

**The Livingstone Museum and its Contribution to Zambian History,
1934 – 2006**

**By
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**A Thesis Submitted to the University of Zambia in Fulfilment of the
Requirements of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History**



**The University of Zambia
Lusaka
2010**

DECLARATION

I, Friday Mufuzi, declare that this thesis:

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ABSTRACT

This study is an attempt to examine and illustrate the role the Livingstone Museum played in the reconstruction of Zambian history. It examines the development of the Museum from 1934 to 2006 and highlights and analyses research activities, publications and exhibitions it carried out in relation to cultural and historical heritage collected in the context of its contribution to Zambian history.

In this study, I argue and demonstrate that the establishment of the Livingstone Museum, which at inception, in 1934, was called the David Livingstone Memorial Museum, resulted in a huge collection, documentation and preservation of cultural and natural heritage objects and specimens that were threatened to extinction and yet significant to the history of Zambia. It also led to the undertaking of numerous researches, publications and exhibitions by Museum researchers that provided information on the cultural and historical heritage of different ethnic groups in the country, essential in the promotion of national unity and development through ethnic diversity.

Theoretically, this study underscores the role of a museum as a public institution, which provoked desire for effective learning from the past, in so doing, increasing the public's capacity for cognitive learning. It also examines the museum as a contested space in which all images were built and opinions formed thereby creating a forum for debate, discovery and an environment for questions.

Furthermore, it examines the museum as a legitimising institution with considerable power where, on one hand, images it created reinforced social identity and consolidated social positions and class interest, while on the other hand, it provided a vehicle for opening new ideas and as an avenue for an agenda for change. The study reveals the role the Livingstone Museum played in the provision of resource material or information to academic history.

The study demonstrates that during the colonial period, the Museum was seen as an important ally by colonial authorities in propagating its agenda of the projection of European way of life as superior to that of Africans thereby justifying colonialism. Similarly, following Independence, African nationalist leaders used the Museum to disseminate information that promoted their agenda aimed at redressing the negative image African culture and history received during the colonial era. It also demonstrates that post colonial leaders used the Museum as a medium through which they propagated their aspiration of achieving national unity, identity and development through cultural and historical diversity of its people.

This study has also highlighted the nature and role of public history to academic history. It has revealed that the Livingstone Museum through its collections, researches and publications has provided resource material or information, which academics have used in their publications thereby contributing to different strands of the historiography of the history of Zambia that emerged from time to time.

This thesis is dedicated to my wife Carol Mendai Nyambe, my daughter, Nakanje and her husband Kavuta Ndaba my parents, Edward Mufuzi and Agnes Nakanje Nalubanga; my late paternal grandparents, Semani Buya Mwanamwalye Mufuzi and Muwaye Sibaluboi; and my maternal grandparents, Nalubanga Sakwina and Chiyobe Syechele

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFRICOM.....	International Council of African Museums
BSAC.....	British South Africa Company
C.B.E.....	Commander of British Empire
CS.....	Chief Secretary
DC.....	District Commissioner
GRZ.....	Government of the Republic of Zambia
ICCROM.....	International Centre for the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property
ICOM.....	International Council of Museums
INESOR.....	Institute of Economic and Social Research of the University of Zambia
JICA.....	Japan International Cooperation Agency
Legco.....	Legislative Council
LMA.....	Livingstone Museum Archives
MMD.....	Movement for Multiparty Democracy
MSB.....	Management Services Board
NAZ.....	National Archives of Zambia
NER.....	North Eastern Rhodesia
NMB.....	National Museums Board
NMNR.....	National Museums of Northern Rhodesia
NMZ.....	National Museums of Zambia
NORAD.....	Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation
NRG.....	Northern Rhodesia Government

NWR.....	North Western Rhodesia
PBNRN.....	Publications Bureau of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland
PC.....	Provincial Commissioner
PREMA.....	Prevention in Museums in Africa
RLI.....	Rhodes-Livingstone Institute
SADC.....	Southern African Development Conference
SADCC.....	Southern African Development Coordinating Committee
SADCAMM.....	Southern African Development Committee of African Museums and Monuments
SNA.....	Secretary for Native Affairs
TOPRLM.....	The Occasional Papers of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum
TVMI.....	Tanganyika Victoria Memorial Institute
UDI.....	Unilateral Declaration of Independence
UK.....	United Kingdom
UNIP.....	United National Independence Party
UNESCO.....	United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNZA.....	University of Zambia
USA.....	United States of America
VMI.....	Victoria Memorial Institute

GLOSSARY

- Artefact.....Objects made or modified by man, for example, an axe, spear, a painting, a stool, a house, a motorcar and so on. It excludes natural objects (specimens, for instance: trees, rocks, fossils and skeletons).
- Collection.....A group of objects and/or specimens having a common use acquired by a museum in order to preserve the material and associated information, for example: a collection of spears, arrows, spoons or animal skins
- Conservation.....Direct or indirect action taken on the object/specimen in order to preserve the associated information of the object/specimen. In this thesis, it is used interchangeably with the term preservation
- Crafts.....Decorative and/or utilitarian objects made by hand using traditional methods or works of art and/or natural objects collected for their unique aesthetic value.
- Curation.....The process of management of collection in the museum in order to make available the intrinsic information about a particular object/specimen to the beneficiaries through the provision of storage, preservation and documentation to the collection.
- Display.....The arrangement of objects in a museum for the museum visitor's enjoyment and learning. In this study, it is interchangeably used with the term "exhibition" without change of meaning.
- Documentation.....The coordinated process of recording all useful information about an object/specimen and ability to have it when needed for use.
- Exhibit.....Objects and specimens, with text (caption) in a showcase or panel.
- Exhibition.....The visual representation of exhibits.
- Heritage.....That which is or might be inherited or anything handed down from the past by tradition and is or of historical interest and value.
- Historical heritage.....Any heritage of interest, value or contains objects of such interest or value.

- Immovable heritage.....The heritage that is *in-situ* and so cannot be moved from place to place, for example: scenic sites, historic buildings and rock paintings.
- Intangible heritage.....The heritage that cannot be touched such as music, values and oral history.
- Material culture.....The study through artefacts of the beliefs - values, ideas, attitudes and assumptions of a particular society at a given time. In this study, the term is also used to refer to the artefacts themselves, to the body of material culture available for such a study.
- Movable heritage.....The heritage that can be moved from place to place such as costumes, crafts, and documents.
- Object.....Movable material evidence of man and his environment, old and/or contemporary, that has cultural, historic, artistic, scientific or technological significance acquired and preserved in a museum or found *in situ*, for example: in villages, archaeological sites and/or heritage sites.
- Preservation.....The treatment done on an object to deter agents of deterioration and thereby prolong the lifespan of that particular object. In this thesis, it is used interchangeably with the term conservation.
- Specimen.....Objects that are natural. They do not need the intervention of man to occur; for example, trees, grass, animals, stones, fossils and skeletons.
- Storage:.....The keeping of heritage objects/specimens in a safe custody such that it can be made available at some other future time.
- Tangible heritage.....The heritage that can be touched such as objects, artworks and documents.
- Zambianisation.....A policy adopted by the Zambian Government immediately after Independence in which Zambian indigenous citizens were elevated to positions in the Civil Service, which were reserved for whites (Europeans) during the colonial period. As indigenous Zambians were essentially Africans, in effect, Zambianisation meant Africanisation or the promotion of Africans to positions that were reserved to Europeans during the colonial era.

A NOTE ON OLD AND CONTEMPORARY NAMES AND TERMS

This study focuses on both the colonial and post-colonial periods. Consequently it uses names that applied during both periods interchangeably. The aim is to reconstruct the situation, as it existed in each period. Thus, in this study the term “European” is interchangeably used with the term “White” while the term “African” and “Black” are interchangeably used without change of meaning.

The following is a list of old and contemporary names of countries, provinces and towns.

a) Names of Countries

Old Name	Contemporary Name
Northern Rhodesia.....	Zambia
Southern Rhodesia.....	Zimbabwe
Nyasaland.....	Malawi
South-West Africa.....	Namibia

b) Names of Provinces and Towns

Old Name	Contemporary Name
Barotseland.....	Western Province
Abercorn.....	Mbala
Broken Hill.....	Kabwe
Fife.....	Isoka
Fort Jameson.....	Chipata
Salisbury.....	Harare
Wankie.....	Hwange

A NOTE ON CURRENCY

During the colonial period, Zambia was using the British Imperial Pound (£), Shilling (s) and Pence (d). It changed to the Kwacha (K) and Ngwee (n) currency in 1968. In the colonial currency denominations, 12 Pence (12d.) was equivalent to one Shilling (1s.), while 20 Shillings (20s.) were equivalent to one Pound (£1). In the Zambian currency, 100 Ngwee (100n) is equal to one Kwacha (K1).

This study has used the British colonial currency when dealing with the colonial era and part of the post-colonial period up 1968, when Zambia adopted her own currency. Thereafter, the study has used the post-colonial currency. In some cases, particularly after the 1990s, when the United States of American (USA) currency, the Dollar (\$), became predominantly used internationally, the study has also used it.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Historical Background

The idea of a museum in Zambia is traced to 1901 when a social club for members of the European settler community in Fort Jameson (Chipata), the then headquarters of North-Eastern Rhodesia (NER) was initiated. In that year, Robert E. Codrington, later knighted by the King, the Administrator for North-Eastern Rhodesia laid the foundation stone for the Victoria Memorial Hall erected to the memory of Queen Victoria of England who died early in the year on 22 January. The Hall was built through public donations by the European settler community. In 1904, it became the Victoria Memorial Institute (VMI) following the enactment of the Victoria Memorial Institute Ordinance, 1904. Through this Ordinance, the VMI was to be used as a Library, Museum, Sports and Social Club.¹ In 1902, white settlers in Abercorn (Mbala) built the Tanganyika Victoria Memorial Institute (TVMI), also in memory of Queen Victoria. The building was to be used solely as a Library.² However, just as was the case with the VMI in Chipata, the functions of a Museum and other social activities were later added to the use of the TVMI building.³

The idea of using the VMI and TVMI buildings as museums came from Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) where in 1902, a museum was established in Salisbury (Harare) to the memory of Queen Victoria.⁴ Even when the functions of a museum were added to the use of the two buildings, they continued to be used as social clubs which offered services such as Library facilities and other social activities to its members rather than as museums.⁵ With the outbreak of the First World War (1914-1918), the TVMI was taken over by the military and after the war, it flourished as a cultural centre for the European settler community.⁶

In 1907, the European settler community in Livingstone also made similar efforts. During the year, Leopold Moore, later knighted, reported of a small collection that was made by European settlers for the purpose of establishing a museum in the town.⁷ However, this effort, like the earlier ones made in eastern and northern Zambia, did not yield immediate significant results.

The first notable effort to establish a museum was made in 1930, when James Moffat-Thompson, who was the Secretary for Native Affairs (SNA) from 1929 to 1934 (see Appendix XIIa), convinced the government on the importance and necessity of collecting the material culture of the various ethnic groups for study and preservation as it was fast dying out. The study of the material culture would also provide the colonial government with information concerning the people under their rule. In March 1930, the Legislative Council (Legco) endorsed the idea and James Maxwell, the Governor of the Territory from 1927 to 1932 (see Appendix XIIb), instructed District Officers to collect suitable ethnological materials and where possible to purchase them.⁸

The ethnological collections made, formed the foundation of the Museum, the David Livingstone Memorial Museum, established in Livingstone in 1934. The Museum was given that name following the suggestion by Sir Hubert Young, the Governor of Northern Rhodesia from 1934 to 1939 (see Appendix XIIc), in order to honour the Scottish missionary-explorer, Dr. David Livingstone (see Appendix XVIIb), regarded to be the first European to sight the Falls, which the local people, the Leya, called *Nshyuungu Namutitima*, while the Kololo, passing through Livingstone to Western Province, called it *Mosi-oa-Tunya*. Dr. Livingstone renamed it Victoria Falls in honour of the reigning Queen of England, Victoria. Livingstone

died at Chitambo, central Zambia in 1873. For a long time, ethnography formed the core discipline of the institution.⁹

In 1937, the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute (now the Institute of Economic and Social Research of the University of Zambia; INESOR) was established for the purpose of undertaking anthropological and sociological research among the Bantu of Central Africa in order to study the many problems that arose from the cultural contact between Europeans and Africans. Thereafter, the David Livingstone Memorial Museum was incorporated as an essential part of the Institute and one Board of Trustees administered the two institutions. In 1939, following the addition of the relics of Cecil John Rhodes (see Appendix XIId) and the British South Africa Company¹⁰, the name of the Museum was changed to Rhodes-Livingstone Museum. Due to the tremendous expansion of the work of both the Institute and the Museum, the two institutions were separated in 1946. The Museum retained the name Rhodes-Livingstone Museum while the Research Institute became the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute.¹¹ In 1947, the National Monuments Commission was established as part of the Museum. It was responsible for the conservation of immovable natural and cultural heritage while the Museum's responsibility was that of movable cultural and natural heritage. In 1948, the Commission was separated from the Museum and operated independently, as the Commission for the Preservation of Natural and Historical Monuments and Relics. In 1989 it became the National Heritage Conservation Commission.¹²

With Zambia's independence in 1964, the National Museums Board was created in 1966. The function of the Board included the control, management and development of National Museums.¹³ In the same year, the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum was given the present name, Livingstone Museum. In 1967, the collection of

the short-lived Military and Police Museum housed at the Old Boma in Lusaka from its establishment in 1962, moved to the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, thereby increasing its collection.

In 1968, the Board gazetted a gallery of natural resources in Ndola called Copperbelt Museum into a state-owned museum.¹⁴ In 1974, the Roman Catholic Church donated Moto Moto Museum which had developed from the collection of materials of ethnic groups of northern Zambia, collected by Fr. Joseph J. Corbeil, to Government and was made a national museum in the same year.¹⁵

In 1996, the Lusaka National Museum was opened bringing the number of national museums to four. The history of the Museum dates back to 1970, when the Vice President of Zambia, Simon Mwansa Kapwepwe (see Appendix XIV) mooted an idea of a national museum to preserve for posterity, the political history of the country and show the role freedom fighters played in its liberation.¹⁶

There were also some private efforts to establish private museums in the country and some of the notable ones are Choma Museum and Craft Centre located in Choma which is the custodian of the historical heritage of the Tonga people of Southern Province.¹⁷ The other is Nayuma Museum run by the Lozi Royal Establishment in Mongu, which presents the history and material culture of the Lozi people of Western Province.¹⁸ Other museums are the government-owned Railway Museum in Livingstone, under the control of National Heritage Conservation Commission and Zintu Museum and Craft Centre, a private-owned museum founded in 1979 in Lusaka but wound up in 1997.¹⁹

Statement of the Problem

Since its founding in 1934, the Livingstone Museum has grown and successfully carried out its core functions, but unfortunately, no comprehensive

historical study has been undertaken on the institution to understand its contribution to history in relation to its activities and the value and role of public history as practiced in museums to academic history.

General Objective

The objective of this study is to analyse developmental efforts at the Livingstone Museum from 1934 to 2006 and highlight successes and failure in collections and collections management, research activities, publications and exhibitions related to the historical heritage collection at the institution in order to establish its contribution to Zambian history.

Specific Objectives

This study has three specific objectives. First, to examine policies that have shaped the historical heritage and how these affected the presentation of historical information and interpretation to the public. Second, to assess the management of historical heritage in the Livingstone Museum in the context of Zambian history. The third specific objective is to examine historical research activities, publications and major exhibitions carried out at the Livingstone Museum from 1934 to 2006 in order to establish their contribution to Zambian history.

Significance and Rationale of the Study

Considering that the Livingstone Museum is the oldest and largest museum in Zambia, it has a huge responsibility of managing the country's movable heritage for posterity. Thus, the institution is not only important to the socio-economic and political development of the country, but its cultural development as well. Despite this sectoral approach in its functions, largely because of lack of information on the institution that is deemed relevant as a historical source, scholars have tended to

overlook the study of museums, their activities and contribution to society. This study attempts to fill this gap.

The following reasons justify this effort: Firstly, there is paucity of literature on the acquisition and management of historical heritage and its impact on historical exhibitions, research activities and publications made in the historiography of Zambia. This study will contribute to a better understanding of the acquisition and management of historical heritage, exhibitions mounted, research activities carried out and publications made and how these contributed to the generation and dissemination of information on Zambian history. Secondly, the study will enhance appreciation of the fact that in addition to the traditional textual and oral methods, history can be studied and presented non-textually using heritage materials such as artefacts and other objects of historical significance. Thirdly, it is hoped that the study will stimulate interest among scholars to undertake historical research on public institutions in order to find out their relevance to society.

Scope of the Study

This study focuses on activities that are historical in nature at the Livingstone Museum owing to its proven researches and huge collections compared to other museums in Zambia. In order to ascertain the contribution made by the Museum to the understanding of Zambian history, the study considers the following activities in their historical context: Firstly, information on who collected the objects, where, when and the purpose for making the collection. Secondly, management of historical heritage collected. Thirdly, analysis of research activities and publications made during the study period, historical exhibitions mounted and their significance to the dissemination of information on Zambian history and the audiences targeted. Fourthly, analysis of people's written reactions to museum presentations.

Review of Related Literature

A number of scholars such as Brelsford, White, Mubitana, Pekdal, Matongo, Jones and Mtonga have written on different aspects of public history in Zambia other than museums.²⁰ Scholars who wrote on museums are divided into two categories; those who wrote during the colonial period and those who did so during the post-colonial period. The first group of scholars include V. W. Brelsford, J. D. Clark, M. Gluckman, N. Jones, H.C. Humphrey and G.C.R. Clay.²¹ They discussed the evolution of museums in general, noting that, firstly, their purpose was to acquire, select and preserve material culture. Secondly, to add knowledge; and thirdly to diffuse that knowledge to the general public. They also discussed the origins of Livingstone Museum, reasons for its establishment and policy governing it during its formative years. According to Clark, the museum's policy was to interpret and show the history, development, and the status of men in the country and to offer that knowledge to the public. The policy considered cultural and natural history, while mineralogy and botany were considered only in regard to their relation to man and his environment.²² He saw the role of the museum as a "liaison institution between the European settlers and African ethnic groups, bringing to both, closer understanding of each other, their modes of life, manufacturing, social and economic history and development."²³ On the other hand W. V. Brelsford, an administrative officer in the colonial Government of Northern Rhodesia, discussed the role of museums from the administrative point of view. According to him, "many of the exhibits in the museum care ought to inform the Administrator of the traditions and beliefs that may long continue to assert their influence over the lives of his people."²⁴ He believed that through a detailed study of exhibits, intimate knowledge could be obtained on the ethnic groups.²⁵ It is probably for this reason that in 1936, R.S. Hudson, who later

became Secretary for Native Affairs, published the first Handbook to the Museum collections, which contained information on the dress, handicrafts and social life of African ethnic groups in the country.²⁶ In 1938, the Handbook was revised by Brelsford, who meticulously documented the exhibits in the possession of the Rhodes-Livingstone Memorial Museum, both on display and in storerooms. The Handbook gave a fair idea on the type of objects that the Museum concentrated on.²⁷

M. C. Humphrey, a European settler, discussed European settlers' expectations from museums during the colonial period. He indicated that he wanted to "learn something of man in Northern Rhodesia in an easy and interesting way."²⁸ He also demanded for the creation of small sections in the museum where Africans would learn about the "white man's progress."²⁹ Furthermore, he desired for a section that showed "the effect of European influence upon African culture in series according to the varying degrees of impurity."³⁰

A Rhodes-Livingstone Museum report of 1951 discussed the role and function of the Museum Ordinance of 1946, which provided for the control of the Museum and abolition of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute Ordinance. It also contained a Subsidiary Legislation (Government Notice of 1947), which provided rules for running museums.³¹

Gervas C. R. Clay, a historian, former Resident Commissioner in Barotseland when it was still a protectorate and Livingstone Museum curator (1961-1964) showed that by the eve of independence (1963), the Livingstone Museum had well developed galleries that included pre-history, ethnography and history.³² The galleries presented the story of man in Zambia from the earliest times to the coming of Europeans. The pre-history displays dealt with the development of human culture in the territory as uncovered by archaeological excavations carried out by the museum since 1938. Most

of the ethnographic displays in the ethnographic gallery illustrated the material culture of individual ethnic groups while some cases were devoted to particular aspects of those cultures such as hunting and fishing techniques, musical instruments and witchcraft. Displays in the history gallery were on the collection of relics and letters of David Livingstone, early missionary and European administration activities, the British South Africa Company and its architect, Cecil John Rhodes.³³

Although the works discussed above are not detailed sufficiently, however, they are significant to this study for they provided basic information on the development of Livingstone Museum, its policies over time, acquisition of collections, their management and what was contained in the displays presented to the public. Additionally, they provided the study with information concerning the role that Livingstone Museum was expected to play from both the colonial Government and the European settler's point of view. Most importantly, this study examined the issues noted above in relation to the historical information generated by the Museum through its research activities as well as its dissemination to the public through publications and exhibitions and how the publications contributed to Zambian history during the colonial period.

Scholars who wrote on museums during post-colonial Zambia include Cross, Mataa, Chellah, and Mushokabanji.³⁴ Cross highlighted the role of a museum in a developing nation. He discussed the importance of collections in a museum, which he described as the "soul" of a museum, the means by which it achieved recognition.³⁵ *He went on to argue for proper accessioning, conservation and adequate data collection on them, if at all they were to remain meaningful to the public. Additionally, he emphasised the need for collections to be displayed in a manner that communicated ideas concerning the cultural achievements of other people's historical*



heritage. The study also gives us a fair idea on how exhibitions were mounted during the mid 1960s to the 1970s. According to Cross, exhibitions were a combination of progression ranks, especially archaeological artefacts and often verbose, overcrowded and poorly lit. Other strategies used were diagrammatic drawings, black and white photographs, dioramas that highlighted the history and evolution of man in Zambia.³⁶ Cross's study is valuable to this study because the issues it raised such as the importance of collections in a museum, the need for proper accessioning, conservation, documentation and exhibition layout and strategies were explored to find out whether or not they also applied at the Livingstone Museum.

Mataa's study discussed reasons for the preservation of collections. According to him, cultural and historical heritage ought to be preserved because it offered a vital link in the development of humanity. Its preservation provided knowledge of past generations which enabled contemporary ones face the present with confidence and thus allowed them plan for the future. He showed how preservation provided the education and enjoyment of future generation in the light of the dynamism and versatility of culture, which enabled it to borrow heavily from other cultures whilst lending heavily too. He argued that cultures whose dynamism and versatility failed to keep pace with the rate of cultural diffusion risked being swallowed by invading and more dynamic cultures. Unless they were preserved such cultures risked being extinct.³⁷ However Mizinga took a contrary view. He argued that as much as preservation was important, emphasis needed to be on designing activities that provoked dialogue and helped audiences reflect on issues that could help them provide answers to questions that were relevant in their lives. "That way", he argued, "... museums could be tools of national development."³⁸

Mataa's study also discussed post-colonial government policy in relation to museums. He noted that shortly after the attainment of independence in 1964, the new Government enacted the National Museums Board of Zambia Act (Cap. 267 of 1966 of the Laws of Zambia). Through this Act, the function of the Board included the control, management and development of national museums.³⁹ Whist Mataa's study was more general on policy matters concerning museums in Zambia, Mwimanji N. Chellah's study discussed policy framework for the Livingstone Museum in post-colonial Zambia. According to Chellah, the Livingstone Museum was to be ". . . a living image of the past, a source of culture, a crossroad of ethnic cultures, [and] a symbol of national unity."⁴⁰ Chellah went on to observe that the Museum's activities were to be within the government's social and economic development programme that was based on the concept of "One Zambia One Nation." In this framework, Zambians were expected to be aware of their common history in order to work together towards the building of a strong and united modern nation.⁴¹

Studies by Mataa, Mizinga and Chellah are important to this study. Reasons advanced by Mataa and Mizinga in the areas of preservation of cultural and historical heritage have provided basic information, which was explored by this study in its examination of the contribution made by the Livingstone Museum to Zambian history. The study has also explored the extent to which the post-colonial government policy and National Museums Board as observed by Mataa and Chellah impacted on museum development in Zambia in general, and Livingstone Museum in particular, especially with regards to its contribution to history.

Mushokabanji's study discussed the development of archaeology in Zambia with a major focus on the Livingstone Museum. The study revealed that the Museum held over 100,000 archaeological objects in its storeroom, which highlighted the

Early Stone Age to the Late Iron Age periods in the Zambian history. It also had a gallery, which depicted to the visitor the story of humankind and development from Zambia's distant past.⁴² The study also identified the Museum's Archaeologists (some of whom were J. Desmond Clark, R. R. Inskeep, Brian M. Fagan J. D. Vogel, Nicholas M. Katanekwa, Francis B. Musonda and L. Mushokabanji) and those it collaborated with (such as, J. H. Chaplain, S. G. H. Daniels, D. W. Phillipson, R.M. Derricourt, John Robertson, D. K. Savage and L. S. Barham) and many others (such as Creighton Garbel who undertook researches at the Ngwisho Hotspring) who contributed to the development of Archaeology in Zambia.⁴³

This study has examined the works of the Livingstone Museum Archaeologists mentioned by Mushokabanji's study such as those of Clark⁴⁴, Inskeep⁴⁵, Fagan⁴⁶, Vogel⁴⁷, Katanekwa⁴⁸, F. B. Musonda⁴⁹, and those the Museum collaborated with such as Derricourt⁵⁰, Phillipson⁵¹ and Daniels.⁵² Their studies have provided valuable information to this study on the development of Archaeology in Zambia and its contribution to the reconstruction of Zambian history.

In the same vein, this study also examined works of the Museum's Social Anthropologists such as Barrie Reynolds⁵³, P. A. Vrydagh⁵⁴, Kafungulwa Mubitana⁵⁵, and W. W. Chakanika⁵⁶ and historians such as Maud Muntemba⁵⁷, Nawa Mataa⁵⁸, George Mwalukanga⁵⁹ and Flexon M. Mizinga.⁶⁰ The studies of these researchers are significant in that they have provided information for this study on different aspects of Zambian history such as material culture, belief systems, early missionary activities, and tribal histories.

In addition to the above cited literature, there are other works that have provided important background information for this study. These include those of H.W. F. Fielden, G.W. Lamplough, H. Balfour, E.C. Chubb and A. L. Armstrong and

N. Jones.⁶¹ These provided background archaeological information to the study. Other works provided background social anthropological and historical information. Such works include those of C. Gouldsbury and H. Shean, J. C. C. Coxhead, C. W. Hobly, F. H. Melland, E. W. Smith and A. M. Dale and C. M. Doke⁶²

This study also benefited from publications of the Livingstone Museum. These include: *The Occasional Papers of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, Robin Series, The Zambia Museum Journal, The Zambia Museum Papers, The Livingstone Museum Research Notes, the Livingstone Museum Newsletter and Annual Reports*. Contributors of articles in those publications were from both the Museum and non-Museum research staff. Articles contributed tackled subjects on different aspects of Zambian life from the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods. They focused mainly on Social Anthropology, Archaeology and History and Natural History. These publications provided information on the Museum's contribution to the generation of information relevant to the construction of Zambian history.

Newspaper articles provided information about how some observers perceived museums and their role in society. Articles by Douglas McArthur and Mwelwa Musambachime provide some good examples.⁶³ In his article published in *The Globe and Mail Travel*, McArthur was generally happy about the way the country's history was presented at Livingstone museum, particularly on the section regarding European colonisation of the country. However, he had misgivings because of the Museum's non-inclusion of some tragic events such as food riots of June 1990 that resulted in thirty deaths and the ritual murders in Livingstone that were alleged to have been formented by Asian traders in 1995.⁶⁴ On the other hand, Musambachime lamented on the lack of a museum that would specifically preserve for posterity technologies used in mining, smelting and refining of metals from pre-colonial to the

contemporary times. He argued that mining technology also formed part of Zambia's heritage and therefore needed to be preserved for posterity. He passionately appealed for the setting up of a Museum devoted to mining technology in order to avoid loss of the technological history in mining areas.⁶⁵ These works are important to this study in that both provided information about the public's concern, perceptions and understanding about museums, what they were expected to contain and their role in society during the post-colonial period.

Literature that focused on the development of museums and their presentations in Southern Africa, particularly Zambia's neighbours exist. Among these studies are that of Vic Levy and Doreen Sibanda on Zimbabwe, Alda Coster on Mozambique, an anonymous writer in the *Museum Journal* on Angola, Guy de Plaen on the Democratic Republic of Congo and Mark H.C. Bessire on Tanzania.⁶⁶ These studies highlighted the historical development of museums from the colonial to the post-colonial period in the countries indicated and provided information on the administrative and organisation structures for managing historical heritage and different types of exhibitions, their focus, source and arrangements of exhibits, the blending of written, oral records and objects for an effective exhibition. Other issues discussed were different avenues in which museums reached out to many people and methods of interpreting to varied audiences.⁶⁷ Bessire's work in particular, provided information on how to relate the identity of objects in the museum's care to history and changing historical and cultural contexts, thereby avoiding silencing objects that were removed from the practice and content which gave them meaning.⁶⁸ These works are valuable to this study because information on the historical background of museums studied, their historical heritage and the way they organised their exhibitions were explored to establish how they related to the Zambian context.

A selected number of authors in a book edited by Sarah Nuttal and Carli Coetzee, entitled, *Negotiating the Past: The making of memory in South Africa*, discussed and analysed the tools of memory making which included museum practices and cultural exhibitions. It showed the different ways in which memories were evoked, reshaped and even manipulated to promote political ends such as nation building. It also highlighted the complex ways in which South Africans were coming to terms with who they were and who they are becoming.⁶⁹ Patricia Davison, Harriet Deacon, Martin Hall and Kerry Ward and Nigel Worden's articles were particularly helpful to this study. In general, the articles discussed museums, memorials and public memory. They considered Robben Island, now a museum, as a national symbol of hope and victory over apartheid without effacing the island's role in the tragedies of South African history.⁷⁰ The issues raised were explored to find out how they related to the Zambian situation.

Another source which was important to this study is the Special Issue on Heritage in Southern Africa of the *Journal of Southern African Studies*, published in December 2006.⁷¹ The issue carries some multi-disciplinary papers presented at a conference held in Livingstone from 5 to 8 July 2004 with a theme that focused on different strategies in which cultural and historical heritage in the region of Southern Africa was developed and marketed. Participants discussed a wide range of issues such as the creation or imagining of heritage and history during the colonial and post colonial periods, strategies for the decolonisation of museum displays and representations, archaeological sites, traditional villages and national parks and history that served narrow sectional interests or reproduced colonial categories. In addition, the Journal has eleven papers⁷², which discussed different aspects of heritage.

But of outstanding relevance to this study is Neil Parson's study.⁷³ He argued that history as analysis of the past and cultural heritage as presentation of the past were two sides of the same coin. He also observed that while cultural heritage concerned itself more with the public, history as a discipline concerned itself with the academic community. He further argued that cultural heritage studies and the heritage industry needed to be periodically updated about the past through the study of history, and equally, it was imperative for historians to analyse and tackle questions raised by presentations of heritage.⁷⁴

This study explored the argument advanced by Parsons in the area of intermarriage between heritage and history in order to find out the extent to which it applied in the presentation of historical heritage through exhibitions and publications and the reconstruction of history at the Livingstone Museum. It also explored the creation and imagining of heritage and history at the Museum and how this contributed to the understanding of history in Zambia.

Janet Hess examined exhibitions, performance and museum displays in Ghanaian museums during the era of Kwame Nkrumah.⁷⁵ She noted that exhibitions and displays that were mounted reflected the traditional heritage of the country that emphasised recognition of tradition and the construction of a unified national culture while a variety of cultural traditions that orchestrated, regional demonstrations of cultural expressions were suppressed.⁷⁶ Hess's article is relevant to this study because the issues it raised such as the use of museum exhibitions in promoting national culture and nation building were examined to find out whether they also applied or not at the Livingstone Museum.

Scholars on museums outside the African continent have also revealed very interesting findings that this study has benefited from. Among these, some have

written on the development of museums in general and history museums in particular⁷⁷ while others like Gaynor Kavanagh⁷⁸ discussed theoretical perspectives of history presentations and interpretation in museums regarding communication of historical information and interpretation to the public. She argued that while it was difficult for museum exhibitions to follow the three principal traditions of writing history; namely narrative, descriptive and analytical, it was possible to mount exhibitions that suited each category. She suggested five exhibition presentation strategies. These were the 'mass' in which a complete collection of objects were shown together, usually unlabelled; the 'labelled' exhibition, where objects were ordered in series with labels identifying the name, donor, provenance and identification number of each. Others were the 'thematic' exhibition, which dealt with strictly defined topics; the 'narrative', where the exhibition form was developed to communicate a point of view or narrate the experience, and the 'comprehensive' exhibition, which was distinguished by many exhibition styles to allow active explanation of museum objects.⁷⁹ Others who contributed on the same are Joseph Corn and Michael J. Ettema.⁸⁰

Kavanagh, Corn and Ettema's studies are relevant to this study in that the different exhibition techniques and interpretation suggested were explored in the examination of exhibitions presented at Livingstone Museum during the study period. The study attempted to find out the different strategies that were used during the study period and these shed light on the type of history disseminated and the motive behind.

Some scholars highlighted on the role museums played in linking the past to the future and their relevance to society. Among these is Gaynor Kavanagh, who demonstrated that museums that adapted and changed with the times had a chance to

re-affirm their enduring value as places for celebration, collective memory, discussion and above all learning. Further, she noted that museums provided a context in which all images were built and opinions formed thereby creating a forum for debate, discovery and an environment for questions.⁸¹

In John E. Fleming's opinion, through their role as interpreters or educators of material culture, museums were the leading instructors in transmitting cultural values. With good presentations, museums provided communities with a sense of history that enabled them evoke their own experiences to interpret the past and use that knowledge to shape and influence the future.⁸² On the same theme, Alan Brinkley added that history presentations should be balanced in theme coverage by also including experiences of women, minorities, workers and other marginalized groups.⁸³ Others who articulated the role and importance of museums in society include Patrick Boylan, Timothy Ambrose and Crispin Paine and Boris Groys.⁸⁴ The studies made by scholars cited above are important for this study in that the issues they discussed were investigated in order to establish their relevance, if any, to the Zambian context.

