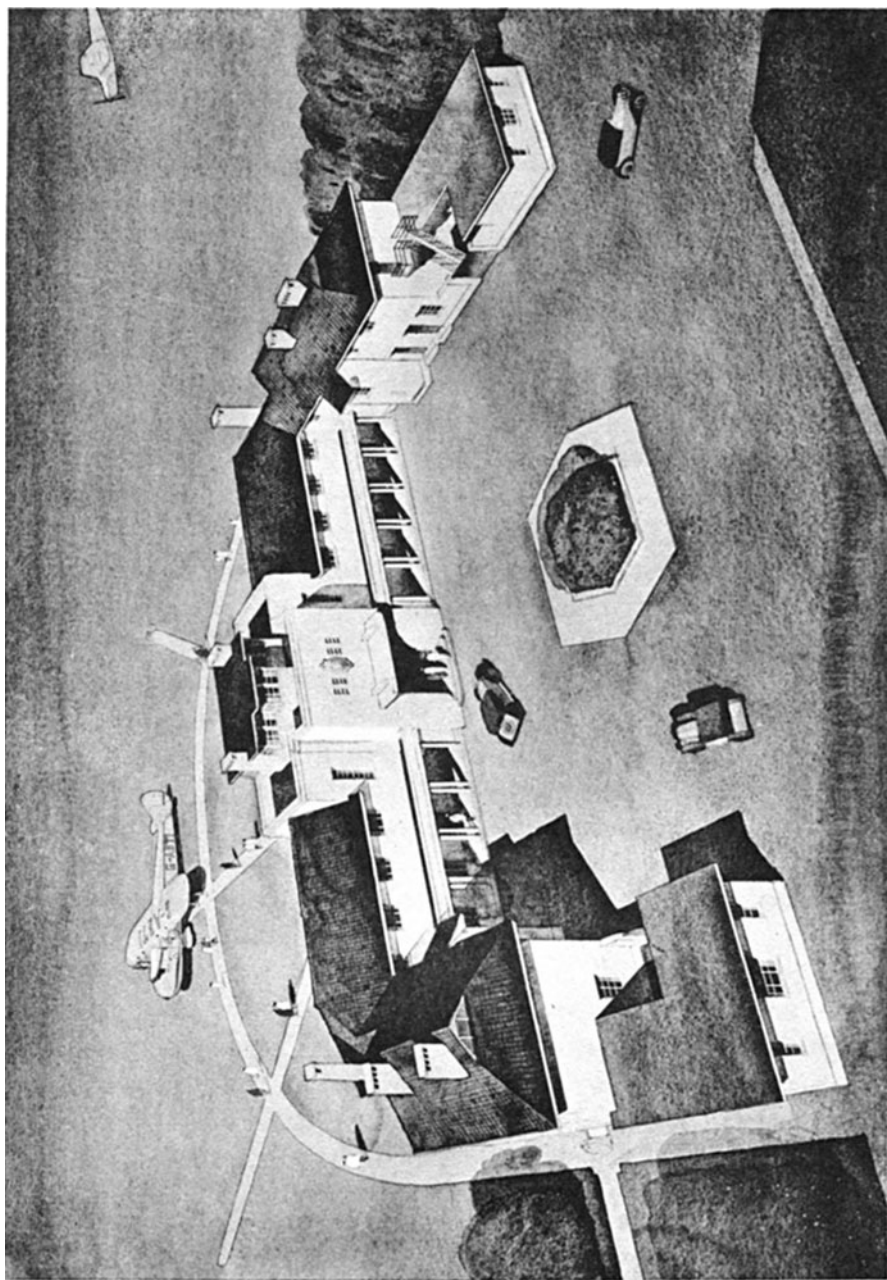
East Africa and Air Transport are a boon to each other.
Sir Samuel Instone

THE airport, lying to the north of the capital, is designed on a scale in keeping with the position it will hold, not only as the centre for air traffic in a country which must, by its nature, become more and more dependent on the air for its internal communications, but as the principal port of call in the Territory for trans-continental traffic.

The geographical position of Northern Rhodesia and, in particular, of Lusaka, its central point, is such as to render it probable that in the future the airport will not only form an important link on the north and south route, but will also be the junction for more than one route to the east and west and for feeder routes within the Rhodesias themselves.

Looking thus to the future, and bearing in mind the all-important fact that Central Africa is as ideal for flying as it is unsuited for any other modern form of transport, both the aerodrome itself and the buildings connected with it have been planned on a scale far larger than any existing in the Territory to-day.

It is not, however, to be imagined that the aerodrome is a vast rectangle of green grass such as is familiar in Europe. For many months in the year the grass of the aerodrome will be sadly yellow, since no rain falls between April and October, and there is nothing rectangular about it. When the rains do



Graham Dawbarn—Architect. Norman, Muntz & Dawbarn.

TERMINAL BUILDING FOR THE AIRPORT OF LUSAKA, N. RHODESIA

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begin the grass in this country grows at a phenomenal pace and to a height of anything up to twelve feet. It is therefore the custom for our aerodromes to consist of runways, this way and that, so designed that while a machine may always be able to land up-wind, the area to be kept mown is reduced to a minimum. Normally one north and south runway, and one pointing east and west are considered sufficient, the aerodrome being in the form of a cross, but for the Lusaka airport runways all converging on a wide central space are provided for no less than eight different points of the compass. The result is an aerodrome of a shape unknown to Euclid, but not unlike a small boy's first attempt to draw a star – a very small boy. The east and west runway – since the prevailing wind is easterly – is fifteen hundred yards long, the others twelve hundred, sufficient for the heaviest machine to take off even at four thousand feet above the sea.

