

CHAPTER FIVE

GENERATION OF KNOWLEDGE RELEVANT TO HISTORICAL RECONSTRUCTION THROUGH ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCHES, 1934 TO 2006

Introduction

In Southern Africa in general, Zambia in particular, there are few written records dating over a period of hundred years. These include records of early explorers such as Francesco de Lacerda, who, with Father Pinto in their 1798 expedition from Mozambique to northern Zambia, visited Kazembe, a Lunda chief. Larceda died of fever and Father Pinto led back the remnants of the expedition and saved Larceda's diaries.¹ These form the earliest authentic recorded account still in existence of the country and its inhabitants. Others who left similar records include two Portuguese army officers, and Jose Monteiro and Antonio Gamitto and David Livingstone.² As a result of few records of such nature, the country is denied of raw materials for writing its history. In order to mitigate against the situation, the country has had to rely on archaeological evidence for the reconstruction of different types of the country's history, particularly cultural, technological and economic history. It is through such data generated that archaeologists obtain their raw materials through purposeful excavations. Generally, the materials excavated include: stones, potsherds (ceramics), wood, bones and fragments of metals such as iron. By Studying and interpreting the materials excavated and piecing together scattered data generated, archaeologists are able to provide the historian with factual records on which to base his historical reconstruction writings.

In this chapter, I examine and highlight the generation of historical knowledge through archaeological research activities carried out at the Livingstone Museum between 1934 and 2006 and demonstrate how these have contributed to the

reconstruction of Zambian history. I also demonstrate that although archaeological studies in the country began with the establishment of colonial rule, systematic studies only began after the establishment of the Livingstone Museum and the coming of J. Desmond Clark as Curator in 1938.

Furthermore, I argue that as a result of Stone Age and Iron Age studies, the history of Zambia is fairly well known. Stone Age and Iron Age studies carried out in the country have generated information that has extended the frontier of historical knowledge on the development of mankind in the country beyond the 19th century to times before the Christian era. These studies have also provided knowledge on the technological developments and activities of prehistoric man, trade networks, metallurgy, pottery traditions, burial practices and discovery of fire.

Early Archaeological Studies

During pre-colonial Zambia, the local people in different parts of the country were aware of prehistory through oral traditions that highlighted the existence of places and artefacts that were associated with past human groups. Explorers, missionaries, colonial government officers and others later found these to be of archaeological value. For instance, some caves and rock art were widely known and associated with human groups.³ Some antiquities such as the Kasamba grinding grooves in Luapula Province were recognised, interpreted and attributed by Derricourt “to the Early Iron Age and its derivatives in the area.”⁴ The local people interpreted the grooves as “footsteps of God” while copper crosses dug up in the 19th century on Chishi Island in Lake Bangweulu and kept as valued relics were interpreted as the “bed supports of their first chief on the island.”⁵

Notwithstanding the above, early Europeans in Zambia showed little or no interest in studying the history of the African people. This was, undoubtedly, because

of the then contemporary European opinion, which as shown in chapter two, considered Africans not to have any history at all and that they were incapable of making any technological, cultural and political development. In fact, some scholars such as Hugh Trevor-Roper, A. P. Newton and C. G. Seligman argued that Africa as a continent had no history because of its lack of written records and that its history could only be reconstructed through the study of the material culture of its people.⁶

This argument lacked merit as it was inconsiderate of the fact that Africans presented and preserved their history through oral traditions. Thus, with this kind of attitude, early Europeans did not expect to find any evidence of past civilisation regarding the African peoples. Further, they lacked essential knowledge to understand the nature of pre-colonial African societies. However, what they did not know was that, as Francis Musonda noted, Africa had five types of societies among of which were centralised states, characterised by strong political systems and amorphous states, which had no proper political systems⁷.

There were also the hunter-gatherer societies whose economic base was centred on foraging, that is hunting and gathering. Examples of such societies were the Kung (San) of the Kalahari Desert in Southern Africa. Other societies were pastoralists and agriculturists. Whereas the pastoralists' economy as exemplified by the Masai and Fulani communities depended on animal husbandry, the agriculturalists' economic activities were centred on agriculture, fishing, hunting and trade based on barter system. Generally, pastoral and agricultural societies were stratified and characterised by common values, for example, the Sudanic States. Others were the Bunyoro state in Uganda which had a very strong economy and political system, the Bemba, Lozi and Chewa/Undi Kingdoms, which were ruled by Kings and Queens in which taxation in the form of tribute from subjects formed a central part of their economic system.⁸

Undoubtedly, the lack of such knowledge made it difficult for Europeans to accept that African societies enjoyed some form of technological and cultural development. It was therefore not surprising that, as Musonda noted, “. . .they regarded indigenous cultures as a living museum of the human past.”⁹ However, as Musonda further observed:

But what the early European of the first phase failed to appreciate let alone consider, was the fact that the Stone and Iron Age societies that were responsible for stone and iron technologies that they were encountering all over the African continent were as a result of the activities of hunter-gatherers, agriculturists and pastoralists.¹⁰

The advent of colonial rule saw the beginning of archaeological studies in most African counties. The period witnessed a lot of settlers from Europe with interest in collecting and studying cultural materials of the local populations. Thus, in 1905, Colonel Fielden and others reported the first archaeological finds from Zambia, which turned out to be stone artefacts in the river-laid gravels of the Zambezi River near the Victoria Falls.¹¹ Fielden’s finds were significant in that they drew the attention of the scientific world to the Falls area where implements of primitive forms were found resembling those of the Paleolithic cultures in Western Europe, thus providing hitherto unknown information that Zambia was a home to early forms of human development. Later, similar finds were also noted in Kabwe.¹²

These early finds were significant as they led to detailed investigations at other sites of archaeological interest such as the Mumbwa Caves¹³, Victoria Falls¹⁴ and Nsalu Cave.¹⁵ These studies focused on Stone Age materials. This was accentuated by the discovery of the human fossil skull of the Middle Stone Age (*Homo rhodesiensis*) at Broken Hill mine in 1921 (see Appendix I). The discovery was remarkable in that it brought Zambia’s archaeological potential to the attention of the world and provided a stimulus to further investigations.¹⁶

The transfer of the territory's governance in 1924 from the BSA Company to the British Colonial Office brought into the country numerous colonial administrators of diverse interests and backgrounds. Some of these, like F.B. Macrae, D.G. Lancaster and Hubert Young became involved in prehistoric researches.¹⁷ In 1925, F. B. Macrae undertook the first excavations in the country at the Mumbwa Caves. Later on, while in the Eastern Province where he served as District Commissioner, he and Lancaster carried out excavations in the Luangwa Valley.¹⁸

In early 1929, an Italian Scientific Expedition under the Commander, Attilio Gatti carried out further expeditions at the Mumbwa Caves and the Chifubwa Rock Shelter.¹⁹ The findings, particularly those in the Victoria Falls area called for a thorough investigation. Consequently, in late 1929, A.L. Armstrong and N. Jones, assisted by the French pre-historian, Breuil, conducted an extensive investigation in the Victoria Falls area.²⁰ In 1930, Gatti in the company of R.A. Dart and Signer del Grande returned to Mumbwa where the party made more excavations. Dart and Grande published the results of the excavations in 1931.²¹ In 1936, Hubert Young, while Governor of Northern Rhodesia, excavated the Nsalu Cave in Mpika.²² In 1937, C. van Riet Lowe from South Africa also excavated Nsalu Cave and made sketches of the paintings and showed the colour sequence of yellow, red and white.²³

It is significant to note that excavations at the Victoria Falls, Mumbwa Caves, Chifubwa Rock Shelter and Nsalu Caves yielded enormous archaeological materials which consisted of heavy-duty tools, large flakes, and stone hammers. In addition to stone artefacts, archaeological investigations also led to the discovery of rock paintings.²⁴ Thus, tools and rock paintings provided evidence of the existence of ancient man, in the territory. Consequently, the European notion of lack of development among African societies slowly began to change.

Stone Age Researches at the Museum

The previous section has outlined evidence pointing to the presence of ancient man in the territory. However, information remained sparse and inadequate to support a coherent account of the transformation of humankind in Zambia from his early forms and ways of life to modern man. As noted earlier, although the Museum was established in 1934, systematic archaeological studies only began in 1938 when J. Desmond Clark, a trained archaeologist with special interest in Stone Age Archaeology, became its Curator.

Soon after taking up his appointment, Clark carried out investigations on the Zambezi river terraces near Livingstone.²⁵ Among the important discoveries was the Maramba skeleton, which comprised of completely fossilised skull and long bones that was found to belong to the Late or Middle Stone Age.²⁶ He later excavated the Mumbwa Caves, defining the Iron Age, Later and Middle Stone Age sequence,²⁷ thereby, for the first time, providing detailed information about early Man in Zambia.

Investigations in the Zambezi Valley and the Mumbwa Caves yielded numerous archaeological materials, which were deposited in the Livingstone Museum. Results of these investigations were published in the *Journal of the Royal Society of South Africa* with the assistance of a grant from the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute.²⁸ Clark also published a paper entitled “Stone Age Sites in Northern Rhodesia and Possibilities of Future Research.”²⁹ The paper gave a summary of sites discovered and work that had been done. It pointed out the need for financial and personal support while at the same time calling for the establishment of an institution separate from the Museum to carry out archaeological research. Clark’s work was significant as it brought to the attention of the scientific world community, the territory’s archaeological potential for the study of the origin of man.