Conceptual Framework

This study draws its conceptual framework based on scholarship on the educational potential of museum presentations. The scholarship has been the guiding principle of American museums since their inception as public institutions in the nineteenth century. The scholars in this tradition grappled with the question of what museums ought to teach and how they should do it in a context of a history of changing notions.⁸⁵ The scholars proposed two strategies, the formalist and the analytical perspectives. The formalist strategy emphasised the concrete aspects of history in both fact and object, and in this context, museums presented the history of

objects. The analytical model saw objects as the means and not the message, therefore objects presented in the museum were meant to stimulate questioning about historical processes and help communicate the relevant ideas, values and other social circumstances of their time.

Scholars using these strategies to teach history using historical heritage objects debated whether the formalist and analytical heritage approaches could coexist, yet it is the interplay between the two that could allow Curators and the public put illuminating questions about the past with regards to history presented in museums. They suggested another strategy, the synthesis model. The model integrates the formalist and the analytical perspectives and attempts to address the inadequacies imbedded in the two models. For instance, whilst recognising the strength of each model, the formalist model's weakness lay in its implicit conservative bias on its emphasis on objects while the analyst's was in its lack of recognition and use to the advantage of the public's fascination with the artefacts of the past. The approach draws its perspective from social and public historians working in museums who view history as "history from the bottom up."⁸⁶ Scholars in this tradition postulated that ordinary people who lived in the past had an effect on the way the contemporary lived their lives and looks at the past in a holistic manner.⁸⁷

The synthetic model is ideal for our proposed study because it addresses the weaknesses rooted in the two perspectives in that instead of choosing between objects and ideas the two are synthesised thereby appreciating the power that museum objects have in stimulating memories suppressed by pressures of assimilation and modernisation and over people in communicating historical ideas and collective memory.

Sources and Methodology

The data used in this study was collected from written and oral sources.

Written Sources

Data from unpublished and published primary and secondary sources was collected from the Livingstone, Lusaka and Moto Moto Museum Libraries, the University of Zambia Library, the Institute of Economic and Social Research (INESOR) and National Heritage and Conservation Commission (NHCC) Documentation Centres, the National Archives of Zambia (NAZ) and Livingstone Museum Archives (LMA) and Internet. These places were found to be rich in data material and were used on a continuous basis till the conclusion of the research.

The LMA and Library had a lot of material that contained valuable information on the topic. These included files on different aspects of Museum activities, the Livingstone Museum Annual Reports, visitor books and publications of the Museum. The Annual Reports were found to be immensely valuable to the study. They provided information on the development of the Museum and its activities such as research, publications, and exhibitions as well as challenges it faced over time such as financial constraints, lack of qualified staff and retention of the few qualified staff. Unfortunately, a number of annual reports were missing, particularly those that dealt with the formative period, including files covering the same. This situation was compounded by the fact that the Museum had no archivist and lacked storage space. There was also no proper filing resulting in most files simply heaped on the floor in the Museum Tower.

Notwithstanding the foregoing, at the time of wrapping up the writing of this thesis, the NAZ members of staff were assisting the Museum in documenting its archival materials both manually and electronically using the NAZ documentation

system which catalogued and boxed archival materials following international standards of cataloguing and indexing. This followed the Museum's acquisition of electronic equipment and 1,000 archival boxes for the electronic digitalisation and housing of the Museum's archival materials respectively. The acquisition was donated by the NAZ through the Finnish Embassy. It is hoped that in the near future researchers gathering data at the Museum will not encounter the problems that I faced during data collection at this institution as once the process is complete, there will be a systematic filing system in place.

A search on the missing Annual Reports and Files on the Museum at the Institute for Economic and Social Research, formerly, the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, which from 1937 to 1946 was part of the Museum, also proved futile. However, a few valuable files on the Museum were located and examined at the NAZ.

Though visitor books beginning as early as 1936 were examined, they proved inadequate in providing information on what Museum visitors thought about the Museum because they had no provision for entering comments regarding their impression on the Museum's activities in general and exhibitions in particular till the late 1990s. Newspaper articles that some Museum visitors wrote regarding their impression and experiences in the Museum ameliorated this situation. Thus, from newspaper articles/stories, I was able to obtain information on what Livingstone Museum said about itself, what it did and the public's perception about it. An analysis of these sources shade light on the impact of the Livingstone Museum activities to the preservation and development of the country's cultural and historical heritage. The newspapers consulted included the *Livingstone Mail*, *Northern News*, *Central African*

Post, Times of Zambia, Zambia Daily Mail and *The Post* at the Livingstone Museum, the Special Collection of the University of Zambia Library and NAZ.

Other source materials consulted at the Livingstone Museum included the *Northern Rhodesia Journal, The Occasional Papers of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, The Zambia Museum Journal, The Zambia Museum Papers, The Livingstone Museum Research Notes* and the *Livingstone Museum Newsletters*. Others were the National Museums Board and Livingstone Museum policy documents and minutes of meetings held. The literature provided information on collection and collection management, research, publications and exhibitions carried out at the Livingstone Museum and government and institutional policies controlling activities at the Museum. The Museum's collection and information on it was examined and this shed light to the understanding of Zambian history

At the Livingstone Museum, I also found valuable research reports and notes on collections made, collection management, exhibition story lines and past exhibitions made. I also found research notes on activities carried out and publications made. This study benefited much from these documents in that they aided in the reconstruction of historical exhibitions mounted at the Museum, collections made and how they were managed as well as research and publications activities in which the Museum was involved over time.

At the National Archives of Zambia, I looked at government colonial policy documents, and reports related to the Museum. From these documents, information on policy matters and their shift over time was elicited. The Documentation Centre of the Institute for Economic and Social Research (INESOR) based in Lusaka was also consulted though not much information was found related to this study. Moto Moto Museum Library in Mbala and the Lusaka National Museum Library were also

consulted. Like the Documentation Centre at INESOR, not much data related to this study was found at these libraries. At the NHCC Documentation Centre located in Livingstone, I found a lot of literature that was helpful in providing data on archaeological researches made by the Museum in collaboration with NHCC archaeologists such as J. H. Chaplain, S.G.H. Daniels, David Phillipson and R. M. Derricourt. The literature provided invaluable archaeological data on activities of Late Stone and Iron Age man in southern, north-western, and eastern Zambia.

Oral Sources

Oral interviews were conducted in Livingstone, Lusaka and Mbala. The interview questions administered to interviewees were unstructured. The oral interviews focused on Museum and heritage professionals and non-Museum and heritage professionals of African, Asian and European origin who had experiences with Livingstone Museum, either during the colonial period, post-colonial period or both periods. I interviewed twelve Museum professionals. From them, I was able to obtain information on what a museum was, collection and collection management, research, publications and exhibition activities carried out at the Museum and their significance to Zambian history. Museum professionals also provided information on challenges the Museum encountered during the process of executing its core activities over time.

In the category of non-Museum professionals, I interviewed more than fifteen African people. Although most of them had visited the Museum at one time or the other, responses elicited from the majority of the interviewees was of little value to this study, though a few of them were able to assist the study in the area of the public's understanding of a museum and the relevance of Livingstone Museum in the

generation and dissemination of knowledge significant to the understanding of
Zambian history.

Although I had intended to interview many Asians and Europeans who had
experience with the Museum during the colonial and independent Zambia, I failed to
locate many such people because most of them have since died or left the country,
and, where I did, some of them were reluctant to be interviewed. I only managed to
interview about five Asians and one European. Among the Asians interviewed was
Harishchandra B. Oza, who was 89 years old at the time of the interview. He had
been in Livingstone where he was involved in trading activities since 1941 till the
mid 1980s when he moved to Lusaka. Though quite old, he was able to think clearly
and recall past events. The information provided by the forenoted was very useful for
this study, particularly on the type of information that exhibitions mounted at the
Museum contained over time.

Oral interviews were also administered to NHCC research and management
staff on historical heritage and its significance to history. In addition to oral
interviews, the collections and information on them at the Livingstone Museum,
Lusaka Museum and Moto Moto Museum were examined and records on them
provided information on the understanding of Zambian history.

Data Analysis

Data collected was analysed qualitatively while the research proceeded using
the historical method, which explains change over time, as the study is a historical
one. The qualitative technique was used in the analysis of primary and secondary data
collected. The same technique was used to analyse data collected through oral
interviews. Information from oral sources was used to corroborate written sources.

ENDNOTES

¹See *Northern Rhodesia Government Gazette*, Vols. I-IV, 1911-14, p. 58; Frederick G. Smith (Attorney General of Northern Rhodesia), "Victoria Memorial Institute Cap. 144, 19 of 1921" in Frederick G. Smith, *The Laws of Northern Rhodesia, 1930, Vol. 30*, revd. edn. (London: Waterlow and Sons, 1931), p. 1347; and V. W. Brelsford, *Handbook of the David Livingstone Memorial Museum* (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1937), p. 122.

²National Archives of Zambia (hereafter, NAZ), HM 36/1/1, Minutes of the TVMI, January 1907- January 1953. Minutes of Committee Meeting held at Abercorn, 5 February 1929.

³NAZ, HM 36/1/1, Minutes of Committee Meeting held at Abercorn, 5 April 1929; and Frederick G. Smith, "Tanganyika Victoria Memorial Institute Cap. 145, 42 of 1929" in Smith, *The Laws of Northern Rhodesia, 1930, Vol. 30*, p. 1347.

⁴Webster Ndoro, "Queen Victoria Museum, Developments and Prospects", Paper Presented at the Southern African Development Coordinating Conference (SADCC) Museums Conference, Livingstone Zambia, 12-18 June 1988, p. 1.

⁵NAZ, Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council Debates (hereafter, Legico), Hansard No. 23, Seventh Session of the 4th Council, 1 - 21 December 1934, col. 38.

⁶NAZ, Historical Manuscript Inventory, HM 36/1/1, Tanganyika Victoria Memorial Institute, Abercorn (1902 -): Historical Notes, The Tanganyika Victoria Memorial Institute, Abercorn, North Eastern Rhodesia, Minutes from January 1907 to 9 January 1953; and NAZ, HM 36/1/2, minutes of the Tanganyika Victoria Memorial Institute, 10 February 1953 to 1 May 1963.

⁷Leopold Moore, "The Livingstone Museum", *The Livingstone Mail*, No. 55, 13 April 1907, p. 1; Leopold Moore, "The Livingstone Museum", *The Livingstone Mail*, No. 57, 27 April 1907, p. 1; and LMA, Northern Rhodesia Government (hereafter, NRG), The National Museums of Northern Rhodesia (hereafter, NMNR): *The Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, 1934-1951* (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1951), p. 4.

⁸The question of putting up a museum in Livingstone, Zambia, then called Northern Rhodesia was discussed in the Legco on 24 March 1930; See NAZ, NRG, *Legco Debates, Second Session of the Third Council, 7 March to 1 April 1930* (Livingstone: Government Printers, 1930), Cols. 166-167; and NMNR, *The Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, 1934-1951*, p. 4.

⁹NMNR, *The Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, 1934-1951*, pp. 4-5.

¹⁰J. Desmond Clark, "Relics of Cecil John Rhodes in the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum", *Northern Rhodesia Journal*, 2, 2 (1953), pp. 49-55.

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CHAPTER TWO

THE LIVINGSTONE MUSEUM: POLICIES, LEGISLATION AND DEVELOPMENT DURING THE COLONIAL ERA, 1934 - 1964,

Introduction

Governments all over the world recognise their responsibility to ensure the protection and management of the cultural heritage through a variety of measures. These include the enactment of appropriate legislation and establishment of heritage institutions such as museums, as well as the formulation of suitable policies and development plans. The legislation framework provided what was considered worthy of preserving and a range of resources thought appropriate in ensuring that this preservation occurred. The existing legislation was reviewed and amended as attitudes of society changed.¹ In addition to appropriate legislation, it was important that a museum had clearly defined and agreed development policies, which expressed its purpose, objective and programme of action. The museologists Timothy Ambrose and Crispine Paine emphasised that the policies should include a description of the museum's purpose, acquisition of collections and collections management, research, dissemination of information to the public through publications, exhibitions and educational services, staff recruitment and training, infrastructure development, conformity with relevant national and international laws, financial resource mobilisation and how resources were to be used to implement the programmes and how progress would be monitored and evaluated. This would lead to the definition of the impact of the Museum's work. Ambrose and Paine also stressed that the Museum managers ought to work with their governing bodies to establish a policy framework within which they could carry out the Museum's work.² These views were later echoed by Michael Belcher.³

The views expressed by the museologists cited above form the core argument in this chapter. In the chapter, I examine the history and development of the legislative frameworks used to protect and manage movable heritage in colonial Zambia in general and Livingstone Museum in particular in the context of Zambian history. I show how the legislation formulated impacted on the development of museums and the preservation of movable heritage in Zambia. The chapter also focuses on Livingstone Museum's development policies regarding its core activities such as acquisition of collections and its management, research, publications, exhibitions as well as the development of museum infrastructure and qualified human resource and their impact on its development and nature of historical information generated.

The chapter is important. It provides background information to the environment under which the generation of historical knowledge and its dissemination took place. It helps to place into context the nature of the historical information generated from the Livingstone Museum and the contribution of the institution to Zambian history.

Development of Historical Heritage Legislation

In Zambia, the collection of heritage resource materials started in 1905 when some British South Africa Company (BSA Company) officials and others reported the occurrence of stone implements at the Victoria Falls. Consequently, the British Association took a keen interest in the implement bearing gravels when they visited the Victoria Falls to witness the opening of the Victoria Falls Bridge in September 1905.⁴ Following observations made by the Association, several archaeological and geological papers were published on the age and significance of the finds.⁵ Similar finds were made in Broken Hill (Kabwe), the most important of which was the

human fossil skull of the Middle Stone Age, popularly known as the Broken Hill Man (Kabwe Man) in 1921⁶ (see Appendices I and II).

Although the collection of heritage resource materials started in 1905, it was not until shortly after the amalgamation of North-Eastern Rhodesia and North-Western Rhodesia to form Northern Rhodesia in 1911 that an Ordinance, the Northern Rhodesia Bushmen Relics Proclamation was enacted in 1912. The main aim of the Proclamation was to protect what was then referred to as the 'Bushmen' or 'Aborigines' relics, which included rock art, believed to have been the works of the Bushmen or Aborigines in all the regions under the BSA Company's jurisdiction.⁷ It also included anthropological contents of graves, caves, rock shelters, or shell mounds of such Bushmen or other aboriginals. Others included were "Ancient Ruins", which were defined as "any building or remains of a building constructed either loosely . . . which is known or believed to have been erected by the people who preceded the Bantu in the Territory or any material that had been used in the construction of such a building."⁸

The Proclamation was based on the Act of the Union of South Africa of the 1911.⁹ It was made in order for the BSA Company to harmonise the legislation in all its sphere of influence north of the Limpopo River with that of South Africa.¹⁰ It forbade the removal of any type of heritage resource from the territory associated with the Bushmen or Aborigines without a written permit from the BSA Company Administrator.¹¹ Robin Derricourt suggested that the definition of protected sites and objects was inspired by the assumption then held by whites in Southern Africa that the Bushmen (San) and Hottentots (Khoi-Khoi) were the true indigenous people of the area while the Bantu-speakers were recent arrivals.¹² However, this view ignored historical evidence already available that the Bantu were not recent arrivals.¹³

Nevertheless, the Proclamation controlled the wanton expropriation of the Zambian heritage resources right from the early period of colonial rule.

The Proclamation of 1912 had no provisions for the chronological limits or cultural definitions to its application.¹⁴ Further, whilst it covered the removal of what was known as the Bushmen's relics, many other objects of archaeological and palaeontological interest and value existed. Thus, in an endeavour to protect the whole field of archaeological remains, in 1930, the Preservation of Archaeological Objects Ordinance replaced the Bushmen Proclamation Ordinance.¹⁵ Unlike the old Ordinance, for the first time the new Ordinance made provisions for the designation of areas of archaeological and palaeontological nature such as caves, buildings, ruins and graves. The most known example of areas of such interests included the Mumbwa cave¹⁶, which was extensively explored in the mid 1930s and 1940s. However, just like the 1911 Ordinance, the 1930 Ordinance lacked a national body to implement it.¹⁷

It was not until after 1930 that a serious concern to manage the country's movable heritage came in the fore of the state thinking and subsequently, in 1934 a museum was established for that purpose. The importance that the government placed on the issue is evidenced in the debate that took place in the Legislative Council when a Bill for the establishment of a national museum in which the cultural and historical heritage of the different ethnic groups in the country would be studied and preserved for posterity. During the debate, the Chief Secretary, Geoffrey A.S. Northcote, passionately called upon all members to support the Bill, which they did.¹⁸ Consequently, in March 1930, the Legislative Council endorsed the idea, and thereafter, a collection of objects of material culture of the various indigenous ethnic groups in the Territory was made for study and preservation. The collection included ethnological, archaeological and historical materials and was housed in the office of

the Secretary for Native Affairs until the establishment of the Museum in 1934.¹⁹ However the collection and preservation of historical objects such as notebooks, diaries and other documents compiled by the earlier Native Commissioners which shed an invaluable light on the early history of the occupation of the country by the British and also on the original habits and customs of indigenous ethnic groups of the country prior to British occupation of the country were to be the responsibility of the National Archives, whose history in Zambia dated back to 1935 when the Southern Rhodesia Archives was opened. The Archives extended its services to Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaaland.²⁰

In 1946, the Central African Archives Services (CAAS) was established through the Northern Rhodesia Ordinance 21 of 1946 to provide common archives services for three territories; namely, the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland.²¹ The Ordinance provided for the preservation of public Archives of Northern Rhodesia. Through this Ordinance, all records, documents, and other historical materials of every kind, nature and description in the custody of any Government department before or after the date of commencement of the Ordinance were to be transferred to the Territorial Archives Office, known as the Central African Archives. All archives collected by the Archives Office were subsequently sent to Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, where the CAAS was headquartered.²² In order to conduct the day to day operations of the Services, the Central Archives Commission, which advised the Governor on all matters connected with documents of historical nature was established.²³

As a consequence of the 1946 Archives Ordinance, a depot was opened in Livingstone in 1947 but was later temporarily closed while records were sent to Southern Rhodesia for safe custody. In 1956, the depot was reopened in Lusaka.²⁴

This Ordinance received numerous amendments, the most important of which was Government Notice No. 4 of 1958. Following the dissolution of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in 1963, the depot was transformed into the National Archives of Zambia in Lusaka.²⁵ Undoubtedly, through this Ordinance, Zambia lost much of its valuable archival materials to Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), which was regarded to be a perpetual white colony.

The collection made formed the basis for the David Livingstone Memorial Museum established in 1934 by Sir Herbert Young, Governor. Governor Young wanted the location of the museum to be in Livingstone because he believed that it would attract many tourists who came to see the Victoria Falls, thereby bring some revenue to the municipal authorities of Livingstone. He hoped that the revenue obtained would, to some degree, compensate, the municipal town from the loss of income which would result from the proposed transfer of the capital of the territory from there to Lusaka.²⁶

Young had a great interest in the visual arts and wanted the Museum to be devoted to African arts and crafts, archaeological finds and the display of David Livingstone's journals and artefacts. He was also interested in "a museum and an institute that carried out research in archaeology, geology, and particularly anthropology."²⁷ Thus, the establishment of the David Livingstone Memorial Museum was devoted to the preservation and study of archaeological, anthropological, and geological heritage as well as to the display of archaeological, collections and the rapidly vanishing material culture of the people of Zambia. To ensure the coordination and management of the newly acquired collection in the Museum, Desmond Clark, a Prehistorian with Stone Age interest was appointed Curator of the Museum in 1938.²⁸

In the late 1930s, researchers at the Museum made numerous ethnological and archaeological studies (for details, refer to Chapters, Six and Seven). This resulted in the collection of various ethnological materials, stone artefacts and rock art archival materials, which were deposited in the Museum.²⁹ As a matter of fact, Governor Young was initially not enthusiastic with sociological research. However, in the three years before the end of his tenure, arguably, because of the African workers' strike on the Copperbelt of 1935 that resulted in the killing of six African men³⁰, he strongly campaigned for the establishment of a sociological institute. The Institute was to undertake anthropological and sociological research among the Bantu of Central Africa in order to study the many problems that arose from the cultural contact between Europeans and Africans. Consequently, in 1937 the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute of Central African Studies was established through Government Notice No. 1 of 1937. As noted in Chapter One, the David Livingstone Memorial Museum was incorporated into it.³¹

The Institute began its operations in January 1938.³² Through Government Notice No. 1 of 1937, the Institute's Board of Trustees, subject to consent from the Governor, was empowered with the general management and control of the Institute and the Museum. For that purpose, the Board could make necessary rules for the Institute and the Museum's administration including rules for preserving objects collected in the process of its activities. Collected objects were deposited in the Museum for preservation purposes.³³ Consequently, numerous objects such as *Makishi* masks collected by the Institute's researchers were deposited in the Museum, thus increasing the stock of the country's preserved heritage materials.³⁴ The Livingstone Memorial Museum adopted the name "The Rhodes-Livingstone Museum" in 1939

when the relics of Cecil Rhodes and the BSA Company were deposited to the Museum in addition to those of David Livingstone.³⁵

By 1945, the work of both the Institute and the Museum had grown tremendously. Consequently, through Ordinance No. 16 of 1946, the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute Ordinance No. 1 of 1937 was amended in order to separate the two bodies. In the same year, Ordinance No. 17, known as the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum Ordinance, 1946 was enacted. The Ordinance terminated the control of the Museum under Ordinance No. 1 of 1937 by the Board of Trustees of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, replacing it with the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum Board of Trustees. The Board was a body corporate whose name was the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum. It had, subject to the general or special directions of the Governor, the authority for the general management and control of the Museum.³⁶

Unlike the Bushmen Relics Proclamation Ordinance of 1912, the Preservation of Archaeological Objects Ordinance of 1930 and the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute Ordinance, 1937, the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum Ordinance of 1946 was specifically concerned with the management of movable heritage in the country through the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum. Its provisions were quite elaborate compared to the fore-noted Ordinances. For instance, the Ordinance empowered the Museum to make rules that it thought necessary for the administration of the Museum and the preservation of objects collected.³⁷

The Board was also empowered to acquire land and buildings for the purposes of the Museum with consent of the Governor and with such consent, dispose of any such land, which was not required for that purpose. It was also empowered to exchange, sell, or dispose of any duplicate objects belonging to the Museum, and

exchange, sell, or dispose any objects belonging to the Museum which the Board considered unfit to be preserved or to be acquired for museum purpose.³⁸

The Ordinance also vested into the Board all objects that were given, bequeathed or acquired for the purpose of the Museum before the Board came into being and those not disposed before the Ordinance was passed. Further, all objects which were to be subsequently given or bequeathed to the public, or to the territory as gifts or acquired through purchase for museum purposes were vested in the custody of the Board.³⁹

Furthermore, through this Ordinance, the Board had the authority to establish and maintain any new museums in the country. It was also empowered to make rules it thought necessary for securing the due administration of museums and preservation of objects that were collected, including rules and entrance fees to museums.⁴⁰ It could also apply any money received on exchange, sale or disposal of any objects or on the disposal of any land or by way of payment for admission, or grant or otherwise in the purchase of any object which in the opinion of the Board was desirable to acquire for museums or in furthering the interests and increasing the utility of museums.⁴¹ The Rhodes-Livingstone Museum Ordinance 17 of 1946 remained the legislative basis for the management and development of Zambia's movable heritage throughout the colonial period. Like the Archives Ordinance noted earlier, this Ordinance received numerous amendments, some of which were Ordinance numbers 19 of 1955, 1 of 1958 and 254 of 1959.⁴²

The Museum was established with the specific aim of managing movable heritage. Thus, there was need to establish an organ that would protect immovable heritage. Hence, through Ordinance No. 36 of 1947, a body, the National Monuments Commission was established as part of the Museum. The Ordinance was closely

modelled on the Southern Rhodesia Ordinance of 1936, which covered all archaeological and palaeontological sites and finds that dated before 1890 except mines.⁴³ The Commission's responsibilities were to investigate and conserve the historical and national monuments of the country. Anything older than 1897 when the BSA Company administration began in North-Western Rhodesia was considered an historical monument or relic. However, in 1948 the Commission was separated from the Museum to run independently as the Commission for the Preservation of Natural and Historical Monuments and Relics. The Ordinance received amendments from time to time but continued to control the management of archaeological heritage even in independent Zambia until 1989 when the National Heritage Conservation Commission Act, replaced it.⁴⁴

The Livingstone Museum during its Formative Years, 1934 – 1938

The Livingstone Museum did not have a definite document on policy guidelines to direct the fundamental operational activities of research, acquisition, exhibitions, conservation, education and publication.⁴⁵ Generally, the guiding principle of the Museum was as enunciated by Moffat-Thompson in 1930, which was "to make a collection of the material culture of the various ethnic groups in the territory for study and preservation as it was fast dying out due to mass-factory produced goods."⁴⁶ Consequently, its activities were not conducted systematically.

Although the idea of a museum was well understood by senior colonial government officers⁴⁷, most of the white settler community and members of the Legislative Council (Legco) did not seem to appreciate its existence. For instance, while a sum of £100 was inserted in the estimates for the 1930 - 31 financial year for the purchase of arts and crafts from different ethnic groups in the country⁴⁸, financial

support for the institution remained meagre as six years later, in 1936 the amount allocated to the Museum was only £200.⁴⁹

The Museum also suffered from lack of appreciation by Legislators. This was evidenced by the proceedings of the Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council Debates of October 1936, when a motion to debate the allocation to the Museum was presented. Out of the £800 that was requested for the Museum use, only £200 was approved. This was after the intervention of the President of the Council, Governor Young, who was the Chairman of the Board of Trustees for the Museum. Most of the members vehemently opposed the proposed allocation as they felt that £800 would have been better utilised in sectors like education and health rather than the Museum whose purpose, they believed, was "obscure."⁵⁰ In 1938, the amount allocated for the purchase of artefacts remained similar to that of the 1930 - 1931 fiscal year in which the sum of £200 was allocated to the Museum out of which £100 was for the purchase of museum cases and the other for the purchase of exhibits.⁵¹

During the formative years, the Livingstone Museum was bedevilled with numerous problems. This was mainly due to its lack of a definite policy; lack of a built-purpose Museum and the fact that the collection of objects was haphazard, mainly undertaken by amateurs who focused on ethnological and archaeological objects. During this period, its collections gathered from 1930, moved from one place to the other. Thus, following the Museum's establishment in 1934, the nucleus of the ethnological collection, previously housed in the office of the Secretary for Native Affairs, was given its first home by the Governor of Northern Rhodesia, Sir Hubert Young, in the Old Magistrate Court. The Museum building consisted of one large room with a veranda while collections were merely placed on wooden tables arranged round the walls instead of exhibiting them under glass. The Museum was open to the

public three days in a week.⁵² A. M. Brew, the Curator of the Victoria Falls Conservancy was appointed, as part-time Curator for the Museum.⁵³

In early 1937, the collections were moved to the United Services Club building which fell vacant when the capital moved from Livingstone to Lusaka in 1935. It was purchased by the Government for this purpose as it was more spacious than the Old Magistrate Court, thus allowing collections, which had been steadily increasing to be adequately displayed.⁵⁴ Prior to that, in 1936, some exhibits were taken to Johannesburg for display at the Empire Exhibition. For this purpose, the first exhibition cases were purchased and these were later used to display historical collections.⁵⁵ The remaining collections continued to be exhibited on tables which exposed them to hazards such as unnecessary handling by clients, thefts and the depredation by insect pests. Brew continued as part-time Curator until September 1937 when W.V. Brelsford, an administrative official who had served in many parts of the country, was appointed Acting Curator for the Museum.⁵⁶

During its formative years, the Museum emphasised on the collection and study of ethnological and archaeological objects. This was because the colonial officers wanted to study the material culture of the people they were ruling in order to understand them better, with a view to minimise areas of conflict arising out of cultural contacts between Europeans and Africans following the imposition of European colonial rule in the country.⁵⁷ Further, they wanted to reinforce the then contemporary racial beliefs based on the superiority of the European race that Africans had no developed culture except when developed by European intruders.⁵⁸ In addition, as Stocking observed, cited by Lyn Schumaker:

. . . the collection of artefacts, both archaeological and contemporary gave anthropology meaning during the 'Museum Era' prior to . . . functionalist fieldwork-oriented anthropology. The older anthropology tended to be conceived as a study of the human past as it was embodied

in collectible physical objects, rather than an observational study of human behaviour in the present; its important relationships were to be the biological sciences represented in museums of natural history rather than the social sciences.⁵⁹

Arising from the above, it is not surprising that during the Museum's formative years, there was no systematic collection of historical objects or the employment of a historian because colonial officers still followed the Hegelian view of the 19th Century which postulated that Africa as a continent had no history except the history of European activities in Africa and that it showed no change nor development while its black people were incapable of development or education and that their status was as it has always been.⁶⁰ This view continued into the 20th Century. For example, in the early 1960s A.P. Newton, a renowned Professor of Modern History at London University emphatically asserted that "Africa had no history before the coming of the Europeans. History only begins when men take to writing"; 'primitive custom . . . was the concern of archaeologists, linguists and anthropologists'"⁶¹

It is in this respect that the collection and study of material culture by anthropologists and archaeologists in museums in Africa in general during their formative years and Livingstone Museum in particular should be understood. In as far as most European scholars of the time and colonial officers were concerned, the history of Africa in general and that of Zambia in particular, could only be reconstructed from the study of the evidence of material remains and of language and primitive custom, which were the preserve and concern of archaeologists, linguists and anthropologists rather than historians as there was no history to be studied apart from that of European activities.

The Museum policy, just as Moffat-Thomson envisaged, was essentially local. Thus, Livingstone Museum only exhibited objects that were made in the territory or

connected in some way with it.⁶² Right from the beginning, the policy included educational tours, lectures and display of exhibits to both European and African schools when funds were available. Exhibitions included ethnological, archaeological and a few historical exhibits that focused on European explorers, colonial administrators and their exploits along the railway line and the Copperbelt. As Clark noted, during the formative years, the Museum's general policy aimed to show:

. . . the life of the peoples of the Territory from the earliest Stone Age through the material culture of the earlier Bantu tribes to the coming of the first Europeans, the exploration and early settlement by Livingstone and the followers of Cecil Rhodes, the effects of this new civilisation upon modern native and finally the industrial development of the . . . Copperbelt . . . from which the country derived most of its economic prosperity.⁶³

The Policy also included the collection of geological and botanical objects in order to avail them to experts for study and exhibitions to show the relationship between European and African mining and other industries. The objective was to highlight their effect on man's life.⁶⁴

In line with the noted policy, archaeological material collections, which were mainly of the Stone Age period, were set up together with the faunal remains of the same era to show life during the Stone Age times. The ethnological section of the exhibition presented a pre-colonial technological collection that illustrated how various articles were made. The collection showed methods of making pots by hand found in the country while exhibits on basketry, mat-making, weaving and salt-making were supplemented with photographs of the actual processes.⁶⁵ The policy also proposed to set up exhibits from what they called 'important tribes in the Territory' and it was envisioned that when completed, the section would contain a representative from about twenty ethnic groups. By 1938, complete exhibits from the Bemba, Tonga, Ila, and Toka were illustrated by models of African huts and villages while a model of a village, of the Ila ethnic group was completed.⁶⁶

The ethnological collection was followed by the historical section, which was designed to show the development of the country since the advent of European penetration. It formed the final phase in the Museum's survey of the country. The collection comprised of maps of Africa dating from 1478 to the then contemporary times. Early European colonialism was represented by relics of Portuguese settlement and of the contact of African ethnic groups with Arab slave-traders while the Scottish missionary-explorer, David Livingstone and the British Empire builder in south-central Africa, Cecil John Rhodes took a centre stage. The section closed with a display of objects related to the First World War and expositions of contemporary industrialisation connected with the exploitation of the country's mineral wealth.⁶⁷

From the foregoing, it is clear that the Livingstone Museum policy during the formative years, though significant in that it was able to address the issue of the collection and preservation of the material culture which was being threatened to extinction by the goods of European and Asian traders, it suppressed African cultural and historical development whilst advancing the then dominant western view of the superiority of the European over the African race. It was therefore meant to justify European colonial rule in the territory, just as was the case elsewhere in the continent of Africa. The policy was in conformity with the views of George W. F. Hegel, Hugh Trevor- Roper, A. P. Newton and C. G. Seligman, which as already stated, considered Africa not to have a history and where it existed was only a history of European activities in Africa while the history of Africa before the advent of colonial rule "could only be reconstructed from the evidence of material remains and from the study of language and primitive custom."⁶⁸ Thus, the ethnological and archaeological collections at the Livingstone Museum were meant to show how primitive and backward the African everyday life and technology was before the advance of

European colonial rule in the area while the history collection and exhibition was meant to demonstrate the great advancement of European civilisation in comparison to that of the Africans. Even the mounting of exhibitions on ethnic groups such as the Bemba, Tonga, Nyanja and Lozi which they called 'important tribes' was, as William Muzala Chipango observed, "one way in which colonial masters tried to use the country's diverse ethnicity to entrench their overall state ideological policy of divide and rule based on racial discrimination."⁶⁹ The Museum policy, though not clearly defined, contributed to the justification of European colonial rule in the country, just as was the case elsewhere in the continent of Africa. By portraying through exhibitions indigenous ethnic groups as having no history apart from a backward and primitive cultural heritage whilst showing the European history and culture positively, a statement was being made that colonial rule would advance African lives through European 'civilisation', thus Monica Wilson's observation that "archaeological research carried no political implication' during that time"⁷⁰ is inaccurate.