The sketch of the airport building, which faces page 54, shows it as it will be when completed, but at present only the central hall and tower and one of the wings is being built. The building was designed by Messrs. Norman, Muntz & Dawbarn of Heston, and the Beit Trustees have made a generous grant towards the cost of its construction. The building, of course, faces towards the aerodrome, so that from all the important rooms a view can be had of everything that is going on. From its centre three concrete paths radiate to the points where air-liners are expected to stand. Passengers will thus be able to board their machines without getting their shoes dusty or wet,

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according to season, and if someone finds he has arrived at the wrong aeroplane, well, there is another semi-circular path connecting the three others and he can run along this and still be in time.

The main hall, under the observation tower, will eventually be devoted entirely to the convenience and comfort of passengers arriving or departing by air, and will be equipped with an inquiries bureau and a small shop, but at present it will have to do duty for weighing and customs examination. The tower itself will be the private eyrie of the meteorologists, wireless operator, and the officer in control of the aerodrome. The wing will have a restaurant and kitchens downstairs, and upstairs two flats for members of the aerodrome staff.

The accommodation at present will therefore be limited, but when the building is completed it will also contain administrative offices, those belonging to the Air Line Operating companies, rooms for engineers, pilots and instructors, to say nothing of mail rooms, a telephone exchange, stores, and rooms for quarantine authorities. It is also proposed to start a flying club at the capital, and rooms will be available in the airport building for the convenience of members.

From all this it may be thought that this one building will serve almost every purpose which air-minded people can be expected to have, but it will probably be necessary one day to put certain small buildings outside, an isolation block, since this must be a quarantine station as well as an airport, a guard-house for the police, and a garage for cars belonging

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to the aerodrome staff and members of the flying club.

Alongside the road leading to the airport from the capital will be at least one big hangar, with an expanse of concrete outside, petrol stations and a garage for a fire engine and an ambulance.

With all its inner workings taken out and listed like this, the airport seems to be a most elaborate affair, yet no one who has watched the progress of flying and the increase in air traffic in Africa during the last few years can help feeling that the plans may turn out to be inadequate. The building, however, has been so designed that it can easily be extended further still, and it will be surprising if these extensions are not required before many years have passed.

CHAPTER VII

THE TREES

Chose, therefore, trees. . . . *R. P. Knight*

FOR most young townships in the Colonies corrugated iron and lack of shade are almost as inevitable as mumps and measles for a child. In building the capital, however, a little care has warded off all but the faintest symptoms of corrugated iron, and measures have similarly been taken to ensure that the town shall not suffer from lack of shade.

A house or a road can be constructed in a few months, but trees take years to grow, and one of the earliest of our undertakings was a nursery where trees and shrubs could be given a start in life and be ready for transplanting to roads and gardens as soon as the latter were ready to receive them. Immediately a house was completed and occupied or a road opened to traffic, little trees and bushes appeared as if by magic. While Government has of course had to see to the planting of the public avenues, the planting in the gardens of the houses has been entirely due to the enthusiasm of the householders. They were told that they could take their choice of any of the many varieties of seedlings in the nursery, and that if they wanted advice about the planting of them, that also would be freely given. The response was most encouraging. Whether or not an impetus has been given to the horticultural instincts of our Civil servants, certainly most of the gardens of the earlier houses have a precocious air with well-established lawns and bloom-

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ing flower-beds, and even the infant shrubberies are thriving vigorously.

Professor Adshead suggested that as the vegetation of the ridge was poor, it might be possible to introduce trees of other types. He imagined banana trees and palms in the squares and gardens. Neither bananas nor palms are, as a matter of fact, easy to grow on this high plateau, but a very large variety of other trees has been introduced. Not only has Africa been combed for its most pleasant trees, but others have been brought from all over the tropical world, from South America, Mexico, India, China, Madagascar, Australia, from Persia and the South Sea Islands.

It is astonishing how few varieties have refused to co-operate in the embellishment of the capital and have had to be uprooted and dismissed. The very small mortality among the many that have been successfully transplanted from the nursery to the ridge is due to the genius and unremitting care of George Walton who, until his recent illness, was in sole charge of the nursery and its products. He may perhaps remember what Rhodes once said to a man like him: 'Theirs the shade, yours the glory'. The planting of young trees is a peculiarly selfless task.

In choosing the trees and shrubs three things have been borne in mind, beauty, shade and shelter. Some trees not only have lovely flowers but are heavy-leaved. Generally, however, only one of the three virtues is present in a single tree.

If a detailed description were to be given of all the trees and shrubs planted along the roads, in the gardens, in the parks and as hedges and wind-breaks, the

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uninitiated reader would be drowned in a sea of botanical latinity. He would not be able or even willing to make that effort of the imagination which is necessary if he is to have any sort of picture of what that capital will look like in ten years time. For those with a greater horticultural knowledge a complete list of trees and shrubs which have been used is placed at the end of this chapter. The great majority of roads have been lined with double rows of trees. Some of these avenues will be bright with jacaranda, the African Flame Tree, or the yellow flowers of the *Markhamia*, others deeply shaded with mangoes, with one of the African mahoganies or the wild fig.

Behind hedges of orange and white lantana, Pride of India, cypress, yellow tecoma or oleander, the gardens of the houses are, like the roads, planted both for shade and colour. Flamboyant trees, scarlet and white poinsettias, violet trees, the Cape chestnut, Kaffir broom, bamboos and flowering acacias are among the gayest and the most familiar trees and bushes of the many which have been used. There is also that most useful of trees, the moringa, which is said to provide horse-radish from its roots, spinach from its leaves and a flavouring for curries from its pods! . . . The placing of tall Mediterranean cypresses against some of the white houses will make the capital more and more reminiscent of Italy as the years go by.