During the Second World War, very little research work was done by the Museum as the only researcher, Clark, at the institution was enlisted in the army in the Horn of Africa.³⁰ Whilst there, he continued his archaeological researches out of which he later wrote, *The prehistoric cultures of the Hone of Africa* published in 1954.³¹ His archaeological work experience in the Horn of Africa contributed to his understanding of the archaeology of Zambia better and enabled him make a comparative study on the prehistoric sequences on the Zambezi valley and the Hone of Africa which formed the basis of his PhD thesis.³²

After the War, Clark continued his research in the Zambezi Valley where he carried out a detailed study of the stratigraphy of the river laid deposits of the Zambezi and its tributaries.³³ Between 1953 and 1963, he did extensive excavations at Kalambo Falls, in Abercorn (now called Mbala).³⁴ Like the excavations made at the Victoria Falls area and the Mumbwa Caves, the Kalambo Falls excavations yielded stone tools which are the oldest signs of human activity in Zambia. These included pebble tools and flakes, cleavers, and chopping tools known as “hand-axes.” Studies of these artefacts revealed human occupation of the sites extending to the *Acheulian* phase of Early Stone Age technology in Europe, the makers of which belonged to the species *Homo erectus* (upright man) who made hand-axes in Olduvai Gorge in Tanzania over a million years ago. The oldest Zambian hand-axes is noted to be over 200,000 years ago while radio carbon-dating showed that they were being produced as recently as 55,000 years ago.³⁵

Studies on the Acheulian tools revealed that their makers lived by gathering wild vegetable foods, fishing and hunting wild animals. This is exemplified by bones of warthog and hartebeest and of varieties of elephant and giraffe found at the Victoria Falls.³⁶ However, no bones were found preserved at Kalambo.³⁷ The Kalambo

excavations also revealed that in the late Acheulian period, man was able to make simple wooden spears, clubs and discovered the use of fire.³⁸ In fact, the earliest evidence of fire in the sub-Saharan Africa comes from Kalambo Falls where charred logs, ash and charcoal were found preserved at the lowest waterlogged levels.³⁹ With the discovery of fire, man was not only able to cook his food and warm himself but also scared away wild animals that were a predator on him. He also used fire in hunting by burning grass thereby driving game through the blinding smoke.

Among the finds made at Kalambo Archaeological site were fossilised pollen grains. Results of the study of these grains gave evidence to changes in vegetation at the site varying from dry woodlands at lower attitudes to open woodlands under cool and misty conditions. They also shed light on the temperature and rainfall conditions at the site during prehistoric times. The study showed that the temperature was higher while the rainfall was lower than at present. However, towards the end of the Acheluan sequence, evidence from pollen and plant remains showed some increase in rainfall and this enabled some plants to grow at elevations lower than they do today.⁴⁰ Similar changes in vegetation, rainfall and temperature conditions were also observed at excavations in the Victoria Falls region.⁴¹

Studies made on the stone tool-kits such as flake knives, scrapers, choppers and cleavers excavated at the Kalambo Falls archaeological site revealed that by the late Acheulian period, man was able to skin and cut animal carcasses in slices.⁴² At the Acheulian levels of the Kalambo Falls, various edible fruits, nuts and seeds were also found⁴³, suggesting that the dwellers of the Kalambo Falls during the noted period also collected vegetable food from trees and the bush. At the Kalambo Falls, a semicircle of stones was also discovered. Studies made on it showed that it might have been the base of a windbreak.⁴⁴ Additionally, three grass-lined hollows were found⁴⁵ at the site.

The finds were significant as they suggested that the Acheulian people at this site, slept in the open.⁴⁶ These finds are also significant in that they indicate the extent to which the Early Man's technology had developed by the end of the Acheulian period, that is, it had undergone some form of development and that during that period, Early Man had developed some rudimentary form of an organised society in order to, among others, protect himself from his predators such as wild animals.

Results of studies made by Desmond Clark at his excavations at Kalambo Falls also revealed evidence that the Middle Stone Age people inhabited the area and that their tools show that they had a greater mastery of the environment, increased specialisation and considerable local variation.⁴⁷ In addition, Clark's investigations revealed that, unlike Later Stone Age people, who habited areas that were mainly near main lakes and rivers⁴⁸, the Middle Stone Age occupied areas spread out over the plateaux and occupied small dambos.⁴⁹ They also revealed that the Middle Stone Age people increasingly made use of caves, as they were now able to scare marauding animals using fire.⁵⁰ Radio-carbon dating suggests that in southern Africa, transition from Later Stone Age to Middle Stone Age was underway about 125, 000 years ago.⁵¹

The Kalambo Falls excavations also illustrated that although hand-axes and cleavers continued to be made, they were crude, and large pick-like chopping tools tended to replace hand-axes.⁵² The tools were characterised by coarseness and lack of standardisation. This suggests that the tools were an adaptation of earlier types for people who were involved mainly in work related to land clearing and woodwork. Such tools belonged to the Sangoan culture, characterised by an increased exploitation of forest resource, which according to radio-carbon dating began about 43,000 years ago and lasted for less than 10,000 years.⁵³ Although the period in which this industry existed was short, finds of Sangoan tools were common, suggesting that the human

population of central Africa during this period increased rapidly. In Zambia, regional variations of this culture were noted. For instance, the tools excavated in the Luangwa valley were found to be rougher compared to those in the Zambezi gravels of the Victoria Falls.⁵⁴

The Sangoan period also witnessed an increased use of fire and caves as shelters. In the caves were also found the proto-Stillbay industry characterised by flake tools obtained from the outside of a stone and worked carefully to form a scraper, cutting edge or even a spear point. The proto-Stillbay flake tools occurred in greater variety suggesting that it was around this period that different tools were made for specific purposes. At the Broken Hill (Kabwe) mine, bone tools were found in a Stillbay deposit. Studies made showed that apart from Olduvai Gorge in Tanzania, the bone tools found in Kabwe were the oldest known in sub-Saharan southern African and that the proto-Stillbay tools were most likely made by people who relied heavily on hunting.⁵⁵

A number of tools such as stone and animal bones were also found near the Broken Hill skull which was recognised as representing an unknown race of man that scientist gave the name *Homo Rhodesiensis* (named after the territory, Northern Rhodesia now Zambia, in which the skull was discovered).⁵⁶ A similar type had also been found in East and South Africa, Europe and western Asia but became extinct about 35, 000 years ago.⁵⁷ Scientists were not certain whether the *Homo Rhodesiensis* (Broken Hill Man), like *Nearnderthal* Man belonged to the species *Homo sapiens* or whether he was a late survival of *Homo erectus*, who made the hand-axes of the Early Stone Age.⁵⁸

Nonetheless, studies made by the Museum's staff, Desmond Clark, noted with some certainty that tools found around the Broken Hill skull were of proto-Stillbay

type and on the basis of that concluded that *Homo Rhodesiensis* was most certainly the maker of the Central African Middle Stone Age industries. His age was estimated to be around 30, 000 years.⁵⁹ Thus, suggesting that during much of the Middle Stone Age, most likely Zambia was habited by more than one type of man. It was only about 20, 000 BC, that the territory, like everywhere in Africa was populated by *Homo sapiens sapiens* (modern man).⁶⁰

The Livingstone Museum's archaeological studies done by Clark at the Mumbwa Cave and the Victoria Falls gravels also revealed that the most widespread and final industry of the Middle Stone Age was the Stillbay. Most of the tools of this industry were derived from the proto-Stillbay and were characterised by flake tools and fine points while core tools were virtually absent. Other areas where this tradition was found in Zambia is the Twin Rivers Kopje, overlooking the Kafue Flats, southwest of Lusaka; Upper Zambezi near the Angola border; Mandenga, near Chilundu and Kalemba rock-shelter in eastern Zambia.⁶¹

In the extreme northern Zambia, the Museum's archaeological studies at the Kalambo Falls revealed that the Sangoan industry were succeeded in about 29 BC by a variation called Lupemban instead of the proto-Stillbay and Stillbay. The tools found here were similar to those in the forest region of the Congo forest Basin in northern Angola, Democratic Republic of the Congo and forest areas of north of Lake Tanganyika. This suggests that the Lupemban tools were used mainly for working wood. The tools included core tools such as axes and adzes as well as flake tools similar to those of the Stillbay industry. However, the Lupemban tools were more finely trimmed. The common tool in this industry was a large blade-like point, shaped like a long leaf⁶², suggesting that the tools may have been used mainly for work

related to woodcutting. The blades may also have been cut into small pieces for use as spear points, an indicator that Lupemban tools were also used in hunting purposes.

Archaeological studies made by the Museum also revealed that the Middle Stone Age was succeeded by the Late Stone Age and in between was a complex of cultures called Mangosian, named after a site in which similar tools were found in Uganda. The Mangosian industry was composed of flake tools, which were much small, with thin parallel sides, forming blades with sharp edges.⁶³ Most of the Mangosian tools were too small and sharp for use in the hand and were therefore fitted to knives, digging sticks, spears and arrowheads, more so that the bow and arrow was invented during this period. The invention of the bow and arrow was a significant technological achievement for it increased man's capacity to survive at the expense of other creatures.

The Livingstone Museum archaeological studies revealed the presence of the Mangosian industry in Zambia at the Kalambo Falls site. Tools of this industry were radio-carbon dated to 7, 500 B.C.⁶⁴ This was in line with similar finds that were made at Pogobwe Cave in the Matopo Hills of Zimbabwe which were radio-carbon dated to between 13, 800 BC and 7,400 BC. Other places in Zambia where this industry was found are Kamusongole Kopje near Kasempa, Mwela Rocks and Nachikufu caves in northern Zambia, Kalemba rock shelter in eastern Zambia, Leopard hill Cave in Lusaka and Nsalu Caves in Mpika.⁶⁵

The Mangosian industry was a transitional industry between the Middle and the Late Stone Age which began around 15, 000 years ago both in Africa and in Europe. Regional variations of culture were noticed in the Late Stone Age. Archaeological studies in Zambia noted four variants.⁶⁶ These are: Nachikufan, I, II A, B and III, the Wilton, Makwe and Kaposwa. The Nachikufan II A, B and III have been

associated with Central-Northern Zambian plateau, the Wilton with southern Zambia, Makwe with eastern Zambia and the Kaposwa industry at Kalambo Falls. From these archaeological studies, the origin of these industries has been established as Nachikufan I, an industry identified in a broad belt of the eastern and south-central highlands stretching from Lake Victoria and southern Kenya, through Tanzania and northern Zambia in the Zambezi.⁶⁷