Period of Growth, 1938 – 1964

In an appraisal of problems and successes of the Institute of African Studies, Mwelwa Musambachime noted that "The success of the Institute may be appraised against the stated aims and objectives, the research proposed and carried out and the publications."⁷¹ He went on to point that ". . . the successes registered by the Institute were, in large measure, due to high calibre of the Directors appointed."⁷² Further, quoting, Mubanga E. Kashoki, Musambachime, stated:

Each Director's role was . . . an essential thread in the fabric of an institutional evolution and development. Social institutions are conceived, created and managed by men and women in their individual capacity and as part of a collective, interacting and social group called the community. It is these men and women who give the institutions they serve, and in which they are perhaps the principle actors, their special characters, who shape them into the distinct physical entity they eventually become, who determine the function(s) that they play in society, and who give them their characteristic social meaning and

significance. Indeed the institution is only a stage on which these actors play out their respective roles as contributors to a dynamic social process.⁷³

The observations in the quotations made above applied to the Livingstone Museum situation. As the foregoing discussion alluded, by 1938 the Museum was quite inadequate. However, the situation changed when J. Desmond Clark (see Appendix IVa) came on the scene. During his tenure, the Museum saw massive development. The policy of the Museum had remained undefined until Clark, an archaeologist, was appointed as the first full-time Curator for the Museum on January 14, 1938. Clark was also appointed as the Secretary to the RLI to which, as already observed, the Museum was incorporated till 1946 when the two institutions were separated.⁷⁴ He later on became the Director of the Museum until 1961 when he accepted an appointment at the University of California, Berkeley, as Professor of African Archaeology.⁷⁵

In 1986, reminiscing of the state of the Museum when he took up his appointment in 1938, Clark observed that:

Arriving in Livingstone . . . I found that the Museum was housed in the old United Services Club It made only a somewhat inadequate museum, however, owing to lighting, white ants (termites) and the sparseness of display cases. The Museum had been going for two years before I got there, chiefly through the interest of the then Governor, Sir Hubert Young. It possessed the nucleus of a good collection of early maps of Africa, some David Livingstone memorabilia and letters, the beginning of an ethnographical collection, minerals from the Broken Hill and the Copper mines and such things as the bracelets, beads and coins Archaeology was represented by several petrol boxes of artefacts from the Mumbwa Caves excavation I was able to salvage from these, essentially unlabelled, some middle stone age retouched artefacts in quartz which formed the first exhibit of material from Northern Rhodesia.⁷⁶

In this state of affairs, Clark made a number of changes. Realising that the Museum did not have a well-articulated policy to guide its affairs and development,

the Museum, through Clark, initiated two major policies that governed it during the later period. Taking a leaf from the RLI where the new Director, Max Gluckman was now publishing five-year plans which highlighted the activities and plans of the Institute, the Museum also followed suit. Early in 1943, the Museum formulated the First Policy, set out in the Memorandum that Clark wrote entitled, "The Museum as a Public Service" submitted to the Museum Trustees which it accepted as their official policy later in the year.⁷⁷ The Second Policy document was the "Ten-Year Development Plan (1953-1962)" submitted to the Board of Trustees for the Museum on 5 December, 1952.⁷⁸ The Plan was influenced by Max Gluckman's "Seven-Year Development Plan for the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute", which he submitted in 1943.⁷⁹ The two plans became the main instruments for the development and growth of the Museum. Although the two policies contributed to the rapid growth of the Livingstone Museum, particularly its physical development and core museum activities, nonetheless, just as was the undefined policy followed during the formative years, both policies were aimed at advancing the Museum as a colonial tool to advance European interests as shall shortly be seen in the proceeding sections of this chapter.

Policy Framework, 1938 – 1951

The First Policy proposed to run the Livingstone Museum in a more professional manner and aimed at reforming its image from that of "a storehouse of curiosities from various haphazard sources and exhibited for the amusement of the casual visitor, to what its name 'Museum' implied: a Temple of Muses, or in other words, a place of study" with, as Andrea Witcomb observed, "a mission to educate or reform society through objects."⁸⁰ Owing to financial constraints that the Museum faced during its formative years and the limited staff available then, it found it

important to specialise in both subject and area of study. Consequently, its mission was "the elucidation of the history, development and present status of Man within Northern Rhodesia and the dissemination of that knowledge to the general public in as attractive and concise a manner as was consistent with scientific accuracy."⁸¹ The policy considered issues of Natural History, mineralogical wealth, the zoological and botanical aspects only in regard to their relationship to man and his environment.⁸² The idea for the policy was drawn from T. R. Adams, who demonstrated the place and part that Museums played in the democratic world. Adams as cited by Clark observed that:

The theory that museums are an organic part of the social structure places these institutions in as close relation to the social pattern as political parties or moving picture theatres. Their origin is linked with the emergence of democracy as an ideal social organisation and their development with the same forces that extend political, economic and educational opportunities to increasing numbers of the population.⁸³

Clearly, from the foregoing, the Policy was intended to advance the political, social and economic ideology in colonial Northern Rhodesia. The policy was drawn during the course of the Second World War and as such, it was expected to be operational after the War in order to show that Livingstone Museum, just like any other museum in post war Africa, could be assimilated into the organisation of the country and was indispensable as a social institution of the widest educational value.⁸⁴

While the formative-years' policy stated by Moffat-Thompson endeavoured to show the Livingstone Museum's usefulness, the new policy aimed at demonstrating its utility to the overall development of the country. Consequently, one of its major roles after the war was that of a liaison institution between the African and European races, bringing to both a closer understanding of each other and to a greater extent, their modes of life, manufactures, social and economic history and development. It hoped

to achieve this aim by the employment of mainly a visual method in which the advancement of knowledge would be realised through the study of objects.⁸⁵

The Museum was expected to achieve its aims by collaboration with the RLI⁸⁶, which as already noted, was established in 1937. The Institute had three main aims:

Firstly, to analyse scientifically the social life of man, European and Black in Central Africa; secondly, to provide accurate scientific information of man for Government and other persons working with human beings in this area, and thirdly, to disseminate this accurate information as widely as possible to the public. Following the Museum's incorporation to the Institute, a fourth aim was added to the three above: namely, to develop the Museum to cover all man's activities, past and present, rural and industrial, African and European, within Northern Rhodesia⁸⁷

Arising from the forenoted, from 1937, the Museum also became an 'expose' of the RLI's works. It was expected to show vividly through exhibitions the history and the results of the scientific works done by the Institute. Thus, during the early years of the Institute, the Museum acted as an institutional culture broker supervising the collection and marketing of African culture to the white settler public.⁸⁸

The Museum's close link with the RLI is clearly evident, particularly during the period 1942 to 1946, when the two institutions separated to run as independent bodies.⁸⁹ During this period, Max Gluckman, a senior sociologist of the RLI and later its Director from 1942 to 1947, briefly acted as Curator of the Museum when Clark departed for service in the Second World War.⁹⁰ Gluckman added considerably to the inventory of the Museum, expanded its Library and contributed his personal collection of the costumes worn by the Luvale Makishi dancers. He also purchased numerous objects, masks and costumes, which he donated, to the Livingstone Museum and other institutions in southern Africa and Britain. He also arranged traditional dance exhibitions in the Museum grounds and even wrote in the RLI Journal on the relevance of sociological research for museum displays.⁹¹



To achieve the aim of the policy, three objectives behind the existence of any museum were recognised, namely; to acquire, select and preserve material culture (collections), which Clifford Cross⁹² described as the “soul” of a museum, the means by which it achieved recognition; to add to knowledge material culture by research and study of the collections preserved; and to present that knowledge to the public through documentation, exhibitions, publications and public lectures. Also recognised were the different groups of people for whom the Museum would strive to cater; vis-à-vis, Europeans, Africans, adults, children, residents and non-residents, each of which required a distinctive approach.⁹³

The Museum did not have a purpose-built building. In the policy framework, it was therefore also proposed to build a new and suitable Museum building, which would have exhibition rooms with comfortable surroundings where simple but effective exhibitions would be mounted. The building was expected to be constructed immediately after the War and was to include, storage, work and study rooms and offices as well as a suitable base for educational purposes.⁹⁴ In addition, the policy proposed to develop a research wing which would endeavour to conduct research on the Museum’s collections and on various issues such as the sociology, economic, material culture, prehistory and history of the country out of which publications would be made.⁹⁵ Among the proposals in the policy framework was also the establishment of a system of loaning of exhibits and a visual aid programme for schools of all races. Further, among the policy proposal was the installation of a frequently changing series of exhibits and for the arrangement of special travelling exhibitions, which were to be circulated in the urban centres of the country. The Museum’s policy also advocated for the setting up of branch museums in the country, beginning with Lusaka, Mufulira, Kabwe (then called Broken Hill), Ndola, Mufulira and Chipata (then called Fort

Jameson). The staffing level for both Europeans and Africans was to be considerably increased.⁹⁶

Developments and Growth, Up to 1952

In accordance with the Museum's Policy, which strongly advocated for a building specifically designed as a museum, which would give adequate exhibition galleries, storage facilities, work and study rooms and offices, in April 1945, the Trustees of the Museum approved the construction of a new building. Hence, in October 1946, tenders were called. However, construction delayed because of various problems over which the Trustees had no control such as building restrictions due to shortage of materials and the fact that no local firms were in a position to make acceptable quotations. The restrictions on building materials were due to the fact that during the Second World War period (1939 – 1945), all economic activities in the British Empire were directed towards war needs and immediately after the War, there was growth in the construction industry in Europe due to the reconstruction of its destroyed infrastructure. Although the booming construction industry stimulated the expansion of the copper industry in Northern Rhodesia, it created a deficit in building materials, most of which had to be imported, hence the government restrictions on them.⁹⁷

It was not until December 1947 that a tender was received from John Howard and Company (Africa) Limited. Even then, a building permit was not granted until January 1949, while signing took place in February of the same year. On 28th February, Colonel Sir Ellis Robins, the Resident Director of the BSA Co. in Northern Rhodesia, who had been a Trustee member for the Museum for several years laid the foundation stone (see Appendix XIa, b and c). The construction of the Museum building, excluding the fittings was expected to cost £15,000. Through the efforts of

Robins, private subscriptions amounting to £10,000 were raised from the BSA Co., the Copper Companies and the Beit Trust. The Northern Rhodesian Government donated the remaining £5,000. The fittings for the new building costed £4, 435 11s 10d and were made from various subscribers, that included individuals such as Elias Kapelowitze, S. Fischer, C.S. Knight, Nayee Brothers, H. Oza, K.C. Patel and M. Shapiro.⁹⁸ Thus, though a Government institution, the construction of the Livingstone Museum building was popularly driven. The new Museum was opened on May 5, 1951 at a high construction cost of £36,423 16s 8d, due to long delays.⁹⁹

The Museum was constructed in Spanish colonial style in the form of a hollow square supported by a tower, which also held some collections. On the tower was a four-faced electric striking clock installed in 1952 (see Appendices XIc and XVIa and b). The clock was presented to the Museum by two brothers, Harry and Ellie Susman in 1951 to commemorate their entry into the country in 1901. The two brothers were among the pioneer Northern Rhodesia white settlers. The clock was known as the "Pioneer Clock" and was the first of its kind in the country.¹⁰⁰

Clearly, the grandiose and flamboyant nature of the Livingstone Museum building was designed to show the greatness of the colonial authority in line with the important role that it was intended to play. Just like any other museum in colonial Africa, the Livingstone Museum was intended to address the needs of the colonial audience, in particular European settlers. This point is also emphasised by Susan Peter and others who as cited by Mizinga, noted that "museum buildings [that] were erected to contain . . . collections imitated European palatial and monumental designs, thus emphasising the significance of the colonial governs [government]; not infrequently the museums were housed in government buildings."¹⁰¹ The quotation holds true for Livingstone Museum whose initial collections, as already observed, were initially

housed in a government office provided by the highest colonial officer in the territory, Governor Young, thereby signifying the importance that the Government attached to the role the Museum was expected to play.

In order to fulfil its Policy's stress on research and publications, the Museum instituted the Occasional Papers series, which provided the public with an important source of published material on its collections. By 1952, ten series of Occasional Papers had been published. During this period, a library was also established. During research activities, a considerable amount of technological material were collected some of which were made available to the public through exhibitions and a publication on the prehistory of Northern Rhodesia.¹⁰² The research staff was in March 1952 increased to two when T. A. Wylie took up his appointment as Ethnographer. Until then, the only researcher had been the Curator, J. Desmond Clark.¹⁰³

Temporary exhibitions were also held from time to time. Live technological exhibitions of modern African craftsmen, dancers, musicians, lectures and cinematograph shows were also given to the public from time to time in the galleries or the Museum Library. By 1952, the envisioned Visual Aid Scheme had been put into effect and a number of loan cases were made available to schools in the country along the line of rail, and sometimes even sent to schools off the railway line. The cases dealt with topics related to the school syllabus such as David Livingstone, Broken Hill Man, Copper mining in Northern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesian timber trees, how the Victoria Falls were formed, Northern Rhodesian butterflies and some common insects in Northern Rhodesia and how to recognise them. Loan materials also included film stripes, picture sets and wall charts.¹⁰⁴

Additionally, regular weekly cinema shows of educational nature were given to European, Asian and African schools while a mobile cinema van was used to provide cinema shows to African audiences in rural areas. A radiogram was used to provide African Music to African audiences and by 1952 the Museum had purchased a number of records of such music from the African Music Research Library.¹⁰⁵

The foregoing was the extent to which Livingstone Museum had grown by 1952 on the basis of the Museum's First Policy. It formed the framework programme that the Second Policy sought to develop.

Policy Framework, 1953 – 1964

As noted in the foregoing, the Livingstone Museum Policy during the formative years (1934 - 1938) focused on demonstrating its usefulness while the First Policy underscored the Museum's value to the country's development. The Museum's Second Policy, dubbed, "A Ten-Year Development Plan, 1953 - 1963", emphasised the expansion and development of the Museum's infrastructure, such as buildings, core Museum activities (research, publication, exhibitions) and the securing of qualified human resource.

An analysis of the Policy developed during the formative years of the Museum and the Museum's First Policy clearly demonstrates that Livingstone Museum was not a mere repository for interesting bygonees but that it intended to be a centre for the preservation of the indigenous culture and a focus for the study of the country's past. Through these policies, the Museum performed a primary function to the nationals of the country in depicting to them the cultural background of the country in which foreign visitors could learn more about the country's citizens, how they lived in the past and were living in contemporary times. Thus, collectively, the two policies underlined the Museum's usefulness to the development of the country. The

Museum's Second Policy was equally important as it suggested a programme for the future development of the Museum. Having consolidated a place for the Museum in the country through the execution of previous policies, the new Policy aimed at developing the Museum. This was to be done in two parts. Firstly, to develop the visual side of the Museum and secondly to develop the research aspect of the Museum's work.¹⁰⁶

The development of the visual side of the Museum was driven by the fact that while the Museum had earned for itself a good reputation among most museums in Africa and Europe by the beginning of the 1950s, only a limited number of residents in the country were able to enjoy its facilities as accessibility was not easy due to distance. Thus, Museum facilities could only be enjoyed by a growing number of foreign visitors, most of whom came to the Victoria Falls on holiday. The Livingstone Museum, like most museums in Africa, as Doreen Sibanda's study on Zimbabwe and that of Tarisayi W. Madondo on Botswana, had shown¹⁰⁷, was located very far away from rural areas where the majority of the indigenous people lived for it to be patronised by them. The new Policy endeavoured to overcome this difficulty through the travelling exhibitions for adult populations in far-flung areas while children were to be catered by the School Service Scheme, which started in 1950.¹⁰⁸ The Policy proposed a full-time Museum Demonstrator or School Liaison Officer to run the Scheme. The Scheme's aim was not to replace the school syllabus but rather to amplify it by stimulating interest in subjects, which were of everyday importance through the use of objects.¹⁰⁹ The Travelling exhibits scheme was envisioned to circulate special exhibitions from time to time through the main towns of the country and later the rural areas so as to reach out to as many people as possible. The Scheme,

which was proposed to start in 1953 and run by the Curator, was to be supervised by a Museum Demonstrator and Technical Officer to be appointed by 1956.¹¹⁰

The Policy also articulated the need for the development of a museum for Natural History, to be located preferably in Livingstone. However, because of Livingstone's location, which would render the Museum out of reach to many residents of the country, any of the Copperbelt towns or Lusaka was preferred as a greater number of people would be able to make use of its facilities. The former was, nonetheless, favoured because of its near proximity to the mines, which were more inclined to natural sciences thereby make the Museum of greater benefit than the case would be if it were in Lusaka, which was a commercial and administrative centre and biased towards social sciences. Livingstone Museum specialised in social anthropology and had no natural history exhibits except a few isolated specimens such as those of tobacco or timber that sought to highlight the economic background of the country. It also had no geological or mineralogical materials except in so far as they demonstrated economic development in the country, for instance; exhibits of copper, zinc, lead and tin mining. The Natural History Museum therefore would show the natural phenomena of the country in their diversity and also show how these affected each other and how they were related to man and his activities. The Museum would hold a taxonomical collection of animals, birds, butterflies, fish, insects, reptiles and many others. To look after the Natural History collections, it was proposed that a Keeper qualified in zoology, be appointed by 1957.¹¹¹

The Policy also proposed to develop cine photography and general photographic work at the Museum so that a lasting record showing different aspects of the history and ways of life of various ethnic groups could be documented on film, photograph or both for posterity. Many old ways of life such as traditional customs,

technology and handcrafts had already died or were fast dying out. The Museum management felt that if no remedial action was taken, in a decade or so, much of the prevalent indigenous craftsmanship would have disappeared or undergone considerable change. It was therefore found necessary to start a compilation of such a record. Some of the themes proposed for recording included different kinds of ceremonies such as those performed during the installation of chiefs and rain making; body decorations, funeral dances and iron smelting.¹¹²

Prominent on the Museum Policy was also the expansion and development of the Museum buildings. The steady growth of collections called for more space, both for the exhibition and the storage of the study collections. The needs of the Museum were categorised into immediate and gradual expansion. The latter included a small building which was to serve as a storeroom and a carpenter's workshop where camping and fieldwork equipment, cleaning materials, fumigation tank, motor spares, garden tools and many other items would be stored while those that needed carpentry touch would be done.¹¹³

As a lasting solution to space scarcity, it was also proposed to gradually extend the Museum by constructing a new administrative block to cater for offices, the main Ethnography store and study collections. Also proposed for the future expansion of Museum work was a research wing where Museum research staff would conduct their work to obtain information on collections, finding answers to questions associated with them such as who made them, why, where and when? The Policy underscored the importance of research to museum work in enhancing the collections' value as it ensured that collections were backed with valid information on their origin and uses instead of making guesses.¹¹⁴ In order to make the results of research undertaken by the Museum's researchers known to the public, both general and scientific, the Policy

proposed to make research findings available in a published form immediately after the research had been carried out. Consequently, the Museum continued with the series of Occasional Papers, which came into being through the Museum's First Policy.

The Museum also started a series of Monographs. Occasional Papers were meant to supplement the data in exhibit cases and were to be written in such a manner that they provided useful information on subjects on which it was difficult to collect collated facts. On the other hand, Monographs were published authoritative research in book form of a lengthier form and more technical in nature. Whereas Occasional Papers were written mainly for the layman and were generally popular, monographs were meant for the scientific community and often used as reference books.¹¹⁵ By 1964, sixteen volumes of Occasional Papers and seven Monographs had been published by the Museum.

Other proposals contained in the Policy document included the publication of the manuscript records of David Livingstone and other explorers such as Richard Thornton, the young geologist who accompanied David Livingstone on the Zambezi Expedition. Half of Thornton's journals were in the Livingstone Museum while the other half was in the Rhodes House at Oxford.¹¹⁶ The Policy also proposed to develop a fine library for researchers as it was realised that a library was the basis of any research. It was thus envisioned to obtain both rare books and current ones on the market through purchase.¹¹⁷ In order to carry out all the outlined Policy objectives, the Policy proposed the employment of a well qualified, efficient and motivated staff, with adequate equipment and sufficient funding to the Museum.¹¹⁸

Developments and Growth, Up to 1964.

The Museum's Second Policy saw further developments in the activities of the Museum. In 1957 the Museum established a "model village", the African Crafts Village (see Appendix XXIa, b and c.). This followed the Museum's realisation that many of the traditional arts and crafts of the countryside were disappearing due to an increased demand of curios by tourist trade and trading stores that were mushrooming in rural areas. The Museum noted that when objects on display in the Museum, which were typical of the material culture of the various ethnic groups a decade or two ago were compared with what was obtaining in villages, they had either disappeared or undergone massive modification. Thus, in order to preserve and encourage some of the crafts, the Village was established.¹¹⁹ The African Craft Village was therefore an extension of the Museum that contained aspects of the culture, which could not be easily fitted into the normal museum gallery.

The Village stood close to the main road to the Victoria Falls and was intended to provide visitors with a glimpse of traditional tribal life. It covered an acre of ground and contained a dance arena, suitable for the performance and demonstration of traditional Zambian dancing, and five tribal sections: Bemba, Lunda-Luvale, Lozi, Ila-Tonga, and Nyanja (see Appendix XXIa). In each section were traditionally furnished dwellings and out-huts such as granaries and shrines that were typical of those constructed in the villages of different ethnic groups of the country. Chickens and gardens provided additional flavour. In each section were also craftsmen demonstrating the traditional crafts of the group such as woodcarving, smithing, basketry and mat-making using authentic tools and methods for the benefits of the visitors. The products were sold to the public. The village was self-supporting and obtained its income from the sale of the products it produced and from a small

entrance charge. In 1963, the African Crafts Village was renamed Open Air Museum.¹²⁰

Further, in 1957, a History Gallery was established at the Museum under the sponsorship of Harry Wulfsohn, a former Livingstone Town businessman. Its donor, Wulfsohn, opened the Gallery on 11 October 1957 and in honour of his generous offer, it was named "The Wulfsohn Gallery" (see Appendix XVIIIa and b). The Gallery housed the Museum's historical collections, which by then had become extensive. The collection included a series of showcases that contained the collection of the David Livingstone relics and documents owned or lent to the Museum. The relics depicted in historical sequence the complete life of David Livingstone, the Scottish missionary-explorer of south-central Africa. It also gave an introduction to the history of the country up to the then contemporary times.¹²¹ Before the Gallery was established, the history displays were exhibited together with displays in the Ethnography Gallery.¹²²

The fruits of the Museum's Policies became more evident when Livingstone Museum helped in the establishment of the Northern Rhodesia Military and Police Museum, which was opened by Governor, Sir Evelyn Hone on April 2, 1962 in the Old Boma Building in Lusaka. The Trustees of Rhodes-Livingstone Museum through a sub-committee chaired by Sir James Moffat-Thompson and Desmond Clark as its Secretary administered the Museum.¹²³ In the same year, Livingstone Museum assisted a group of businessmen on the Copperbelt form the Copperbelt Museum Association. The Association established the Copperbelt Museum in Ndola which was opened on June 12, 1962.¹²⁴

The Museum Policies also resulted into infrastructure development. For instance, on 10th February 1960, the foundation stone for the construction of a

research wing was laid by the then Governor of Northern Rhodesia, Sir Evelyn Hone. Construction of the building started in the same year and was officially opened in March by the Governor.¹²⁵ The building had all the main working rooms air-conditioned and provided five new offices and workrooms, a library, two large study rooms and adequate storerooms. The opening of the research wing did not only provide adequate accommodation for the Museum staff but working space also for visiting scientists.

Although the Trustees of the Museum approved the design plans for the construction of the Natural History Wing in 1943, construction could not start because the Trustees could not agree on the site for the Museum nor raise enough money for the construction of the project. Later on, the Trustees recommended for the construction of Natural History Wing at the Livingstone Museum where all type of collections could be housed, as it was a national museum. The Trustees also encouraged the building of museums to house natural history and other demonstration collections in Lusaka, Ndola and other Copperbelt towns. Thus, in 1956, the Trustees adopted a new plan for the Museum, which added to the existing Livingstone Museum building. On 9th March 1963, Sir Evelyn Hone laid down a foundation stone for Natural History Wing. The laying of the foundation stone coincided with the 150th anniversary of the birth of David Livingstone, the person from whom the Museum derived its name. Construction of the building started in February 1964 while completion, which was earmarked for December of the same year was not achieved until March 1965. *Although occupation of the building took place almost immediately construction was completed, it was not, until 19th October 1969 that it was officially opened by the then Vice President of Zambia, Simon Mwansa Kapwepwe.*¹²⁶

In 1957, the Museum introduced a Winter School of Archaeology, the first of which was held from 4th to 15th September. Eighteen students from Salisbury (now Harare), Wankie (Hwange), Bulawayo and Livingstone attended it. The School was a normal extension of the Museum's services to the public. However, the new innovation was special in that it aimed at spreading a sound archaeological knowledge and field techniques through short training courses to amateur archaeologists or interested members of the public, who it was hoped would make a useful contribution to African Archaeology. The course included both theory and practical work. Background lectures on general world archaeology and specific Southern African Archaeology were supplemented by instruction and practicals in field archaeology, handling and sorting, reconstruction and drawing of specimens. By 1964, six annual sessions of the School of Archaeology had been held.¹²⁷

As a result of the Second Policy proposals, the Museum experienced a marked achievement in new recruitment. In March 1952, T.A. Wylie, an ethnographer, joined Clark who was by then the only researcher.¹²⁸ G. R. Reynolds replaced Wylie in August 1955. Until 1956, the Livingstone Museum emphasised the study of Ethnography and the Stone Age period whose time frame went up to some two thousand years ago. However, following the Third Meeting of the Pan-African Congress on Prehistory, which met in Livingstone at Livingstone Museum from 22nd to 28th July 1955, the Museum shifted towards the study of the latter centuries of the country's past in order to provide it with a balanced picture of the past as it began to emerge. The Congress was part of the activities that were organised by the Museum Trustees and the Ancient Monuments Commission with blessings from the Northern Rhodesia Government to commemorate the centenary year (1955) of David Livingstone's sighting of the Victoria Falls.¹²⁹ Clark was the organising Secretary for

the Congress, which was composed of eminent scientists in fields such as Geology, Human Palaeontology and Archaeology (see Appendix XXII). The Congress conclusively showed that Africa was the continent where man first had his origin.¹³⁰ Consequently, in 1957, R. R. Inskeep was appointed as Keeper of Prehistory, specialising in Iron Age, to study the Iron Age period of Zambia and thus shed light to the latter history of the country.¹³¹

In the same year (1957), C. S. Holliday was appointed as Technical Officer to oversee the technical part of exhibition mounting. Also, in the same year, the Trustees changed the designation of Curator, who was the chief executive of the Museum to Director, to make it more in keeping with the increased amount of research work and other administrative responsibilities that were being undertaken by the Curator following an increased staff level. With the anticipated continuous growth of the Museum, it was envisioned that the staff level would continue growing, thus adding to administrative responsibilities such as the supervision and coordination of the increased research staff and Museum research work respectively.¹³²

In July 1959, Brian M. Fagan succeeded Inskeep, as Keeper of Prehistory following the latter's expiry of his contract in the same year. Also in the same year, B.S. Mitchell, a Biologist, was appointed as Honorary Keeper of Zoology to build collections of large mammals and to initiate work in animal ecology.¹³³ Following Clark's departure in 1961, his position as Director was taken over by Gervas C.R. Clay, an Historian and former Resident Commissioner of Barotseland, now the Western Province of Zambia. In addition to the position of Director, Clay also became Keeper of History, becoming the first one to hold such a position at the Livingstone Museum. In May 1964, Reynolds succeeded him as Director of the Museum. Clay

accepted the position of Honorary Historian of the Museum.¹³⁴ African employees at the Museum held junior positions.

During this period there were not many Africans who held requisite qualifications to be trained for more senior positions due to the colonial administration's policy, which was designed at impeding African advancement in education and positions of superior responsibility. The colonial administration considered Africans educationally, socially and mentally inferior and, as such, were not expected to aspire for jobs beyond that of an African Clerk (the post of Clerk without African prefix was reserved for Europeans, mainly females) regardless of their educational level.¹³⁵ This policy is evident in the enunciation of Governor Sir John Maybin made in 1940 when he declared that:

. . . while the training of Africans as clerks and minor technical officers such as medical orderlies is the final stage, I certainly never intended it as the last. If our Reserves policy succeeds we shall have to go forward later to training Medical Assistants, Agricultural Assistants, and some subordinate Administrative cadre. That the African will eventually be capable of that we know. Later we may go on to train fully qualified officers. That will depend on our financial resources, the needs of the Reserves and the proved capacity of the Africans¹³⁶

In line with the forenoted racist views of the colonial times, at the Livingstone Museum, no effort was made to train Africans to handle senior responsibilities. Most of the training that African employees at Livingstone Museum received was in-house. The few who were sent out of the country for training received a course of study in areas where the job to be done after the completion of the course was often physically strenuous while the course of study itself was not so stimulating, intellectually. Such areas were generally considered inferior to be taken by Europeans. It was under such circumstances that Ransford Sililo, who joined the Museum in 1948 as a messenger and later promoted to a position of Museum Assistant, was in 1950 sent to Bulawayo

in Zimbabwe, (then Southern Rhodesia) to do a one-year course in Mural Art and Model Making at Cyren Mission under the tutelage of Rev. Canon E. Patterson.¹³⁷

In 1948, the Government resolved to train selected African Clerks for more responsible jobs, mainly of an intermediate grades between the clerical and the administrative type. However, this was not followed until 1955.¹³⁸ It was in this circumstance that Mutumweno Yeta, who joined the Museum in 1955, was sent to England in 1962 under a Government bursary to study Primitive Art under the auspices of the British Museum. Before joining the Museum, Yeta had in 1954 obtained a General Certificate in Art from Makerere University in Uganda.¹³⁹

Following Yeta's completion of his course in the United Kingdom, he was promoted to the position of Technical Officer and this entitled him to be accommodated on the highlands in town where Europeans lived. However, he could not be accommodated there owing to the racially stratified colonial society, which compartmentalised people according to the race. Yeta's situation presented a serious dilemma to the Museum administration because following his new qualifications and new position he could be accommodated neither in a location where Africans resided nor in a European designated residential area. Consequently, he was accommodated in a house called "the African graduate house". The house was designed to European standards but built in an African location.¹⁴⁰

Nevertheless, by the end of European colonial rule in Zambia, the Livingstone Museum had gained for itself a wide reputation and progress both in terms of infrastructure development, museum activities and the recruitment of qualified research staff. However, overall, the Livingstone Museum policies, during the colonial period were meant to address the European settler needs.

By the 1940s, the colonial government had realised the need to study African life styles and for Africans to study the European life styles. Thus, in a survey carried out among European settlers to find out what their expectations were when the government was planning to construct a purpose built museum, the response was to "to learn something of man in Northern Rhodesia in an easy and interesting way". They also demanded for a small section in the Museum for Africans to learn about a "white man's progress" while another section was to "show the effect of European influence upon African cultures with exhibits arranged in series according to the varying degrees of impurity."¹⁴¹ Livingstone Museum was therefore expected to serve as a mirror to monitor how Africans were "reacting under European influence."¹⁴²

Thus, throughout the colonial period, the Livingstone Museum was tailored on the basis of the European settler community's perception of the function of a museum. Each European settler community had its own interests. For instance, the missionary community wanted to know more about the ideological inclinations of Africans to facilitate their evangelisation mission. A good example is provided by the collection made by Father Cobeil at Moto Moto Museum in Northern Zambia.¹⁴³ Similar observations were made by Mark Bessire at Sukuma Museum in Tanzania which, like Moto Moto Museum, was established during the colonial period by the Roman Catholic Fathers among the Sukuma people.¹⁴⁴ On the other hand, the colonial administration saw museums as a necessity to study each ethnic group to facilitate the integration of Africans in the capitalist social order. This is evidenced in a statement made by W.W. Brelsford, a government administrator in colonial Zambia, who in 1945 noted that "many of the exhibits in the museum case can inform the administrator of the traditions and beliefs that may long continue to assert their influence over the lives of his people."¹⁴⁵ Brelsford went on to observe that it was

“through a detailed study of tribal exhibits that intimate knowledge of a particular tribe is obtained.”¹⁴⁶ Desmond Clark saw the role of his institution as a “liaison institution between two races, bringing to both a closer understanding of each other, their modes of life, manufacture, social and economic history and development.”¹⁴⁷

In addition, by studying the material culture, social structures, beliefs and customs of Africans, the Livingstone Museum provided a device to monitor the African response to colonial rule. In fact, as the monitoring of African response to colonial policies continued, a report made in 1951 noted: “European civilisation is sweeping the African off his traditional feet, he welcomes it but at the same time is suspicious and resentful of its implications so that his old skills and his old ways of life have almost gone and the new has not yet been assimilated.”¹⁴⁸

Arising from the foregoing, the colonial authority saw the Livingstone Museum as an ally in addressing the needs of the European settler community. Through the Museum’s material collection of different ethnic groups, the colonial authority was able to monitor the African response to the influence of their policies. The Museum was also intended to perpetuate the myth that European lifestyle was superior to that of Africans. They did this through continuously showing African material culture negatively by presenting them in their artistic form, deliberately underplaying their utilitarian value. The strategy fitted well with their overall ideological policy of racial discrimination based on the superiority of the European race. The approach also conformed to the Dual mandate policy developed by Lord Lugard¹⁴⁹ which was the basis of the Indirect Rule Policy that ensured that the British Common Law and Customary Law operated side by side thereby allowing the survival of the African culture while at the same time mindful of protecting white supremacy.

Conclusion

Right from the early period of colonial rule, the colonial administration was concerned with the loss of the country's movable heritage whose exploitation began even before its onset. This concern resulted into the formulation of legislation; namely, the Northern Rhodesia Bushmen Relics Proclamation of 1912, and the Preservation of Archaeological Ordinance, 1930. Although the two legislation frameworks were not tailored for museum purposes, they formed a foundation on which movable heritage materials were collected, managed and preserved.

Discussions for the formation of a National Museum began in the Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council in 1929 and a Museum established in 1934. However, there was no legislative framework that guided its operations till 1937 when the Rhodes-Livingstone Ordinance 1 of 1937 was enacted. This Ordinance did not only establish the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute but also made provisions for the running of the Museum. In 1938 the Museum was incorporated into the Institute. The piece of legislation specifically tailored for the Museum only came in 1946 through the Rhodes-Livingstone Ordinance 17 of 1946. Ordinance 16, 1946 separated the two institutions to run as independent entities while Ordinance 17, 1946 provided for the running of the Museum. The Ordinance remained the legislative framework for the management of movable heritage until 1966 when the National Museums Act Cap 267 of 1966 was enacted. Up until then, the Livingstone Museum was the only National Museum.

The Livingstone Museum did not have a definite policy framework during its formative period. It was not until Desmond Clark was appointed as Curator of the Museum that a policy framework was developed. The policy framework highlighted the intended museum activities, the development plans and growth of the institution.

During the colonial period, the Museum formulated two major policy frameworks that guided it. The two policy frameworks focused on the core activities of the Museum such as collection of artefacts, research, publications, exhibitions and outreach programmes as well as its physical development.

Although the Museum's activities such as research, publications and exhibitions were not racially discriminatory in theory, in practice, they were applied in a racially discriminatory manner in that its activities were meant to benefit the colonial government officers and the settler community. The historical information produced from the Museum through its activities such as exhibitions reflected the supremacy of the European race and the backwardness of Africans. The Museum's activities were packaged in such a way as to show that Africans had no history before the coming of Europeans while their lifestyle was backward.