The park to the north of the capital forms a contrast both to the thickly planted private gardens and to the ill-grown and spindly bush beyond. The grass has been cut and the more unsightly indigenous trees removed. The result is an open, restful place with

THE TREES

long quiet vistas between the trees, and the planting of exotic flowering trees has been so restricted as in no way to alter its character. There are a few wind-breaks, a few plantations to give shade when the indigenous trees are bare, and, bordering the road which passes through the park, some *Bauhinia*, the shrub with sweetly scented flowers of white and scarlet and mauve. There is little other change.

Vegetable gardens and small orchards have not been neglected by the householders of the capital, while the orchard at Government House is already of quite a considerable size. It contains two varieties of peaches, oranges (Navels, Jaffas, and Mediterranean Sweets), seedless grape fruit, lemons, limes, Avocada pears, litchis and bananas. The grounds of Government House were laid out as the house was being built, with tennis courts, avenues of trees, lawns and a sunk garden whose beds are already gay with flowers.

The park at the bottom of the garden has been treated in much the same way as the public park, though it is provided with a greater variety of flowering trees.

The soil and climate on the ridge appear to be particularly suitable for most of the well-known annuals and perennials, and at Government House it is proposed that the wilder part of the grounds shall slowly be filled with a collection of all the most beautiful indigenous plants and bulbs, including aloes and succulents from this and neighbouring countries.

If you walk through the capital to-day you will find colour and shade restricted almost entirely to people's gardens, but you will see along the roads all the young

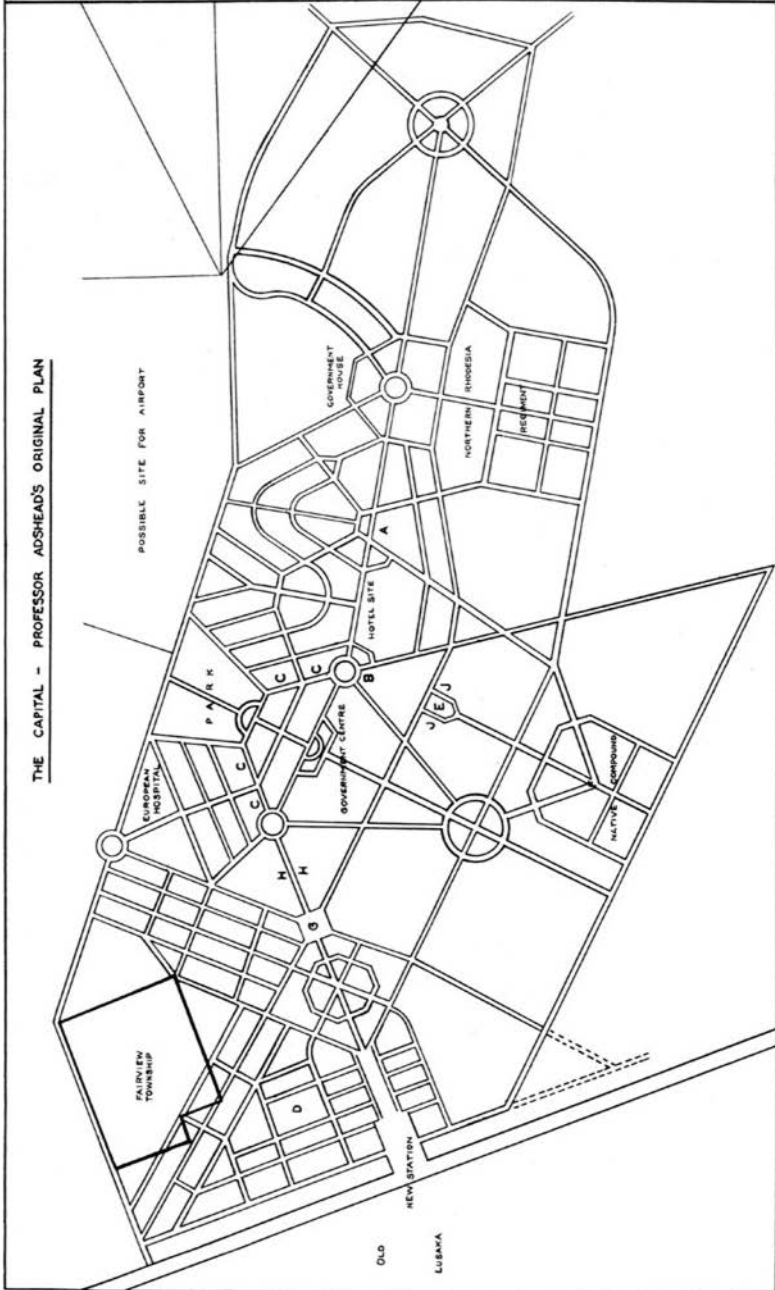
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trees growing and you can imagine these avenues as they will be in time to come. It may be difficult to picture miles of jacaranda trees in bloom against a hot spring sky, to see the houses shadowed by dark trees, the hedges and wind-breaks tall and thick, the fig trees along the Ridgeway forty feet high and drawing a deep line of shade along the grass between the carriage-ways, but at least it is certain that no pains have been spared to make the capital beautiful with trees.