However, only two of these, the Nachikufan, named after the type-site excavated by Desmond Clark in Mpika and the Wilton culture, which stretched over much of Zimbabwe, Botswana, Namibia and the Western Cape in South Africa were extensively studied. Clark's study revealed that the makers of the Nachikufan tools used the bow and arrow and still relied on trapping and snaring smaller animals and exploited the varied resources of the woodland. Their stone tools were characterised by arrowheads, barbs and drills; bored stones that were probably used to weight digging sticks for unearthing edible roots and tubers; grinding stones for preparing wild foods; scrapers for making wooden game traps and fences; and edge-ground axes probably used to cut off tree-bark and to cut out bees' nests.⁶⁸

Most of the information on the Wilton culture in Zambia comes from Clark's excavations made at the Mumbwa Cave and on the Zambezi above the Victoria Falls. This industry was characterised by a large number of small thumbnail scrapers made on the end of blades and objects of personal adornment, most prominent among them being beads made from the shells of ostrich eggs.⁶⁹ Investigations made by Creighton Gabel⁷⁰ and later by Brian Fagan (Keeper of Prehistory at the Livingstone Museum from 1959 to 1965), and Francis van Noten at Ngwisho hot springs on the Kafue flats north-west of Monze noted similar finds.⁷¹

Among the finds made at this site were a complete collection of animal bones, which included those of large animals such as elephant, hippopotamus and rhinoceros; vegetable remains that included grasses, twigs, fruit and nuts and a selection of wooden tools that included a digging stick. The nuts and fruits were found to be similar to those eaten by the San people of Southern Africa. Also found were grinding stones, pods of poison shrubs, fragment of bow-stave, fish-bones, pieces of branches and mat and several shallow graves on the mounds in which were skeletons with a physical structure of the modern San people⁷² The Ngwisho site was radiocarbon-dated to between 3, 000 B.C. and 1, 700 B.C.⁷³

The Ngwisho site archaeological finds were significant in that they provided evidence that showed the nature of the economic activities of its inhabitants. The economy was predominated by hunting in which the poisoned arrows were used to kill big game for meat, gathering of wild vegetables, tubers and fruits. The presence of fish-bones indicates that fishing was also among the economic activities practiced at this site. Thus, archaeological researches made by the Livingstone Museum have provided historical information that hitherto has not been known that the Late Stone Age people in Zambia were hunter-gathers and lived a life similar to that of the modern San of the Kalahari Desert whom they resembled in the physical structure. However, these studies did not provide evidence for the earliest phase of human life in Zambia as no archaeological sites for the early phase of the Early Stone Age were found.

Although studies made by the Museum thus far provided valuable information regarding early history in Zambia, they had a major weakness in that they concentrated on Stone Age Culture, thereby neglecting other spheres of history and the recent past. This was in spite of the fact that in his publication, *The Stone Age Cultures of*

Northern Rhodesia, J. Desmond Clark reported the presence in the territory of Iron Age materials in various areas of the territory.⁷⁴ This was because the interests of the architect of archaeological studies in Zambia, Desmond Clark, lay most in Stone Age Archaeology.⁷⁵ As a result very little was known of the archaeological importance of these materials. However, this was to change following his study of oral traditions of Pre-Bantu inhabitants of Northern Rhodesia and Nysaland.⁷⁶ In addition, from 1951 to 1952, he carried out investigations on a series of pottery-bearing deposits at Machili, western Zambia, which were dated to the early years of the Christian era. The pottery finds were found to represent the earliest pottery styles ever found in the region and were named “channelled ware.”⁷⁷

Furthermore, in his investigations of the Kalambo Falls Prehistoric site in the years, 1953 to 1963, Clark discovered pottery materials, iron slag, hut fragments and other artefacts that belonged to societies that succeeded Stone Age inhabitants of the area.⁷⁸ Iron Age materials had also been found at a place near Livingstone but located in Western Province, and farms mainly in Southern and Central Provinces “and the final stages in the sequence of rock shelters.”⁷⁹ Consequently, Clark was convinced of the need of carrying out Iron Age Studies.

Thus, the little that was known up to about the mid 1950s concerning Iron Age Archaeology in the Territory was based on investigations made by the Livingstone Museum through its research staff, Desmond Clark. Otherwise, the available information about societies that inhabited the Zambian territory before the Bantu-speaking peoples was based on what explorers, fortune seekers, and missionaries had written. However, these sources did not provide accurate information or information that could be corroborated. They also lacked time depth and their information failed to provide the right picture of those societies.⁸⁰

Iron Age Researches

After the mid 1950s, archaeological researches at the Livingstone Museum witnessed a major shift from Stone Age to Iron Age studies. This followed the meeting of the Third Pan-African Congress of Prehistory and Quaternary Studies held in Livingstone in 1955. The Congress was part of the activities of the David Livingstone Celebrations that commemorated Livingstone's sighting of the Victoria Falls in 1855.⁸¹ It was attended by scientists from 26 countries (see Appendix XXII). The Museum showed the scientists the extent to which research in Stone Age studies had progressed in the country.⁸² At this Congress, Clark, pushed for a recommendation for the employment of a second Pre-historian at the Museum whose responsibility would be to carry out research in Iron Age in the country while he continued with his Stone Age researches. The Congress passed a number of resolutions among which was one that recognised Africa as the place where humankind originated. The Congress also endorsed Clark's request and made recommendation to the government to allow the Museum employ an archaeologist specialised in Iron Age. Consequently, Ray R. Inskip, whose interests were in Iron Age Archaeology, was employed as Keeper of Prehistory in 1957.⁸³

Inskip and Clark surveyed the Gwembe Valley area, which was to be flooded by Kariba Dam.⁸⁴ However, shortly afterwards, Inskip worked alone, focusing his investigations on Iron Age. Thus, systematic research in Iron Age Archaeology in Zambia can be said to have started in 1957.

Inskip investigated the Makoli Iron Age Burials in southern Zambia.⁸⁵ However, one of the most important sites that the Livingstone Museum investigated with Inskip as the principle researcher was the Kalundu Mound, accidentally discovered, about six kilometres south-east of Kalomo, in 1956 during the construction

of the Livingstone-Lusaka road. Excavations made at this site yielded a stratigraphic sequence of pottery that bore stamped and grooved decorations, storage pits, daga floors and bones of animals such as cattle, goats, elephants and a variety of antelopes. Studies of these finds revealed a very long Iron Age cultural sequence on the Batoka Plateau. These finds were significant in that they suggested that most probably, inhabitants of the area kept cattle and goats while hunting still played an important part in the economy. Radio-carbon dates showed that the site represented one of the oldest cultural sequences in the country that represented successive communities whose way of life was at that time regarded as not very different from that of contemporary Tongas, but later studies revealed that among the several different communities was the Tonga in the top part of the sequence.⁸⁶

Inskeep left the Museum in 1958 and his pioneering studies were taken over by Brian M. Fagan who succeeded him as Keeper of Prehistory and principle researcher in Iron Age. One of the major Iron Age investigations Fagan made was at Ingombe Ilede, which was discovered in 1960 when a foundation for a water tank was being dug for the resettled villagers from the Kariba Dam area. The digging led to the discovery of human skeletons associated with ivory, gold, copper and other exotic goods such as glass beads, sea-shells and cloth (see Appendix IIb). These findings were reported to the Museum, which subsequently devised a three-year research project into the Iron Age peoples of Kalomo/Choma area in 1960. The project was financed by a grant-in-aid of £5, 000 from Nuffield Foundation.⁸⁷

Following the reporting of Ingombe Ilede findings to the Museum, excavations were made on three occasions. The first was made in 1960 by J.M. Chaplin, then inspector of Monuments for Northern Rhodesia who carried out rescue excavations in the tank foundation. He unearthed about eleven skeletons and most of them were

associated with rich graves.⁸⁸ In 1961, Fagan, carried further investigations at the site to establish the stratigraphy, chronology, settlement pattern and economy of the village. In the following year, he excavated 29 undecorated burials from the southern margin of the village.

Fagan, who published his researches in Iron Age in two volumes entitled, *Iron Age Cultures in Zambia*⁸⁹ and later edited a book, *A Short History of Zambia* in 1966,⁹⁰ identified two types of burial sites at Ingombe Ilede. One type, found at the central area of the site, had human skeletons that were richly adorned in goods such as iron and copper bracelets, gold wire bangles, gold and glass beads, cloth and conus sea-shells. In some of these burials were also copper crosses or ingots, ceremonial iron tools such as flange-wielded single gongs, iron hoes and a number of smaller objects. Human skeletons in burials found in other areas of the site were poorly adorned.⁹¹ The discovery of two types of burials at Ingombe Ilede are significant to the reconstruction of the political, social and economic history of Zambia in that they provide information that had hitherto not been known that the community at the site was socially stratified, probably because of wealth that other people acquired through trade. The site had been occupied from about A.D. 680 to 950 while the burials were occupied from about the 14th to the 15th century.

Excavations at the Ingombe Ilede site also yielded a variety of fossilised and carbonised seeds that included those of sorghum, cotton and bones of domestic animals such as small cattle, goats, dogs and chicken. Traces of wild vegetable foods, faunal remains such as bones of domesticated animals (cattle and goats), and those of wild game that included, elephants, rhinoceros, a variety of antelopes and other smaller game animals were also found. However, no traces of huts other than some daga rubble lines were made in the excavations.