Most important, the material culture collected, studied, documented and exhibited was done so with the view to prove to the rest of the world that the European way of life was superior compared to that of Africans. This was done in order to legitimise colonial rule in the territory, which they saw as necessary if at all Africans were to be served from their 'primitive' ways of life. Consequently, the historical information produced during the colonial period at the Livingstone Museum glorified activities of Europeans such as explorers, adventurers, missionaries and colonial officers while for Africans, only their cultural aspect presented in a non-historical perspective was produced. The Livingstone Museum activities during the colonial period were therefore meant to justify colonialism in the country. It is this situation that the post-colonial Livingstone Museum authority was saddled with and had to address when the country gained her independence on 24th October 1964.

Notwithstanding the foregoing, the Museum collected and preserved a huge amount of the material culture of different ethnic groups in Zambia, which would otherwise have been lost to posterity due to massive pressure from mass-produced factory capitalist goods that came along with European colonisation of the area. Additionally, the Museum policies developed during the colonial period also led to a well-developed Museum infrastructure. This formed the basis for the Museum's development during the post-colonial period.

ENDNOTES

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CHAPTER THREE

THE CHALLENGES OF INDEPENDENCE TO HERITAGE DEVELOPMENT: 1964 - 2006

Introduction

In the last chapter, I discussed legislation, policies, development plans and growth of the Livingstone Museum during the colonial period and how they impacted on the core activities of the institution such as research, publications exhibitions as well as its physical development. In this chapter, I tackle the same issues but focus on the post-colonial period. In the two chapters, chapter two and this one, I provide background information that formed the basis on which the Museum's activities such as acquisition of collections and their preservation, research, publications and exhibitions were made, an important aspect, if at all its contribution to the generation of knowledge relevant to the reconstruction of Zambian history has to be evaluated properly.

In the Chapter, I demonstrate that during the post-colonial period, legislation on museums and the Museum's policy framework focused on changing the institution from a colonial into a post-colonial one. I argue that like colonial rulers before them, the nationalist African rulers also used the Museum to achieve their objectives as they realised that a museum was an important agent of change. I also show that during the First Republic, the Museum was successfully transformed from a colonial into a post-colonial institution. This was achieved through a new policy framework that was put in place immediately after independence. However, this was not as elaborate as the policy documents developed during the colonial period. The major highlight of the Post-colonial policy framework was the recruitment and training of a cadre of Zambian staff who were to oversee the reflection of the country's national aspiration

of building a unified country based on the diversity of the different people's cultural and historical background in the Museum's activities. The role of the Museum as an educational centre was also emphasised.

In this chapter, I also demonstrate that the transformation period was also a period of instability at the Museum. The period saw a lot of acrimony, which in 1966 turned into a racial conflict between European and African employees. I argue that the racial conflicts were due to the fact that the European employees were still nursing a hangover of European superiority in a newly independent state, where Africans were eager to assert themselves as rulers. I also argue that the racial conflicts at the museum were a microcosm of what was obtaining in the country as a whole at that time.

Further, I demonstrate that 1968 to 1972 saw the restoration of stability at the Museum. I argue that the stability was due to the fact that during that period the European employees who had joined the Museum during the colonial period and therefore still reminiscing of that period even when the status quo had changed, had by then all left the institution, replaced with Zambians. Further, I argue that although during the First Republic, the Museum managed to train the staff it recruited to higher levels, it lost most of it in the Second Republic due to poor funding. The situation was worsened by the promotion of staff to administrative positions as this depleted the research staff even further. This impacted adversely on the Museum's core activities such as research and publications compared to the colonial period.

Furthermore, I demonstrate that following the restoration of stability at the Museum by 1972, the policy framework was redefined to reflect the national aspiration of achieving national unity, identity and development through cultural diversity reflected in the national motto of "One Zambia One Nation". To that effect,

the educational role of the institution was, given more prominence than before. In addition, I demonstrate that the Third Republic was a period of mixed blessings for the Museum in that while it recruited and trained staff into different museological fields to an appreciable number, changed its exhibitions, rehabilitated the Museum buildings and acquired some equipment, its financial autonomy was still elusive and research and publication activities were at a low ebb, thereby impacting negatively on the generation of historical information from the Museum through collections, research and publications, as will be seen in Chapters Six and Seven.

The First Republic, 1964 – 1972

Zambia inherited a multi-party political system from the British colonialists when she became independent on 24 October 1964. The socio-economic and political structures inherited were designed to serve colonial interests.¹ In order to have a firm direction as an independent country that was free to shape its destiny, the nationalist government embarked on a programme that was aimed at reforming the inherited structures. To that effect, in 1967, Humanism was proclaimed as a national philosophy and ideology through which all-social, economic and political reforms of the United National Independence Party (UNIP) and its government would be undertaken.² The multi-party political regime inherited in 1964 to 1972, when it changed to a one-party political system was termed the First Republic.³ The new government considered museums as social institutions, and, just as was the case during the colonial era, museums were state funded.

Historical Heritage Legislation

In 1964, when Zambia became independent, the Museum's name changed to Livingstone Museum from the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum. This was because the name Rhodes was associated with British imperialism and the colonisation of the

territory. This came to light when the change of the name was being debated in Parliament. Reuben Kamanga, the Vice President and leader of the House in presenting the Bill noted: "In fact what we are doing is . . . to delete the name of Rhodes, the great exploiter and the arch-apostle of imperialism."⁴

The issue on whether to remove or not the name Livingstone from the name of the Museum aroused intense debate in the Livingstone Museum Committee. In an interview, William Chipango, the first Mayor of Livingstone and Member of Trustees of the Livingstone Museum Committee from 1965 to 1966 noted that in the debate some members of the newly formed local Livingstone Museum Committee, (just like Parliamentarians who used the same reason in their argument for the removal of the name Rhodes from the name of the Museum) felt that there was no need of retaining it because its owner was a forerunner and agent of European colonialism and the pacification of Africans and therefore, just like Rhodes, he was an imperialist.⁵ He also noted that others felt strongly for its retention. "Such people", Chipango noted, "argued that David Livingstone was associated with the betterment of humanity through his campaigns, writings and lectures in which he deplored slave trade and slavery in Africa, which he witnessed in his exploration of south-central Africa during the nineteenth century."⁶

Chipango further noted that to this effect, they cited one of Livingstone's writing in which he abhorred slave trade, which he described as the "open sore" of the world and agitated for its abolition, replacing it with trade in goods.⁷ Chipango also noted that other members argued for the retention of the name on economic grounds. This group argued that the waterfall for which David Livingstone became the first known white man to sight and named Victoria Falls was the cornerstone of tourism industry in the town, which was also named in his memory. According to Chipango,

the group argued that the Museum benefited much from the Falls as most of the tourists who visited it also visited the Museum where they left a considerable amount of revenue in the form of entry fees and the purchase of souvenirs from the Museum's Craft Shop. Giving the Museum a different name would obscure its historic image, especially that it had already achieved an international standing using the same name. The change would result in a few clientele patronage and thus rob it of an income it so much needed.⁸ In the end, the retention of the name "Livingstone" in the name of the Museum took the day; however this was done on economic grounds.⁹

In 1964, when Dr. Kenneth Kaunda became the President of Zambia, he also assumed the Presidency of the Trustees of the Museum.¹⁰ In the same year, the name of the body controlling the Museum was changed from the Board of Trustees to the National Museums Board (NMB), reflecting the new national service role that the museum was expected to play in the new dispensation. However, it was not until July 1, 1966 that an Act, the National Museums Act, Cap. 267 of the Laws of Zambia was enacted. This Act replaced the Northern Rhodesia Ordinance Government Notice 17, first introduced in 1946 to serve Livingstone Museum, which was the only major museum in the country.¹¹ In 1992, the Act Number was changed from Cap. 267 to 274.

The Act mandated the NMB to control, manage and develop National Museums in the country.¹² Thus, through this Act, the Board, on behalf of the Government could establish National Museums, which could collect materials that reflected the various aspects of the history and heritage of Zambia. The title for the head of the Board was changed from President to that of Chairman.¹³ The Museum also moved away from the system used since its establishment in which the political head of the territory was the Chairman of the Board to a system wherein, the Chairman could be any person appointed by the Minister responsible for National Museums.¹⁴

Even then, Dr Kaunda, the President of the new Republic became its patron. To reinforce the Museum's authority, the President's name as Patron appeared on the Museum's letterheads. This ensured the Museum of the support of his name in matters such as requests for grants and scholarships from Funds or bodies of international importance.¹⁵ The fact that the President became the Patron of the Museum signifying the importance that the new Government attached to it as the custodian of movable heritage and as an instrument to propagate its policy and national ideology.

The Act empowered the Minister under which Museums fell by order to declare any Museum to be a National Museum. The Board with consent from the Minister could also acquire, hold, manage and dispose of real estates and personal property.¹⁶ It was also empowered to exchange, sell or dispose off objects that were not required for the purposes of any National Museum and could lend any objects vested in the Board to any person or institution whether within or outside Zambia.¹⁷ Through the Act, the Board had the authority to constitute local museum committees. Such committees included members who were not members of the Board to regulate their proceedings.¹⁸ Further, the Board could also receive moneys from any source and apply such moneys to meet its expenses in the course of carrying out its mandated functions.¹⁹

Furthermore, with consent from the Minister, the Board was empowered to make rules that provided for the administration of any National Museum or the preservation of objects required for purposes of National Museums. Through the Act, the Board could also make rules that provided for the administration of any National Museum, preservation of objects in museums, amount of admission fees to any National Museum by members of the public and the type of articles which could be

introduced into a National Museum without the consent of the officer in charge of that National Museum.²⁰

Under the Act, all objects which were expressly given or bequeathed to the country for purposes of any National Museum, or were given or bequeathed by words that the gifts could be used by or for the benefit of any National Museum, were vested in the Board.²¹ In addition, objects that were or had been acquired by the Board by purchase or any other means for the purposes of any National Museum were also vested in the Board.²²

In line with the provisions of the new Museum Act, during the Board's inaugural meeting, three museum local committees were established. These were the Livingstone Museum Committee, the Lusaka and the Copperbelt Museum Committees. The Livingstone Committee was tasked with the responsibility of looking after the affairs of the Livingstone Museum on behalf of the Board, while the task of the Lusaka Committee and the Copperbelt Committee was to oversee the development of Lusaka Museum and the Copperbelt Museum respectively.²³ Furthermore, the new Museum Act led to the gazetting of three private Museums into state museums. These were the Gallery of Natural Resources in Ndola called Copperbelt Museum. This was gazetted into a state-owned museum in 1968²⁴, and Moto Moto Museum, which developed from the collection of ethnographic collection of materials of ethnic groups of northern Zambia, collected by Fr. Corbeil. Moto Moto Museum was turned into a National Museum in 1974.²⁵

The Lusaka Museum Committee was tasked to plan for the development of a Museum in Lusaka.²⁶ The plan blended well with the Vice President of Zambia, Simon Mwansa Kapwepwe's (see Appendix XIV) mooted idea of a National Museum in 1970 to preserve for posterity, the political history of the country and to show the role

freedom fighters played in the liberation of the country. This Museum was opened as a National Museum in 1996.²⁷

At the time the National Museums Act was passed in 1966, the Livingstone Museum was the only National Museum in the country. However, as noted in the foregoing, the situation soon changed following the declaration of existing private museums into national institutions, while functions of museums were broadened. In addition, new private museums were established; for example, Choma Museum and Craft Centre²⁸ whose history began in the 1970s in Sinazeze but transferred to Choma in 1993, Zintu Museum²⁹ in Lusaka, which began in 1979 but folded in the second half of the 1990s and Nayuma Museum³⁰ in Mongu which began in 1982.

Although the 1966 Museum legislation provided a broader framework for the protection and management of movable heritage by the government through the NMB, it did not determine what exactly had to be preserved and how it had to be done. It also had no clauses that enforced it to get what it regarded as heritage that needed to be preserved for posterity. Above all, the Museum legislation only allowed the Board supervisory roles on the management, protection and preservation of movable heritage. It did not empower the NMB authority to determine who should establish a museum. Thus, any individual or organisation could establish a museum without demonstrating whether they had the skills or resources to do so adequately. This state of affairs endangered the preservation of movable heritage for posterity.

Additionally, an examination of the 1966 Museums Act in comparison to the National Heritage Conservation Commission (NHCC) Act, 1989, revealed that the authority of the latter superceded that of the former in terms of managing the country's cultural heritage. According to the Heritage Act, the NHCC's functions were “. . . to conserve historical, natural and cultural heritage of Zambia by preservation,

restoration, rehabilitation, reconstruction, adaptive use, good management, or any other means.³¹ The Act required anyone who wished to excavate or collect ancient heritage objects to apply for a permit from the NHCC except in situations where the Commission hired personnel to undertake this function on its behalf.³² Through this Act, the Commission reserved the right to grant permit or turn down an application it considered not to be in its interest.³³ Chikumbi noted that although no evidence existed of an occasion where an application had been turned down, it was still possible that this could occur in future.³⁴ Thus, although the primary responsibility of the Commission to conserve, with emphasis on the preservation of the country's heritage *in situ*, is noble, its legislation subordinated National Museums to NHCC. This situation posed an obstacle to the Livingstone Museum's ability to effectively carry out its functions, particularly the preservation of movable heritage, as it was required to get permission from the Commission for it to undertake excavations or get movable heritage materials found *in situ* on the Commission's heritage sites for the purpose of preservation and/or study.

Thus, although the Commission was the brainchild of the Museum, as noted in Chapter One, it grew to check the activities of its parent and this posed a danger of straining the relationship between the two institutions. This situation potentially endangered the preservation of the country's heritage for posterity.

Realising that the 1966 Act did not provide for the monitoring and supervision of standards in National Museums, the NMB took steps to correct the situation by producing a Draft Bill in 1995 that was intended to repeal the 1966 Act. The aim was to set up at least minimum accepted standards in the work and running of museums.³⁵ The Draft Bill also proposed to provide for the management and development of national and private museums more effectively. Further, the Draft Bill wanted to

expand the 1966 Act so as to broaden the functions of museums. Furthermore, it wanted to make national Museums more instrumental in the conservation of movable national heritage.³⁶ To effect the changes, the Proposed Act contained provisions for museums, which could not be designated as national even by the 1966 Act. Among the major suggested changes was the change of the name of the Act from National Museums Act to Museums Act. This was done in order to make provisions for more museums and different types of museums to be declared and established.³⁷

In 1996, the Draft Bill was approved by the parent Ministry and was sent to the Ministry of Legal Affairs for legal opinion and subsequent enactment into Law by Parliament.³⁸ However, by the end of the time frame (2006) for this study, the Proposed Bill was still pending at the Ministry of Legal Affairs. Although the Proposed Bill was still less superior to the NHCC Act, 1989, in that, even when approved, museums would still be required to get permission to carry out excavations or get movable heritage materials *in situ* on heritage sites for preservation and/or study, the delay in enacting it into law made it difficult for the Board to monitor and control museums in the country effectively, particularly private ones. Nonetheless, the 1966 Act, together with legislations that preceded it helped in managing movable heritage at Livingstone Museum, more so that, being for a long time the only National Museum in the country, the Act was specifically tailored for it.

The Livingstone Museum during the First Republic, 1964 – 1972

For the Livingstone Museum, 1964 to 1972 was a difficult period. It was a period during which the Museum was transformed from a colonial into a post-colonial institution. The Museum Policy was tailored to meet that goal. The period was characterised by reorganisation, development, recruitment and training of Zambian staff with the view to making the Museum service truly Zambian.

During the colonial period, museums in Africa in general and the Livingstone Museum in particular were, as noted in the last chapter, used to advance the overall colonial policy of the superiority of the European ways of life over that of Africans. They were also used to perpetuate the exploitation of ethnic pluralism in the pursuit of their policy of divide and rule through the categorising of indigenous ethnic groups as either major or minor tribes by the use of material culture. Thus, like any other colonial institution, Livingstone Museum played a part in maintaining overseas rule and in propagating the superiority of Western cultural history. Its services were aimed at the European settler class while its collections, exhibitions, publications and educational policy were guided by European needs and thinking of the time.

Following the attainment of political independence in the late 1950s and throughout the 1960s, African nationalists, like their predecessors, the colonial administrators, also sought to use museums in their quest for national unity, identity and development. As Ekpo Eyo observed:

. . . museums began to be seen in a new light by the new leaders. African nationalists now looked upon these institutions as the mirror of their national ethos and as an instrument for the establishment of unity and identity. They realised that in the world torn asunder by racism and prejudice, every human group requires an identity, a common banner under which they can function in solidarity³⁹

The situation described above by Eyo also applied to the Zambian context. When Zambia achieved her political independence, the nationalist leaders saw the Livingstone Museum as a tool in propagating their agenda on issues of national unity, identity and self-assertion. During this period, the Government centrally controlled activities in the country. Thus, the Museum did not have a specific policy document governing its activities but followed the country's general policy enunciated by government documents such as *The First National Development Plan, 1966-70*.⁴⁰

However, it prepared Development Plans to guide its activities, the first of which was the Five-Year Development Plan prepared in 1964⁴¹ and later on revised for inclusion into the 1966-70 Government Programme.⁴²

The Museum Policy Framework, 1964 - 1972

During the colonial period, as noted in the last chapter, little effort was made to train indigenous Zambians in museological work. Consequently, at the time of independence, the Museum lacked qualified indigenous Zambian staff who were so much needed to execute the new leaders' ideals. Realising that with this inadequacy it would be difficult to accomplish the new vision, the Board gave priority to training and recruitment programmes in its policy framework.⁴³

The Five-Year Development Plan prepared in 1964 envisioned the establishment of two more major museums, one Art Gallery and ten provincial museums. The major museums were to be constructed in Lusaka and Ndola on the Copperbelt. The Lusaka Museum was to be the Natural History Museum of Zambia. It was expected to work closely with the University of Zambia, the Department of Game and Fisheries as well as a specialist division of the Agriculture Department and the Natural Resources Development College. The Museum was to be a Science Museum, but due to huge costs anticipated, it was decided to establish a Gallery of Natural Resources to demonstrate the country's natural resources.⁴⁴ The Board approved the Plan in principle on 29 September 1964. However, in 1965, it was revised because the proposals contained were found to be too ambitious and difficult to achieve within a period of five years. The revised Plan was later submitted to the Government for inclusion in its 1966 to 1970 development programme. The Plan was divided into two phases. The first phase covered the period 1966 to 1970 and involved the building of a major museum in Lusaka. Within this phase, it was also

envisioned that eight display Museums would be set up. The first was to be sited in Ndola while the remaining would be elsewhere in Zambia, preferably in rural townships such as Mongu, Chipata, Mbala, Kasama and Solwezi. This was done in order to keep up with Government's policy, which strived to build interest and development away from the line of rail.⁴⁵

The second phase was also a five-year development plan, which was expected to begin after 1970. The Plan envisioned the establishment of a Science Museum on the Copperbelt and an Art Museum in any place of the country. In order to fulfil the latter aspiration, Livingstone Museum was to appoint a Keeper of Art who would begin building a collection and train staff for the future Art Museum.⁴⁶

The Development Plan also proposed that the Livingstone Museum continue specialising in cultural and historical affairs. Further, it affirmed the last development plan made during the colonial period that proposed the construction of a Natural History Wing at Livingstone Museum whose foundation stone had been laid down in 1961, but building works could not start due to financial constraints. The Development Plan stressed a vigorous recruitment and training programme for Zambian staff. In the same vein, research, exhibitions and publications programmes were expected to reflect the new challenges.⁴⁷

It was also realised that the level of education in the country was low and that very little was known about the cultural and historical heritage of the country. Consequently, among the proposals articulated was the call to turn the Museum into an educational institution where the nation would be educated in the history of the country and would also be a centre for research into the country's cultural and historical background, rather than being only a repository of antiquities and curiosities as was the case during the colonial period.⁴⁸ It was this recognition to make

the Museum truly Zambian and a future service to the nation that occupied the attention of the Museum administration during the period 1964 to 1972.

Writing about the new policy framework for museums in Mozambique following the country's achievement of its independence in June 1975, among other issues, Alda Costa noted that:

What was needed was [were] museums that would document and study the history of Mozambique, the history of the struggle for independence, and the national cultural heritage, through the assembling and divulgation of collections representative of the global cultural material and national arts. On the one hand, significant collections had been inherited. But on the other, the inheritance needed conservation measures and was little or not at all documented; exhibitions needed to be changed; infrastructure was inadequate; equipment was minimal; the museums lacked professionally qualified human resources; and there were no training courses – or even experience of training – in this area.⁴⁹

Costa's observation also applied to the Livingstone Museum at the time of the country's independence. Consequently, just as was the case in Mozambique, a policy shift was put in place. This tasked the museum to avoid presentations with a Euro-centric view, which made African people look into their history through the eyes of European settlers, and in the process leave out cardinal issues that affected them. The new policy stressed on the entrenchment of the independence of the country by focusing Museum presentations on the history of independence and the glorification of the post-independence era in order to entrench Zambia as an independent nation. To achieve the new policy objectives, Livingstone Museum, like museums in Mozambique at the time of independence embarked on recruitment and training of Zambians to run the Museum.

The Zambianisation Programme in the Museum, 1964 - 1972

Early attempts to change the status quo at the Museum were first undertaken during Barrie Reynolds' tenure as Director (see Appendix IVa). Reynolds was appointed Director of the Museum on 30th April 1964, taking over from Gervas Clay

whose three-year contract came to end on the 1st May of the same year. Reynolds had been with the Museum for a period of nine years having joined as a Keeper of Ethnography in 1955.⁵⁰ It was therefore a major challenge to him, having joined the Museum service at the time European colonial rule and racist ideas were being seriously challenged by African nationalists following the imposition of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in 1953 that was to last up to 1963.⁵¹

In 1965, the Museum appointed two Keepers, Joseph O. Vogel, who was appointed in April as Keeper of Prehistory replacing Brian Fagan who left the Museum in March and Clifford Cross who was appointed in August as Keeper in the Natural History Department.⁵² In the Technical Department, W. S. Rees was appointed Technical Officer (Cultural) while Kafungulwa Mubitana was appointed as Technical Officer (Art) in June to succeed Yeta, who had been appointed as Director of the newly formed Zambia Cultural Services. Later on, in August, G. Gfoell joined the Department as Technical Officer (Natural History).⁵³

In the same year, five Zambians were sent for a training programme under United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) Scholarships tenable in Jos, Nigeria, where they attended a one-year UNESCO School for Museum Technicians.⁵⁴ In-house training was also provided and all assistants were required to attend lectures in the 1965 Winter School of Archaeology offered at the Livingstone Museum.⁵⁵ A recruitment drive was also undertaken. This saw the appointment of a Librarian and a trainee taxidermist. The taxidermist was later sent to Switzerland under UNESCO Scholarship to study taxidermy at the Natural History Museum in Berne.⁵⁶ By 1966, seven Zambians had been recruited and trained, while others were still undergoing training in different museological programmes, especially at the technician level.

Staff Disturbances, 1966 - 1967

Despite the inroads made by the Museum in the recruitment and training of staff, unprecedented disturbances broke out among the *Zambian* staff in 1966. The Director and senior European staff were accused of being racist and bent on stifling the advancement of *Zambians* in the museum field. The problem arose out of disillusionment among the *Jos* trained *Zambians*. The trainees had high expectations of upward mobility upon the completion of their training programme. Although these trainees were elevated to positions of Museum Assistants after the completion of their course, they wanted better consideration than that. The problem was sparked by the appointment of B.B. Thaker, an Indian from Kenya to the position of Administrative Secretary following the resignation of the incumbent. The *Zambian* staff protested as they felt that one of them could easily have filled the position.⁵⁷

The protest led to the suspension of Shabula Mwaanga, who was considered ringleader. This fuelled the demonstration even further. The *Zambian* staff prepared a strongly worded petition to the Board of Trustees, which was then meeting to acquaint the new members with the set-up of the Museum. The petition denounced the *Jos* training programme in the museum and described it as "False, loud and high sounding without real significance."⁵⁸ Further the petition alleged that, "The so-called museum trainees sent to Nigeria with alarming promises of new horizons of wide openings on their return, were instead told that their Nigerian training does [sic, did] not qualify them for anything."⁵⁹ Additionally, the petition alleged that any promotion for an African to a substantive position had only been done through Government pressure.⁶⁰

As a result of the petition, new members of the Trustees demanded for drastic changes to the Museum set-up. Consequently, the Director was relieved of his duties

while the Administrative Secretary resigned.⁶¹ In his position, a Zambian, B. Moomba was appointed, thus becoming the first Zambian to hold such a position at the Livingstone Museum. Mwaanga was reinstated.⁶²

In addition, on 3 December, 1966, the NMB appointed Professor William Tordoff of the University of Zambia as Commissioner to investigate the affairs of the Livingstone Museum.⁶³ Tordoff was tasked to investigate the grievances put up by the Zambian staff at the Museum and to recommend the best way of running the institution.⁶⁴ In his report, Tordoff criticised the Museum structure and conditions of service, which he found to be skewed in favour of the European members of staff. He therefore found the Zambian staff's grievances justifiable. Consequently, he recommended the harmonisation of conditions of service and the salary structure reducing the gap between the salaries paid to Africans and those of European employees. He also called for the restructuring of the Museum set-up and a speedy elevation of Zambians to senior positions. To achieve this, he recommended for the Museum's urgent formulation of a suitable and coherent training programme in which among others, Zambian employees would be sent to reputable institutions abroad that would train and equip them with adequate knowledge of running museums so that they could eventually successfully take over the running of the Livingstone Museum.⁶⁵ However, he found the Zambian staff's criticism of the Jos training unjustified as it was only one element in the preparation of the officers for superior responsibilities in the Museum service. Besides, he found that all those who attended the Jos Training were promoted to higher positions befitting their newly acquired qualification.⁶⁶

In order to avoid the entangling of the past colonial set-up with new aspirations, Tordoff recommended the recruitment of a Director for the Museum who

had no past direct association with the Museum. The Tordoff Commission recommendations were accepted and put into operation.⁶⁷

Although the Tordoff recommendations were accepted, reminiscing of the 1966 turmoil at Livingstone Museum, one interviewee who requested for anonymity and was one of the Museum Assistants at the time of the protest noted that:

The problem had nothing to do with the Director or any other European expatriate staff at the Museum. It was caused by the local United National Independence Party (UNIP) Regional Secretary and other politicians who connived with the Zambian staff at the Museum to hound the Director and other European members of staff, so that they could leave the country. The Zambian members of staff were promised to take over the positions that Europeans held once they left the country. The most sticking and detestable offence at the time was the accusation of racism. Many European civil servants and Indian traders who fell out of favour of the local politicians and senior Government officials were made to leave the country in similar circumstances. The local politicians mobilised party cadres to demonstrate against the Europeans and Indians they did not like, accusing them of being racists.⁶⁸

Barrie Reynolds in his submission to the Commission made similar observations. He said that the misunderstandings were caused mainly by events outside the Museum itself. He noted a number of racial incidents that occurred in Livingstone, particularly an incident at the Livingstone Railway Club between European expatriate staff and members of the United National Independence Party (UNIP) Youth League. These incidents adversely affected relations at the Museum between expatriate staff and Zambian members of staff. The relationships worsened when about this time the existing Livingstone Museum Board was superseded by a reconstituted local committee, responsible to the National Board. In July 1966, the Resident Minister was appointed as Chairman of the local Board. Zambian members of staff by-passed the normal channel of complaints and appealed directly to the Committee Chairman, thereby undermining the authority of the Director who in his

view was not sufficiently supported in matters of discipline by either the Livingstone Committee or the National Board.⁶⁹

The Commission found Reynolds's remarks about racial incidents in the town having adverse affect on staff relations within the Museum to be valid, particularly that most senior officers were expatriate while all junior officers Zambian. However, it also blamed Reynolds for the incidents, accusing him of finding it difficulty in adapting himself to the changed conditions in an independent Zambia. It also accused him of lack of respect for some members of the local committee, particularly Mr. Maibolwa Sakubita, first as the Resident Minister and later as Chairman.⁷⁰

It is true that up to a few years after independence, issues of racism in Livingstone and other areas in the country with a large population of Europeans such as the Copperbelt were a fact as some Europeans found it difficult to be under African rule. For a long time, they regarded Africans not to be their equals. At the same time, after independence Africans wanted immediate acknowledgement from Europeans that they were rulers and where they suspected insubordination reacted emotionally, accusing them of being racists.

Arising from the above, it is clear that the 1966 Livingstone Museum staff disturbance was caused by multiple issues and one of them was the over zealousness of local Zambian politicians in their desire to remove expatriate staff who they perceived as a hindrance to the Zambian people's enjoyment of the fruits of Independence. The problem was taken advantage of by the Government which was in a hurry to achieve its objective of speeding up the process of Zambianisation at the Museum, just as was the case in other sectors of the Zambian socio-economy where Europeans occupied dominant postions, such as the mining industry and the civil service. For instance, on the Copperbelt, following Ian Smith's Unilateral Declaration

of Independence (UDI) in 1965, several whites were imprisoned or deported for their allegedly racist behaviour or subversive activities while in 1966, seventeen white police officers were dismissed for also allegedly committing similar offences.⁷¹

In the following year, another sad episode occurred at the Museum. During the year, thirty-nine relics related to David Livingstone, the Scottish missionary-explorer were reported missing.⁷² The relics included a pistol, papers and citations from the Royal Geographical Society. The missing relics were later discovered in Scotland at the Scottish Memorial Museum to the explorer, in Blantyre, the birthplace of David Livingstone, where the former Director, Barrie Reynolds had sent them. When the scandal came to light, Bitwell Kuwani, the then Chairman of the NMB reported that Reynolds had, on December 20, 1967, actually been sacked for sending the artefacts out of the country without consulting the Board or getting permission from the Government as well as for his failure to get on well with the rest of the Museum staff.⁷³

However, in response to the accusation, Reynolds revealed that the relics were actually sent to Dr. Hubert Wilson, David Livingstone's great grandson who was their owner. He went on to say that Wilson had lent them to the Museum specifically for the 1955 Centenary of Livingstone's sighting of the Victoria Falls Celebration in which the museum had participated by putting up an exhibition on the life and works of Livingstone. He also said that Wilson had however recalled them and to that effect normal procedures were followed by reporting the issue to "the Livingstone Museum Committee, which was responsible to the NMB for the affairs of the Museum."⁷⁴ Further, he noted that, "Kuwani as Board Chairman received a copy of the relevant Committee Minutes, but neither he nor the Committee appeared to consider the matter

of sufficient importance to merit its report to the Board at its subsequent meeting. Only now, some months later, has there arisen this sudden concern.”⁷⁵

Reynolds also denied having been sacked but that he resigned because of lack of confidence between the Board and himself. Further, he revealed that he disagreed with the staffing policy of the Board, particularly on discipline, which he felt was inadequate resulting in a most serious situation where all senior administrative staff at the Livingstone and Open Air Museum resigned between October and December, 1966. Additionally, he noted that in the best interest of the Museum, he had to retire.⁷⁶

Reynolds seemed to have been very aggrieved by Kuwani’s assertion that he was sacked. To try to prove the contrary, he published in the *Times of Zambia* newspaper excerpts of some of the correspondence between himself and the Board Chairman. Thus, the November 17, 1966 excerpt from the Board Chairman read: “. . . that the Board – and you have accepted – are prepared to release you with full benefits under the contract on 31st December, 1966, or such earlier date as the Chairman may determine.”⁷⁷ In response to the Board Chairman’s letter, Reynolds’ letter in part read: “Would you please convey to the Board my grateful acceptance of their generous approval to retire me at or before the 31st December, 1966, and to pay me the full benefits under my contract up to April 30, 1967.”⁷⁸

Reynolds also indicated that the owners recalled back their collections because of the political unrest that was in Central Africa.⁷⁹ When the debate on the repatriated Livingstone relics heated up, Dr. Wilson, the owner of the relics, noted that he was ready to return them to Zambia and to that effect claimed that he had written to Dr. Kaunda, the Patron of the Museum and President of the country, offering to send them back as long as the Museum contacted him.⁸⁰ Although the NMB Annual Reports for 1967⁸¹ show that there was numerous correspondence between the NMB and Dr

Wilson on the issue of bringing back the relics to the Livingstone Museum, during data collection for this thesis, I did not find any evidence either written or orally showing that the relics were returned to the Museum.

Commenting on the relics that Reynolds sent to Scotland, Katanekwa observed that the relics sent out were premier ones. Reynolds might have had no trust in the Museum's ability to safely keep them especially that he foresaw the Museum falling in the hands of Zambian administrators in a few years to come.⁸² Given the situation that prevailed at the Museum and Government's emphasis on Zambianisation, Katanekwa's observation is understandable. However, ironically, Reynolds stated that whilst in office he strongly recommended for the Zambianisation of the position of the post of Director beginning 1967.⁸³ It is doubtful that Reynolds was sincere in his assertion because by 1967 no Zambian employee at the Museum was qualified enough to run it owing to the fact that, as noted in the last chapter, during the colonial period Africans were not given training that prepared them to handle superior responsibilities. This was despite the fact that as early as October 1963, a Full Board Meeting of the Trustees of the Museum tasked the Director of the Museum to draw up a scheme which prepared Africans in the running of the Museum in line with the general policy of the Government in view of Independence which was imminent.⁸⁴

On the whole, in spite of the different reasons advanced, the two incidences demonstrate the existence of problems of race relations between Europeans and Africans at the Livingstone Museum during the early period of Independence. The situation is reminiscent of the problem of hostile race relations during the early period of colonial rule, the gravity of which is evident in an advertisement that was put up in the *Livingstone Mail* by Messrs Jacobson and Kiet when they were opening a new shop in Livingstone in 1908.⁸⁵ The advertisement in part read, "... an up to date ... a

full and complete range of everything in a white community will be carried. . . . None but white trade. Ladies will not be required to rub shoulders with clamorous and odorous natives.”⁸⁶ Thus, with this kind of historical background, the Europeans were not prepared to accept the rule of Africans, the very people, who not long before, were under them. They were not convinced that Africans could run the affairs of the statecraft satisfactorily.