K. B.

Mumbwa
Northern Rhodesia
May, 1935

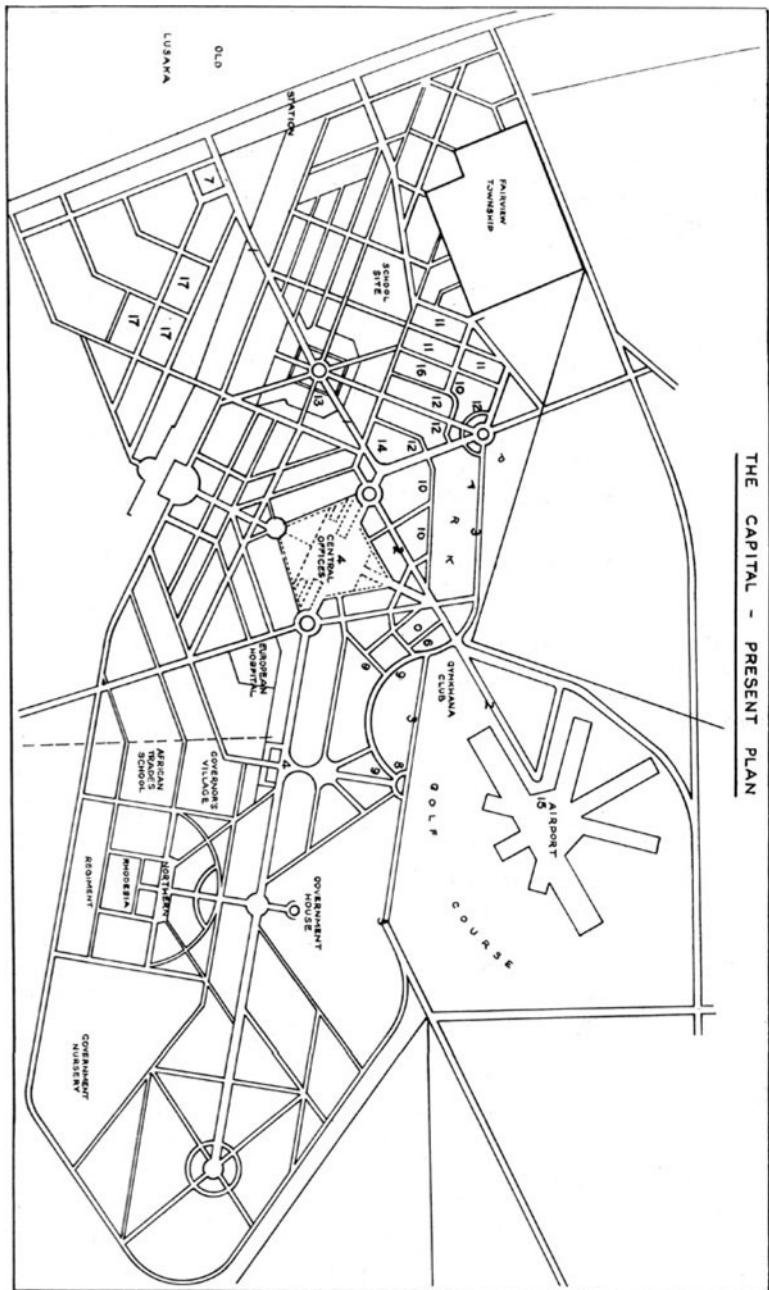
THE CAPITAL - PROFESSOR ADSEAD'S ORIGINAL PLAN



REFERENCE

- A. Site for Cathedral
- B. Club Centre
- C. Sites for Public Buildings
- D. Market Square
- E. Native Hospital
- F. Native Market
- G. Municipal Centre
- H. Business Premises
- J. Native Industrial Schools

THE CAPITAL - PRESENT PLAN



REFERENCE

1. King George's Avenue
2. Queen Mary's Avenue
3. Prince George's Road
4. The Ridge Way
5. Leopards Hill Road
6. Airbarium
7. Nohu Market
8. Chief Secretary's Residence
9. Executive Councilors' Houses
10. Flats
11. Bungalows
12. Cottages, 1932 Programme
13. Business Centre
14. Municipal Centre
15. Terminal Building
16. School Hostel
17. Personal Services Compound

APPENDIX

A. INDIGENOUS FLOWERING TREES

<i>Dichrostachys Glomerata</i>	<i>Dombeya</i>
<i>Erythrina Caffra</i> (Kaffir broom)	<i>Acacia</i> (several varieties)
<i>Securidaca Longipedunculata</i> (Violet tree)	<i>Cassia</i> (several varieties)
<i>Gardenia Globosa</i>	<i>Lonchocarpus Capassa</i>
<i>Peltophorum</i>	<i>Bauhinia</i>
	<i>Kigelia Primata</i> (Sausage tree)

B. EXOTIC FLOWERING TREES

<i>Spathodea Nilotica</i> (African flame)	<i>Sterculia Acerifolia</i> (Australian flame)
<i>Markhamia Hildebrandtii</i>	<i>Langunaria Petersonia</i>
<i>Milletia Oblata</i>	<i>Melia Azedarach</i> (Syringa)
<i>Poinciana Regia</i> (Flamboyant)	<i>Parkinsonia Aculeata</i>
<i>Jacaranda Mimosaefolia</i>	<i>Moringa Pterigosperma</i> (Horse-radish tree)
<i>Caledendron Capensis</i> (Cape chestnut)	

C. INDIGENOUS SHADE TREES

<i>Ficus Sp.</i> (Wild Fig. Several varieties)	<i>Trichilia Emetica</i>
<i>Khaya Nyasica</i> (African mahogany)	<i>Parinarium Mobola</i>
<i>Afzelia Quanzensis</i> (Pod mahogany)	<i>Zizyphus Jujutra</i>
	<i>Tamarindus Indica</i> (Tamarind tree)
	<i>Euphorbia Candelabra</i>