The noted finds suggests that the economy of the Ing`ombe Ilede people was based on the cultivation of cereal crops such as sorghum, as evidenced by carbonised seeds of sorghum and various implements of tillage such as hoes and axe blades that were excavated; gathering of wild vegetable foods and hunting, which concentrated on elephants, hippos, crocodiles, buffalo, rhino and a variety of antelopes.⁹² The absence of traces of huts suggests that most of the inhabitants lived either in wood or in grass shelters or even in stilt huts. Thus, the Ing`ombe Ilede people's mode of life must have been similar to that of the modern Gwembe Tonga who, as Elizabeth Colson noted, do not put much importance to huts as a way of adaptation to extreme heat during most of the year.⁹³

The burial goods excavated such as copper and iron bracelets, copper crosses, glass, cloth and gold beads, conus sea-shells, ceremonial hoes and iron bells, all shed light on a wide range of economic and political developments in the Zambezi Valley. They indicate the presence of trading and commercial activities with elaborate local, long distance and continental trading system. Fagan's studies established the source of copper for trade as the Copperbelt, and ivory and slaves (undecorated skeletons were thought to have been those of common people or slaves) from the interior, gold from the south of the Zambezi River and manufactured goods such as cloth, gold bead necklaces, bangles and conus sea-shells from the East African Coast and the Far East.⁹⁴

From the foregoing, a rough picture of a normal Gwembe village life of the period could be reconstructed. The principle inhabitants seem to have possessed abundant exotic goods, which they obtained, most probably through trading activities. Thus, ivory, gold, copper and perhaps slaves were most probably bartered for glass beads, sea-shells, cloth and other luxuries. The Ingombe Ilede inhabitants were not

only in contact with the coastal trade routes, but also with the people south of the Zambezi where they probably obtained gold and the plateau people from whom they obtained metals in exchange for coastal goods and perhaps salt from the Lusitu stream. The Museum's excavations have therefore brought to light the small Gwembe village that must have been an important trading centre at a period, which hitherto had been closed to humanity.

A scrutiny of copper crosses excavated at Ingombe Ilede revealed that they were almost identical in shape, size and weight⁹⁵ and therefore could have been intended to be of the same value, thereby suggesting that the crosses were a convenient way of carrying raw copper or some form of a standard unit of exchange or currency. The copper crosses taken as a form of currency illustrate the considerable scope and intensity at which trade was carried out at Ingombe Ilede during its prime days. Other areas where copper was used as a currency by the 12th century include Sanga near Lake Kisale in the Katanga Province of the present Democratic Republic of the Congo and Kipushi, also found in Katanga, where moulds for making crosses similar to those at Ingombe Ilede and dated to about the 14th century were found.⁹⁶

The iron bells that were found in the graves were identical to those used as symbols of chieftainship in the Democratic Republic of Congo, thereby suggesting the range and direction of economic and political influences among Central African peoples. It also suggests that by the 14th century, Ingombe Ilede could have made contacts either through trade or migrations with traditions of territorial chieftainship, which had developed further north.⁹⁷

The iron bells were also found to be similar to those excavated from the 19th century Soli chiefs around Lusaka. It is therefore probable that the iron works at Ingombe Ilede could also have come from the Lusaka area where such works persisted

up to recent times, thereby suggesting that Ingombe Ilede could have been associated with movements from the Congo which brought chieftainship into Zambia in the 16th to the 17th century. Excavations made by the Museum at Ingombe Ilede are therefore significant to the history of Zambia in that they provide information that forms a link between the prehistoric period to the historic period in the country.⁹⁸

The various and numerous iron objects such as pieces of axes, hoes, gongs, fragments of iron slag, sherds of iron-smelting furnaces found at various archaeological sites such as Kalambo⁹⁹, have provided evidence that Iron Age man in Zambia had the knowledge of iron working and of the process of extracting it from iron ore.¹⁰⁰ Other sites where the Museum's archaeological researches revealed similar information include Sinde Mission near Livingstone, Kangila and Kalundu Mound in southern Zambia and Machili, Namakala, Nanga and Salumano in western Zambia.¹⁰¹ However, in some sites such as Ingombe Ilede, although many Iron Age implements were found, no traces of smelting furnaces were discovered¹⁰², suggesting that they were acquired elsewhere, most probably through trade.

The Museum's archaeological researches in Iron Age that were subsequently conducted uncovered several human remains. Sites where such remains were found include Haddo Farm in Zimba where two skeletons were found and Kangila, which revealed a collection of pottery, iron tools and faunal bones. Others were Isamu Pati Mound where ten burials were uncovered (see Appendix XIXa, b and c), Behrens Farm where a skeleton was found lying in a flexed position and Kalundu at which two Iron Age burials were uncovered.¹⁰³

In 1961, Desmond Clark left the Livingstone Museum for the USA. However, his vision of a clear understanding of Iron Age societies continued even when the nationalist Government took over from the colonial Government in 1964 as it realised

the contribution that Iron Age archaeology made to the development of the new nation, particularly in establishing national identity and historical and cultural awareness of its people. This was precipitated by developments in radio-carbon dating during the 1950s, which motivated more Iron Age research. In addition, by this time, researchers had realised that contrary to the long accepted view that Bantu-speaking peoples in southern Africa had been in the region for a period of four hundred years, in fact, they had been there much longer. Thus, following the country's attainment of independence in 1964, there was a considerable interest in Iron Age studies among scholars.

Such scholars included Fagan's successor, Joseph O. Vogel, Keeper of Prehistory at the Livingstone Museum from 1966 to 1977. Vogel spent ten years of Iron Age investigations in the Victoria Falls region, stretching from east of the Victoria Falls to the area in Kazungula region west of Livingstone. His studies, revealed a series of cultural stratigraphic units which have been defined and referred to as the Mosi-o-Tunya sequence that ranged in time from about the 6th century A.D. to the present times.¹⁰⁴

Among the early settlements that Vogel investigated is Kumadzulo.¹⁰⁵ Following his studies, the settlement was dated to 6th century A.D. and was found to be fairly large with a settled mixed farming community. These communities produced pottery called channelled ware and its economy was based on agriculture, pastoralism, metallurgy and a settled village life. Their social structure differed substantially from that of hunter-gatherer bands, they displaced. They also traded, mainly in copper with the east by the 7th century and also practiced hunting and gathering.¹⁰⁶

Other important sites that Vogel investigated and documented were Nansazu, Kamangoza, Simbusenga, Chundu Farm and Zambezi Farm. Taken as a whole, his

researches revealed evidence of crafts and activities of Iron Age peoples in Zambia between the sixth century and the end of the Iron Age in the nineteenth century thereby contributing to the understanding of the cultural history in the region.¹⁰⁷ He identified nine phases of the Iron Age representing three ceramic traditions in the area; the Shongwe, Kalomo and Tonga stretching from the first millennium A.D. to the 17th century. Arising from his studies, Vogel suggested that the Kalomo Assemblages originated from the Early Iron Age of the Victoria Falls area, which spread to the central plateau of southern Zambia.¹⁰⁸ As a result of these researches, the archaeology of the Zambezi Valley became one of the best known in south-central Africa.

Following Vogel's archaeological investigations in the Victoria Falls region,¹⁰⁹ the pottery traditions of the area that were previously unknown came to be known, the analysis of which revealed a detailed cultural sequence of the Early Iron Age of the area.¹¹⁰ On the basis of analysis of pottery shards excavated, Vogel attributed the origin of Early Iron Age in the Victoria Falls Region to that on the Zimbabwean side. He also established that pottery styles of the Early Iron Age materials of the Batoka Plateau were significantly different from those of the Victoria Falls region. However, after the 9th century A.D., the pottery styles exhibited a general similarity.¹¹¹

Even though the origin of the Tonga people still remain unexplained, Vogel's investigations established some relationship with the Gokomere complex of the Zimbabwean highlands and suggested that the Iron Age peoples that lived in the southern areas of Zambia from the first quarter of the first millennium A.D. were related to their southern neighbours.¹¹² Furthermore, the results of his investigations revealed that each of the phases that had been recognised in the Victoria Falls region had a different geographical distribution. Thus, while his Situmpa phase was associated with the Zambezi and Machili river valleys, the Khumadzulo phase was

linked with the grassland dambo plains of the plateau south of the Ngwezi divide. The Dambwa phase was associated with the southern edge of the sandscarp and the last phase, that is, his ceramic tradition was linked to the Bovu dambo at Kamangoza site.¹¹³ Earlier on, David W. Phillipson's archaeological studies had revealed common pottery tradition styles that belonged to the Early Iron Age on the Batoka Plateau dated to the early centuries to about 1,000 A.D. that were regarded to belong to the Kalundu Group while those in the Victoria Falls area and some parts of western Zambia were noted to belong to the Dambwa Group.¹¹⁴

In about the mid 1970s, the Museum's researches shifted from the Southern Province to the Upper Zambezi River Valley. Among such researches were those carried out by Nicholas Katanekwa, then an Assistant Keeper of Prehistory at the Museum, in the area between Sesheke and Senanga in the Western Province of Zambia in the years 1974 to 1979.¹¹⁵ He later became the Keeper of Prehistory in Iron Age. The sites he excavated included Bulila in the Machile Valley area, Kalongola, Kunyenyenga, Namakala, Nanga and Salumano where he uncovered pottery materials that dated from 380 B.C. associated with the pottery that had previously been found only at Situmpa site, Lusu station site and Kalambo Falls.¹¹⁶ Later works that Katanekwa did, disputed the accuracy of previous interpretations on the Iron Age ceramic traditions of Zambia. He suggested three distinct but related pottery traditions; East South-West, West-South and North-Central.

Katanekwa's Iron Age investigations revealed new evidence that resulted in new interpretations of earlier findings regarding Bantu migrations in Zambia based on pottery traditions such as ceramic assemblages, decorative styles, shapes and sizes.¹¹⁷ The works showed that in northern and north-eastern Zambia, the East South-West tradition was associated with the Mambwe, Lungu, Namwanga, Tumbuka and Subiya

whose material culture dated between 500 B.C. to 1650 A.D. On the other hand, the West-South tradition was associated with the Mbowe, Kwangwa, Nyengo, and Mashi who arrived in western Zambia from the fifth century A.D.¹¹⁸ Katanekwa gave evidence to show that Luyana origin was from Angola, in an area known as Luyana, neighbouring Imusho area in the extreme western part of Sesheke District, Western Zambia. The Luvale and Mbunda groups were late migrants who came to the area from Angola in the 19th century.¹¹⁹

In the north-western Zambia were the Mbwela who are believed to have been the earliest inhabitants before the arrival of the Lunda, originating from Angola, Kaonde and Luvale to the area who subsequently replaced or incorporated them. In Luapula, Northern, Eastern and Central provinces, Swaka/Lala, the Ushi, Chishinga, Bwile, Ngumbo, Bisa, Bemba, Kunda and Ambo are matrilineal groups of people that traced their origin from Congo from the sixteenth century onwards.¹²⁰

The Lenje, Soli, Ila, Tonga and Leya of Central, Lusaka and Southern provinces were also linked to pottery traditions. The Ila and Tonga people have no oral tradition of origin because of the antiquity of their existence but probably came from North-Central with connections to the Congo and originated from there from the 5th Century onwards.¹²¹ However, the Lenje and Soli chiefs are thought to be late migrants in the area.¹²²

On the Copperbelt, live the Lamba and Kaonde ethnic groups. The Kaonde are thought to be the earliest to arrive in the area from 1,000 A.D. onwards. These belonged to the North-Central tradition as well.¹²³ Thus, through this study, the Museum has confirmed the long held view that most of the Bantu-speaking peoples in Zambia came from the Congo and new ideas that some came from Angola tracing their migration routes on the basis of pottery traditions.