On the other hand, Africans were eager to show that authority to rule the country henceforth lay in their hands and with the promises of ‘good’ life once the country was free from foreign dominion made by nationalist leaders during the struggle for independence, ordinary citizens saw the whites as an obstacle to their enjoyment of promises made. The situation at the Museum was therefore a microcosm of the whole country during this period. Andrew Roberts, Fergus Macpherson and Bizeck J. Phiri confirm this in their respective books which noted the existence of tension between UNIP and the Judiciary, which was entirely white until 1969. Thus, when on 3 July 1969, a High Court Judge, Justice Ifor Evans, a Zambian by naturalisation, set aside a sentence of a fine of K2, 000 (£1, 166) or, in default of payment, to two years imprisonment, passed by magistrate William Bruce Lyle on 16 June of the same year on two Portuguese soldiers who had entered the country illegally through the boundary between Zambia and Angola, a protest took place against the judgement. This episode resulted in the resignation of Justice Evans and the Chief Justice, James J. Skinner, also a naturalised Zambian. Following that, several black Zambians were appointed to the Bench.⁸⁷

Restoration of Peaceful Coexistence, 1966 – 1972

In its recommendations, among others, the Tordorff Commission recommended for a fast-track Zambianisation programme at the Museum, particularly

regarding senior positions, including that of Director. Regarding the position of Director, it recommended that in the absence of a suitably qualified Zambian, the Museum appoint an expatriate Museologist who was sympathetic to the aspirations of a new African state and appreciated the difficulties such as political pressures placed upon the Resident Minister because mutual understanding and confidence between the Director and Resident Minister as Chairman of the local Museum Board was essential to the smooth running of the Museum. In order to help in staff relations, it recommended that the Director should be from a country without former colonial ties, preferably from Scandinavian countries or Switzerland. This was done with the expectation that a Zambian museologist would replace him within a few years' time.⁸⁸

In line with the above recommendation, Clifford Cross was appointed to act as Director in place of Reynolds whilst the NMB was still searching for a new Director. Clifford continued in his acting position until March 1968 when Dr. Ladislav Holy from Czechoslovakia was appointed Director of the Museum⁸⁹ (see Appendix Va). During Holy's tenure, the Museum began to experience stability. It has to be noted that this was also a period of Cold War between the western countries on one hand, whose political ideology was capitalism, and the eastern countries on the other, which practised socialism as their ideology. The western countries to which all former Directors and most senior members of staff at the Museum hailed from tended to be hegemonic and imperial in their dealings with African countries, whereas, the eastern block countries were sympathetic to the African cause. This was because, unlike the countries from the western block, they did not participate in the balkanisation and colonisation of Africa following the Berlin conference of 1884 to 1885.⁹⁰ Furthermore, most countries from the eastern block helped the African countries materially and morally in their struggle to free themselves from colonial rule. Zambia is one of the

countries that benefited from countries in the eastern block. For example, in 1970, the country received jet fighter aircrafts from Yugoslavia, a country in the Eastern Block to strengthen its capacity to wade off any invasion from surrounding countries such as Zimbabwe, Angola and Mozambique which were under European minority regimes.⁹¹

Therefore, the stability achieved following Dr Holy's appointment could be explained by the fact that, coming from the socialist background, he did not have the imperialist colonial hangover that most of his predecessors from the imperial western countries had. Further, because of his socialist background, which Zambia was striving to achieve through its philosophical and political ideology of Humanism, which it adopted upon achieving political independence, the Zambian members of staff were amenable to him despite their passionate desire to take over the running of the institution from the hands of the white people.⁹² Holy remained the Director of the Museum until the end of 1972 when he left. In the following year, a Zambian, Kafungulwa Mubitana took over the Directorship (see Appendix Vb). Thus, Holy's Directorship could be described as a transitional administration whose main objective was to oversee an orderly transfer of the Museum from the European into the African hands.

Developments and Growth, 1964 – 1972

During the period, 1964 to 1972, recruitment and training of staff was the major focus for the Museum. As a result, progress, especially at the level of technician, was made. This was achieved with the help of UNESCO, which offered scholarships in museological related courses to deserving candidates, as noted earlier. However, the Museum found it difficult to recruit young Zambians at School Certificate level because they preferred other institutions such as the University, Government and industries that offered attractive conditions of service. Therefore, to

ensure a successful recruitment and training programme, the NMB reviewed salaries and conditions of service so that they compared favourably with those offered both locally and abroad. Consequently, in 1965, the salaries and conditions of service were revised and improved. However, they were still not good enough compared to those offered in museums abroad.⁹³ This made it difficult for the Museum to recruit competent staff. As a result, in order to fill vacant positions, wherever possible, promotions were made from within and the Board gave incentives to subordinate staff to improve their education in order to qualify for advancement.⁹⁴

Resulting from a clear strategic recruitment policy, the Museum was able to boost its Research Staff when P. A. Vrydagh, Keeper of Ethnography, arrived in September 1966. In the same year, Mubitana, who before joining the Museum, had a Diploma in Fine Arts from Makerere University in East Africa was promoted to the post of Keeper (Art) in July, becoming the first Zambian national to hold the position of Keeper.⁹⁵ In the following year, another Zambian, Maud Muntemba, a graduate from Nottingham University where she studied Classical History, was appointed Assistant Keeper of History. Muntemba was the first Zambian to hold the position of Keeper (Assistant) in history.⁹⁶

In 1967, Mubitana was sent to Edinburgh University to do a post-graduate Diploma in Social Anthropology. After a successful completion of the programme, he later returned to the same University to read for the Master of Science in Social Anthropology, which he obtained in 1970.⁹⁷ Similarly, with the sponsorship of the Museum, in 1972, Muntemba, obtained the degree of Master of Arts in History from the University of Zambia.⁹⁸

After the completion of Vrydagh's contract in September 1969, the NMB decided to do away with the existence of an independent Department of Art and

instead merged it with the Department of Ethnography, thereby creating the Department of Art and Ethnography. The Board abolished the Department of Art because it felt that the nature of its collections were virtually ethnographic. Mubitana became the Keeper of the newly created Department.⁹⁹ In 1970, the Board created the post of Deputy Director and Kafungulwa Mubitana was appointed to the newly created post.¹⁰⁰

In the pursuance of the Museum policy on infrastructure development, the construction of the Natural History Wing whose foundation stone had been laid down in 1963 began in 1964. The completion, which was earmarked for the month of December of the same year, was only achieved in 1965. Although occupation of the building took place almost immediately, it was not until 19th October 1969 that it was opened by the then Vice President of Zambia, Simon Mwansa Kapwepwe.¹⁰¹ The Natural History Wing was the only major infrastructural development achieved at the Museum during the period, 1964 to 1972.

In terms of galleries and exhibitions, all the existing galleries were rebuilt in order to make them more adequate in fulfilling their educational role. The new Pre-history Gallery became the Introductory Gallery.¹⁰² As for publications, shortly after Independence, in 1965, the Northern Rhodesia Society, which for long had been associated with the Museum and published the *Northern Rhodesia Journal*, which, following Independence, was renamed *Zambia Journal*, passed its assets to the Museum to support its various publications after winding up.¹⁰³ The *Zambia Museum Journal*, instituted by the Museum later replaced the *Zambia Journal*. The first volume of the Journal appeared in 1970.¹⁰⁴ Similarly, the *Zambia Museum Paper* series succeeded the *Occasional Papers* of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum whose last publication was in 1964. By 1972, three publications of the *Zambia Museum*

Journal series and the *Zambia Museum Paper* series and one publication of the *Zambia Special Paper* had been produced.¹⁰⁵

Since 1965, the Museum's researchers aimed at modernising the display collections, which were considered treasures of the Museum.¹⁰⁶ The Archaeology, Ethnography and History displays were over twenty years old and therefore out of date in terms of display techniques. Further, the exhibitions were not co-ordinated. For example, ethnographic and history displays were mixed and put under the same Gallery. Worse still, the displays were found not to adequately fulfil their educational role. The Museum therefore found the change necessary because new collections were becoming available and science was moving rapidly while on a daily basis many things were disappearing, only to become part of the country's heritage.¹⁰⁷ In his argument for the need for change, Dr Holy, the Director of the Museum, noted that:

The streamlined display . . . would make articles as illustrative as possible. It is intended to put life into the treasures and past history of Zambia so that the public would be able to distinguish cultural development, industrial, political and social activities, things that form the basic heritage of the nation to the present stage. Effort was made to design the stands and cases as an architectural feature and both attractive woods and metals were used in their construction. The diffusion of streamlined display and furniture may make the Museum a place of great beauty. In this way the general curiosity of the visitor would be satisfied. But for the scholars who concentrate on one circumscribed subject with its relevant collections, their interest will be met in the storerooms and the library where details will be kept.¹⁰⁸

In view of the above, a new permanent exhibition that focused on the pre-colonial history of the country was mounted. The exhibition focused on the struggle for independence during the colonial period and Zambia's achievements since independence. This was a major shift from presentations made during the colonial period, which had focused on European activities and the material culture of the country's ethnic populations. Similarly, all the Departments of the Museum such as Pre-history, Art and Ethnography, as well as the new Natural History Gallery had

their exhibitions changed to reflect the aspirations of the newly born nation and contemporary display standards. The new exhibitions were opened to the public on 22nd October, 1969 by the Vice President, Simon Kapwepwe as part of the Independence Celebrations for that year.¹⁰⁹ In the same vein, collections, research and publication activities of the Museum were directed towards the achievement of presenting Zambia to both the local and foreign nationals as a developing country with its own national unity, identity and development based on its unique culture, history and natural environment (for details, refer to Chapter Seven). As Andrew Roberts observed, national unity was not only necessary to combat tasks of economic development but also counter internal subversion and external attacks.¹¹⁰ The Museum was to help achieve these tasks, especially that the country was at that time surrounded by hostile minority white colonial regimes.

The Second Republic, 1973 – 1991

On 13 December 1972, following a national referendum held on 17 June 1969, the constitution of Zambia was amended to enable the Republic of Zambia change into a One-Party State. To that effect, Act No. 27 of 1973 enacted a new constitution, which effectively transformed the country into a One-Party system with UNIP as the only party in which people would channel their political activities. The period from the time the new constitution was signed into law to 1991 when multi-party politics was re-introduced came to be known as the Second Republic.¹¹¹ Dr. Kenneth Kaunda and his colleagues introduced a One-Party system of government because they believed that multi-party politics tended to divide Zambians on party lines based on ethnicity and region instead of promoting unity. They emphasised on national unity in view of the fact that Zambia was surrounded by hostile racist minority white settler regimes (Southern Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe, Angola,

Mozambique and South-West Africa; now Namibia) while it supported African liberation movements in those countries through the provision of sanctuary as they fought against their governments.¹¹² Throughout the Second Republic, the government followed a socialist economic system. In this system, just as was the case in the First Republic, museums were regarded as social institutions that needed to be supported, as was the case in the education and health sectors.

Consolidation of the Zambianisation Programme, 1973 - 1991

During the Second Republic, the Livingstone Museum experienced a lot of positive developments, particularly in staff recruitment and training. In fact, 1973, the year in which the constitution that ushered in the Second Republic was enacted was a turning point in the history of the Livingstone Museum. In that year, for the first time, the Museum came under the leadership of a Zambian, Kafungulwa Mubitana, who was appointed Director of the institution (see Appendix Vb) following the expiry of Ladislav Holy's contract.¹¹³ During the year, the Museum also recruited seven young graduates, of whom six were from the University of Zambia (UNZA) and one was from Evelyn Hone College of further Education. The University graduates were R.N.A. Chakanika, Nawa Mataa, Emmanuel N. Chidumayo, Francis B. Musonda, Nicholas M. Katanekwa and Charles C. Mutemwa. The young graduates were appointed to the position of Assistant Keeper and attached to Departments headed by experienced Keepers who ensured that they were given the necessary guidance. Chakanika, Mataa and Chidumayo became Assistant Keepers in the Departments of Ethnography and Art, History and Natural History respectively, while Musonda and Katanekwa were in the Department of Prehistory and Mutemwa became an Education Officer in the newly opened Department of Education.¹¹⁴ Chidumayo was employed as a trainee mammalogist while Musonda was to specialise in Stone Age Archaeology

and Katanekwa in Iron Age Archaeology¹¹⁵ Additionally, in the same year, for the first time, a Zambian, Mwimanji N. Chellah, was appointed to the position of Chief Technical Officer.¹¹⁶

In 1974, the newly appointed researchers were joined by Joseph M. Chuubi, a graduate from UNZA, who was appointed as Assistant Keeper to deal with archival material of historical nature and to train in editorial work for Museum publications. Further, in the same year, the newly created Department of Education had two more Education Assistants; C. Chilinda and F. Katampi. The two took up their appointments in 1975.¹¹⁷ In the same year, Manyando Mukela, who had gone for training at Berne, Switzerland, came back, becoming the first fully qualified Zambian taxidermist. Also in 1975, two more graduates from the University of Zambia joined the Department of Natural History, namely, Phillip O. Nkunika, as an Entomologist and Phillip M. Simbotwe who was appointed as a Herpetologist.¹¹⁸

By the end of 1977, the Museum had managed to train its Director, Kafungulwa Mubitana, to Doctoral level, while three more had been trained overseas to Masters level. These were Katanekwa who obtained MA in Prehistory (Iron Age) from the University of Birmingham, Mataa (History) also from the same University and Musonda, Archaeology (Stone Age) from the University of Ghana.¹¹⁹ Katanekwa and Mataa had earlier on, in 1976, each obtained a post Graduate Diploma in African Studies from the University of Birmingham while also in 1978 Joseph Chuubi had obtained a post Graduate Diploma in Historical Archives from the University of Ghana and Chakanika, a post Graduate Diploma in Social Anthropology from the University of Edinburgh.¹²⁰

Despite all the achievements in the Zambianisation programme, the year 1978 was a sad one for the Museum in that it lost its Director, Dr. Mubitana, who was

killed in a tragic road accident on 25 June 1978.¹²¹ Nonetheless, by the time Mubitana died, only two Europeans, R.J. Dowsett and his wife, F. Dowsett-Lemaire, both of whom were researchers in the Department of Natural History were on the staff of the Livingstone Museum¹²², indicating the success of the Zambianisation programme.

Following Dr Mubitana's death, Mwimanji Ndota Chellah, the Deputy Director and Chief Technical Officer, was appointed Acting Director.¹²³ He was confirmed to the position of Director in October 1979 (see Appendix Vc).¹²⁴ The Museum during Chellah's tenure, just like during Mubitana's, continued the recruitment and training programme, particularly in specialised graduate studies, which were considered essential if at all it had to achieve the aspirations of the new nation.

In 1980, the Museum's members of the research staff were boosted when two Keepers, Simbotwe and Nkunika obtained their Masters degrees abroad. Simbotwe, obtained a Master of Science degree in Systematics and Ecology from the University of Kansas in the United States of America (USA) while Nkunika obtained his Masters of Science degree from the University of London.¹²⁵ In 1982, Richard M. Luhila, a graduate in Library Studies from the University of Zambia joined the Museum to strengthen the Library service while Mungoni Sitali, a sociologist, also from the University of Zambia, joined the Department of Ethnography and Art as a Keeper.¹²⁶ In 1983, the Director of the Museum, Chellah, who in 1982 had gone to the USA to read for the Master of Arts in Museum Administration at Sangamon State University, came back after successfully completing his programme.¹²⁷

The number of researchers increased further in 1984 when George Mwalukanga who had a Masters of Arts in History from UNZA and Sibanyama Mudenda who had a Bachelors degree from the same University, were recruited as

Keepers of History and Assistant Keeper in Stone Age Archaeology respectively.¹²⁸ Others recruited in the same year were Vincent Katanekwa and Stanford M. Siachoono. Each of them had a Bachelor of Science degree from the University of Zambia and the two were recruited in the Department of Natural History as trainee Ornithologist and Mammalogist respectively.¹²⁹ In 1989, Flexon M. Mizinga, who had a Master of Arts Degree in History from the UNZA joined the Museum as Keeper of History.¹³⁰

In the meantime, researchers who had been sent abroad for doctoral studies came back. Among these were Musonda who in 1983 obtained PhD in Archaeology from the University of California, Berkeley, USA; Simbotwe who obtained his in 1986 from the University of New England, Australia and Nkunica who got his doctoral degree in 1988 from the University of Adelaide, also in Australia.¹³¹

In 1991, Mungoni Sitali obtained the degree of Masters of Philosophy in Museum Studies at Leicester University in the United Kingdom. In the same year, Stanford Siachoono was also awarded the degree of Master of Science by the University of Oslo in Norway. Siachoono had earlier in 1990 been awarded a post Graduate Diploma in Wild Life Management by the same University.¹³² Thus, between 1973 and 1991 two young Zambian postgraduates at Masters' level and fourteen first-degree holders were recruited. Out of the latter group, by the end of the Second Republic, about seven had obtained the Masters' degree in their relevant fields; three got the degree of Doctor of Philosophy while the rest obtained postgraduate diplomas in various museum disciplines. In the same period, two Zambians who were recruited before the Second Republic obtained the Master's degree while one got a PhD. By the end of Second Republic, all members of staff at

the Museum were Zambians, thereby underpinning the accomplishment of the Museum's Zambianisation programme.

Whilst the Zambianisation programme was taking place, the Livingstone Museum Post-Independence policy framework was redefined in the Museum's endeavour to develop itself into a truly national museum in the service of Zambians. The redefined policy framework sought to make the Museum the centre of the everyday life of the people and a day-to-day historical and cultural reference arena accessible to all Zambian communities.¹³³

The Redefined Independence Development Plan

In order to transform the Museum from a Eurocentric institution to a fully-fledged Zambian Museum that propagated the aspirations of the new leaders, which centred on the creation of a developing unified state with an identity of its own, a new Development Plan was enunciated by the NMB. The redefined Plan centred on the redefinition of the role and functions of the Museum so that it came to terms with the new Government's social and economic programme based on the concept of "One Zambia One Nation." Through this national programme, Zambians were to be aware of their common history in order to enable them work together towards the building of a strong and unified modern nation.¹³⁴

The Development Plan proposed to make the Museum a fully-fledged research institution whose role would be the collection of materials related to the country's cultural and hisrorical heritage for further study. It was hoped that through such studies a new interpretation that considered cardinal issues related to the culture and history of the country that were left out during the colonial era would be considered. In this, selected materials collected were to be accompanied by concise but clear explanations, which gave an understandable story about specific subjects on

the history and the ways of life of the people of Zambia.¹³⁵ The Plan also proposed to research on the traditional way of life of groups of people that lived in the same place or area under the same conditions.¹³⁶ These were to be compared with the life of the past and the results of such studies were to be presented to the public through exhibitions and publications. It was envisioned that the results of such studies would enable people and policy makers predict the way of life of future generations. The results would also be useful to the government authority in its formulation of policy on issues related to the country's cultural and historical heritage. Furthermore, it was hoped that the results of such studies would be of help in making visiting tourists understand the Zambian people, their environment and the dynamics of their history.¹³⁷

Among the major proposal in the Plan was the transformation of the Museum into an educational institution. In fact, more than before, the Plan stressed on the educational role of the Museum, arguing that Zambia being a developing country where the majority of the Museum visitors were either people who had never had any formal education or had only a rudimentary one, it needed to play a leading role in reducing illiteracy through publications, exhibitions and public programmes. By so doing it would make itself relevant to communities unlike during the colonial period where it was used to advance knowledge that was relevant mainly to the perpetuation of colonial rule.¹³⁸ The Plan also stressed on the need for the Museum to reach out to distant communities and schools through travelling exhibitions and special programmes for schools respectively.¹³⁹

The NMB noted with deep concern that during the colonial period, cultural activities were discouraged and labelled primitive and demonic.¹⁴⁰ Consequently, many educated Africans looked down on their own culture, considering those who

followed it as backward. The new leaders questioned such attitudes. As one of the institutions responsible for research and conservation of the material evidence of the existence of indigenous culture in the country, among the proposals made was the transformation of Livingstone Museum into a leading centre where cultural awareness could be promoted among all Zambians. It was envisioned that the goal would be achieved through the Museum's activities such as exhibitions, publications and cultural performances like dances. It was hoped that cultural awareness would help people appreciate not only their own culture but also of those who belonged to different ethnic groups. Such appreciation could eventually lead to the promotion of national unity and identity through cultural diversity.¹⁴¹

The redefined Development Plan also proposed the need for the Museum to make itself more relevant to communities. This was to be done through the Museum's highlighting of issues of cultural identity in its activities. It was noted that as a custodian of movable national heritage, both cultural and natural, the Museum needed to be involved in helping the different ethnic groups in the country move towards a common achievement. It was envisioned that the Museum could help in the attainment of this goal by enabling each ethnic group offer the material evidence of its history and civilisation and co-operate in tracing the course of its own characteristic technological, historical and artistic past. Most of all, it was hoped that by so doing, the culture of the community would be enriched, re-immersed in its own history, thereby restore its pride, dignity and confidence in its creative capacities.¹⁴²

Development and Growth, 1972 - 1991

In pursuance of the redefined Development Plan, regarding exhibitions, the Museum focused on the application of the latest methods of display in order to make it in step with the contemporary world museological standards.¹⁴³ Consequently,

Museum researchers got rid of the “‘old-fashioned’ old curiosity shop, overcrowded ‘shop window’, which hid a lot of educational information from the general public” (see Appendix XXa), replacing them with exhibits that were well-arranged with well-researched and educative information¹⁴⁴ (see Appendix XXb). Although the dioramic style of presentation was not attempted, the Museum had plans of adopting it once funds were available due to the style’s extra attractiveness and naturalness.¹⁴⁵

In order to fulfil the new role of the Museum as an educational centre, an Education Department was created in 1973. The Museum Education building was composed of offices and a large hall named Mubitana Educational Hall, in memory of Kafungulwa Mubitana, the first Zambian Director for the Livingstone Museum.¹⁴⁶ The Department gave lessons and lectures in its Hall to pupils from different schools. Generally, the lessons were on topics that supplemented the school curriculum in subjects such as history, geography and different aspects of science. It also gave film shows to both pupils and the general public, which proved a great success.¹⁴⁷ Archaeology, and History clubs were also opened in schools around Livingstone. Lessons in Conservation Education through Wildlife Club activities in secondary schools and Chongololo Clubs (Wildlife Clubs for primary schools) were also organised by the Natural History Department in association with the Livingstone Museum Education Department in the Livingstone area.¹⁴⁸ Because of distance and lack of transport caused by inadequate funding, the activities were not extended to schools far away from the Museum.¹⁴⁹

An attempt was made to make a Children’s Museum, but could not succeed because of financial constraints. Another attempt made was the construction of the Geology and Geography Gallery with the help of University of Zambia lecturer in the

Department of Geography, John R. Giardino. Like that of the Children's Museum, this also proved futile. Although the work for the construction of the Gallery had reached an advanced level, completion could not be achieved because of lack of funds and a suitably qualified and experienced staff, especially after the departure of Giardino from the University of Zambia to the USA.¹⁵⁰

Similarly, in 1977, an Archives Department tasked with the responsibility of the collection and preservation of documents and other materials of historical importance to Zambia failed to take root. The Department's activities failed to take root because the Government was unable to give it authority to acquire materials from Government institutions and individuals as a legal institution, the NAZ, where all non-current historical records and other materials were taken for preservation, already existed.¹⁵¹ In the absence of a supportive statutory authority, the Department found it difficult to operate. With the departure of the Department's Keeper, Chuubi, from the Museum in 1978, its activities came to an end.¹⁵²

A number of activities at the Museum failed to take place during the period 1972 to 1991 because the Museum progressively faced severe financial constraints. Although it had the potential to generate adequate financial resources from its activities, it could not do so because regulations of the International Council of Museums (ICOM), the body that controlled Museums in the world, to which the Livingstone Museum was affiliated forbade the involvement of museums in profit making activities. ICOM did not allow Museums under its affiliation to operate on commercial basis because the materials under their custody were held in trust. In that respect, charging economical rates would render them inaccessible to the majority of the people, most of whom were poor and yet were its owners.¹⁵³ Consequently, the Livingstone Museum depended on the Government, which provided it with

subventions for its activities. However, these were not adequate. For instance, Government subvention for 1977 remained to the level of 1973 while salaries and related expenses had risen to seventy-nine per cent of total annual expenditure.¹⁵⁴ As a result, in 1978, the services of twelve non-research members of staff were terminated in order to enable the Museum save money for carrying out research activities and the maintenance of its buildings.¹⁵⁵

In an interview on the foregoing, Musonda stated that:

During the post-independence period, the Livingstone Museum faced a perennial shortage of funds because of a high number of researchers it had recruited. As a result, much of the grants from the Government ended up in paying wage bills, which were high by Zambian standards but not much compared to those in related research institutions in the country and Museums in other countries. Such a situation resulted in a demotivated research staff. Other core activities such as research and publications were not frequently done compared to the colonial period. During the colonial period, Museum researchers were able to do a lot of research and publications because though Government subventions, like in the post-colonial period, were still not enough; the money for research and publications was available due to the fact that African workers, in line with the racist views of the time got low salaries. This allowed the Museum to save some money, which was used to motivate, through higher salaries, the few European researchers who were in the Museum service. Part of the money served through this way was used for research and publication activities.¹⁵⁶

The poor financial situation that the Museum found itself in during this period is evident in most of the annual reports for the NMB. For instance, in 1980, the NMB Chairman noted that “During the year under review, museums received from government, the only source of income, half the amounts they had asked for, hence museums were not able to carry out all the activities they would have liked to do.”¹⁵⁷ In 1987, the Director observed that “The Livingstone Museum . . . like previous years, failed to undertake expanded research activities due to inadequate Government funding.”¹⁵⁸ In 1991, the Board Chairman’s Report lamented that “Overall, our

operations during the year under review were dogged by lack of funds, lack of transport and lack of research equipment.”¹⁵⁹

With the grim financial picture noted above, it was difficult for the Museum to retain the members of staff it trained at a great cost in terms of time and financial resources. Due to the high skills that the trained staff had gained, they were on high demand in other economic sectors. The Museum therefore faced a high level of staff attrition. Thus, Muntemba never returned to the Museum since her departure in 1973 to the University of California, Los Angeles in the USA for a doctoral programme and in 1977, Chidumayo resigned from the Museum to become a Conservator of Natural Resources in the Ministry of Natural Resources. He later joined the University of Zambia as lecturer. In 1980, Nicholas Katanekwa also left the Museum to join the National Monuments Commission, currently, the National Heritage Conservation Commission, as its Director.¹⁶⁰ Others who left the Museum were Chakanika, Dr. Nkunika, and Dr Simbotwe. Chakanika and Nkunika joined the University of Zambia as lecturers while Simbotwe went to Botswana where he got a job in the private sector.¹⁶¹

Because of financial constraints, it became increasingly difficult to maintain Museum buildings and exhibitions, while at the same time, conducting research activities. Consequently, the Museum’s research activities assumed a second position to the essentials of physical maintenance of the Museum.¹⁶² In fact, although, the Museum scored a lot of successes in the recruitment and training of research staff in the period between 1973 and 1991, generally, the period was economically difficult for the whole country. The economic difficulties were caused by a number of factors. Among these was the UDI in 1965 by Ian Smith in Southern Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe. UDI led to the closure of the boarder between Zimbabwe and Zambia

through which Zambia's southern trade route passed. Zambia depended heavily on it for the passage of its imports and exports. The closure of the border led to the country airlifting its imports such as oil, an act that was extremely expensive for the country and whose negative impact was to be felt in the latter years.¹⁶³

Other reasons were the decline of the copper price on the London Metal Exchange in the early 1970s and the sky-rocketing of oil prices due to the Middle East crises between the Arab countries and Israel during the 1970s.¹⁶⁴ Copper was the economic bloodline of the country as it was the main export while the country depended on oil from the Middle East for its energy requirements. In addition, during this period, the country also supported liberation movements in countries surrounding it such as Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Angola and Namibia, all of which were then under minority white settler colonial rule. The support proved economically expensive for the country.¹⁶⁵

Under the circumstances noted in the foregoing, like in all sectors of the Zambian economy during this period, it was not unexpected for the Museum to face the economic difficulties it went through. However, as the Chairman for the NMB noted in 1969, the financial difficulties were worsened by the fact that "Cultural institutions in Zambia and elsewhere do not rank high in any nation's priorities. The NMB are no exception. Museums . . . like natural monuments, concert halls . . . are often considered cultural luxuries; they can be built and financed only after enough hospitals, schools and roads are built."¹⁶⁶

Despite the foregoing bleak financial backdrop, the Livingstone Museum undertook a number of researches and publications during 1972 to 1991.¹⁶⁷ During this period, five publications of the *Zambia Museum Journal* and one publication of the *Zambia Museum Papers* were published. Additionally, in 1973, a publication, the

Period of Mixed Fortunes, 1992 – 2006

Two years after the coming into power of the Third Republic, Vincent Katanekwa, who in 1992 obtained his Master of Science degree in Animal Ecology from the University of Zambia (his colleague, Sibanyama Mudenda obtained his in Social Anthropology from the University of Indiana in the USA the following year) succeeded Chellah as Director of the Livingstone Museum (see Appendix Vd), becoming the third Director of Zambian origin since the Museum was established. As earlier pointed out, the Museum during the tenure of its first Zambian Director (Mubitana) faced the challenges of turning itself into a truly Zambian institution. To achieve that objective, the Museum's main concern was the development of a cadre of Zambian museologists. To some extent, it succeeded. During Chellah's tenure of office as Director, the Museum was faced with challenges of entrenching the successes it made during Mubitana's tenure. The same challenges confronted the Museum when Katanekwa became its Director.

During Mubitana and Chellah's tenures, the Museum managed to train a number of Zambian museologists. However, as already observed, a number of them left due to poor remuneration compared to those offered to researchers of similar qualifications in other institutions both locally and abroad. Additionally, the few who remained were promoted to administrative positions. For instance, Dr Musonda was in 1991 promoted to the position of Director for the Lusaka Museum Project, which involved the overseeing of the building of the Lusaka National Museum. He later became the Executive Secretary of the NMB. Similarly, in 1994, Sibanyama was promoted to the position of Curator for the Copperbelt Museum. He later became Director for the Lusaka National Museum. Siachoono became the Deputy Director for Moto Moto Museum in 1992. Eventually, he became the Director for the

Copperbelt Museum. In 1998, Mizinga was promoted to the position of Director, Moto Moto Museum and later transferred to Lusaka Museum in the same capacity. In April 2005, he became the Executive Secretary for the NMB following the retirement of the incumbent, Dr Musonda. These promotions led to museum activities such as research and publications suffer as the researchers who were to do such tasks ended up doing administrative work.

The noted situation was aggravated by the abolishing of the Technical Unit in 1996 from the Museum structure in order to cut down on running costs as the government felt that its services could be acquired on hire basis as need arose.¹⁷⁰ Since its establishment in the 1950s, the Unit had been responsible for attending to technical aspects of exhibitions based on information provided by researchers. As a result of its abolishment, the few researchers remaining at the Livingstone Museum were overstretched, as in addition to their normal duties, they were also required to attend to demands of exhibitions because financial resources were often lacking to hire experts to do so.

Just as was the situation during the First Republic, particularly its early period, the Museum was saddled with inadequate research staff at the time Katanekwa took over as Director. In an interview, Katanekwa noted that when he took over, out of an establishment of sixteen researchers for the Museum, the Natural History section only had two researchers, himself and Clare Whitehead, now Mrs Mateke, a graduate from the University of Zambia. Mateke had in 1993, just been appointed as trainee Mammalogist. Similarly the Humanities and Social Sciences Department, consisting of Archaeology, History and Ethnography and Art had only two researchers. Under such conditions it was extremely difficult for the Museum to execute its core activities.¹⁷¹

Furthermore, at the time Katanekwa took over as Director for the Museum, its buildings were dilapidated to deplorable levels, while the equipment was not enough and the few pieces of equipment remaining were in an almost obsolete condition, having been procured way back in the 1950s.¹⁷²

In explaining the deplorable situation at the Livingstone Museum, Katanekwa noted that the situation was mainly due to the economic environment in the country that had changed. He explained that during the UNIP government under Dr Kenneth Kaunda as President, between 1964 and 1991, the country followed a commandist economic system based on socialism. However, the MMD Government that came to power in 1991 under Dr Frederick Chiluba followed a neo-liberal capitalist market oriented economic system. In this economic framework, museums were considered economic institutions rather than social institutions like schools and hospitals that depended on government finances, as was the case prior to 1991. Museums were therefore expected to generate much of their financial requirements.¹⁷³ Katanekwa's explanation was echoed by Musonda and Mizinga.¹⁷⁴

My assessment is that the socialist economic system followed in the First and Second Republics was better for the running of the Museum than the capitalist neo-liberal system which the country followed during the Third Republic. This is because the Livingstone Museum was founded as a social institution in which the people's heritage was preserved for posterity. Running it on an economic basis would have resulted into most Zambians, who are the owners of the heritage, and most of whom were poor, fail to have access to it.