D. EXOTIC SHADE TREES

<i>Fraxinus Velutina</i>	<i>Ceiba Pentandra</i>
<i>Cedrela Toona</i> (Indian mahogany)	<i>Bamboo</i>
<i>Schinus Molle</i> (Pepper tree)	<i>Sterculia Platanifolia</i>
<i>Caledendron Capensis</i> (Cape chestnut)	<i>Croton Megalocarpus</i>
<i>Grevillea Robusta</i>	<i>Ficus Retusa</i>
<i>Sterculia Diversifolia</i>	<i>Ficus Macrophylla</i>
<i>Maesopsis Emenii</i>	<i>Platanus Orientalis</i> (Plane tree)
<i>Mangifera Indica</i> (Mango)	<i>Cassia Siamea</i>
<i>Cordia Holstii</i>	<i>Tristanea Conferta</i>
<i>Cupressus Pyramidalis</i> (Mediterranean cypress)	<i>Phytolacca Dioica</i> (Belhambra)
	<i>Eucalyptus Citriodura, Rostrata and Robusta</i>

APPENDIX

E. FLOWERING AND ORNAMENTAL SHRUBS

<i>Lasiandra Macrantha Grandiflora</i>	<i>Tecoma Stans</i>
<i>Jatropha Multifida</i> (Coral plant)	<i>Tecoma Smithii</i>
<i>Euphorbia Splendens</i> (Christ thorn)	<i>Wigandia Caracasana</i>
<i>Punica Granatum</i> (Pomegranate, single and double)	<i>Bixia Orellana</i>
<i>Brugmansia Knightii</i> (Moonflower)	<i>Nerium Oleander</i>
<i>Callistemon</i> (Bottle brush)	<i>Duranta Plumerii</i>
<i>Cestrum Aurantiacum</i>	<i>Duranta Ellissii</i>
<i>Poinsettia</i> (single and double, scarlet, white and pink)	<i>Thevetia Nerifolia</i>
<i>Hibiscus Sinensis</i> (single and double)	<i>Poinciana Pulcherrima</i> (Pride of Barbadoes)
<i>Holmskoldia Sanguinea</i>	<i>Lagerstroemia Indica</i>
<i>Amygdalus Persica</i> (flowering peach)	<i>Iochroma Tubulosa</i>
<i>Bolusanthus Speciosa</i> (Rhodesian wistaria)	<i>Alstonia Scholaris</i>
<i>Bauhinia Acuminata</i>	<i>Cassia Grandiflora</i>
<i>Bauhinia Purpurea</i>	<i>Lantana</i>
<i>Bauhinia Galpini</i>	<i>Buddleia</i> (white and mauve)
	<i>Crataegus Pyracantha</i>
	<i>Crataegus Ozycantha</i>

F. HEDGES

<i>Dodonea Viscosa</i>	<i>Lagerstroemia Indica</i> (Pride of India)
<i>Rhus Lancea</i>	<i>Bixia Orellana</i>
<i>Pittosporum Undulatum</i>	<i>Tecoma Stans</i>
<i>Thuya Orientalis</i>	<i>Nerium Oleander</i>
<i>Cupressus Arizona</i>	<i>Duranta Plumerii</i>
<i>Cupressus Torulosa</i>	<i>Thevetia Nerifolia</i>
<i>Cupressus Lusitanica</i>	<i>Poinciana Pulcherrima</i> (Pride of Barbadoes)
<i>Callitris Calcarata</i>	<i>Morus Alba</i>
<i>Bauhinia Acuminata</i>	<i>Euphorbia</i>
<i>Bauhinia Purpurea</i>	
<i>Lantana</i>	

(Several of the above are also used for ornamental purposes)

G. CLIMBING PLANTS

<i>Bougainvillea</i> (Terracotta)	<i>Beaumontia Grandiflora</i>
<i>Bigonia Verusta</i> (Golden Shower)	<i>Passiflora Edulis</i> (Grenadilla)
<i>Solanum Wenlandii</i> (Potato creeper)	<i>Allananda Schottii</i>
<i>Antigonum Leptopis</i>	<i>Allananda Violacea</i>
<i>Stephanotis Floribunda</i>	

NORTHERN RHODESIA

Official Programme

OF

**His Majesty's Jubilee
Celebrations**

AND THE

**Formal Opening of the
New Capital**

AT

L U S A K A

May 28th to June 3rd, 1935

**PRINTED BY THE GOVERNMENT PRINTER,
LIVINGSTONE,
1935.**

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GENERAL INFORMATION.

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Enquiries from intending visitors may be addressed to the Secretary, New Capital Advisory Sub-Committee, P.O. Box 131, Lusaka.

The Post Office will be open as follows :

Daily from 8.0 a.m. to 12 noon and from 2.0 p.m. to 4.0 p.m. except as under :

Friday May 31st, from 9.0 a.m. to 10.0 a.m.

Saturday, June 1st, from 8.0 a.m. to 12.0 noon.

Sunday, June 2nd, from 9.0 a.m. to 10.0 a.m.

Monday, June 3rd, from 9.0 a.m. to 10.0 a.m.

Telephone Exchange, including Trunk Calls open daily from 8.0 a.m. to 6.0 p.m., except on Sundays and Public Holidays, when the hours will be from 9.0 a.m. to 12.0 noon.

Postings for Air Mails : Wednesday, 4.0 p.m.

Saturday, 12.0 noon.

The Local Banks will be open as follows :

Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays and Fridays, from 9.0 a.m. to 1.0 p.m. Wednesdays and Saturdays from 9.0 a.m. to 12.0 noon. They will not open on Public Holidays.

Local Garages :

The Lusaka Motors ...	...	...	Tel. 2591
The Lusaka Trading Co. (Kee's Garage) ...	...	...	Tel. 2951
Pal's Motor Services ...	...	...	Tel. 2431
Mouritzen's Auto Service ...	...	...	Tel. 2221

Local Hotels :

Counsell's Lusaka Hotel, Cairo Road Tel. 2371

The Grand Hotel Tel. 2311

The Palace Hotel, Livingstone Road.