In 1956, an excavation made by Desmond Clark at Mali Farm in the Victoria Falls region revealed a skeleton whose body lay in a contracted position littered with assorted items, which ranged from clay figurines of domesticated animals such as cattle and goats; pottery sherds; iron implements such as hoe, arrow and spear heads to a few glass beads. Similar finds were made at subsequent excavations at Makoli,¹²⁴ Lion Kop Farm, Kalundu Mound, Ingombe Ilede,¹²⁵ Nansanzu, Chundu Farm¹²⁶, Sikalongo¹²⁷ and Choonga School¹²⁸ The finds at Chuundu Farm were dated to the eighth century¹²⁹ and those at Kalundu dated to 900 A.D.¹³⁰ The analysis of mortuary features of skeletons and pottery materials excavated, provided valuable information to the understanding of prehistoric Iron Age cultures of Zambia, particularly as regards burial customs. From the sites noted, archaeologists observed an interesting feature whereby women were buried facing west while men faced east.¹³¹ This phenomenon was also noted by Elizabeth Colson in her studies of the Gwembe Tonga.¹³² This practice originated from the belief that men woke up in search of food when the sun rose in the east while women would begin cooking when it set in the west.¹³³ Thus, burial practices seem to have been incorporated with functions that people performed when they were still alive. This assumption was, however, supported only at few sites, as it was difficult to distinguish female implements from those used by males, particularly pottery articles.¹³⁴

Skeletons of people excavated at sites in the Gwembe area revealed that one or two incisors were filed or removed to form an inverted V shape, a practice that continues to be prevalent in villages in the Gwembe Tonga region. This trend was observed at Isamu Pati, Haddo Farm, Lion Kop Farm, Ingombe Ilede¹³⁵ and Choonga School.¹³⁶ However, Ingombe Ilede should be handled with care because the site experienced cultural invasion from outside the region.¹³⁷

In 1977, Francis Musonda initiated the Muchinga Research Project in which he conducted considerable archaeological research investigations in the Lunsenfwa Drainage Basin of Central Province the results of which were published in the *Zambia Geographical Journal*.¹³⁸ His study revealed evidence of the adaptive nature of the Later Stone Age Man to his environment and that the hunter gatherer populations that occupied the Basin prior to the arrival of the Iron Age people or agriculturists in the area continued their mode of subsistence up into the recent historic times, around 1800 A.D. with little influence from the food producing communities. The new arrivals occupied and utilised ecological zones that did not bring them into conflict or competition with hunter-gatherers.¹³⁹

From the 1990s to the end of the time frame for this study, few research projects were conducted due to severe financial constraints the Museum faced and the fact that experienced researchers had been elevated to administrative positions. In March 1993, Agbenyenga Adedze, an African museum specialist who visited a large number of African museums, noting the work culture of members of staff in those museums, observed that, "The impression I got from most people was that they were not working in the Museum out of love and care for the objects but were pushed into the museum because they did not have anywhere else to go."¹⁴⁰ During data collection for this study, I found the observation noted above comprehensible in relation to the research staff at the Livingstone Museum, particularly from the the 1990s to the close of the study period. Due to poor conditions of service, most of the more enterprising senior staff had left the Museum to join the more attractive research institutions such as the University of Zambia. The majority of the few researchers who remained did so because most places in lucrative organisations were taken up and "were preoccupied at

the Museum mainly with curatorial work, a situation that undermined their professional development as researchers.”¹⁴¹

The Museum's archaeological researches were complimented by those of the National Monuments Commission, which later became National Heritage Conservation Commission. In fact, Monuments Law was the basis of all the above Museum work. Right from its inception, the Commission's researchers usually collaborated with those of the Museum. Among the Commission's works are those of J. H. Chaplin who investigated and documented sites at Ingombe Ilede and Makoli¹⁴² and S.G.H. Daniels who carried out investigations in Southern and North-Western Provinces.¹⁴³ Others were those of David Phillipson and R.M. Derricourt. Among others, Phillipson carried out comprehensive excavations in Eastern Province in 1966, 1970 and 1971. Some of the major sites he excavated were Thandwe Rock-shelter, Kalemba Rockshelter, Kamnama and Makwe Rockshelter.¹⁴⁴ Derricourt investigated the Kafue Basin area of the Itzhitezhi Dam and wrote a book on the Twa. He also investigated the Luapula region and described the pattern of ecological changes and agro-fishing economies of Iron Age peoples during the last one thousand years in a book he wrote, *Peoples of the Lake*. The Museum also initiated and hosted researches for visiting researchers and scholars. Among such scholars were Francis van Noten, D.K. Savage and L.S. Barham.¹⁴⁵

Conclusion

Before the establishment of the Museum in 1934, very little knowledge was known about the history of Zambia. However, following the establishment of the Museum, particularly when J. Desmond Clark was appointed in 1938 as Curator of the Museum, the situation changed. The Museum through its research staff carried out

numerous archaeological studies, first in Stone Age Archaeology followed by Iron Age Archaeology after the mid 1950s.

The archaeological researches done on the Stone Age Man in areas such as the Victoria Falls region, Mumbwa Caves, Kalambo Falls, Nachikufu Rock-shelter and Nsalu Cave have generated knowledge of the earliest origin and stages of human culture and physical development of man in Zambia from the hunter-gatherer, primitive man-ape of *Homo habilis* type, to modern *Homo sapiens*. The researches have also generated knowledge regarding advances in Stone Age technology moving from tools such as the hand axe to more specialised ones such as the cleaver, bone and wooden tools.

The Museum's Iron Age researches such as the Kalomo/Choma Iron Age Project at Ingombe Ilede and at Kalundu have generated a build-up of knowledge on the history of movements of the successive Iron Age people in Zambia. They have also provided a clear understanding that hunter-gatherers whose technology was predominantly stone tools preceded societies that practiced crop cultivation, animal husbandry, settled village life, pottery manufacture and metallurgy.

The Ingombe Ilede burial research excavation in particular, has generated information that has thrown light on the social and economic conditions of the people who inhabited the area, particularly, trading activities that existed between people in the area and the East Coast and the Indian Ocean. Furthermore, works on the later Iron Age or metal using food producing stages such as those done at Kamangoza, Kumadzulo, Machile, Salumano, Lunsemfwa Drainage Basin and Sikalongo have provided links between the prehistoric past and the historic records and the oral traditions (an appreciable amount of which are in the Museum's collection) of the

Zambian people, an important element in the reconstruction of Zambian history, more so, in the absence of written records.

The Museum's archaeological studies have thus, generated information relevant to the reconstruction of the history of Zambia from prehistoric to historic times. Though much still need to be done, Zambia, particularly its southern part, now has a well-informed account of its prehistory from Stone Age to the Iron Age. For example, the way of life of man in Zambia from Stone Age to Iron Age is now known. While the Stone Age Man was a hunter-gatherer and depended on stone technology, the Iron Age Man, among others had a metal-based technology, mixed agriculture with an element of foraging, production of pottery vessels, settled village community and a tribal social structure. Thus, it has been possible to reconstruct the known history of Zambia mainly because of archaeological studies made by the Livingstone Museum since its inception in 1934.

ENDNOTES

¹C. Gouldsbury and H. Shean, *The Great Plateau of Northern Rhodesia* (London: Edward Arnold, 1911), pp. 28-29.

²Baptista and Jose in their 1802 to 1811 trans-African expedition from Angola to Mozambique passed through Kazembe. In 1831 to 1832 Monteiro and Gamitto also visited Kazembe. From their records we learn that at the time they passed there, the reigning Kazembe was Kapumba, the son of Cireka [Cileka]. David Livingstone made most of the available earliest records about the country and its people following his central-southern African exploration in the years 1851 to 1873. Gouldsbury and Shean, *The Great Plateau of Northern Rhodesia*, p. 29.

³J.D. Clark, *The Prehistory of Africa* (New York: Praeger Publications, Inc, 1970), pp. 80-5.

⁴R.M. Derricourt, *People of the Lakes: Archaeological Studies in Northern Zambia*. Zambia Paper 13 (Manchester: Manchester University Press on behalf of the University of Zambia, Institute of African Studies, 1980), p. 10.

⁵Derricourt, *People of the Lakes*, p. 18. This interpretation was also noted by David Livingstone in the oral traditions of the local people during his visit to Lake Bangweulu and the surrounding area in 1868. See W. Horace, *The Last Journals of David Livingstone in Central Africa from 1865 to his death: His last moments and suffering obtained from his faithful servants Chuma and Susi*. 2vols, vol 1 (London: John Murray, 1880), p. 315.

⁶Quoted from J. D. Fage, "The Development of African Historiography", in Ki-Zerbo, J. (ed.), *UNESCO General History of Africa, 1: Methodology and African Prehistory* (California: Heinemann, 1981), pp. 30-35.

⁷Francis Musonda, "Iron Age Studies in Southern Zambia and their contribution to the understanding of the Tonga", (unpublished paper, n.d.), p. 2.

⁸Musonda, "Iron Age Studies in Southern Zambia and their contribution to the understanding of the Tonga", p. 2.

⁹Musonda, "Iron Age Studies in Southern Zambia and their contribution to the understanding of the Tonga", p. 2.