To mitigate against the situation, in 1995, Museum staff and its stakeholders met for six days to reflect on the future of the institution.¹⁷⁵ The meeting considered Museum's objectives, responsibilities and activities and produced a Needs

Assessment Report that highlighted acquisition of collections and collections management, research, exhibitions and publications. In addition, the Report contained long-term projects, among which were recruitment and training of research staff, rehabilitation of Museum buildings, change of exhibitions, fundraising, procurement of equipment, documentation and the upgrading of storage facilities. Furthermore, the document also emphasised the need for the Museum to affiliate with other research institutions, both locally and abroad in order to acquire any relevant assistance from them and keep its research staff abreast with current affairs in their fields of specialisation.¹⁷⁶

Following the Needs Assessment Report, a series of strategic planning meetings were held under the auspices of the NMB with inputs from the Government and other stakeholders. The meetings culminated into a Five-Year Development Plan for the period 2000 to 2005 [2001-2005].¹⁷⁷ Among the issues the Development Plan focused on were the recruitment and building of capacity of museum staff, particularly that of researchers, infrastructure rehabilitation, the changing of exhibitions and acquisition of equipment.¹⁷⁸ The Needs Assessment and the Development Plan were accepted by the NMB and became policy instruments for the Livingstone Museum.¹⁷⁹

Developments, 1992 – 2006

In order to alleviate the professional staff shortage experienced by the Museum, a recruitment and training programme was vigorously pursued. Consequently, in 1994, Liywali Mushokabanji, a young secondary school teacher, with a Bachelor of Arts with Education degree, majoring in history, from the University of Zambia was recruited as a trainee archaeologist. Later on, the Museum sent him to Cambridge University, where he obtained a Master of Philosophy in

Archaeological Heritage Management in 1997.¹⁸⁰ During the year 2001, the Museum recruited six employees. These were Friday Mufuzi, a graduate from the University of Zambia with a Masters' degree in history who was employed Keeper of History, Henry Muloongo, also from the same University. Muloongo had a Bachelor of Science degree and was employed as Trainee Herpetologist for the Museum. Others were Biseck Sakala and Fred Siangulube. Both of them had a Bachelor of Science (Forestry) from Copperbelt University and were employed as Trainee Botanist and Entomologist respectively. The others were Anneli Chibwe and Yvonne Ruwe, both of whom had a Bachelor of Arts with Education degree from the University of Zambia and were engaged as Assistant Education Officers.¹⁸¹

In the same year (2001), Victoria Phiri, who in 1993 joined the Museum as Gallery Attendant, obtained a Bachelor of Arts with Education degree from the University of Zambia. She was subsequently promoted to the position of Assistant Keeper in the Department of Art and Ethnography, specialising in non-material culture (intangible heritage). She later became a full Keeper following her successful completion of a Master's degree in Anthropology (Indigenous Studies) from Tromsø University in Norway.¹⁸²

In 2003, Kawana Munalula, who like Phiri joined the Museum as Gallery Attendant, in 1994, also obtained Bachelor of Science degree from the University of Zambia and was subsequently elevated to the position of Assistant Keeper in the Department of Natural History as Trainee Botanist. In the following year (2003), Terry Nyambe and Todd Johnson, both of whom were graduates from the University of Zambia, with a Bachelor of Science degree were recruited as Assistant Keepers, specialising in Entomology and Ichthyology respectively.¹⁸³

Due to the relationship that the Museum had developed with other institutions, as a follow up to the proposal in the Five-Year Development Plan, 2001 to 2005, by the end of 2006, Muloongo, Sakala, Siangulube, Chibwe and Ruwe had obtained Post-graduate diplomas in different aspects of museology. Muloongo and Sakala's diplomas were in Museum and Heritage Studies, a programme that was jointly offered by the Universities of Western Cape, Cape Town and Robben Island Museum in South Africa.¹⁸⁴ Siangulube, Chibwe and Ruwe's diplomas were in Care and Management of Heritage and Museum Collections from the University of Nairobi in Kenya. By the end of the year, one member of staff, Mufuzi was pursuing a doctoral programme in History at the University of Zambia while two, Siangulube and Sakala were reading for the Master of Science degree in Sweden and Holland respectively. Siangulube's programme was in Management of Biological Diversity and Sakala's was in Forest Conservation¹⁸⁵ Thus, the 2001 to 2005 Development Plan was successfully implemented in the area of staff recruitment and training. However, its outcome could not be significantly evaluated as the lifespan of the Plan ended just a year before the close of the time-frame for this study.

As a result of the dilapidated condition of the Museum, in 1998, a lot of collections and books, most of which were rare, got irreparably damaged due to serious cracks in the roofing area of the Museum building and water seepage through the ground floor. The cracks could not be attended to due to financial constraints. Owing to the heavy rainfall in that year, books in the library and other collections got soaked.¹⁸⁶ Consequently, there was an international uproar¹⁸⁷ and among those who complained was Professor Desmond Clark¹⁸⁸, the man who, as noted in the last chapter, saw the Museum grow to higher heights. In a letter to the President of the Republic of Zambia, Clark demonstrated the importance of the collections the

Museum held to the understanding of the origins and history of man in Zambia and why they should be cared. He also appealed for adequate funding to the Museum.

Clark's letter noted that:

It is with much distress that I write to you concerning the destruction of priceless historic records . . . during the rain season. . . . I was Director of the Museum from 1938 to 1961. . . . Under my direction the Museum built up a very valuable collection of historical documents, books, manuscripts and maps as well as collections of ethnographic materials related to the peoples of Zambia and prehistoric collections that document the early history of Zambia's peoples. . . . Though the historic archives contain mostly records of explorers, missionaries and even government officials, these preserve the knowledge of the people, the customs and the country, as it was when they knew it. It also . . . provide the written and oral history of Zambia's people. . . . Many of them are unique records of the history of Zambia's population and I have to say that it is a scandalous situation, a disgrace to the country and people of Zambia that so much destruction should have taken place because of insufficient funding. I would appeal to you . . . to make adequate financial provisions available . . . for the restoration of an active Museum conservation and outreach program¹⁸⁹

Clark's letter resulted in the release of Seventy million Kwacha (K70, 000,000.00; then about US \$14,000) by the Government towards the rehabilitation of the Museum. The money was far from being enough, nonetheless, under the given situation; it was welcomed and put into the intended use.¹⁹⁰

In 1999, the European Union came to the rescue of the Museum. It approved a grant of 450, 000 Euros for the rehabilitation of the Museum. This was released in 2003. Using Anderson and Anderson as architects, the rehabilitation exercise started on January 6, 2003 and came to an end in December 2004.¹⁹¹ During the rehabilitation exercise, the Museum maintained its services to the public at three different locations within Livingstone.¹⁹²

As a follow up to the proposal on exhibitions articulated in the redefined post-independence policy framework, in 1995, Mizinga, the then Keeper of History, updated and changed the permanent History exhibition. Maud Muntemba last

mounted the exhibition in 1968. Mizinga updated the exhibition to 1990, just at the threshold of coming to power of the MMD Government. He called the exhibition “Follow the Steps of Zambia’s History”. In line with the redefined Museum policy framework, the exhibition made use of modern methods of display such as dioramas (see Appendix IXa), a component that was missing in the previous exhibition to explain historical events such as the slave trade.¹⁹³

Following the rehabilitation exercise, all exhibitions in the Museum were overhauled, changing from the old presentation format where artefacts were displayed with their associated history from an ethnic point of view to a holistic view in which every display conveyed a message to which every Zambian was able to identify oneself with. The Museum authority realised that communities had their own history though much of it was not written. The Museum therefore endeavoured to present the more positive history of the communities. It was no longer interested in presenting skulls, stones and ethnographic objects such as witchcraft objects in isolation as was the case during the colonial period but in presenting what those societies had gone through over time using the same objects.¹⁹⁴

During Mubitana’s tenure as Director, the Museum coined and promoted a maxim, “Publish or perish”. The maxim was on the lips of every researcher. It was adopted during Chellah’s tenure and later also during Katanekwa’s tenure as Director. Nonetheless, the Museum during the period 1991 to 2006 carried out few research activities and publications due to severe financial constraints. In fact, during this period, only one issue of the *Zambia Museum Journal* and the *Museum Newsletter* was published. However, research articles for some of the Museum research staff found a forum in other international journals such as *African Economic History*.¹⁹⁵

Overall, even under a very difficult financial situation, the Museum during this period performed fairly well; for instance, it managed to bring the research staff position to an appreciable level. It also managed to have its buildings rehabilitated while exhibitions were also changed. Further, the Museum acquired a reasonable quantity of equipment through the Japanese International Co-operation Agency (JICA), which supplemented the almost obsolete equipment bought in the 1950s. However, the institution was unable to resuscitate its financial base, an important factor in the execution of Museum activities.¹⁹⁶ Thus, from the foregoing, in terms of Museum development, the period 1993 to 2006 could be descriptively summarised as a period of 'mixed fortunes'.

Conclusion

During post-colonial Zambia, there was only one piece of legislation on museums, the National Museums Act Cap 267 of 1966, which was enacted. The Act established the National Museums Board, which was mandated to control, manage and develop National Museums. The consequence of this Act was the establishment of Moto Moto, Copperbelt and Lusaka Museums as National Museums.

The Museum's policy framework and development plans changed the Museum from a colonial institution into a post-colonial one. Like the colonial leaders before them who used the Museum as a propaganda tool to promote their colonial agenda, the nationalist leaders also used the Museum to achieve their objectives which focused on the asserting of the country's independence. This was done, through the realignment of the Museum's activities such as research, publications and exhibitions to the new aspiration. In order to orient the Museum into a purely Zambian institution whose objective was to further national interest, the Museum recruited and trained many Zambians in a different museum fields. In addition, the

Museum development plan was redefined to reflect the national aspiration of achieving national unity, identity and development through the country's cultural and historical diversity of its peoples. This was reflected in the national motto of "One Zambia, One Nation" coined by nationalist leaders.

In the colonial period, the study of history at Livingstone Museum was not a priority but rather the study of archaeological and ethnographic collections. This was because of the Europeans' belief that Africans had no history apart from their material culture. In contrast, during the pre-colonial period the study of history was emphasised in the Museum's activities. This was done in order to reverse the negative image that Zambian culture was given during the colonial period. It was also done in order to promote and emphasise the Zambian people's common origin and identity in view of the country's diverse ethnic groups and cultural heritage, thereby promote national unity which was undermined during the colonial period.

In the early years of Independence, particularly 1966-1967, the Museum experienced instability. This was caused and enhanced by the fact that the European employees failed to accept the new political dispensation and continued to nurse their colonial hangover of European superiority over Africans, while Africans were eager to assert themselves as new rulers. African employees felt that the presence of Europeans at the Museum was retarding their upward mobility and the enjoyment of the fruits of independence.

The Museum's policy on the development of more Museums was not successful. The immediate post-Independence policy envisioned the construction of at least ten national museums but by the end of the study period, the government had constructed only one Museum, Lusaka National Museum.

The Museum faced acute problems of funding due to poor subventions from its sponsor, the Government. This situation resulted in problems such as high staff attrition rate and dilapidated buildings, particularly after the mid-1980s. Nonetheless, in the years, 1992 to 2006, an appreciable number of staff was recruited and trained in different museological programmes, buildings were rehabilitated while a reasonable quantity of equipment was procured to enhance museum activities. However, the financial autonomy still remained elusive while core museum activities such as research and publications were at low ebb owing to poor funding and lack of experienced researchers. This situation impacted negatively to the Museum's generation and dissemination of information on Zambia's cultural and historical heritage compared to the colonial period as will be demonstrated in Chapters, Six and Seven.

ENDNOTES

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⁴University of Zambia (UNZA) Library Special Collection, GOV. ZAM/052, *Zambia National Assembly Hansard No. 4, 1965* "The Rhodes-Livingstone Amendment Bill (2R), 1965", col. 2165; and Anon, "President in L'stone for Meeting of the Museum Trustees: 'Rhodes' is to be dropped from the name of Museum", *Livingstone Mail*, 4 March 1965, p.1.

⁵Interview, William Chipango (First African/Zambian Mayor of Livingstone and Member of Trustee of the Livingstone Museum, 1965 to 1966), Livingstone, 5 May 2007. For writtern views of David Livingstone as an imperialist, see Ado K. Tiberondwa, *Missionary Teachers as Agents of Imperialism: A study of their Activities in Uganda, 1877 – 1925* (Lusaka: Associated Printers, 1989), p. 28. Livingstone's colonial interests in central Africa also come out in the letter dated 6 February 1858 that he wrote to his friend, Professor Adam Sedgewick of Cambridge University. In the letter, among other issues Livingstone wrote: "That you may have a clear objective of my objectives. . . . All this has for its ostensible the development of African trade and the promotion of civilisation but what I tell no one but such as you in whom I have confidence is that I hope it may result into an English colony in the health highlands of central Africa. . . ." See Timothy Holmes (ed.), *David Livingstone Letters and Documents 1841 – 1872: The Zambian Collection at the Livingstone Museum* (London: James Currey, 1990), pp. 49 – 50. The original letter is on display in the David Livingstone Gallery, Livingstone Museum.

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¹⁷LMA, GRZ Act No. 10 of 1966, Section 6, 1(c).

¹⁸LMA, GRZ Act No. 10 of 1966, Section 6(d).

¹⁹LMA, GRZ Act No. 10 of 1966, Section 6(2).

²⁰LMA, GRZ Act No. 10 of 1966, Section 6, 3(a-d).

²¹LMA, GRZ Act No. 10 of 1966, Section 9(1).

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²³LMA, GRZ, *The Livingstone Museum Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1965*, p. 6; and *The Livingstone Museum Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1967* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1968), pp. 5 – 8.

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⁴⁹Alda Costa, "Mozambique: making museums a permanent source of teaching and learning", *Museum*, Unesco, Paris, No. 161, Vol. XLI, No. 1 (1989), p. 33.

⁵⁰LM, GRZ, NMZ *Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1964*, p.5.

⁵¹For detailed information on this subject, see Robert I. Rotberg, *The Rise of Nationalism in Central Africa: The Making of Malawi and Zambia, 1873 – 1964* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1972), especially pp.179 – 316; and D. C. Mulford, *Zambia: The Politics of Independence, 1954 – 1964* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967).

⁵²LMA, GRZ, *The Livingstone Museum Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1965*, pp. 8 – 9.

⁵³LMA, GRZ, *The Livingstone Museum Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1965*, p. 9.

⁵⁴LMA, GRZ, *The Livingstone Museum Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1965*, p. 10.

⁵⁵LMA, GRZ, *The Livingstone Museum Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1965*, p. 10.

⁵⁶LMA, GRZ, *The Livingstone Museum Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1965*, p. 11.

⁵⁷Livingstone Mail, "Museum staff are Angry", *Livingstone Mail*, 29 July 1966, p. 1; and Livingstone Mail, "Trouble Times at the local Museum", *Livingstone Mail*, 18 November 1966, p. 3.

⁵⁸LMA, S/4/1/2, Staff Disputes, Petition from Livingstone Museum African Members of Staff to the Chairman, Board of Trustees of the Livingstone Museum,

n.d. p. 1; Petition from Livingstone Museum African Members of Staff to the Director, Livingstone Museum dated 28 July 1966; Confidential Memorandum from Barie Reynolds, Director of Livingstone Museum on the subject of Staff Disputes to Members of the Livingstone Museum Committee dated 29 July 1966; *Livingstone Mail*, "Museum staff are Angry", p. 1; and "Trouble Times at the local Museum", p. 3.

⁵⁹LMA, S/4/1/2, Staff Disputes, Petition from Livingstone Museum African Members of Staff to the Chairman, Board of Trustees of the Livingstone Museum, n.d. p. 1; *Livingstone Mail*, "Museum staff are Angry", p. 1; and "Trouble Times at the local Museum", p. 3.

⁶⁰LMA, S/4/1/2, Staff Disputes, Petition from Livingstone Museum African Members of Staff to the Chairman, Board of Trustees of the Livingstone Museum, n.d. p. 1; *Livingstone Mail*, "Museum staff are Angry", p. 1; and "Trouble Times at the local Museum", p. 3.

⁶¹*Livingstone Mail*, "Museum staff are Angry", p. 1; and "Trouble Times at the local Museum", p. 3.

⁶²*Livingstone Mail*, "Museum staff are Angry", p. 1; and "Trouble Times at the local Museum", p. 3.

⁶³LMA, GRZ, *The Livingstone Museum Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1966*, p. 5.

⁶⁴LMA, NMB, "Report on the Affairs of the Livingstone Museum, December, 1966 by William Tordoff", p. 2; and LM, GRZ, *The Livingstone Museum Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1966*, p. 5.

⁶⁵Interview, Liywali Wamulume, Livingstone, 20 January 2006.

⁶⁶LMA, NMB, "Report on the Affairs of the Livingstone Museum, December, 1966 by William Tordoff", p. 31.

⁶⁷LMA, GRZ, *The Livingstone Museum Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1966*, p. 5.

⁶⁸The informant requested for anonymity as he felt that the issue was sensitive; some of the people involved were still alive and quite influential. He said this could put him into problems if discovered as the informant.

⁶⁹LMA, NMB, "Report on the Affairs of the Livingstone Museum, December, 1966 by William Tordoff", pp. 3-4.

⁷⁰LMA, NMB, "Report on the Affairs of the Livingstone Museum, December, 1966 by William Tordoff", p. 4.

⁷¹Andrew Roberts, *A History of Zambia* (London: Heinemann, 1976), p. 242.

⁷²Times Reporter, “Zambia Relics turn up in Scotland – Livingstone’s I Presume”, *Times of Zambia*, 14 January 1967, p. 7.

⁷³Times Reporter, “Zambia Relics turn up in Scotland – Livingstone’s I Presume”, p. 7.

⁷⁴Barrie Reynolds, “Livingstone’s - I Presume”, *Times of Zambia*, 3 February 1967, p.1.

⁷⁵Reynolds, “Livingstone’s - I Presume”, p.1.

⁷⁶Reynolds, “Livingstone’s - I Presume”, p.1.

⁷⁷Reynolds, “Livingstone’s - I Presume”, p.1.

⁷⁸Reynolds, “Livingstone’s - I Presume”, p.1.

⁷⁹Reynolds, “Livingstone’s - I Presume”, p.1.

⁸⁰Times Reporter, “Livingstone’s descendants not been asked: Relics may be reloaned”, *Times of Zambia*, 17 January 1967, p.7.

⁸¹LMA, GRZ, *NMB Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1967*, p. 5.

⁸²Vincent K. Katanekwa, Personal Communication, Livingstone, 30 August 2007.

⁸³Reynolds, “Livingstone’s - I Presume”, p. 1.

⁸⁴LMA, File 35/L, Localisation of Museum Staff: Minutes of the Meeting of the Full Board of Trustees held on 16 October 1963, Minute No. 62/63; see also extract from Minutes of the Meeting of the Full Board of Trustees held on 16 October 1963 in a Memorandum by Gervas Clay, Director, Livingstone Museum. n. d.

⁸⁵*Livingstone Mail*, 18 April 1908.

⁸⁶*Livingstone Mail*, 18 April 1908.

⁸⁷Roberts, *A History of Zambia*, p. 249; Fergus Macpherson, *Kwacha Ngwee: How the Zambian nation was made* (London: Oxford University Press, 1977), pp. 67-68; Bizeck J. Phiri, *A Political History of Zambia: From the Colonial Period to the 3rd Republic* (Trenton: African World Press, 2006), pp. 137-138; and Times Reporter, “Chief Justice Quits: Zambia thinks I am disloyal – Skinner”, *Times of Zambia*, 24 September 1969, p. 1.

⁸⁸LMA, NMB, “Report on the Affairs of the Livingstone Museum, December, 1966 by William Tordoff”, p. 6.

⁸⁹LMA, GRZ, *The Livingstone Museum Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1966*, pp. 2 and 5; *Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1967*, p. 4; and *Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1968*, p. 7.

⁹⁰See map showing the partition of Africa by European powers following the Berlin Conference of 1884 – 1885 on p. 23 in G.W. Uzoigwe's article, "European Partition and Conquest of Africa: An Overview", in Boahen, A. Adu, (ed.), *Unesco General History of Africa, vol. vii: Africa under Colonial Domination, 1880 – 1935*, Abrgd edn. (California: UNESCO, James Currey), p. 23.

⁹¹Roberts, *A History of Zambia* (London: Heinemann, 1976), p. 238.

⁹²Interview, Vincent K. Katankwa, Livingstone, 24 July 2007.

⁹³LMA, GRZ, *The Livingstone Museum Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1965*, p. 12.

⁹⁴LMA, GRZ, *The Livingstone Museum Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1965*, p. 11.

⁹⁵LMA, GRZ, *The Livingstone Museum Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1966*, p. 9.

⁹⁶LMA, GRZ, *The Livingstone Museum Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1967*, p. 12.

⁹⁷LMA, GRZ, *NMB Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1968*, pp. 4 and 10.

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¹⁰⁰LMA, GRZ, *NMB Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1970*, p. 2.

¹⁰¹LMA, GRZ, *The Rhodes-Livingstone Museum Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1964*, p.12; *The Livingstone Museum Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1965*, p. 13; and Livingstone Museum, *The Museum Celebrates its 60th Anniversary, 1934 – 1994* (Livingstone: Livingstone Museum, 1994), p. 27.

¹⁰²LMA, GRZ, *NMB Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1968*, p. 8.

¹¹⁸LMA, GRZ, *NMB Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1976* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1976), pp. 6 and 12.

¹¹⁹LMA, GRZ, *NMB Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1977* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1977), p. 8.

¹²⁰LMA, GRZ, *NMB Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1973*, p. 5 - 6.

¹²¹LMA, GRZ, *NMB Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1978* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1978), p. 5.

¹²²LMA, GRZ, *NMB Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1978*, pp. 2 - 4.

¹²³LMA, GRZ, *NMB Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1978*, p. 5.

¹²⁴LMA, GRZ, *NMB Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1979* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1979), p. 7.

¹²⁵LMA, GRZ, *NMB Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1980* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1980), p. 4.

¹²⁶LMA, GRZ, *NMB Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1982* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1982), p. 1.

¹²⁷LMA, GRZ, *NMB Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1983* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1983), p. 4.

¹²⁸LMA, GRZ, *NMB Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1984* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1984), pp. 4 and 6.

¹²⁹LMA, GRZ, *NMB Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1984*, p. 7.

¹³⁰Interview, Flexon, M. Mizinga, Lusaka, 1 June 2007.

¹³¹Kataneke, 24 July 2007.

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¹³³LMA, Museum Development Plans and Appeals File, Livingstone Museum Five-Years Development Plan (1972-1976), pp. 1-3; and Chellah, "The National Museum of Zambia, Livingstone", pp. 128 - 130.

¹³⁴LMA, Livingstone Museum Five-Years Development Plan, p. 1; and Chellah, "The National Museum of Zambia, Livingstone", pp. 128.- 129.

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¹³⁶LMA, Livingstone Museum Five-Years Development Plan, pp.2-3; and Chellah, "The National Museum of Zambia, Livingstone", p. 129.

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¹³⁹LMA, Livingstone Museum Five-Years Development Plan, p. 2; and Chellah, "The National Museum of Zambia, Livingstone", p. 128.

¹⁴⁰Chellah, "The National Museum of Zambia, Livingstone", p. 129.

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¹⁴²LMA, Livingstone Museum Five-Years Development Plan, pp. 1-2; and Chellah, "The National Museum of Zambia, Livingstone", p.130.

¹⁴³Chellah, "The National Museum of Zambia, Livingstone", p. 128.

¹⁴⁴Chellah, "The National Museum of Zambia, Livingstone", p. 128.

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¹⁴⁶LMA, GRZ, *NMB Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1973*, p. 2.

¹⁴⁷LMA, GRZ, *NMB Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1974*, p. 8.

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¹⁵³ICOM, *ICOM Statutes, Code of Professional Ethics*, Adapted by the 16th Assembly of ICOM in The Hague, The Netherlands, 5 September 1989 and amended by the 18th General Assembly of ICOM, Stavanger, Norway, 7 July 1995, p. 3.

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¹⁵⁵LMA, GRZ, *NMB Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1978*, p. 5.

¹⁵⁶Interview, Musonda, Lusaka, 27 June 2007.

¹⁵⁷LMA, GRZ, *NMB Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1980* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1980), p. 1.

¹⁵⁸LMA, GRZ, *NMB Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1987* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1987), p. 3.

¹⁵⁹LMA, GRZ, *NMB Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1992* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1992), p. 3.

¹⁶⁰Interview, Katanekwa, 24 July, 2007; LMA, GRZ, *NMB Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1977*, p. 9; and LMA, GRZ, *NMB Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1980*, p. 4.

¹⁶¹Katanekwa, 24 July 2007.

¹⁶²LMA, GRZ, *NMB Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1977*, p. 8.

¹⁶³LMA, INDEX N/73/440, GRZ, *Zambia, 1964 – 1974*, pp. 9 – 12; Chibale Chibwe, “Human dimension of liberation: The dynamics of Refugee Crisis”, *Times of Zambia*, 27 December 1999, p. 6; and Roberts, *A History of Zambia*, pp. 224 – 240.

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¹⁶⁶LMA, GRZ, *NMB Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1969*, p. 3.

¹⁶⁷Some of the researches include the works of Brian Fagan, Keeper of History from 1959 to 1965, who researched on Iron Age in Zambia and his findings published in two volumes, *Iron Age Culture in Zambia*; Barrie Reynolds, Keeper of Ethnography, 1955 to 1964, who did extensive research in Barotseland (Western Province) and among the Gwembe Tonga; Kafungulwa Mubitana, who carried out sociological researches among the labour migrants from the Luvala, Luchazi, Chokwa and Mbunda societies; and Maud Muntemba, who conducted research into the life of the Lenje people of Kabwe with the view to explain and chronologically establish the origins and institutions of these people. See *Z Magazine*, Zambia edn. October, 1969, pp. 9 – 10; and Interview, Katanekwa, 24 July, 2007.

¹⁶⁸Articles in these publications are examined in chapter five.

¹⁶⁹Mbikusita-Lewanika, *Hour for Reunion, Movement for Multi-Party Democracy: Conception, Dissension and Reconciliation*, p. 342; and Gould, Susidiary “Sovereignty and the Constitution of Political Space in Zambia”, p. 279.

¹⁷⁰The abolishing of the Unit followed a Report made in 1995 by the Management Services Board, (MSB), which the government through the NMB had commissioned to carry out an organisation analysis and job evaluation in its museums. The MSB among other things recommended the reduction of staff in the Technical Unit in museums due to financial constraints. However, in 1996 the Government decided to abolish the Unit in order to cut down on costs incurred in running museums. See, Management Services Board, *Organisation Analysis and Job Evaluation Report for the National Museums Board* (Lusaka: Management Services Board, April 1995), p. 9; and GRZ, *Final Restructuring Report for the National Museums* (Lusaka: Management Development Division, Cabinet Office, October, 1996), p. 12.

¹⁷¹Katanekwa, 24 July 2007.

¹⁷²Katanekwa, 24 July 2007.

¹⁷³Katanekwa, 24 July 2007.

¹⁷⁴Musonda, 27 June 2007 and Mizinga, 1 July 2007.

¹⁷⁵Katanekwa, 24 July 2007; and Livingstone Museum History File, 1991 – 2000, Minutes of Staff Meeting to Discuss the Objectives and Activities of the Livingstone Museum, 24 – 29 March 1995.

¹⁷⁶LMA, Livingstone Museum History File, 1991 – 2000, Minutes of Staff Meeting to Discuss the Objectives and Activities of the Livingstone Museum, 24 – 29 March 1995, pp. 2 – 12; LMA, NMB, LM/202/01/5, Five-Year Development Plan, NMB Secretariat: NMB Five-Year Development Workshop held at the Leisure Bay Lodge, Siavonga, 12 – 17 September 1999; and LMA, LM/205/01/1, Office of the President Cabinet Office Correspondence, Correspondence, from V. K. Katanekwa, Director, Livingstone Museum, Livingstone to The Permanent Secretary, Southern Province on the subject of Rehabilitation of the Livingstone Museum, 27 November 2002.

¹⁷⁷LMA, NMB, LM/202/01/5, Five-Year Development Plan, NMB Secretariat: GRZ, NMB Five-Year Development Plan, June 2000 - 2005 (Lusaka: NMB Secretariat, August, 2000); and NMB, LM/202/01/5, Five-Year Development Plan, NMB Secretariat: Five-Year Development Plan Project Proposals, Work Plans, 2001 – 2005.

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¹⁷⁹Katanekewa, 24 July 2007.

¹⁸⁰LMA, GRZ, *NMB Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1997* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1997), p. 12.

¹⁸¹LMA, GRZ, *NMB Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 2001* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 2001), p. 4; and Interview, Katanekewa, 24 July 2007.

¹⁸²Personal Communication, Elvis Sinyama (The Administrative Officer for Livingstone Museum), 12 September 2007.

¹⁸³Personal Communications, Katanekewa, 30 August 2007; Todd Johnson, 4 September 2007; Victoria Phiri and Kawana Munalula, 15 September 2007; and Terry Nyambe, 12 August 2007, Livingstone.

¹⁸⁴Elvis Sinyama, 12 September 2007.

¹⁸⁵Elvis Sinyama, 12 September 2007.

¹⁸⁶Katanekewa, 24 July 2007.

¹⁸⁷Katanekewa, 24 July 2007.

¹⁸⁸LMA, LM/205/01/1, Office of the President Cabinet Office Correspondence, Minute No. 29: Correspondence, From Prof. Desmond Clark, University of California, Berkeley, USA to President Chiluba, State House, Lusaka, Zambia, 15 April 2000. Attention: Livingstone Museum.

¹⁸⁹LMA, LM/205/01/1, Office of the President Cabinet Office Correspondence: Minute No. 29: Correspondence, From Prof. Desmond Clark to President Chiluba, 15 April 2000. Attention: Livingstone Museum.

¹⁹⁰LMA, LM/205/01/1, Office of the President Cabinet Office Correspondence: Correspondence, from V. K. Katanekewa, Director, Livingstone Museum to the Permanent Secretary, Southern Province, Rehabilitation of Livingstone Museum, 27 November 2002; and Interview, Katanekewa, 24 July 2007.

¹⁹¹Kataneke, 24 July 2007.

¹⁹²Kataneke, 24 July 2007.

¹⁹³Mizinga, 1 July 2007 and Kataneke, 24 July 2007.

¹⁹⁴Kataneke, 24 July 2007.

¹⁹⁵For example, Flexon Mizinga, “Marriage and Bridewealth in a matrilineal society: The case of the Tonga of Southern Zambia: 1900 – 1996”, *African Economic History* 28 (2000), 53 – 87.

¹⁹⁶Kataneke, 24 July 2007.

CHAPTER FOUR

MANAGEMENT PRACTICES OF MOVABLE HISTORICAL HERITAGE, 1934 – 2006

Introduction

Management of movable heritage materials, including historical heritage in museums simply means taking care of them. In addition to the enactment of appropriate legislation as noted in the foregoing chapters, this includes acquisition of collections, documentation and preservation for posterity. In this chapter, I examine the management of historical collections at the Livingstone Museum during the colonial and post-colonial periods. I focus on the acquisition of collections, documentation, preservation and their significance to the preservation of information relevant to Zambian history.

I also examine heritage management practices from 1934 to 2006, focusing mainly on the collection, documentation and preservation of acquisitions. I argue that even though the genesis of the collection of movable heritage materials was rooted in the colonial government's desire to serve the European settler community interests, rare and unique objects were saved from destruction.

I also demonstrate that during the post-colonial period, not many collections were made compared to the colonial period because Africans did not have a tradition of making collections of their relics or disused utensils for preservation as their environment always provided for their needs. Post-colonial rulers, most of whom came from such an environment had no reason to spend money on the collection and preservation of obsolete objects because they had no need to learn the ways of life of their subjects through objects since they were part of them.

In this chapter, I also demonstrate that during the formative years of the Museum, collection focused on ethnological and archaeological objects. However, in the process, historical objects, which were mainly of three types, documents, photographs, and three-dimensional objects were collected. Furthermore, I highlight different methods the Museum used to acquire its collections. Additionally, I highlight ways in which collections made were documented and the initiatives made by the Museum to improve the documentation and preservation of its collections. I argue that by making collections, documenting and preserving them, the Museum preserved for posterity undisputable tangible source materials, which shed light to the understanding of Zambian history.

The Colonial Period

The systematic acquisition of collections at the Livingstone Museum started in the 1930s, following Governor James Maxwell's instructions to District Officers (DC) to collect suitable materials and purchase them. Provincial Commissioners (PCs) also gave similar instructions to DCs in their respective provinces. For example, in 1936, the PC of Northern Province, E.H. Jalland wrote a circular letter to all DCs in his area, reminding them of the need to procure indigenous arts and crafts and other objects of interest for the Museum.¹ Later in the same year, another circular, which urged DCs to urgently act on his earlier instruction was issued.² Such instructions were often responded to favourably. For instance, in response to Jalland's circular letter, in 1939, T.S.L. Fox Pitt, the DC for Mpika sent various objects to the Museum, most of them being of ethnographical nature.³ Various objects of similar nature were also collected in Barotseland, (today's Western Province).⁴ In some cases where it was not possible to obtain original ones, their copies or photographs were collected.⁵

After 1939, there was a break in correspondence and collection of objects till about the mid- 1950s. This was due to the Second World War (1939 - 1945) in which the Britain and its colonies were involved. During this period, more energy was spent on war efforts while in the few years after the war, concern was more on the reconstruction efforts.

In 1956, the SNA, W.F. Stubbs, through a circular letter addressed to all Provincial Commissioners, the Resident Commissioner, Barotseland Protectorate, and District Commissioners and copied to the Secretary for National Monuments Commissioner stressed the importance of collecting objects of magical-religious significance such as ethnic heirlooms and relics as they were of historical significance. He instructed that the objects be sent to the Livingstone Museum for preservation in order to avoid losing them through curio hunters as well as depredation through insect pests and other causes.⁶

As noted earlier, the Colonial government was concerned with maintenance of good relationship between races. Thus, in his letter, the SNA emphasised the taking of copies or photographs without offending in any way the susceptibilities of chiefs and people concerned where it was not possible to obtain originals. Further, he stressed the non-taking of action where there was a degree of traditional secrecy associated with objects or wherever reluctance to discuss or show them was noticed.⁷ The SNA wrote this Circular because he was worried of the number of 'curio hunters' and collectors of art objects that were seeking to purchase various types of objects. He was particularly worried of their increasing number and that with the high prices they often offered, some of the relics that preserved the best of the country's ethnic craftsmanship would be lost unless some check was made on them.⁸

In fact, the collection of materials in Zambia predates the colonial period. Between 1860 and 1964, a lot of locally produced artefacts were collected by force, as gifts, through barter or negotiations by white visitors, traders, missionaries and administrators and “exported” out of the country to Museums and households in Southern Rhodesia, South Africa, the United Kingdom, Europe and the United States of America. For instance, in the 1870s and 1880s, an Austro-Czech physician and explorer, Emil Holub collected extensively in western and southern Zambia. Holub visited western Zambia and neighbouring areas twice. He wanted Austria to join Britain, France, Portugal and Germany in the exploration of Africa and possibly even in acquiring colonies. He also wanted to establish a large natural historical collection and build a museum in Prague. Consequently, he collected along the upper Zambezi thousands of objects ranging from fishing spears to baskets and wood curved bowls.⁹ After his death, most of these objects were transferred to the Naprstek Museum in Prague and Vienna’s Museum, fur Volkerkunde. Some objects found themselves all over Europe in cities such as Budapest, Lisbon, Madrid, Rome, Paris, Leningrad, Belgrade, Bucharest, Athens, Brussels, Munich and Stuttgart.¹⁰

Further, missionaries, casual travellers and administrators of the BSA Company made huge collections, which found themselves in American and British museums. For example, in 1902, T. A. Joyce reported a mask and dress in a British Museum collected by F. Schindler from the Luvale people of north-western Zambia. The dress was of a supposedly resurrected spirit won by men who attended to the boys in initiation camps in which circumcision was conducted.¹¹ Another example was the ceremonial musical instrument, the Limba xylophone reported by Hugh Stannus in 1920 in the same Museum collected by Frank Melland used in a hunting ceremony of hippopotamus among the Bemba and Bisa of northern Zambia.¹² Furthermore, more

than four thousand objects ranging from lumps of tobacco to extra-ordinary works of art were collected from western Zambia between 1903 and 1918 by a New Jersey trader, Richard Douglas who purchased them from King Lewanika. The collections were later deposited in the American Museum of Natural History.¹³ In fact, wishing to take advantage of the economic potential of his subjects' handicrafts and artworks produce, by 1905, Lewanika had established a curios shop he called "Native Curios Shoppe" in Livingstone that was staffed and stocked by Lozis and catered to the growing market of Euro-American visitors to the Victoria Falls.¹⁴

Given the above scenario, the SNA's concerns were justified. It is no wonder therefore that in addition to the SNA, PCs and DCc's involvement in the procurement of collections for the Museum, the Northern Rhodesia Government Secretariat, now Cabinet Office was also involved.¹⁵ In this way, a lot of objects were collected by the Museum for preservation, study and posterity.