Accommodation :

Through the courtesy of the General Manager of the Rhodesia Railways accommodation in first-class coaches will be available. These coaches with attendant dining-saloons will be stabled near the Show Grounds.

Tariff :

Accommodation (including bedding), 5s. per night. Meals at usual rates.

Lounges and bathrooms will be available at the site.

Applications for the above accommodation should be addressed to local stationmasters.

Excursion rates will be available on the Rhodesia Railways from all points to Lusaka during the period covered by this programme.

TUESDAY, MAY 28th.

9.30 p.m. **Cabaret and Dance** under the distinguished patronage of His Excellency and Lady Young and their guests in the Government Printing Office Building, situated near the Railway Camp.

The Cabaret is produced by the local Amateur Dramatic and Musical Society. Admission (including refreshments) 5s. 6d. per head.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 29th.

11.00 a.m. His Excellency and Lady Young accompanied by their guests will visit the Hospital, the Governor's Village and the Native Trades School.

12.0 noon. **Laying of the Foundation Stone** of the British South Africa Company's new offices by His Excellency the Governor.

The Site of the new Offices is in the angle formed by Queen Mary's Avenue and the Ridgeway. The General Public is cordially invited to be present. Chairs will be provided.

3.30 p.m. **Opening of the New Gymkhana Club** by His Excellency Sir Harold Kittermaster, K.B.E., C.M.G., Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Nyasaland.

Tennis, Hockey, Rugby Football and Golf on the Club grounds.

Members of the Club may introduce visitors for the occasion.

9.00 p.m. Dance at Counsell's Lusaka Hotel
arranged by the Management.
Music by Miss Aberman's Dance
Band.

THURSDAY, MAY 30th.

10.00 a.m. Opening of the Lusaka Airport
by Lady Young. Flights of the
Royal Air Force, and the South
African Air Force and aeroplanes
from neighbouring Flying Clubs will
be present at the Ceremony.

The Royal Air Force Flight under Wing Com-
mander C. W. Mackey will consist of four Vickers
Victoria Aircraft from No. 216 (Bomber Transport)
Squadron stationed at Heliopolis. The South
African Air Force Flight will consist of five Air-
craft. (The two Air Force flights will have
arrived on Monday the 27th May and an Arrivals
Competition for other aircraft will have been held
on Wednesday, 29th May.) A Guard of Honour
will be mounted by the Northern Rhodesia Regi-
ment with its Band and Drums in attendance.
The following is a brief summary of the Ceremony :

On arrival His Excellency the Governor will be
received with a Royal Salute. He will then inspect
the Guard of Honour after which the personnel of
the Air Force Flights and Aero Clubs will be
presented.

The Opening Ceremony will then take place at
the Flag staff in front of the Terminal Building.
The General Public is cordially invited to be
present.

Following the Opening Ceremony an Air Rally
and Motor Gymkhana will take place on the
Aerodrome and will be continued throughout the
day.

PROGRAMME—AIR RALLY.

(Provisional.)

1. A Fly Past of all machines present led by the Air Force Flights.
2. Demonstration of Formation Flying by the R.A.F. and the S.A.A.F.
3. Individual Aerobatics by Civilian Pilots.
4. Bombing Competition (four bombs). Target, a moving motor car.
5. A set Piece by the R.A.F. and the S.A.A.F.
6. Landing Competition.
7. Concours d'Elegance.

PROGRAMME—MOTOR GYMKHANA.

Entrance fee for each event 1s., or a composition fee of 7s. 6d.

Post entries will be accepted.

- | | | | | | |
|--------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|--------------|
| 1. Relay race | ... | ... | ... | ... | Cars |
| 2. Surf Boards | ... | ... | ... | ... | Cars |
| 3. Zig-Zag Race... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Cars |
| 4. Egg and Spoon Race | | | ... | ... | Motor-cycles |
| 5. Slow Race | ... | ... | ... | ... | Cars |
| 6. Bursting the Balloons | | | ... | ... | Cars |
| 7. Musical Chairs | ... | ... | ... | ... | Cars |
| 8. Blindfold Race | ... | ... | ... | ... | Cars |
| 9. Tilting the Bucket | ... | ... | ... | ... | Motor-cycles |
| 10. Obstacle Race | ... | ... | ... | ... | Cars |

The conditions governing each event in the Motor Gymkhana can be obtained from the Steward, Mr. A. Pickup, C/o Police Headquarters, Lusaka.

A Bar and Tea Rooms

will be open on the aerodrome throughout the day. The bar will be under the management of Counsell's Lusaka Hotel and the two tearooms will be under Rosy's Cafe and The Blue Ribbon Tea Rooms respectively.

Cars will be parked north of the Terminal Building.

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12.30 p.m. **Public Luncheon** at Counsell's Lusaka Hotel arranged by the Lusaka Management Board and the Lusaka Chamber of Commerce in honour of His Excellency and Lady Young and their guests.

Mr. Harry Rich, who is the Chairman of both the aforementioned Public Bodies, will be in the chair.

5.00 p.m. Presentation of prizes for Air Rally and Motor Gymkhana on the Aerodrome by Lady Young.

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9.30 p.m. Government House Ball.

FRIDAY, MAY 31st.

10.30 a.m. **Formal Opening of the New Administrative Headquarters at the Central Offices** by His Excellency Sir Hubert Young, K.C.M.G., D.S.O., Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Northern Rhodesia, at which Ceremony the General Public is cordially invited to be present.

A Guard of Honour will be mounted by the Northern Rhodesia Regiment and the following units will be on parade :

Ex-Service men
Boy Scouts.
Girl Guides.
St. John's Ambulance Brigade Overseas
Contingent.