¹⁰Musonda, "Iron Age Studies in Southern Zambia and their contribution to the understanding of the Tonga", p. 2.

¹¹H.W. F. Fielden, "The Stone Age of the Zambezi Valley and its Relation in Time", *Nature*, 72 (1905), 77; G. W. Lamplough, "Notes on the Occurrence of Stone Implements in the Valley of the Zambezi", *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 36 (1906), pp. 159-69; H. Balfour, "Note Upon an Implement of Palaeolithic type from the Victoria Falls, Zambezi", *Journal of Anthropological Institute*, 36 (1906), pp. 170-71.

¹²E. C. Chubb, "List of Vertebrate Remains from Brocken Hill Man", *Proceedings of Rhodesia Science Association*, 7, 2 (1908), pp. 21-23.

¹³The Italian Scientific Expedition, and R.A. Dart and N. Del Grande (1931) and J. D. Clark (1939); Phillipson, *Annotated Bibliography of Zambian Archaeology*; LMA, Newspaper Cutting file, Correspondent, "Prof. R.A. Dart - Rhodesia Rock Engravings: New Theories and Clues", *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 11 July 1931, p.1; and J. D. Clark, "Archaeological retrospect 10", *Antiquity*, LX (1986), p. 181.

¹⁴A. L. Armstrong, and N. Jones, "The Antiquity of Man in Rhodesia as demonstrated by Stone implements of the Ancient Zambezi gravels south of the Victoria Falls" *Journal of the Royal Anthropology Institute*, 66 (1936), pp. 331-48; and Derricourt, "Archaeology in Zambia – an Historical Outline", p. 31.

¹⁵Clark, "Archaeological retrospect 10", p. 181; L. Mushokabanji, "The changing contribution of Livingstone Museum in the light of reduced government funding", MPhil Dissertation in Archaeology (Queens' College, University of Cambridge, 1997), pp.10-11; and LMA, Correspondent, R.A. Dart, "Rhodesian Rock Engravings: New Theories and Clues", p. 1.

¹⁶D. W. Phillipson, *Annotated Bibliography of Zambian Archaeology*, Livingstone: National Monuments Commission, 1968.

¹⁷R. M. Derricourt, "Archaeology in Zambia – an Historical Outline", *African Social Research*, 21 (June 1976), pp. 32-33.

¹⁸Derricourt, "Archaeology in Zambia – an Historical Outline", pp. 32-33.

¹⁹The Italian Scientific Expedition, and R.A. Dart and N. Del Grande 1931 and J. D. Clark (1939); Phillipson, *Annotated Bibliography of Zambian Archaeology*; and LMA, Newspaper Cutting file, Reporter, Correspondent, "Prof. R.A. Dart - Rhodesia Rock Engravings: New Theories and Clues", *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 11 July 1931, p. 1.

²⁰A. L. Armstrong, and N. Jones, "The Antiquity of Man in Rhodesia as demonstrated by Stone implements of the Ancient Zambezi gravels south of the Victoria Falls" *Journal of the Royal Anthropology Institute*, 66 (1936), pp. 331-48; and Derricourt, "Archaeology in Zambia – an Historical Outline", p. 31.

²¹J.D. Clark, "Archaeological retrospect 10", *Antiquity*, LX (1986), p. 181.

²²Clark, "Archaeological retrospect 10", p. 181; and L. Mushokabanji, "The changing Contribution of Livingstone Museum in the light of reduced government funding", pp. 10-11.

²³LMA, Correspondent, "Rhodesian Rock Engravings: New Theories and Clues", p. 1.

²⁴LMA, Correspondent, "Rhodesian Rock Engravings: New Theories and Clues", p. 1.

²⁵LMA, J. D. Clark, "Report of the Progress made by the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum during the years, 1938-40", *Director's Report to the Trustees of the RLI on the work of the First Three Years (1938-9-1940)*, p.12; and Clark, "Archaeological retrospect 10", p. 181.

²⁶Clark, *The Stone Age Cultures of Northern Rhodesia* (Claremont, Cape: The South African Archaeological Society, 1950) pp. 13; and LMA, Government of the Republic of Zambia (hereafter, GRZ), *National Museums Board of Zambia, Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1967* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1968), p. 16.

²⁷Clark, *The Stone Age Cultures of Northern Rhodesia*, pp. 66, 99,104, 107, 109 and 111-112; also see Clark, "Archaeological retrospect 10", p. 182; and Rhodes-Livingstone Museum Board of Directors (hereafter, RLM), "Report of the Progress made by the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum during the years, 1938-40", p. 12.

²⁸RLM, "Report of the Progress made by the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum during the years, 1938-40", p.19.

²⁹J.D. Clark, *Stone Age Cultures in Northern Rhodesia and the Possibilities of Future Research. Supplementary to the Museum Handbook* (Livingstone: RLI, 1939).

³⁰Derricourt, "Archaeology in Zambia – An Historical Outline", p. 35.

³¹Clark, "Archaeological retrospect 10", p. 183.

³²Clark, "Archaeological retrospect 10", p. 183.

³³J.D. Clark, "A Note on the Pre-Bantu Inhabitants of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland", Reprint from, *South African Journal of Science*, 47, 3 (1950) 80-85; and J.D. Clark, "A Note on the Pre-Bantu Inhabitants of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland", *Northern Rhodesia Journal*, 1, 2 (1950), pp. 42-52.

³⁴Clark's Kalambo Falls investigations were published into three volumes: Volume I gave a detailed description of the stratigraphic geology and morphological history of the Falls and was published in 1969. Volume II described and illustrated the archaeological content of the various horizons and provided quantitative analysis of the assemblages and plans of the living floors, from the Iron Age back to the Acheulian and was published in 1974. Volume III discussed the significance of the Site and its place in the general prehistory of the continent. It was published in 2001. See J. D. Clark, *Kalambo Falls Prehistoric Site*, 3vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969, 1974 and 2001 respectively).

³⁵Clark, *Kalambo Falls Prehistoric Site* vol. I, pp. 191-194; and D.W. Phillipson, *The Early and Middle Stone Ages in Brian Fagan, A Short History of Zambia* (Nairobi and Lusaka: Oxford University Press), pp. 47-49.

³⁶J. D. Clark, *The Stone Age Cultures of Northern Rhodesia*, p. 137.

³⁷Clark, *Kalambo Falls Prehistoric Site* vol. II, pp. 245 and 251; and J.D. Clark, *The Prehistory of Africa* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1970), pp. 142.

³⁸Clark, *Kalambo Falls Prehistoric Site* vol. I, pp. 97, 153, 160-1, 172 and 174; and J.D. Clark, *The Prehistory of Africa*, p. 143.

³⁹Clark, *Kalambo Falls Prehistoric Site* vol. I, pp. 160-1, 172, 174; and Lawrence Barham and Peter Mitchell, *The First Africans: African Archaeology from the Earliest Toolmakers to Most Recent Foragers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 140-144.

⁴⁰Clark, *Kalambo Falls Prehistoric Site* vol. I, pp. 63-83; and J.D. Clark, "The Prehistory of Southern Africa", in Ki-Zerbo, J. (ed.), *UNESCO General History of Africa, 1: Methodology and African Prehistory* (California: Heinemann, 1981), p. 214.

⁴¹Clark, *The Stone Age Cultures of Northern Rhodesia*, pp.26-27; and J.D. Clark, "Stone Age Man at the Victoria Falls", in D.W. Phillipson (ed.), *Mosi-oa-Tunya: A Handbook to the Victoria Falls Region* (Harare: Longman Zimbabwe, 1990), pp. 34-36.

⁴²Clark, *Kalambo Falls Prehistoric Site* vol. II, p. 52.

⁴³Clark, *Kalambo Falls Prehistoric Site* vol. I, pp. 67, 216-217.

⁴⁴Clark, *The Prehistory of Africa*, p. 70.

⁴⁵Clark, *Kalambo Falls Prehistoric Site*, vol. II, p. 58.

⁴⁶Clark, *Kalambo Falls Prehistoric Site* vol. I, pp. 68 and 97; and vol. II, p. 9; also see Clark, *The Prehistory of Africa*, p. 143.

⁴⁷Clark, *Kalambo Falls Prehistoric Site* vol. I, pp. 90, 92 and 187.

⁴⁸Clark, *Kalambo Falls Prehistoric Site* vol. I, p. 106.

⁴⁹Clark, *The Prehistory of Africa*, p. 142.

⁵⁰Barham and Mitchell, *The First Africans: African Archaeology from the Earliest Toolmakers to Most Recent Foragers*, pp. 140-144.

⁵¹A. Roberts, *A History of Zambia* (London: Heinemann, 1972), p. 16; and D. W. Phillipson, "The Early and Middle Stone Ages" in B. Fagan, *A Short History of Zambia* (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp. 33-55.

⁵²Clark, *Kalambo Falls Prehistoric Site* vol. I, pp. 38, 102, 104, 136 and p.185; and Clark, *The Stone Age Cultures of Northern Rhodesia*, pp. 86-9.

⁵³Phillipson, "The Early and Middle Stone Ages", p. 50.

⁵⁴Phillipson, "The Early and Middle Stone Ages", p. 50.