Notwithstanding the above, some of the Livingstone Museum collections were obtained through donations and bequeathments from individuals and institutions that realised the importance of preserving historical materials for research and posterity.¹⁶ A large portion of the Museum's collection was also made through field research by its research staff as well as those of other institutions such as the RLI.¹⁷ Other collections were obtained through purchase.¹⁸ However due to financial constraints that the Museum continuously faced, few objects were obtained through this method. The methods that the Museum used in acquiring its collections were in line with different legislation framework on management of the country's heritage developed over time.¹⁹

The Post-colonial Period

Museums were concerned with objects. As Ellis Burcaw noted, "Objects justify museums and . . . are a starting point of a museum, . . . a museum field, and, . . . any activity of the museum."²⁰ Thus, objects were the reason that museums existed. However, during the post-colonial period, in contrast to the colonial era, not as many collections were made. This was despite the several moves that were made by various Keepers.²¹ Field research, an activity in which museums obtained much of their collections was low keyed because of low funding from the Government. Consequently, compared to the colonial period, the Livingstone Museum made few collections during the post-colonial period, most of them being documents and photographic materials covering mainly the political history of the country. Very few three-dimensional objects were collected. Regarding three-dimensional museum objects, John Forsdylce observed thus:

The essential element of a museum is the material document, that is to say, the physical object. Reproductions, photographs, diagrams, and other representations, although valuable and useful, cannot be classified under this head, as the first duty of a museum is to preserve realities and demonstrate the truth of things, in so far as truth depends on material evidence. For example, the alleged discovery of the remains of Noah's Ark has been announced several times in recent years, but until there is a physical proof such claims cannot be accepted at their face value.²²

Arising from the above, it is clear that three-dimensional objects are important in that they removed any doubt to the occurrence of any alleged event. They also "revealed something of the ineffable truth of the historic moments of which it was part . . . the history of the times in which it was made and used, and through which it has survived."²³ In that respect, they provide reliable evidence or source materials for the reconstruction of history. Through the undertaking of research into such objects, the historical truth embedded in them is revealed. Materials collected by museums are

therefore significant to the history of a country as through their study, they offered a possibility of discovering ways of life of the people who made them and the stages they went through over time. However the post-independence government administration did not seem to appreciate this role as little attention was made to the collection and preservation of heritage materials. There was a shift in the administrative paradigm of the Government regarding collection of heritage material. This aspect was left in the hands of professionals so that senior Government officials could concentrate on the new nation's priority areas centred on the eradication of poverty and the development of qualified human resource and infrastructure in sectors such as health, education and agriculture.²⁴

Writing about the management of Somalia's cultural heritage, Steven A. Brandt and Osman Yusuf Mohamed noted that post-colonial Somalia failed to put up an appropriate legislation to manage its cultural heritage till 1991. Up till then, it used the 1946 Antiquity Ordinance for British Somaliland.²⁵ When a new bill was submitted to Parliament in 1984, it got tied till 1991.²⁶ Similarly, in Zambia, the Ministry of Legal Affairs failed to present to Parliament the Draft Bill presented to it in 1996 for enactment into law.²⁷ The Draft Bill was meant to improve the running of museums once enacted into law. Brandt and Mohamed suggested reasons for the bill's failure to be enacted into law. Among these were that; firstly, Parliament generally lacked awareness of and/interest on the country's preservation problems. Secondly, the public had little interest in the protection of its cultural heritage. Thirdly, there were no Somali archaeologists or preservationists skilled or interested enough in educating the public and Parliament about the importance of cultural heritage management. Fourthly, the Somali National University did not participate in the development of Somalia's cultural heritage because the history department did not offer any course in

archaeology until the mid-1980s when a general survey course in African archaeology was introduced. Even when that happened, the general dearth of financial and logistical support, including salaries from the academy and the government severely restricted the activities of the archaeology programme.²⁸

In addition to the fact that the post colonial administration was more preoccupied with issues related to poverty alleviation and the development of human resource and infrastructure in the new nation, the observation made by Brandt and Mohamed also applied to post-colonial Zambia regarding management of its historical movable heritage and other resources. Firstly, the Zambian Parliament, like the Somali one lacked awareness and/or interest in the country's preservation of its movable heritage. Issues regarding the preservation of the country's heritage were hardly examined and where they did were merely glossed over as only a few Members of Parliament, understood matters related to museums, in order to discuss them convincingly and with passion. Consequently, not much funding was allocated for museum causes. Much of Government funding went to matters related to education, health, agriculture and infrastructure provision, issues they understood better as they have political implications, which affected their positions directly. Without funding, research, through which most objects were collected, stood at a low ebb.²⁹

Further, whilst Livingstone Museum during the colonial era received a lot of objects from all parts of the country through Government Secretariat, its successor, Cabinet Office did not do so mainly because senior government officers lacked appreciation regarding the significance of objects in the reconstruction of history. The collection of heritage materials became the preserve of museum professionals.

Secondly, there was no museologist interested enough or perhaps even skilled enough in museological issues, to educate the public and Parliament about the

importance of collecting movable heritage materials for study and posterity. Most of the research staff at the Museum were at master's level and specialised in disciplines that were mainly purely academic such as archaeology, history, ethnography/social anthropology and fields in natural sciences such as ornithology and entomology. The few who studied Museology did it at either certificate or diploma level. Only one member of staff did Museology at masters' level. Whilst their competence in the fields they specialised in could not be doubted, they lacked adequate competence and confidence to passionately educate government officers and parliamentarians on heritage issues, some of whom had PhDs in their fields.

Thirdly, the University of Zambia, like the Somalia National University which did not participate in the development of their country's cultural heritage did not participate in the preservation and development of the country's movable heritage in general and historical heritage in particular. Since its inception, the Department of History of the University of Zambia did not offer courses in museum and heritage studies or archaeology.³⁰

The University also did not send students on its staff development programme overseas to undertake courses in the noted disciplines. In such a situation, it was difficult to have a public, Parliament or government officials who appreciated museum issues such as management of movable heritage. By not having such courses offered at the University of Zambia, the general public was denied an understanding of the importance of managing the country's heritage considering the fact that most people who passed through the University ended up as decision makers in various sectors of the *Zambian society*.

Additionally, it is the view of this researcher that the few collections made during the post-colonial period compared to the colonial era could also be explained

through political and cultural/traditional reasons. The colonial administration collected not for noble reasons as it seemed but for political reasons. Writing on the preservation of objects in colonial Africa, Herbert Sanslmayr noted:

The same people who championed the preservation of these cultural objects, had nothing against the expansion of European colonialism. One wanted to extract as much information as possible about a colony in order to exploit its natural resources and information about its people to rule them. Museums served as documentary centres, as archives, for this purpose, at the same time the rich cultural heritage of the exploited was being the highest of these.³¹

Arising from the above, undoubtedly, during colonial Zambia, the state administration collected for political reasons; that is, through the study of collections made, they hoped to understand the people they were ruling and thus be in a position to control them so that they could exploit their natural resources easily. As Amy Henderson and Adrienne L. Kaeppler noted, objects gave insight to the “thoughts and behaviour of people who made and used them.”³² It was therefore necessary to collect and study the material culture because through them they could learn the psychic nature, social, economic and political structures of their subjects and how they lived thereby minimise areas of conflict as they went on exploiting their natural resources for their own economic benefits.

On the other hand, the post-colonial administrators saw no reason to collect and preserve their material cultural objects because they were from a tradition, which did not have much preservation concerns. While admittedly, a number of objects were preserved at courtyards of kings and chiefs, and in some cases were even preserved in special buildings in the custody of traditional leaders with the responsibility of taking care of the tribal heritage objects not in use³³, generally this was not common among subjects most of whom became national leaders when the country achieved political independence.

For most subjects, if a utility object such as a wooden plate or stool became obsolete, there was no reason to preserve it because nature always provided. Such objects were generally thrown away while the owner simply walked into the bush to cut a log of wood from which a similar object would be made to replace the old one. This lack of attention to posterity found its way in post-colonial government administration. It was not necessary to spend money to look after (restore and/or preserve) obsolete objects, more so in the face of other competing needs such as education and health. Nonetheless, even then, over a period of time, the Museum made a considerable collection of different objects for preservation, study and posterity.

Historical Heritage Collection and its Significance

Although the Livingstone Museum began as a social anthropological institution devoted to the collection and study of anthropological and archaeological collections, over the years, it developed into a multi-disciplinary institution comprising of departments of Natural History and Social Sciences. Natural History was composed of Botany, Entomology, Ornithology, Ichthyology and a small section of Taxidermy while the Department of Social Sciences was composed of Ethnography and Art, Archaeology (Prehistory) and History. The Sections were supported by one of the oldest Libraries in the country dating back to the 1930s.

The History Section was established in 1957. It was charged with the following responsibilities: to collect objects and documents which had any bearing on the various aspects of Zambia's history; to carry out detailed research into tribal (pre-colonial), colonial and contemporary history of the country; to educate the public through publications and displays the findings of such research; to make historical collections in the custody of the Museum available to other research workers and to store and preserve the country's movable historical heritage for future generations.³⁴

Whilst carrying out these responsibilities, a substantial collection of historical heritage materials was made totalling about twenty thousand.³⁵ These comprised of documents, photographs, three-dimensional objects and paintings.

In 1977, recognising the importance of archives, an Archives Department was established at the Museum with the task of collecting and preserving documents and similar items of historical importance to Zambia.³⁶ However, it soon folded up because the Archives Ordinance 21 of 1946 which received amendments from time to time continued to control the management of archives even in post-colonial Zambia until 1969 when the National Archives of Zambia (NAZ) was formed through Act No. 44, Chapter 268 of the Laws of Zambia.³⁷ The Department failed because the Government was unable to give it authority to collect materials from Government institutions and individuals as a legal institution, the NAZ, where all non-current materials were to be taken for preservation already existed.³⁸ Nonetheless, right up from the formative years, archival materials formed a large part of historical collections made. However, up until the 1950s, the materials were regarded as part of the Museum Library collections while three-dimensional historical objects were preserved in either the ethnography or archaeology section.

Documents

Zambia, like most parts of Central Africa had an influx of European visitors, particularly in the 19th Century. These included explorers, hunters, traders and missionaries. These visitors recorded their impressions of the way of life of the indigenous people. They also described the geographical features of the areas they visited. The Museum made a wide collection of documents generated by these people, most of which formed its archival collection. The collection included books both in the English and Zambian vernacular languages dating from 1867 and handwritten letters,

most of them being those of David Livingstone and missionaries like Francois Coillard, Adolphe Jalla, Edwin W. Smith, Clement M. Doke and Jules Torrend. They dated from 1841 to 1873. Other archival collections were personal diaries and papers of historical figures such as David Livingstone, Richard Thornton, Frank Melland, a former administrator in Northern Rhodesia and Edward H. Lane-Poole, also a former officer in the Northern Rhodesian Government. Also collected were explorers and travellers' accounts and reports, both in handwritten and typed form that dated from 1860 to the 1950s. Others were the Northern Rhodesia officials' reports dating from 1900 and newspapers, which dated from 1906. The newspapers collected included *Livingstone Mail*, *Northern News*, *Central African Post*, *Zambia News*, *South-West News*, *Intanda*, *Tsopano*, *Liseli*, *Ilyashi*, *Mutende*, *Inshila*, *Imbila* and many others.

In an attempt to study the culture of the ethnic groups of Zambia, the colonial administration employed social anthropologists. Some of these deposited their manuscripts into the Museum collection. Some of these manuscripts were later published in book form and these were also collected. The manuscripts collected are significant in that they are a source of tangible reference material for the reconstruction of the country's cultural and social history, particularly as regards the way pre-colonial society in Zambia was organised (culturally, socially, politically, and economically) and how they responded to early European intrusion and to colonial rule and its attendant ideology of capitalism.³⁹

During the advent of colonial rule, colonial officials in Zambia sent reports of their encounters with African leadership and slave and ivory traders to their sponsors abroad. Some of these records were collected by the Museum. There were also copies of treaties signed between African chiefs and concession seekers. Some Europeans came to hunt wild game and in the process recorded their observations concerning the

land, vegetation, animal life and people of the areas they passed through. Among the collections made of such people are the diaries and hunting and trading licences of George Westbeeck and Norman Maclead. These documents are significant in that they throw light on the vegetation, animal life, and the people who inhabited the land before the advent of colonial rule. They are therefore invaluable because they provide tangible historical data for the reconstruction of the history of Zambia prior to colonial rule.

Also in the collection are files on miscellaneous issues, hand-written, typed and photocopied Government publications of the BSA Company reports in general and those concerning the North-Eastern Rhodesia and North-Western Rhodesia in particular, the United Kingdom and the Northern Rhodesia Government records. Still others are minutes of different organisations dating from 1920 to 1960, journals, both bound and in manila covers, dating from the 1920s to the 1980s, War News concerning the First and Second World War; Government Gazettes and Statutory Instruments dating from the 1890s. Others are historical manuscripts dating from the 1940s, historical maps dating from the 1890s to the 1970s, different types of receipts and tax accounts dating from 1900 to the 1950s.

In 1960, the Museum embarked on an ambitious programme to collect and gather together all available manuscripts of traditional histories of ethnic groups of Northern Rhodesia, most of which were in vernacular languages. Consequently, in the same year, twenty-eight vernacular histories, some of them in manuscript while others in published form were collected. Most of them came from the Publications Bureau of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland (PBNRN). Over the years, they were translated into English, the country's official language so that they could be of use to a lot of people, particularly researchers. The RLI also donated a number of manuscripts of historical

significance to the Museum. These originated from its researches.⁴⁰ As a result of this project, over the years an enormous collection of manuscripts of ethnic histories of different Zambian peoples was made. These include, the Lunda, Lala, Ngoni, Chewa, Tumbuka-Henga, Nkoya, Tonga, Makonde, Bemba, Lozi, Ambo, Yao, Lomwe, Soli, Bisa, Ushi and Luvale.⁴¹ The manuscripts are significant to the history of Zambia in that they form an important source material for its reconstruction as seen from its indigenous populations. It offers a balance to historical records made by European writers on Zambian history.

Other archives collected are records related to the struggle for independence, the first Independence celebrations and the social, political and economic developments in the country during post-colonial Zambia.⁴² The noted collections are significant in that they provide concrete evidence as sources to the different aspects of the history of Zambia regarding the colonial and post-colonial eras.

Photographic Materials

Photographic materials also formed a major collection of the Museum. As Mizinga noted, photographs are important in the reconstruction of history because they captured events as they happened, keeping all details of events being recorded. Further, they did not only add beauty to literary works but also helped researchers interpret historical events especially when they were arranged coherently.⁴³ Furthermore, they formed a good supplement to written records in history reconstruction as they exposed details that were missed out by written sources.⁴⁴

Cognisant of the importance of photographs, the Museum collected numerous photographic materials, some of which dated as far back as the 1890s. The photographs covered the history and ethnology of the country, archaeological

excavations, scenery, industry and most aspects of life in the country and are of great value for historical reference purposes. They are either in loose copies or in albums.

Among the photographs are those that recorded activities of early hunters and travellers, caravan traders, missionaries and colonial administrators at work dating back to the 1890s. Some of the collected photographs recorded nationalist activities during the struggle for the country's independence and reaction from the colonial masters, which was often brutal. A typical example of such a photographic collection is that of Julia Mulenga Chikamoneka, who, together with Emena Saidi, striped before the colonial secretary, Ian Macleod in 1963 to show their indignation over colonial rule; the Lillian Burton killing and the execution of her convicted killers. These form a good link on the history of the liberation of the country. Lillian Burton, her two daughters, Rosemary and Deborah were burnt on 8 May 1960 in their vehicle. Lillian died from burns on 16 May 1960. Following this incidence, four African nationalists, Edward Ngebe, Robin Kamina, James Paikani Phiri and John Chanda were accused of having caused her death. The four were tried, found guilty and sentenced to death. They were hanged on 22 November 1961 in Livingstone.⁴⁵

The photographs are an important source of data in the reconstruction of liberation history in Zambia. They signify that in the process of the struggle for independence, innocent souls like that of Lillian were lost due to unbridled violence caused by colonial oppression and the four men by colonial oppression. The four hanged men signify the people who sacrificed their lives in order for the country to achieve her independence.⁴⁶

There were also several collections that the Museum made focusing on the social, political, economic and cultural activities in post-colonial Zambia. For example, activities of the First, Second and Third Republics, as well as events that led

the country to change from one form of government to the other were well documented through photographs. Chiefs, traditional ceremonies, such as *Umutomboko* of the Lunda people of Mwata Kazembe, *Likumbi lya Mize* of the Luvale and *Kuomboka* of the Lozi, were also well-captured and such photographic collection provide an important source to the reconstruction of the cultural history of the country. They vividly show the type of changes that occurred in the country's cultural institutions over time. While some of the photographic collections came as donations, the Museum's photographers generated others.

Three-Dimensional Historical Objects

The historical objects collected and managed by the Livingstone Museum included the relics of historical figures such as those of David Livingstone, Cecil Rhodes, firearms (see Appendix XIIIb) and ammunition. The firearms are of historical importance in that some of them were used during the First and Second World Wars. They thus present a physical testimony of the country's participation in the two World Wars. Some of the firearms and ammunition were used by Arab slave traders and are therefore a physical evidence of the country's involvement in the obnoxious trade. In addition to guns, military and police objects in the Museum's collection are swords, helmets, boots, truncheons, handcuffs, and uniforms. These items were used to subdue Africans during the consolidation of colonial rule. They are tangible symbols of colonial rule and its oppressive nature and form an important source material in the reconstruction of the history of Zambia, especially the brutal aspect of colonial rule.

Before the advent of colonial rule, Kings and Chiefs⁴⁷ ruled Zambia. To symbolise their authority, power and strength over their territories, these traditional rulers used different kinds of regalia. They also had different regalia for different occasions. Most of the insignias collected by the Museum symbolise traditional ruler's

power, strength and authority. Such insignias include objects that were given to them during their installation to symbolise their new identity. Such objects include flywhisks, special headdresses, ceremonial axes, skins of animals such as lions, leopards to symbolise their power, strength and authority. Some of the objects collected are communicating instruments. Examples of such objects in the custody of the Museum are the talking drum or *Mondo* used to summon subjects in far-flung areas to the palace whenever there was an urgent message to be conveyed, for instance, war message and gongs used to alert subjects of the presence or movements of the King or Chief in an area.

The noted objects are important because they shed light on origins of the country's various ethnic groups. Keeping them in the Museum ensured that knowledge and particulars of those objects are not lost. It also ensured the provision of physical evidence essential in the tracking of changes that could have occurred in the Zambian chieftain institutions over time.

Some of the collections made were tools and weapons used during the pre-colonial period. Examples of objects used as tools included hoes, axes, anvils and their supporters, tongs hammers and adzes while those used as weapons included bows and arrows, spears of various shapes and battle axes. These objects are important in that they provide material evidence of the type of tools and weapons used during the pre-colonial period thereby highlighting the nature of their technology over time. The objects are significant in that they throw light on the reasons for the country's being easily conquered by European imperialist who colonised the country despite their small population. The tools and weapons technology of indigenous populations was too weak to withstand that of European colonisers.

Also collected were instruments that were used in the management of slave trade during the Nineteenth century in central Africa. These include *sjamboks* (whips made from hippo skins). The whips were used for flogging slaves who failed to transport merchandise given to them for various reasons such as the excessive weight of the goods that needed to be carried or when slave carriers became tired, ill or were simply perceived to be rude. The slave control objects in the collection include slave collars and chains used to tie up slaves so that they could not escape. Some of these items were collected from the last slave caravan intercepted by the British in the late Nineteenth century at Old Fife⁴⁸, now part of Isoka District. Frank Worthington collected other objects such as neck-irons from a slave caravan he intercepted near the Angolan border in 1897.⁴⁹

In connection with the foregoing, another interesting collection in the Museum is the “battle flag” which belonged to one of the last slave caravans to visit the country. The flag was found among the Tabwa Swahili in Mporokoso and dates to the late Nineteenth century. It is unique in that only one such flag is known from Northern Rhodesia. Robert Codrington, an Administrator during colonial Zambia, collected the flag. The flag was deposited in the National Museum of Southern Rhodesia.⁵⁰

The objects are significant to the history of the country in that they provide vivid evidence of the country’s involvement in the slave trade. They also throw light on the horrors associated with it such as the flogging of slaves or even hacking to death those who failed to reach their destinations for various reasons such as illness.⁵¹

Trade items that were used during the pre-colonial period were also collected. They include *mpande* or cowrie shells, beads, tobacco, ivory, copper and iron ores and objects and calico cloth. During the slave trade period, slaves were often exchanged with items such as the forementioned. These objects shed light on the character of the

trade and the suffering that slaves went through. Through the collection and preservation of these objects, the phase of the country's history regarding slave trade is kept into permanent memory for posterity and as material evidence for research in order to understand the phenomenon better.

Objects that reflected the colonial period were also collected. Among these are the BSA Company flag and the British flag, seals and revenue stamps for the BSA Company and Colonial Office rule in the country. These are important symbols of colonial rule in Zambia and are a reminder of the historical fact that it actually took place.

Other important objects among the collection are two *machila* (hammocks) used by colonial officials during tours of districts. Colonial officials such as District and Provincial Commissioners were often carried in hammocks during tours of their areas. As a caption on the hammock that was displayed in the Museum's History Gallery during the period of collecting data for this thesis aptly observed, "... the carrying of colonial officers in hammocks was ironical because the same officials campaigned against slavery and the slave trade while at the same time they perpetuated servitude by being carried in hammocks."⁵² It was this kind of treatment from colonial masters that forced Zambians to fight for political independence.⁵³ The two hammocks are significant to the history of the country in that they bring to light for posterity the suffering that the people of Zambia went through during colonial rule. They also provide evidence as to why the nationalists put up a struggle to end colonial rule.⁵⁴

There are many objects that were collected that reflected the Zambian people's *struggle against colonial rule. Most of these are on the struggle against the Federation and the Cha Cha Cha*⁵⁵ campaigns. Among these are Simon Mwansa Kapwepwe's

mourning shirt, a piece component of a grader used to clear blocked roads, piece of log used to block bridges, one of the axes used to cut down trees to block roads so that security forces would not pass, police baton used to beat up people and pieces of iron remains of the Northern Rhodesia grader which was burnt by freedom fighters in Chinsali (see Appendix Xa). The objects on the Cha Cha Cha campaign are significant in that they are an invaluable source of information for the reconstruction of liberation history of Zambia. They provide hard evidence of the oppressive nature of colonial rule and the nature of response made by indigenous people.

Other objects included were a coffin that was made and carried by political activists in a demonstration to symbolise the end of Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in 1963. The significance of the collection is that it brought into memory in the political history of Zambia, the struggles that Africans put up in the fight against the Federation. The Federation was imposed against the wishes of Africans in the three territories.⁵⁶ Although death is considered tragic and normally not celebrated in most African cultures, Zambians were happy to see Federation come to an end as it was a step further to their emancipation from colonial bondage which actually became a reality in 1964.

The Museum also collected objects that reminded the country of some of the unfortunate events that took place in the country. Among such sad events was the Lumpa uprising. Some of the objects collected included burners and spears used by Lumpa fighters in northern Zambia. The Lumpa Church uprising started when Alice Mulenga Lenshina instructed her followers to destroy their political cards, because she believed they were ungodly. As the Movement was based in a United National Independence Party (UNIP) stronghold, a skirmish erupted between Lumpa followers and UNIP party members who feared that the destruction of party cards would weaken

UNIP's position in northern Zambia. The state of affairs grew worse until a situation akin to a civil war broke out in mid 1964 resulting in the death of over 500 people.⁵⁷

One of the results of Colonial rule in Zambia was the introduction of cash economy. In this economic system, money played an important role in people's economic transactions. In order to preserve this tradition for posterity, the Livingstone Museum collected both Zambian and foreign currency in different denominations, both coins and notes. The oldest coin collected dated to as far back as 1819 while paper currency dated to the 1950s. Members of the public donated most of the currency. In connection with currency, also collected were cheques, money and postal orders.

Paintings were also collected. They included those of Thomas Baines who visited the Victoria Falls in 1862 and measured its spray⁵⁸ and Frederick Barber, a trader and traveller who made water colour paintings of the Falls in 1874. Barber's paintings were of particular interest because apart from those of Livingstone and Baines, they were the earliest known painting of the Victoria Falls.⁵⁹ They therefore provide evidence on how the Falls was at that time. Other paintings collected were those of Steven Kappata. Most of his paintings were on African experiences during colonial and post-colonial period in Zambia. Using paintings, Kappata criticised the colonial administration in a humorous way for the oppression and humiliation Africans went through during their rule. He also criticised the greediness and hypocrisy of post-colonial rulers.⁶⁰ The paintings are significant to the history of Zambia in that they shed light on life during the colonial period and on the ordinary Zambians' perception of post-colonial rulers. They are therefore useful aids to the reconstruction of cultural, social and political history of both colonial and post-colonial Zambia.

Colonial society was not only involved in issues of serious nature such as politics and economics, but also had time to socialise and the Museum collected objects that reflected this human activity. Such collections included slates and tapes, saucepan radio and accessories and a gramophone⁶¹ (see Appendix VIc). By collecting these objects the Museum recorded the social history of the country as provided by physical evidence for research and posterity.

The Museum also collected objects that reflected the post-colonial period. However, as noted earlier, the collection was not as vast as that of the colonial period. Among the objects collected are the Zambian flag alleged to have been raised on the Independence Day at the Independence Stadium in Lusaka on 24 October 1964; the Independence torch; relics related to the Independence celebrations such as mugs, badges, broaches, neck ties, invitation cards to the swearing in ceremony of the first President of the Republic of Zambia, copies of the Independence White Paper and the Independence brief case (see Appendix Xc). Other objects collected were associated with the social, economic and political developments in the First, Second and Thirds republics. The objects included currency, and those associated with parastatal companies and various development plans.

Through the noted collections, together with archaeological ones such as stone and flake implements, hammer stones and fossil remains and ethnological collection, such as dress, metalwork, woodwork, basketwork, musical instruments, pottery, mats, salt and objects on divination and magic from different parts of the country⁶², the Livingstone Museum recorded the tangible aspects of the history of Zambia. The collected objects provide physical evidence that shed light on different aspects of the country's history.

Objects in the Livingstone Museum are complimented by those at Moto Moto, Lusaka and Copperbelt Museums in shedding light on the country's history. These depict the cultural history of northern Zambia, the political and social history of the country and the mineralogical and cultural history of the Copperbelt and central Zambia respectively. Further, objects from Nayuma Museum and Choma Museum and Craft Centre, which show the cultural history of western and southern Zambia respectively, also compliment those at the Livingstone Museum. Taken as a whole, objects in these museums form a representative collection of different aspects of the country and provide resource materials that shed light on the different aspects of the history of the country during pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial Zambia.⁶³

Nature of Storage of Historical Collections

As noted earlier, at the time the Museum was established, historical objects did not have a storeroom of their own. Consequently, up until the 1950s, archival materials were part of the Library and some of the three-dimensional objects were stored in the ethnography storeroom while others were in the archaeological one. Those on display were also either in the ethnography or archaeology section.⁶⁴

When their number grew, some of the collections were stored in the Clock Tower, following the opening of the Museum purpose building in 1951. The Clock Tower was built so that clients could view or take photographs of the Victoria Falls or the Town. The place gave a good view of the Falls and the Town.⁶⁵ Most of the collections stored in the Tower were archival. Following completion of the Research Wing of the Museum building in 1961, which created offices for researchers, the office of the Keeper of History also became a storeroom.

Guns and historical paintings were stored in special rooms in the Museum basement while historical collections designated by the Museum as special were kept

by the Director in a strong room. Generally, these were objects, which by their nature were more at risk of being lost through damage or theft. Such objects included treaties, fragile documents, ammunition, currencies, medals and animal trophies such as elephant tusks and rhino horns donated to the Museum because of their historical significance. Entry into the strong room was restricted and one needed to put an application a week before he/she could be allowed access to any collection in it. Further, in order to enhance accountability and the security of the collections, an officer who was not allowed to enter it alone kept keys to the strong room.⁶⁶ By undertaking these measures, the protection of source references for the reconstruction of different aspects of the history of Zambia that were in danger of being lost was ensured.

The archival objects in the Tower were arranged according to subjects. The objects were wrapped in acid free papers and then placed in boxes for storage. The acid free papers reduced deterioration of papers due to some types of ink, which were acidic and could thus lead to the destruction of the paper fabric if not controlled.⁶⁷

Light was another important factor that led to the destruction of some archival materials. This factor was stressed by Norbert A. Kayombo as a problem to archival materials in Tanzanian Museums.⁶⁸ He noted that radiant energy from light caused serious damages to objects including possible chemical changes and that organic objects such as paper were the most vulnerable. He also noted the effects of light on museum objects. Among these were the fading of colours and weakening of fibres. Further, he noted two main aspects, which he said were most destructive to museum objects and that these aspects needed to be controlled. These were the wavelength of light and the duration to which the object was exposed to light. Furthermore, Kayombo noted that the short-wavelength (ultraviolet radiation) possessed the greatest

photochemical activities and therefore recommended the use of filters to screen out the ultraviolet radiation and the reduction of the duration to which objects were exposed to light.⁶⁹ Manyando Mukela in reference to conservation problems faced in Zambian museums, particularly at Nayuma Museum, echoed Kayombo's observations.⁷⁰

The issues noted by Kayombo and Mukela were a serious factor in the management of historical heritage at the Livingstone Museum. In order to reduce the destruction of the archival materials due to high natural and artificial light, no direct light was allowed to fall on the archives, while the use of low voltage light bulbs regulated the intensity of artificial light. The bulbs were switched on only when the storeroom was in use. Natural light was reduced by curtaining windows with black cloth materials, which are good light absorbent; otherwise windows were ever kept closed. The steps taken ensured that documents did not fade colour (for instance, turn yellow) and/or suffer weakened fibres, thus making them brittle and fragile to use due to chemical reactions between ink and paper.⁷¹

Paper was mainly made of cellulose and as such absorbed water from the atmosphere when it was moist and lost it when the atmosphere was dry. The continuous uncontrolled absorption and loss of water due to atmospheric changes led it to either expand or contract depending on the atmospheric conditions or relative humidity. For cellulose fibre to retain flexibility, it needed an optimum temperature because continuous fluctuations resulted in the brittleness and breaking of paper especially when improperly handled by museum staff and researchers.⁷² This constituted a serious problem to the Livingstone Museum because some archival materials were made of more than one material each of which required a different relative humidity at the same temperature. Books with leather binding were an

example of such materials kept by the Museum. This situation constituted a management problem of archives as it caused damage to ink layers.⁷³

Other factors that had a telling effect on paper included rodents, insects, fungi, moulds, cockroaches, booklice and termites. The Museum was able to control these through the use of appropriate chemicals. Human beings were also another factor that proved a menace to archives as some people used archival materials improperly while others removed some pages from them. Others simply store them. Measures to control loss of archival materials through human factor were taken such as allowing access to photocopies only and confining researchers to specific rooms under security.⁷⁴ This ensured their safety and guaranteed the protection of historical source materials for posterity.