A detachment of the Northern Rhodesia Regiment will line the Ridgeway East of the approach to the Central Offices.

The following is a brief summary of the Ceremony :

As His Excellency's car leaves Government House the firing of a salute of 17 guns will commence.

After alighting from his car His Excellency will be accorded a Royal Salute by the Guard of Honour and will inspect the Guard.

His Excellency will then ascend the dais and a prayer will be said by The Right Rev. The Lord Bishop of Northern Rhodesia.

His Excellency will formally declare open the New Administrative Headquarters after which he will invite his guests to inspect the New Central Offices which will also be open to the General Public.

On departure for Government House His Excellency will be accorded a Royal Salute by the Guard of Honour.

Loud Speakers will be lent and operated by Mr. Lukat, the Manager of Messrs. Wannell and Co., Lusaka.

A car park will be provided in the vicinity of the Central Offices.

The general public who wish to be present at the Ceremony must be in position by 10.10 a.m. Chairs will be available.

11.30 a.m. Opening of the Northern Rhodesia Agricultural Society's Annual Show by His Excellency Sir Herbert Stanley, G.C.M.G., Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Southern Rhodesia.

NOTES : 1. The Show Grounds are in the vicinity of the Power Station and Printing Works.

2. The Official Programme of the Show can be obtained from the Secretary of the Northern Rhodesia Agricultural Society.

12.30 p.m. Opening Lunch at the Show Grounds.

2.00 p.m. Horse-Jumping Competitions.

3.00 p.m. Inspection of Boy Scouts and Girl Guides by His Excellency and Lady Young, and presentation of Jubilee Medals.

The Scouts and Guides will form up for inspection on the north side of the Ridgeway opposite the Central Offices.

The following troops and companies are taking part in the Rally :

Scout Troops.

Livingstone
Mazabuka
Lusaka
Broken Hill
Ndola
Nkana
Roan.

Guide Companies.

Livingstone
Lusaka
Broken Hill
Ndola
Nkana.

- 3.30 p.m. Through the courtesy of the Show Committee and generosity of local residents all children will be entertained to tea in the Show Grounds, after which souvenirs will be handed to each child by Lady Young.
- 4.30 p.m. **Hockey and Rugby Football Matches.**
- 6.00 p.m. **Sundowner Dance and Cabaret** in the Printing Office Building, arranged by the Show Committee. Admission, including light refreshments, 3s. 6d. per head.
- 10.00 p.m. **Torchlight Tattoo by the Northern Rhodesia Regiment** on the Regimental Parade Ground, followed by a Fireworks Display. The Tattoo Programme is obtainable on application to the Headquarters of the Regiment. No invitations will be issued but all are cordially invited to be present.

TATTOO TIME TABLE.

- 9.45 p.m. Band.
10.00 p.m. His Excellency arrives—Guard of Honour.
10.05 p.m. Band and Drums—Tattoo.
10.20 p.m. Baila Lion Hunt.
10.40 p.m. Physical Drill Display.
10.50 p.m. Awemba Malaila—War Dance.
11.10 p.m. Silent Drill Display.
11.25 p.m. Episode—A Slavers' Stronghold.
11.55 p.m. Grand Finale.

:: :: ::

A Bar and Refreshment Room

will be open from 10 p.m. to 1 a.m.

SATURDAY, JUNE 1st.

- 8.30 a.m. **Northern Rhodesia Agricultural Society's Show.** (Show Ground opens.)
- 10.30 a.m. **Opening of the Native Clinic** by Lady Young followed by visits to the Native Market and the New Power Station.
- 2.00 p.m. **Race Meeting and Gymkhana** on the old golf course arranged by the Show Committee.
- 4.30 p.m. **Hockey and Rugby Football Matches.**
- 8.30 p.m. **Northern Rhodesia Agricultural Society's Annual Fancy Dress Ball** in the Printing Office Building.
- Admission, including programme and refreshments :
- Double Ticket (Lady and Gentlemen): Members, 12s. 6d., Non-Members, 15s.
- Single Ticket : Members, 7s. 6d. : Non-Members, 10s.

MONDAY, JUNE 3rd.

- 9.15 a.m. **The Trooping of the Colour** by the Northern Rhodesia Regiment on its Parade Ground to celebrate the anniversary of the birthday of His Majesty King George V. His Excellency will present certain Honours and Medals on this Parade.
- No invitations will be issued but all are cordially invited to be present.

PARADE

on the Parade Ground of

The Northern Rhodesia Regiment

at

LUSAKA, NORTHERN RHODESIA

on

3 JUNE 1935

to celebrate the ANNIVERSARY of the

BIRTHDAY of

HIS MAJESTY THE KING.

The Northern Rhodesia Regiment.

Officers in attendance on His Excellency the Governor :

Major B. J. GRAHAM,

Captain H. OCKENDON, M.C.

Officers, Warrant and Non-Commissioned Officers

Present on Parade :

Captain F. A. HOPKINS, M.B.E.

No. 1 Guard :

Captain W. TYSOE, D.S.O., M.C.

Officer in charge Escort for the Colour :

Lieut. H. T. HUGHES

No. 2 Guard :

Captain A. N. Bagshaw

No. 3 Guard :

Lieut. A. B. CREE

No. 4 Guard :

Sergt. R. BRETT

King's Colour :

Lieut. J. D. GIDDINGS

Lieut. J. L. BOYD-WILSON, Adjutant

R.S.M. F. J. JENKINS

Bandmaster R. P. ARNOLD

R.S.M. CHISENGALUMBWE.

PROGRAMME AND EXPLANATION OF EVENTS.

9.30 a.m. Arrival of His Excellency.

ROYAL SALUTE.