- ⁵⁵Phillipson, "The Early and Middle Stone Ages", p. 50-51.
- ⁵⁶Clark, *The Stone Age Cultures of Northern Rhodesia*, pp. 98, 137 and 143.
- ⁵⁷Phillipson, "The Early and Middle Stone Ages", p. 52.
- ⁵⁸Clark, *The Stone Age Cultures of Northern Rhodesia*, pp.144-5 and Phillipson, "The Early and Middle Stone Ages", p. 48.
- ⁵⁹Phillipson, "The Early and Middle Stone Ages", p. 53.
- ⁶⁰Andrew Roberts, *A History of Zambia*, p. 17.
- ⁶¹Phillipson, "The Early and Middle Stone Ages", p. 53.
- ⁶²Clark, *The Stone Age Cultures of Northern Rhodesia*, pp.135-6 and 175-6; and Phillipson, "The Early and Middle Stone Ages", pp. 53-4.
- ⁶³Clark, *The Stone Age Cultures of Northern Rhodesia*, pp.101-5; and Phillipson, "The Early and Middle Stone Ages", pp. 56-7.
- ⁶⁴Phillipson, "The Early and Middle Stone Ages", pp. 57.
- ⁶⁵Phillipson, "The Early and Middle Stone Ages", pp. 57.
- ⁶⁶Roberts, *A History of Zambia*, p. 19.
- ⁶⁷J.D. Clark, "The Newly discovered Nachikufu Culture of Northern Rhodesia", *South African Archaeological Bulletin*, 5, 19 (1950), pp. 2-15; Sheryl F. Miller, "The Age of Nachikufan Industries in Zambia", *South African Archaeological Bulletin*, 26 (December, 1971), pp.143-146; Clark, *The Stone Age Cultures in Northern Rhodesia*, pp. 116-119; and D.W. Phillipson, *National Monuments of Zambia* (Ndola: Mission Press, 1972), p. 13.
- ⁶⁸Clark, *The Stone Age Cultures of Northern Rhodesia*, pp. 116-9; and Roberts, *A History of Zambia*, pp. 21-2.
- ⁶⁹Clark, *The Stone Age Cultures of Northern Rhodesia*, pp. 107-15.
- ⁷⁰C. Garbel, "Lochinvar Mound: A Later Stone Age camp-site in the Central Kafue Basin", *South African Archaeological Bulletin*, XVIII, 70 (1963), pp. 40-8; and *Stone Age Hunters of the Kafue Basin* (Boston: Boston University Press, 1965.)
- ⁷¹B.M. Fagan and F. Van Noten, *The Hunter-Gatherers of Ngwisho*, Mus'ee Royal de l'Afrique centrale, Annales, LXXIV (Tervuren, 1971).
- ⁷²Roberts, *A History of Zambia*, p. 22.
- ⁷³Roberts, *A History of Zambia*, p. 22.

⁷⁴Clark, *The Stone Age Cultures of Northern Rhodesia*, pp. 107 and 147-148.

⁷⁵Clark, "Archaeological retrospect 10", p. 186.

⁷⁶J.D. Clark, "A Note on the Pre-Bantu inhabitants of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland", Paper read at the South African Association for the advancement of Science at Salisbury, 3 July 1950, at the joint meeting with the Rhodesia Scientific Association, *Northern Rhodesia Journal*, 1, Parts 1-6, pp. 42-52.

⁷⁷J.D. Clark, and B.M. Fagan, "Charcoals, Sands and Channel-Decorated Pottery from Northern Rhodesia", *American Anthropologist*, 67, 2, (1965), pp. 353-371.

⁷⁸Clark, *Kalambo Falls Prehistoric Site*, vol. II, pp. 18-23, 65-7 and 69-70.

⁷⁹Derricourt, "Archaeology in Zambia – an historical Outline", p. 40.

⁸⁰Musonda, "The Iron Age Studies in southern Zambia", p. 3.

⁸¹NAZ, SP1/1/34, David Livingstone Centenary (Discovery of the Victoria Falls), n.d. Centenary Celebrations: List of events and attractions, 1955.

⁸²LMA, NRG, *Rhodes-Livingstone Museum Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1955*, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1957) pp.15-16; and Derricourt, "Archaeology in Zambia – an Historical Outline", p. 40.

⁸³LMA, NRG, *Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1957*, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1958), p.3; and Derricourt, "Archaeology in Zambia – an Historical Outline", p. 40.

⁸⁴LMA, NRG, *Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1957*, p. 18.

⁸⁵R.R. Inskip, "Some Iron Age Sites in Northern Rhodesia", *South African Archaeological Bulletin*, 17 (1962), 136-180.

⁸⁶Nicholas M. Katanekwa, "The Iron Age in Zambia: Some New Evidence and Interpretations", unpublished, National Heritage Conservation Commission, 1995.

⁸⁷LMA, J32/4, Acc. No. 9013, Brian M. Fagan, "Northern Rhodesia 1500 Years Ago: Rich finds from an Iron Age settlement in the Gwembe Valley, downstream from the Kariba Dam", *The Illustrated London News*, (Archaeological Section No. 2188) 20 June 1964, p. 988; Derricourt, "Archaeology in Zambia – An Historical Outline", p. 41 and LMAR, 1960, p. 37; and Anon, "Material Unearthed at the Kalomo Iron Age Site now at the Museum", *The Livingstone Mail*, 20 July 1960, p. 3.

⁸⁸J.M. Chaplin, "Preliminary Account of Iron Age Burial in the Gwembe Valley", Seminar Paper, 1960; Anon, "A New case of recently Unearthed Material at Livingstone Museum", *The Livingstone Mail*, 20 May 1960, p. 9; Fagan, "Northern

Rhodesia 1500 Years Ago”, p. 988; LMA, GRZ, *Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1960* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1961), pp. 36-39; LMA, J32/4, Acc. No. 9013; and Fagan, “Northern Rhodesia 1500 Years Ago: Rich finds from an Iron Age settlement in the Gwembe Valley, downstream from the Kariba Dam”, *The Illustrated London News*, 20 June 1964, pp. 988- 991.

⁸⁹B.M.Fagan, *Iron Age Cultures in Zambia (Kalomo and Kangila)* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1967); and B.M.Fagan, D.W. Phillipson and S.G.H. Daniels, *Iron Age Cultures in Zambia (Dambwa, Ingombe Ilede and the Tonga)* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1969).

⁹⁰Brian Fagan (ed.), *A Short History of Zambia* (London: Heinemann, 1966).

⁹¹Phillipson and Daniels, *Iron Age Cultures in Zambia (Dambwa, Ingombe Ilede and the Tonga) Vol. 2*, pp. 86-87.

⁹²Fagan, Phillipson and Daniels, *Iron Age Cultures in Zambia (Dambwa, Ingombe Ilede and the Tonga) Vol. 2*, pp. 58-84.

⁹³Elizabeth Colson, *The Social Organisation of the Gwembe Tonga* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1960).

⁹⁴LMA, NRG, *Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December, 1961* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1962), pp. 37-38, 49; 1962, pp. 32-34; 1963, pp. 25-26; and 1964, pp. 22-24; Colson, *Social Organisation of the Gwembe Tonga*; and Fagan, *Iron Age Cultures in Zambia (Kalomo and Kangila)*; Anon, “Iron Age Discoveries in N.R. rival Zimbabwe Ruins: Extract from Reports of Dr. Brian Fagan of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum”, *The Livingstone Mail* (21 February 1964), p. 3.

⁹⁵B. M. Fagan, “Excavations at Ingombe Ilede, 1960-2”, in Fagan, Phillipson and Daniels, *Iron Age Cultures in Zambia (Dambwa, Ingombe Ilede and the Tonga) Vol. 2*, pp.58-184; and Roberts, *A History of Zambia*, p. 60.

⁹⁶Roberts, *A History of Zambia*, p. 62.

⁹⁷Roberts, *A History of Zambia*, pp. 61-62.

⁹⁸Roberts, *A History of Zambia*, p. 62.

⁹⁹Clark, *Kalambo Falls Prehistoric Site*, vol. II, pp. 26, 69, and 374-375.

¹⁰⁰Fagan, “Excavations at Ingombe Ilede, 1960-2”, in Fagan, Phillipson and Daniels, *Iron Age Cultures in Zambia (Dambwa, Ingombe Ilede and the Tonga) Vol. 2*, pp. 92 and 101-102.

¹⁰¹R.R. Inskip, “An Iron Smelting Furnace in Southern Zambia”, *South African Archaeological Bulletin*, 33 (1978), pp. 113-117; and “Some Iron Age Sites in Northern Rhodesia”, *South African Archaeological Bulletin*, 17 (1962), pp. 136-80;

B.M. Fagan and D.W. Phillipson, "Sebanzi: The Iron Age Sequence at Lochinvar and the Tonga", *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 95, 2 (July-December, 1965), pp. 253-294; Fagan, "Excavations at Ingombe Ilede, 1960-2", in Fagan, Phillipson and Daniels, *Iron Age Cultures in Zambia (Dambwa, Ingombe Ilede and the Tonga)*, vol. 2, pp. 57-184; Nicholas M. Katanekwa, "Some Early Iron Age Sites from Machili Valley of South-West Zambia" *AZANIA*, 13 (1978), 135-166; "Namakala and Nanga Sites and the chronology of the Early Iron Age in Southern and South West Zambia" *South African Archaeologist Bull.*, 34 (1979), pp. 120-122; and "Upper Zambezi Iron Age Research Project Phase II: Preliminary report on the Salumano site excavations", *Archaeologia Zambiana*, 20: (1981), pp. 12-14.

¹⁰²Fagan, *Iron Age Cultures in Zambia (Kalomo and Kangila)*, p. 88.

¹⁰³Fagan, *Iron Age Cultures in Zambia (Kalomo and Kangila)*; and Mushokabanji, "The changing Contribution", p. 13.

¹⁰⁴Joseph Vogel, *Kamangoza: An Introduction to the Iron Age Cultures of the Victoria Falls Region, Zambia Museum Papers No. 2* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), *Kumadzulo: An Early Iron Age Village Site in Southern Zambia, Zambia Paper No. 3* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971); and *Simbusenga, Zambia Paper No. 4* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975); and Anon, "Interesting Finds by Livingstone Museum Diggers", *The Livingstone Mail*, 1 September 1967, p. 7.

¹⁰⁵Vogel, *Kumadzulo: An Early Iron Age Village Site in Southern Zambia, Zambia, Paper No. 3*.

¹⁰⁶Vogel, *Kumadzulo: An Early Iron Age Village Site in Southern Zambia, Zambia, Paper No. 3*.

¹⁰⁷Vogel, *Kamangoza: An Introduction to the Iron Age Cultures of the Victoria Falls Region, Zambia Museum Papers No. 2*; and *Kumadzulo: An Early Iron Age Village Site in Southern Zambia, Zambia Paper No. 3*; and Anon, "Interesting Finds by Livingstone Museum Diggers", *The Livingstone Mail*, 1967, p. 7.