Efforts Made to Improve Management of Movable Heritage Materials

In order to improve the general management of heritage materials under its custody, the Museum in conjunction with International Council of African Museums (AFRICOM) and Prevention in Museums in Africa (PREMA), an organ under ICCROM (an acronym for a French named organisation, “Centre international d'études pour la conservation et la restauration des biens culturels”, which in the English language stands for “International Centre for the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property”), based in Rome, Italy, organised a three-month conservation course at the institution in 1991. PREMA was formed in 1986 with support from ICCROM in order to mitigate preservation concerns of heritage materials in African museums. ICCROM had realised that materials in African Museums were fast deteriorating due to lack of expert knowledge in conservation by most African Museum staff. Twenty members of staff from different heritage institutions in Zambia, of whom nine were from the Livingstone Museum and two from Mozambique

attended the course. The objective of the course was to enhance the analytical skills in heritage preservation and conservation matters of heritage managers, curators and conservation officers in museums.⁷⁵

The course was intended to offer appropriate solutions to conservation problems and to enhance the participants' ability to implement such solutions competently. Participants were trained using ethnographical objects, most of which were of mixed material composition, covering elements such as those found in archaeology and history collections. They were also trained in the inspection of objects to determine their condition, treatment of objects in poor conditions, cleaning, documentation, packaging, (padding and bagging) and storage on shelves and drawers. Similarly, they were introduced to registration of objects on shelf sheets and accession registers in order to provide records that would enable museum workers identify and locate objects easily when required.⁷⁶ In addition, participants were trained in the chemistry and care of paper, photographic materials and their preparation.⁷⁷

As part of the PREMA course, an exhibition on the theme, "*Saving Our Dying Heritage: The Role of Conservation in the Preservation of Museum Objects*" was mounted. The Exhibition depicted bad and good methods of storing Museum objects and life cycles of objects.⁷⁸

Through the PREMA course, a conservation laboratory to cater for the conservation needs of the Museum was created. Basic equipment for the laboratory was provided by ICCROM. These included a deep freezer, sealing machine, relative humidity monitoring equipment (thermometers and hydrometers, which measured temperature and humidity directly, and thermohygrometers which recorded temperature and relative humidity concurrently and dehumidifier for the control of

relative humidity) and storage upgrading materials. The British High Commission also donated fifty-six storage units for the new temporary storeroom.⁷⁹

Following the PREMA Course, the Museum extended conservation to archival collections that were in a deplorable state.⁸⁰ In May 1992, a conservation expert, Lot Mutowebunyu, was invited from the National Archives of Zimbabwe. He had three tasks; firstly, to examine areas of the Museum that needed immediate attention, secondly, to assess the archival material in the holding and lastly, recommend action that needed to be taken to save the holding.⁸¹

Mutowebunyu noted the rapid deterioration of the Museum's archival materials. He recommended the establishment of a conservation unit within the existing infrastructure to be manned by a member of staff following training in paper conservation and restoration. Other recommendations made were the close monitoring of relative humidity and temperatures, the air-conditioning of storerooms while windows were to be shaded and closed at all times in order to reduce the entry of light. Shelves were to be kept dry and free from dust.⁸²

Following recommendations from the Zimbabwean conservation expert, the following measures were taken: windows were inspected on a daily basis to ensure that they remained ever closed and curtained to cut off sunlight while tungsten bulbs were reduced to one. The bulb was switched on only when there was a person working in the storeroom. The air-conditioner in the office of the Keeper of History, which for long had not been working and where the oldest and most delicate documents were kept, was repaired. Further, with a total grant of US \$15, 000.00 from the Social Sciences Research Council of America and the American Association of Learned Sciences in New York, one officer, Kingsley Choongo, was appointed as Paper Conservation Assistant. In 1994, he was sent to Zimbabwe where he trained for a

period of six months in Paper Conservation at the National Archives of Zimbabwe. Later in the same year, he received one-month training in Malaysia. From the remainder of the grant, the Museum purchased paper conservation equipment and materials from the Preservation Equipment in the UK.⁸³

However, due to financial constraints, the Museum was unable to purchase chemicals and materials for preventive and interventive conservation. Further, it also faced a problem of accommodation for the establishment of a fully-fledged paper laboratory. Thus, in 1995, another expert in paper conservation, Sherelyn Ogden of North-East Document Conservation Centre, Massachusetts, USA, came to the aid of the Museum. She carried out a conservation survey of library and archival materials. She also donated to the Museum 30 acid free phase boxes, 100 acid free folders and 25 roles of acid free wrappers.⁸⁴

Following these acquisitions, delicate and fragile documents like the David Livingstone original letters were wrapped in acid free tissue paper, placed in acid free folders, which were in turn put in acid free boxes. Ogden also carried demonstrations on surface cleaning of documents, adhesive removal and PH testing to determine the acidity of documents. At the end of her survey, she recommended the continuous monitoring and controlling of the environment in storerooms where archival materials were kept. She also stressed improvement in the condition of storerooms.⁸⁵

As part of the solution to the conservation problem, Ogden recommended the carrying out of stocktaking of all archival collections and microfilming of newspapers which were to be stored in boxes. She also recommended the expansion of conservation laboratory to include equipment for archival conservation while the roof to the Library, which was leaking, was to be repaired.⁸⁶ Another important observation, which Ogden made, was that generally, Livingstone Museum members of

staff were well trained and did their work professionally compared to those in most museums she visited in Africa and the USA. She noted that what they lacked in managing the material heritage in their care to expected standards was not competence but financial resources. She therefore called upon the Government, which was its sponsor to improve its financial base.⁸⁷

Documentation of Historical Collections

From museums' context, documentation refers to the coordinated process of recording all useful information about an object and the ability to have it when needed for use. It is an important aspect through which museums manage heritage in their care. Writing on the issue of documentation in museums, Kayombo noted that whenever a museum acquired an object or specimen, it ought to be identified immediately so that its entry and subsequent disposition was accurately recorded. He went on to say that after objects entering the museum had been recorded, it was the museum's responsibility to maintain their safe handling and storage. He also noted uses of registration to a museum.⁸⁸ The most important ones were that they identified an object and saved as a basis for later documentation and cataloguing.⁸⁹ Arising from the above, objects that did not have a record of information associated with them were of little value compared to those with such information.

In addition to Kayombo's observations, Mizinga noted the importance to a museum of having a record of collection of museum objects with associated information. Among the reasons outlined was that it provided information to researchers and made it easier to retrieve objects when needed. It also provided a tool by which decisions could be made regarding the preservation of collections. Further, it helped identify losses of objects when they occurred. In addition, it provided legal proof of ownership when thefts occurred and helped in facilitating police

investigations and insurance claims. In addition, it enhanced co-operation and collaboration between institutions as they could share databases. Most important, it ensured the non-occurrence of a permanent loss of information about collections once the Curator resigned or died.⁹⁰

Cognisant of the importance of documentation, the practice at Livingstone Museum was that when a Curator collected objects, including archival materials, a number of aspects regarding them were recorded. These included the title or name of the document or object, location in the Museum storeroom, its dimensions, material composition, its uses, period of use, original owner, method of acquisition, name or particulars of the person who sold or donated the object and the officer who purchased or collected it. Thus, when a document was collected, it was given an accession number. This was a unique identification number of the object assigned by the Museum. The object was then classified to subjects it belonged, for instance, Government publications, BSA Company records, Historical manuscripts, Tribal histories and customs, Stamps and telegrams. For each class, a letter such as A, B, C or D was assigned to it for easy identification. All details were recorded on a catalogue card, which was in turn recorded in an accession register under headings such as date, accession number, description of the object, locality, index number, how acquired and notes. Some of the information was kept in boxes.

Photographic materials were also recorded on catalogue cards with headings, which required the provision of information on the subject on which the photograph was based, subheading of the subject, name of the photographer and the serial number of the photograph. Details of each photograph collected were recorded in the suspension file or album in which it was kept.⁹¹ The Museum also had disposal

dress, handicrafts and social life of the different ethnic groups of the country.⁹³ In 1938, V. W. Brelsford compiled an enlarged second edition of the book. The book was a full guide to the collections in the Museum at that time.⁹⁴

Other objects that were documented were the David Livingstone's relics, sketch and notebooks and original letters in possession of the Museum. The objects were, published with comprehensive associated information in a catalogue in 1955.⁹⁵ The catalogue was updated in 1965⁹⁶ In 1990, all David Livingstone letters and documents dating from 1841 to 1872 in the custody of the Museum were compiled into a book edited by Timothy Holmes in conjunction with the Livingstone Museum.⁹⁷ These documents were important because they made available to readers in general and Zambian readers in particular the collection of Livingstone that were made by the Museum. Further, through these publications, readers were enlightened on the place of Livingstone in Zambia's history and indeed that of central Africa. David Livingstone was a detailed recorder of findings during his exploration of central Africa between 1851 and 1873.⁹⁸ Thus, his books, letters and diaries are significant in that they provide an invaluable source of data for the reconstruction of the history of Zambia before the advent of colonial rule.

Although the Museum had acquired a reasonable number of conservation equipment and trained one officer in basic conservation, it was unable to implement all the recommendations made by the two experts noted above. This was mainly due to dwindling government funding to the institution.⁹⁹ In addition, even though several efforts were made to source for funding from the government and donor agencies, little result was achieved.¹⁰⁰ In fact, as noted in Chapter Three, the result of the problem of inadequate funding to the Museum came to the fore in 1999, when a considerable number of archival materials were damaged beyond use due to heavy

rains as the Museum building roof was leaking while water was also sipping through the floor.

In an effort to improve the Museum's documentation system so that all collections were sufficiently documented, the Museum, through the NMB organised a Documentation Workshop in Lusaka in September 1999. The purpose was to create a single standardised system of documentation with the view to introduce an automated system by 2005. As a result, a Documentation Committee was tasked to work toward creating a documentation system and nomenclature to be used.¹⁰¹ With the assistance of Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD) a Workshop was held in Livingstone from 9 to 11 March 2005. The Workshop resolved to use both the manual and automated documentation systems. It also endorsed the type of information contained on collection forms, object cards and accession registers, which were presented by the Documentation Committee.¹⁰²

With help from the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), by 2006, a computerised documentation system had been established. Japanese volunteers manned it. By the end of the year, a few historical heritage materials had been entered in the new Documentation Computer Network on trial basis.¹⁰³ The efforts and steps indicated in the foregoing were important in that they enhanced further the preservation of historical records and ensured that those records were easily retrieved when needed. They were also significant in that they ensured the perpetual preservation of tangible data essential in the reconstruction of the history of Zambia. Used properly with other sources of history such as written sources, oral tradition, linguistic evidence and archaeology, they offered a chance of producing an authentic history of Zambia.

Conclusion

During the colonial period, more collections were made compared to the post-colonial era. This was mainly because the colonial administration put more stress on the collection of objects compared to their successor as they used collected objects as aids to understand African ways of life so that they could easily exercise their authority. On the other hand, the post-colonial administration did not need historical objects in order to understand the people because they were part of them. Preservation of objects was not considered important in the midst of more pressing needs such as health, education and eradication of poverty.

Collections in the Museum were mainly ethnological and archaeological. During the Museum's formative years, historical collections were made not as a policy issue but in the process of collecting the forenoted objects. However, during the later years, it was the Museum's policy to collect historical objects as well and for that purpose a History Section was opened in 1957. The historical collections made were of three types: documents, photographs and three-dimensional objects as well as a few paintings. The collections were made through a number of ways, notable ones being: bequeathments, donations, purchase and research activities by museum staff.

Before the Museum was established, the country lost an enormous amount of its movable heritage materials to neighbouring countries such as Zimbabwe and to far flung places such as Europe and America. These were lost through European travellers, traders, missionaries, colonial officers and some chiefs who took advantage of the situation to obtain economic benefits. Notwithstanding the foresaid, the Museum collected a substantial amount of objects and by collecting, documenting and preserving the collections made, the Museum preserved for posterity invaluable source materials that are useful in the reconstruction of different aspects of the history of the

country. The collections are therefore significant to the history of Zambia in that they throw light to the understanding of the different aspects of the history of the country such as the nature of colonial rule, the history of liberation and the cultural, social, political and economic progression and challenges the country experienced during the post colonial period. Overall, the Livingstone Museum offers important sources of historical data for the reconstruction of the country's history.

ENDNOTES

¹NAZ, SP4/12/15, Livingstone Museum, 1936-50, Circular letter Nation from Provincial Commissioner, (hereafter, PC) Northern Province (hereafter, NP) to all District Commissioner, (hereafter, DC) NP. Minute No. A13/195/34-(708), 20 May 1936.

²NAZ, SP4/12/15, Circular Letter from PC, NP to all DCs, 25 August 1936.

³NAZ, SP4/12/15, DC, Mpika to Curator, Livingstone Memorial Museum, (LMM) Minute No. TSLFP/NBM, 203/15: A/39, 7 May 1939; also see SP4/12/15, Letter from DC, Mpika to Curator, LMM, Minute No. TSLFP/NBM: 453/15: A/12/15, 31 May 1939; and SP4/12/15, letter from DC Mpika to Curator, LMM, Minute No. TSLFP/JLS: 628/15/B/39, 5 August 1939.

⁴NAZ, SP4/8/4, Historical Monuments: Rhodes-Livingstone Museum Anthropology, letter from A.M. Nalubutu, for District President, (hereafter, DP) Mongu-Lealui District Kuta to DC, Mongu, Minute No. 64, A/1/694 (108), 15 September 1956.

⁵NAZ, SP4/8/4, Letter from Nalubutu for DP, Mongu-Lealui Kuta to DC, Mongu, Minute No. 1496/2: 2/30, 3 September 1956. In this letter, the DC was invited to take photographs of objects; also see letter from Resident Commissioner, Barotseland Protectorate to DC, Mongu, Minute No. 1496/2: 2/30, 3 September 1956.

⁶NAZ, SP4/8/4, Historical Monuments: Rhodes-Livingstone Museum Anthropology, Circular letter from W.F. Stubbs, Secretary for Native Affairs (hereafter, SNA) to the Resident Commissioner, Barotseland Protectorate, all PCs and copied to the Secretary, National Monuments Commission, Minute No. Ref 55, E/2101/16, 1 February 1956. To this letter was enclosed a letter from the Secretary for the Preservation of Natural and Historical Monuments and Relics to the Northern Rhodesia Government dated 9 January 1956 in which he requested DCs to provide information to the Museum concerning tribal heirlooms in their districts with assistance from Provincial Administration Officers.

⁷NAZ, SP4/8/4, Circular letter from SNA to the Resident Commissioner, Barotseland Protectorate, all PCs, Minute No. Ref. 55, E/101/16, 1 February 1956.

⁸NAZ, SP4/8/4, Circular Minute from SNA to the Resident Commissioner, 1 February 1956.

⁹Ladislav Holy, "Introduction", *Travels North of the Zambezi, 1885-6*, trans. Chrita Johns (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1975), pp. x-xi.

¹⁰Karen Elizabeth Milbourne, "Diplomacy in Motion: Art, Pageantry and Political Creativity in Barotseland", PhD thesis, facsimile, UMI Dissertation Services, Graduate College, The University of Iowa, 2003, p. 25.

¹¹T. A. Joyce, "Africa South: On a Ceremonial Mask and Dress from the Upper Zambezi now in the British Museum", *MAN*, 2, 38 (1902), p. 75.

¹²Hugh S. Stannus, "Central Africa: A Rare Type of Musical Instrument from Central Africa", *MAN*, 20 (March, 1920), p. 39.

¹³Milbourne, "Diplomacy in Motion: Art, Pageantry and Political Creativity in Barotseland", p. 5.

¹⁴Milbourne, "Diplomacy in Motion: Art, Pageantry and Political Creativity in Barotseland", p. 159.

¹⁵NAZ, SEC1/134, Purchase of elephant tusks for Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, Kaffrian Museum exhibits, Model of huts, 1942 –1948: Letter, Ref. No. 353/2.N/Gen/4 dated 23 February 1938, entitled, Purchase of Exhibits from E.H.L. Poole, Provincial Commissioner, Southern Province, Livingstone to the Chief Secretary, Lusaka. The letter was copied to the Accountant General, signifying the importance the colonial Government attached to the Museum's acquisition of collections; various correspondences on collections made by DCs and PCs to the SNA in LMA, G155-162, File No. 156, Vol. 1, Department of Native Affairs: native Arts and Crafts, 23 November 1929 to 24 December 1931; and Numerical Index and Catalogue of Exhibits in Native Arts and Crafts Museum, 1933.

¹⁶For example, in 1951, 1953 and 1955, the Welcome Historical Medical Museum donated ethnographical objects from Africa. These formed a valuable collection of comparable material, much of which was no longer available in the location they were originally collected. See Rhodes-Livingstone Museum Annual Reports (hereafter, RLMAR) for 1951, p. 7; 1953, p. 7; and 1955, p. 7. Further, in 1953 Mrs. Marshall donated to the Museum manuscripts, letters, reports and photographs of the late Hugh C. Marshall. The collection shed light on the early days of British administration in Nyasaland and North-Eastern Rhodesia. See RLMAR for 1953, p.6. Another example is the donation made by Mrs. Coryndon of photographs and relics dealing with Sir Robert Coryndon's service in colonial Zambia. See RLMAR for the year 1954, p. 5. Like the Marshall collection, the Coryndon collection shed light on early British administration in the country.

¹⁷For instance, Max Gluckman, a researcher and Director of the RLI from 1942 to 1947 gave to the Museum a notable collection of Makishi costumes from Barotseland for which he provided a full documentation. However, when the Central African Archives became the official repository of records and other materials dealing with the history of the country, much of the collection was deposited in Salisbury; see Monica Wilson, "The Institute under Max Gluckman, 1942-1947", *African Social Research*, 24 (December 1977), p. 287.

¹⁸For instance, in 1966, the Museum bought a letter written by David Livingstone in 1859 addressed to John Kirk at a cost of £150. In the letter, Dr. Livingstone accused Thomas Baine, an artist of stealing goods belonging to the Zambezi Expedition. See Times Reporter, "Historic Letter bought at 150 Pounds", *Times of Zambia*, 22 1966, p. 9.

¹⁹NAZ, SEC1/142, The Rhodes-Livingstone Museum Ordinance, 1946, Articles 6-8 and LMA, GRZ, National Museums Board Act No. 10 Museums Board Act No. 10 of 1966, Sections, 6 – 9.

²⁰G. Ellis Burcaw, *Introduction to Museum Work*, 3rd edn. (New York and Oxford: Altamira Press, 1997), p. 56.

²¹See History files in Keepers Office on attempts made by Muntemba, Mizinga and Mufuzi.

²²John Forsdylce, (Sir) "The Functions of National Museums", *Museums Journal*, 49, 2 (May 1949), pp. 30-31. For details on the role of objects in museums, see, Flora E. S. Kaplan, (ed.), *Museums and the making of Ourselves: The Role of Objects in National Identity* (London and New York: Leicester University Press, 1994).

²³Steven Lubar, "Public History in Federal Museum: The Smithsonian's National Museum of American History" in Howe, J. Barbara and Emory L. Kemp, *Public History: An Introduction* (Malabar and Florida: Robert E. Krieger Publishing Company, 1988), p. 223.

²⁴Interview, Francis B. Musonda, Lusaka, 27 June 2007.

²⁵Steven A. Brandt and Osman Yusuf Mohamed, Starting from the Scratch: "The Past, Present and Future of Somalia's Cultural Heritage", in Peter R. Schmidt and Roderick J. McIntosh (eds.), *Plundering Africa's Past* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1996), p. 254.

²⁶Brandt and Mohamed, "Starting from the Scratch: The Past, Present and Future of Somalia's Cultural Heritage", p. 254.

²⁷LMA, LM/202/01/6, Museum Act, NMB Secretariat: Guide to National Museum Act Amendments, Minute Ref. 6: NMB/95/01/7-1, n.d; Draft Bill to Repeal and Replace the National Museums Act, Cap. 267, Minute from Mr. A.N. Mwenya, Board Member, to the Director, Livingstone Museum; Minute No. Ref: B/31, NPWS/MUS.2, dated 17 March 1995; LMA, LM/202/01/6, Legislation: The National Museums (Amendment) Bill 1995; Memorandum by the Hon Minister of Tourism, Ref. 8: B/31, n.d; Memorandum by the Hon Minister of Tourism, Ref. 8: B/31; Objects of the Proposed Museums Act, Minute from V. K. Katanekwa, Director, Livingstone Museum to Mrs. Musonda, Legal Affairs, Ref. 14, dated, 18 December 1996; and Interview, Katanekwa, 24 July 2007. Up to the time of writing this thesis, the Draft Bill had not yet been presented to Parliament.

²⁸Brandt and Mohamed, "Starting from the Scratch: The Past, Present and Future of Somalia's Cultural Heritage", p. 254.

²⁹See, for example, LMA, Government of the Republic of Zambia (thereafter, GRZ), *National Museums Board* (hereafter, NMB) *Annual Report 1969* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1970), p. 3; *NMB Annual Report 1977* (Livingstone: NMB Secretariat, 1978), p. 8; *NMB Annual Report, 1995* (Livingstone: NMB Secretariat, 1996), p. 4; *NMB annual Report 2000* (Lusaka: NMB Secretariat, 2001), p. 1; and Clare Mateke, "The financial situation of Zambian Museums over the years: From Annual Reports", Unpublished Paper, n.d. pp. 1- 3.

³⁰None of the course prospectuses for the History Department of the University of Zambia show the offering of a course in heritage issues, such as in museum studies.

³¹Herbert Sanslmayr, "Museum and Liberation", Paper Presented at the Southern African Development Coordinating Committee (SADCC) Museums Conference held in Livingstone, Zambia (13 - 17 June, 1988.), p. 2.

³²Amy Henderson and Adriene L. Kaeppler, "Introduction", Amy Henderson and Adriene L. Kaeppler (eds.), *Exhibiting Dilemmas: Issues of Representation at the Smithsonian* (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997), p. 1.

³³For example, The Lozi Kingdom/Chiefdom preserved all objects such as royal barges, drums, battle weapons and stools that fell out of use in a place called *Nayuma*. The word *Nayuma* simply means storehouse. It was more or less a museum in the contemporary understanding. No wonder the museum established at Limulunga in 1986 by the Barotse Royal Establishment was called *Nayuma*. Personal Communication, Mungoni Sitali, Livingstone, 10 January 2008. Similarly, in the Mukuni Chieftaincy, cultural and historical artefacts that became obsolete were preserved for future generations by the senior Headman in a hut called *Namuchila* at the Lumpasa Palace, the Royal Mukuni Village, which is Senior Mukuni's official residence. Personal Communication, Senior Chief Mukuni, Livingstone, 30 August 2007.

³⁴N. Mataa, "Notes on History Department", *The Livingstone Museum Research Notes*, 1 (October, 1979), p. 12.

³⁵Livingstone Museum, *The Livingstone Museum Celebrates its 60th Anniversary, 1934 - 1994* (Livingstone: Livingstone Museum), p. 3.

³⁶LMA, GRZ, *NMB Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1977*, pp. 9 and 11.

³⁷Important Amendments made were 46, 324 and 497 of 1964, Statutory Instrument 91 of 1965 and the current Statutory Instrument 44 of 1969, Cap. 268 of the Laws of Zambia.

³⁸LMA, GRZ, *NMB Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1977*, pp. 9 and 11.

³⁹For example, John, Barnes, "The Perception of History in Plural Society", *Human Relations*, 4, 1951.

⁴⁰LMA, GRZ, *The National Museums of Northern Rhodesia Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1960* (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1961), p.30; *The National Museums of Northern Rhodesia Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1961* (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1962), p. 25; and *The National Museums of Northern Rhodesia Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1962* (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1963), p. 23.

⁴¹LMA, TH2/17, Tribal Histories, Box Files 1 - 8; G/103, Tribal Histories, Miscellaneous; and G/104, Tribal Histories and Customs (two boxes). For detailed

information regarding publications during colonial Zambia on vernacular histories and ethnographies and their impact, see Giocomo Macola, "Historical and Ethnographical publications in the Vernaculars of Colonial Zambia: Missionary Contribution to the Creation of Tribalism", *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 33, 4, Expressions of Christianity in Zambia (November 2003), pp. 343-364. BRILL Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1581747>. Accessed: 16 May 2009.

⁴²LMA, Historical Collection catalogues in the Museum. Most of them have objects entered with incomplete information.

⁴³Flexon M. Mizinga, "Museum historical objects", *The Livingstone Museum Newsletter*, 3, 1 (1995), p. 16.

⁴⁴For example, in Samuel, N. Chipungu (ed.), *Guardians in Their Time: Experiences of Zambians under colonial rule, 1890 – 1964* (London: Macmillan, 1992); about 49 photographs from Livingstone Museum were used as illustrations, pp. between 82 and 83, and pp. between 146 and 147.

⁴⁵For details on the subject see Nephas Tembo, *The Lillian Burton Killing* (Lusaka: Apple Books, 1986); and Marta Paynter, "Burton Murder: How it ended", *Sunday Times of Zambia*, 26 May 1985, p. 3.

⁴⁶Kapasa Makasa in his, *Zambia's March to Political Freedom* (Nairobi: Heinemann Educational Books, 1985), pp. 121 – 122 gives names of some of the people who were brutalised or lost their lives during the struggle for political independence in the years 1952 to 1960.

⁴⁷The word 'chief' was introduced during the colonial period to mean the important person among the ethnic group. Only the King of England was to be known by the word 'king.' Nonetheless, pre-colonial chiefs were kings in the indigenous sense. See P. M. Mukula (compl.), *National Archives of Zambia Calendas of the District Notebooks (Northern Province) 1862 – 1963*, Vol. 2 (Lusaka: National Archives of Zambia), p. x.

⁴⁸R. S. Hudson (compl.), *Livingstone-Memorial Museum Handbook* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1936); and W. V. Brelsford, *Handbook of the David Livingstone Memorial Museum*, p. 122.

⁴⁹LMA, GRZ, *The Rhodes-Livingstone Museum Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1951* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1952), p. 9.

⁵⁰LMA, GRZ, *The Rhodes-Livingstone Museum Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1951*, p. 9.

⁵¹David Livingstone witnessed slave trade among the Kololo in western Zambia in 1851 and in 1854 he witnessed the scourge among the Lunda of Ishinde in northwestern Zambia where he was even offered a slave girl by the chief as a gift, but declined to accept. Whilst at Ishinde's chiefdom, he also witnessed the horrors of slave trade whereby a group of Luvale slave girls were hoeing the *Mambari* and Portuguese slave encampment to clear it of weeds and grass whilst chained. See David

Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* (London: John Murray, 1957), pp. 91-92, 290 and 297; William Monk (ed.), *Dr. Livingstone's Cambridge Lectures* (London: Bell and Daldy, 1958), pp. 1-47; L. H. Gann, *A History of Northern Rhodesia: Early Days to 1953* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1964), pp. 22-24 and 98-101; and H.W. Langworthy, *Zambia Before 1890: Aspects of Pre-colonial History* (London: Longman, 1972), pp. 96-103.

⁵²This exhibition was mounted in 1991 and pulled down in 2001. Among the display was a hammock on which was the said caption. The hammock and its caption maintained in the new exhibition opened in 2004 due to its popularity among visitors.

⁵³For details on the suffering and humiliation that Africans in Zambia experienced during colonial rule, see Kapasa Makasa, *Umusungu wa Musonko* (Lusaka: National Educational Company of Zambia Limited, 1981); and Fergus Macpherson, *Kwacha Ngwee: How the Zambian Nation was Made* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), pp. 1-64.

⁵⁴Kapasa Makasa, *Umusungu wa Musonko*; and Fergus Macpherson, *Kwacha Ngwee: How the Zambian Nation was Made* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1977).

⁵⁵*ChaChaCha* is an old Latin American dance that became popular in Belgian Congo (now the Democratic Republic of Congo) in the 1950s. The dance craze provided a metaphor for the nationalist independence movement in colonial Zambia and desired the colonial government to dance to its nationalist tune just as a man dancing *ChaChaCha* controlled his female partner. Following the European settler imposition of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in 1953, nationalists resorted to campaigns of civil disobedience based on economic boycotts to end it. When the campaigns failed, in 1961, nationalists resorted to the *ChaChaCha* campaign based on stone throwing, arson, roadblocks and outright riots. The campaign marked the last phase of the liberation struggle as it brought pressure for constitutional change that led to independence in 1964. Interview, Peter Kwalombota, (Former nationalist and Provincial Political Secretary on the Copperbelt during the UNIP Government of President Kaunda) Kafue, 21 March 2008; Macpherson, *Kwacha Ngwee: How the Zambian nation was made*, pp. 47 – 50; and Schumaker, *Africanising Anthropology*, pp. 29, 186 and 223.

⁵⁶For details on the Federation and of Africans' reaction to it see, Robert I. Rotberg, *The Rise of Nationalism in Central Africa: The Making of Malawi and Zambia, 1873-1964* (Cambridge and Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1972), pp. 253 302; S.E. Mulford, *Zambia: The Politics of Independence, 1954-1964* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967); and Harry Franklin, *Unholy Wedlock: The Failure of the Central African Federation* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1963)

⁵⁷Macpherson, *Kwacha Ngwee: How the Zambian Nation was Made*, p. 59. For details on the Lumpa see, David M. Gordon, "Rebellion or massacre? The UNIP-Lumpa conflict revisited" in Jan-Bart Gewald, Marja Hinfelaar and Giocomo Macola (eds.) *One Zambia, Many Histories: Towards a History of Post-colonial Zambia* (Leiden, Boston: 2008), pp. 45-76.

⁵⁸B. M. Fagan, *The Victoria Falls* (Glasgow: Glasgow University Press, 1963), p. 17.

⁵⁹LMA, NRG, *NMNR: Rhodes-Livingstone Museum Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1956*, pp. 6 – 7.

⁶⁰Some of Kappata's paintings were discussed in detail by Hugh Macmillan in his "The Life and Art of Stephen Kappata", *African Arts*, xxx, 1 (Winter 1997), pp. 20-31 and 93.

⁶¹Some of these are on display while others are in storerooms.

⁶²Hudson, *Livingstone-Memorial Museum Handbook*, pp. 3-34; and Brelsford, *Handbook of the David Livingstone Memorial Museum*, pp. 7-34.

⁶³Although a number of collections that depict various areas of the Zambian history were made by the Livingstone Museum and indeed other museums, much still needed to be done. For example, while, mining formed part of the Zambian heritage and needed to be preserved for posterity, Museum objects that show technologies used in mining, smelting and refining of metals from pre-colonial to contemporary times have not been collected thus endangering the loss of technological mining history to posterity. See Mwelwa Musambachime, "Mining Museum – An Absolute Necessity", *Zambia Daily Mail* (11 November, 1993), p. 6.

⁶⁴Katanekwa, 24 July 2007; and LMA, Barrie Reynolds, "Some Ideas on the Storage of Ethnographic Material", Reprinted from the *Museums Journal*, 62, 2 (September, 1962).

⁶⁵Katanekwa, 24 July 2007.

⁶⁶Katanekwa, 24 July 2007.

⁶⁷Flexon M. Mizinga, "Records Management at the National Museums Board of Zambia: The Case of the Livingstone Museum", Paper Presented at the Archives and Records Management Association of Zambia Seminar held in Siavonga, 23 – 27 November, 1999.

⁶⁸Norbert A. Kayombo, *General Guidelines for Establishment and Management of Museums in Tanzania* (Dar es Salaam: Dar es Salaam University Press, 2005) pp. 53-54.

⁶⁹Kayombo, *General Guidelines for Establishment and Management of Museums in Tanzania*, pp. 53-54.

⁷⁰Manyando Mukela, "Conservation in Museums", Anna-Lise Klausen (ed; and compiler.), *The Role of Museums in Zambia*, Development Proceedings of the first Workshop for middle management-level museum staff held at Nayuma Museum, Western Province (9 – 14 December, 1985), pp. 33-35.

⁷¹Katanekwa, 24 July 2007.

⁷²Kayombo, *General Guidelines for Establishment and Management of Museums in Tanzania*, pp. 51-52.

⁷³Mizinga, "Records Management at the National Museums Board of Zambia: The Case of the Livingstone Museum", p.3.

⁷⁴Mizinga, "Records Management at the National Museums Board of Zambia: The Case of the Livingstone Museum", p. 4.

⁷⁵Kataneke, 24 July 2007.

⁷⁶LMA, GRZ, *NMB Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1991* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1992), p. 5.

⁷⁷Kataneke, 24 July 2007.

⁷⁸LMA, GRZ, *NMB Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1991*, p. 6.

⁷⁹LMA, GRZ, *NMB Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1991*, p. 5; Luhila Mubiana, "Providing Training for Museums in Sub-Saharan Africa: The Role of PREMA-National Sub-regional Courses", *Prevention in Museums in Africa, 1990 – 2000 Newsletter/Chronique*, 8, (1999), pp. 48-49; and Interview, Kataneke, 24 July 2007.

⁸⁰Kataneke, 24 July 2007.

⁸¹Mizinga, Records "Management at the National Museums Board of Zambia: The Case of the Livingstone Museum", p. 4.

⁸²Mizinga, "Records Management at the National Museums Board of Zambia: The Case of the Livingstone Museum", p. 4.

⁸³Mizinga, "Records Management at the National Museums Board of Zambia: The Case of the Livingstone Museum", p. 5; and LMA, GRZ, *NMB Annual Report 1994* (Livingstone: NMB Secretariat, 1995), p. 5. Following his examination of the Museum's archival collection, Lot Mutowebunyu submitted a report to the Museum that contained his recommendations. At the time of data collection for this thesis, the report could not be found. I was unable to access it even with the help of the Director of the institution.

⁸⁴Kataneke, 24 July 2007; and Ogden Shereylyn, A Report on the State of Preservation of Library and Archival Materials at the Livingstone Museum, 31 August 1995.

⁸⁵Mizinga, "Records Management at the National Museums Board of Zambia: The Case of the Livingstone Museum", p. 5; and LMA, GRZ, *NMB Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1995* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1996), p. 9.

⁸⁶Mizinga, "Records Management at the National Museums Board of Zambia: The Case of the Livingstone Museum", p. 5.

⁸⁷Shereylyn, A Report on the State of Preservation of Library and Archival Materials at the Livingstone Museum, pp. 18-19; and Interview, Katanekwa, 24 July 2007.

⁸⁸Kayombo, *General Guidelines for Establishment and Management of Museums in Tanzania*, p. 37; and LMA, GRZ, *NMB Annual Report 1995* (Livingstone: NMB Secretariat, 1996), pp.9-10.

⁸⁹Kayombo, *General Guidelines for Establishment and Management of Museums in Tanzania*, p. 37.

⁹⁰LMA, NMB, *Handbook of Museum Documentation System in Zambia* (2002), p. 2; and Mizinga, "Records Management at the National Museums Board of Zambia: The Case of the Livingstone Museum", p. 6.

⁹¹Interview, Katanekwa; Mizinga, "Records Management at the National Museums Board of Zambia: The Case of the Livingstone Museum", p. 6; and Liywalii Mushokabanji, "The changing contribution of the Livingstone Museum to Zambian archaeology in the light of reduced government funding" MPhil Dissertation (Archaeology), Queens College, University of Cambridge, 1997, p. 29.

⁹²LMA, NMB, *Handbook of Museum Documentation System in Zambia*, p. 2; LMA, Historical Collection Accession Books, Nos. 1-2; Historical Collection Accession Registers, Book 1-4; and Catalogue of Historical Photographs, Vol. 1-2.

⁹³LMA, NRG, *The National Museums of Northern Rhodesia (hereafter, NMNR): The Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, 1934 – 1951* (Government Printer, 1951), p. 17; and Hudson, *Livingstone-Memorial Museum Handbook*.

⁹⁴LMA, NRG, *NMN: The Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, 1934 – 1951*; and Brelsford, *Handbook of the David Livingstone Memorial Museum*.

⁹⁵LMA, MM10/25/3/9, 1181a/55, Box file III D4, The Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, *David Livingstone Centenary, 1955, Discovery of the Victoria Falls* (Glasgow: Robert McLehore and Company, 1955.)

⁹⁶LMA, GRZ, *National Museums of Zambia (hereafter, NMZ): The Life and Work of David Livingstone: a Brief Guide to the Livingstone Collections in the Livingstone Museum* (Livingstone: the National Museums of Zambia, 1965).

⁹⁷Timothy Holmes (ed.), *David Livingstone Letters and Documents, 1841-1872: The Zambian Collection at the Livingstone Museum* (London: James Currey); and Mizinga, "Museum Collections", *Livingstone Museum Newsletter*, pp. 15-16.

⁹⁸David Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* (London: John Murray, 1957); and David Livingstone and Charles Livingstone,

Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambezi and its Tributaries (London: John Murray, 1865).

⁹⁹LMA, GRZ, *NMB Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1980* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1980), p. 1; *NMB Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1987* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1987), p. 3; *NMB Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1992* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1992), p. 3; and Clare Mateke, "The Financial Situation of National Museums over the Years: From Annual Reports", Unpublished Paper, n.d. pp. 1-3.

¹⁰⁰Katankwa, 24 July 2007.

¹⁰¹Katankwa, 24 July 2007.

¹⁰²Katankwa, 24 July 2007.

¹⁰³Katankwa, 24 July 2007.