His Excellency will inspect the line.

The Troops will "Stand Easy."

Presentation of Honours and Medals.

The Troops slope Arms and the Colour is marched out of the line.

The Officers fall out and the Battalion is formed into four Guards, preparatory to the Ceremony of "Trooping the Colour."

THE TROOPING OF THE COLOUR.

The Warrant and Non-Commissioned Officers commanding Guards are marched out to the front.

The Drums beat the "Assembly."

Officers, warrant and non-commissioned officers with swords and rifles at the 'Recover' march in slow time to their Guards.

On the command "Troop" the Band and Drums play a slow march from left to right followed by a quick march from right to left.

A Drummer beats "The Drummer's Call" and the Lieutenant of No. 1 Guard (the Escort for the Colour) takes post. The Escort for the Colour is marched up to the Colour preceded by the Band and Drums.

The Guards Slope Arms. The Colour is handed over by the Regimental Sergeant Major to the Colour Officer, while the Drums beat "The Point of War."

The Escort "Present Arms" and the Sergeants on the flanks turn outwards and "Port Arms."

The Colour is then trooped, the Escort filing between the ranks of the Guards, who meanwhile "Present Arms" until the escort arrives at its original position on the right of the line.

The ranks are closed and the Guards are formed into "Column."

The Guards "March Past" in slow and quick time finally halting on their original alignment.

The Royal Standard is hoisted in place of the Union Flag. His Excellency and Staff move out 10 paces and face the Royal Standard.

The command "Royal Salute Present Arms" is given, when all present salute the Standard.

His Excellency and staff resume their original places and the Union Flag is substituted for the Royal Standard. Departure of His Excellency. Royal Salute.

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At noon

a salute of 21 guns will be fired by the Battery in honour of the birthday of HIS MAJESTY

:: :: ::

It is brought to notice that the Colours are precisely similar to those carried by British Troops and are therefore entitled to the customary raising of hats and salutes shown to Colours when uncased.

TROOPING THE COLOUR.

Historical Note.

Emblems or standards have been used as rallying-points in battle since the days of Babylon. In the Middle Ages they were flown so that each Lord or Baron should have some sign by which his followers could distinguish him.

The first known allusion to "Colours," as meaning military flags, is to be found in Sir J. Smythe's "Certain Discourses," published in 1590, in which the following passage occurs :

"Their Ensigns they will not call by that name, but by the Name of 'Colours'."

Colours carried in action participated in all the varying fortunes of the day. Whilst they remained inviolate all was well ; should they fall, the gravest peril was at hand. The King's Colour is the symbol of the Sovereign, whilst the Regimental Colour is the emblem of the soul of the Regiment ; thus they have been invested with an almost religious significance, and the soldier has always been trained to look upon and treat them with the highest respect.

To-day, when a Regiment is paraded, the bringing on, or taking off, the Colours, is always performed with ceremony.

In the seventeenth century it was the custom, before a Regiment was dismissed to quarters, bivouac or billets, to effect the ceremony of "Lodging the Colour."

Carried by the Ensigns, they were "Trooped" down the ranks and taken to the officers' lodgings, where they were displayed from the window, doorstep, or entrance to the tent.

The Regiment, or Company, was then paraded past this point, and so the men came to know, in case of alarm, the place of their rallying-point.

In the Library of the Honourable Artillery Company in London, there exists a set of "Rules and Orders" drawn up in 1658, in which the detail of this ceremony is set out.

During the eighteenth century the procedure enacted very much resembled the present-day ceremony of "Trooping the Colour," which replaces it.

Colours are usually never touched or carried except by an Officer, but "Trooping the Colour" started with the emblem in charge of a Sergeant with two sentries. The "Guards" are formed into line without the officers, the senior warrant-officer or non-commissioned officer taking command. These warrant and non-commissioned officers then assemble together with the officers on the saluting base, a relic of the days when they were so collected in order to draw lots for their Guard, receive the "Parole" and such orders as might be given them. The drums beat the "Assembly," indicating that it is time for the officers and N.C.O.'s to take up their posts. They recover arms and move by the stately slow march to take over their command.

The first honour is next paid to the Colour by the slow and quick marches played by the Band and Drums. This is only a preliminary to the reception of the Colour into the ranks of the Battalion. In the old days the Grenadier Company always found the Escort and invariably took the right of the parade; nowadays the right Guard still performs the duty, the right having been the post of honour from the time of the Roman Legionaries, since they carried the shield on the right arm.

The "Drummers' Call" is the signal for the Captain of the Escort to hand over his command to the Lieutenant, a curious act of symbolism. The Band and Drums then play "The British Grenadiers," and the Escort moves across the front of the Parade to the Colour. The Regimental Sergeant-Major, representing the men, takes it from the Sergeant, in whose charge it is, and hands it to an officer. The Colour is next received by the Escort with full honours. Arms are presented and the Band plays the salute; if it is the King's Colour, this is "God Save the King"; if it be the Regimental Colour, the Regimental Slow March is played.

The Regimental Sergeant-Major salutes with his sword, the only occasion on which he does so. The Escort stands with its arms at the "Present," while the Sergeants on the flanks of each rank face outwards and "Port" their arms, as if to repel any intruder who may attempt to disturb this solemn moment.

The Escort with the Colour moves back in slow time to the music of the "Grenadiers' Slow March," to the right of the line; they file through the ranks of the Battalion, arms are presented, and every man can then see the Colour and show it honour. This ceremony finishes with a march past in slow and quick time.

:: :: ::

9.00 p.m. Cinema and Dance at the Palace Hotel. The Proprietor, Mr. S. Wolpowitz, has generously offered to denote the proceeds to the Lusaka Child Welfare Association.