¹⁰⁸Vogel, *Kamangoza: An Introduction to the Iron Age Cultures of the Victoria Falls Region, Zambia Museum Papers 2*; and *Kumadzulo: An Early Iron Age Village Site in Southern Zambia, Zambia Paper 3*.

¹⁰⁹Vogel, *Kamangoza: An Introduction to the Iron Age Cultures of the Victoria Falls Region*; and J. Vogel, "The Mosi-oa-Tunya Sequence", *Zambia Museums Journal*, IV (1973), pp. 105-152; and *Simbusenga*.

¹¹⁰J.O. Vogel, "The Iron Age Pottery of the Victoria Falls Region", *Zambia Museums Journal*, 5 (1980), pp. 41-74; and J.O. Vogel, "The Iron Age Archaeology of the Victoria Falls region", in D.W. Phillipson (ed.), *Mosi-oa-Tunya: A Handbook to the Victoria Falls Region* (Harare: Longman Zimbabwe, 1990), pp. 51-61.

¹¹¹J.O. Vogel, "The Kalomo Culture of Southern Zambia: Some notes towards a Reassessment", *Zambia Museums Journal*, 1 (1970); pp. 77-88.

¹¹²J.O. Vogel, "The Shongwe Traditions", *Zambia Museums Journal*, 3 (1972), p. 33.

¹¹³J.O. Vogel, "The Mosi-oa-Tunya Sequence", *Zambia Museums Journal*, IV (1973), p. 114.

¹¹⁴D. W. Phillipson, "The Early Iron Age in Zambia – regional variants and some tentative conclusions", *Journal of African History* (hereafter *JAH*), IX (1968), pp. 191-211; and "Archaeology in Zambia", *JAH*, XI, 1 (1974), pp. 1-25.

¹¹⁵Nicholas M. Katanekwa, "Some Early Iron Age sites from Machili Valley of South-West Zambia" *AZANIA* 13 (1978), 135-166; "Namakala and Nanga Sites and the chronology of the Early Iron Age in Southern and South West Zambia" *South African Archaeologist Bull*, 34 (1979), pp. 120-122; "Upper Zambezi Iron Age Research Project Phase II: Preliminary report on the Salumano site excavations", *Archaeologia Zambiana*, 20 (1981), pp. 12-14; "Preliminary Report on Iron Age Research on the Upper Zambezi: The Kalongola site excavations", *Archaeologia Zambiana* 21 (1983), pp. 15-16; and "Some Early Iron Age potsherds from Western Zambia", *Archaeologia Zambiana*, 22 (1991), pp. 3-4.

¹¹⁶See Katanekwa, "Some Early Iron Age Sites from Machili Valley of South-West Zambia", *Azania*, 13 (1978), 135-166; "Note on the Upper Zambezi Valley Project" *History in Zambia. Bulletin*. No. 9 (1979); "Namakala and Nanga and the Chronology of the Iron Age in Southern and Western Zambia", *South African Archaeological Bulletin*; also see LMA, GRZ, *The National Museums Board of Zambia* (hereafter, *NMB*) *Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1974* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1975), pp. 13-14; *NMB Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1976* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1977), p.10; *NMB Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1978* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1979), p. 10; and *NMB Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1979* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1980), pp. 10-11.

¹¹⁷N.M. Katanekwa, "The Iron Age in Zambia: Some new evidence and interpretations." A paper presented at the International Conference on the growth of farming communities in Africa from the Equator Southwards. Cambridge, U.K. 4 –8 July 1994; unpublished.

¹¹⁸Katanekwa, "The Iron Age in Zambia: Some New Evidence and Interpretations"; unpublished, National Heritage Conservation Commission, 1995.

¹¹⁹Katanekwa, "The Iron Age in Zambia."

¹²⁰D.W. Phillipson, *The Iron Age in Zambia* (Lusaka: Neczam Ltd. 1975); Katanekwa, "The Iron Age in Zambia."

¹²¹E. Colson, *Social Organisation of the Gwembe Tonga* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1960).

¹²²Katanekwa, "The Iron Age in Zambia."

- ¹²³Kataneke, "The Iron Age in Zambia."
- ¹²⁴R.R. Inskeep, "Some Iron Age Sites in Northern Rhodesia", 136-180.
- ¹²⁵Fagan, "Bored Stone from the Kalomo culture", 13, 67.
- ¹²⁶Vogel, *Kamangoza*.
- ¹²⁷F. B. Musonda, "Archaeological Reconstruction of the Prehistory of the Sikalongo Area"; unpublished, Livingstone Museum, 1987.
- ¹²⁸Mushokabanji, "Choonga Excavation Report"; unpublished, Livingstone Museum, 1995.
- ¹²⁹J. O. Vogel, J. O. "An Early Iron Age Burial from Chundu Farm, Zambia", *Zambia Museums Journal*, 6 (1982), pp. 118-125.
- ¹³⁰Fagan, *Iron Age Cultures in Zambia (Kalomo and Kangila)*.
- ¹³¹Mushokabanji, "The changing Contribution of Livingstone Museum", p. 24.
- ¹³²Colson, *Social Organisation of the Gwembe Tonga*.
- ¹³³See, Fagan, Phillipson and Daniels, *Iron Age Cultures in Zambia (Dambwa, Ingombe Ilede and Tonga)*, p. 227.
- ¹³⁴Mushokabanji, "The Changing Contribution of Livingstone Museum", p. 25.
- ¹³⁵Fagan, Phillipson and Daniels, *Iron Age Cultures in Zambia II (Dambwa, Ingombe Ilede and the Tonga)*.
- ¹³⁶Mushokabanji, "Choonga Excavation Report."
- ¹³⁷Fagan, Phillipson and Daniels, *Iron Age Cultures in Zambia II (Dambwa, Ingombe Ilede and the Tonga)*.
- ¹³⁸LMA, GRZ, *NMB Annual Report*, 1984, p. 5; F.S. Musonda, "Plant food in the diet of the Prehistoric inhabitants of the Lunsemfwa drainage basin, Zambia, during the 20,000 years", *Zambia Geographical Journal*, 36 (1986), pp. 17-27; and F.B. Musonda, "Aspects of the Prehistory of the Lunsemfwa Drainage Basin", PhD dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1983.
- ¹³⁹LMA, GRZ, *NMB Annual Report*, 1984, p. 5; Musonda, "Plant food in the diet of the Prehistoric inhabitants of the Lunsemfwa drainage basin, Zambia, during the 20,000 years", pp. 17-27; and Musonda, "Aspects of the Prehistory of the Lunsemfwa Drainage Basin, Zambia during the Last 20, 000 Years", pp. 1-46.
- ¹⁴⁰As cited in Merrick Pornansky, "Coping with collapse in the 1990s: West African Museums, Universities and National Patrimonies" in Peter R. Schmidt and

Roderick J. McIntosh, *Plundering Africa's Past* (London: James Currey, 1996), p. 146.

¹⁴¹Interview, Katankwa, 20 July, 2007.

¹⁴²J.H. Chaplin, "A preliminary Account of Iron Age Burials with gold from the Gwembe Valley", Seminal paper presented at the first Federal Science Congress, Salisbury, 1960.

¹⁴³S.G.H. Daniels, "A Note on the Iron Age from Kamusongolwa Kopje, Zambia", *South African Archaeological Bulletin*, 22, pp. 142-150.

¹⁴⁴D.W. Phillipson, *The Prehistory of Eastern Zambia* (Nairobi: British Institute in Eastern Africa, 1976).

¹⁴⁵B.M. Fagan and F. Van Noten, "Wooden Implements from Late Stone Age Sites at Ngwisho Hotspring, Lochinvar, Zambia", *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, 32 (1966), 246-261; and L.S. Barham, "Preliminary Results from Mumbwa Caves of Central Zambia", *Southern African Field Archaeology* 2, 2 (1993), pp. 108-110.

CHAPTER SIX

GENERATION OF KNOWLEDGE RELEVANT TO HISTORICAL RECONSTRUCTION THROUGH ETHNOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL RESEARCHES, 1934 – 2006

Introduction

The previous chapter has demonstrated how information generated through the Livingstone Museum archaeological researches in the period 1934 to 2006 contributed to the reconstruction of the history of Zambia. In this chapter, I examine ethnological and historical researches and resultant publications made during the same period and demonstrate how they contributed to the reconstruction of Zambian history.

I also demonstrate that ethnological researches and publications were made before the establishment of the Museum; however, systematic studies were made following its establishment. Further, I demonstrate that research activities and publications made during the colonial period focused on material culture of the different ethnic groups in the country. I argue that this was because European settlers were ignorant of the traditional cultures of the local people. Studies on material culture offered them knowledge about habits, customs, religion, manners and social, political and economic organisation of the people under their subjugation. This knowledge was necessary for effective governance.

Furthermore, I demonstrate that following the country's political independence, the Museum's research and publications activities were realigned so that they reflected the different aspects of the country's heritage instead of focusing mainly on material culture, as was the case during the colonial period. I show that the new Museum's researches and publications generated information that shed light on the overall Zambian culture and history.

I also demonstrate that results of the Museum's researches have provided knowledge on the belief system, social, political and economic activities of Zambian ethnic groups from pre-colonial to colonial times. They have also provided knowledge on cultural activities of the Zambian people such as initiation ceremonies, makishi masquerades, music and dance. Additionally they have provided knowledge on the natural environment before the onset of colonialism, mission stations and activities of missionaries; advent to colonial rule and its nature; and life during the colonial and postcolonial era. I argue that in this way, the Museum has contributed knowledge relevant to the reconstruction of the history of Zambia. In addition, I demonstrate the impact of the Livingstone Museum's researches and publications on the historiography of Zambian history.

Early Ethnological Studies

Few ethnological researches were made in the country before the establishment of the Livingstone Museum. They were made mainly by missionaries and colonial Administrative Officers. These researches were of a general nature and focused on customs and traditions of ethnic groups of Zambia during the pre-colonial up to the early period of colonial rule in the country.

During the 1910s, Cullen Gouldsbury and Hubert Sheane carried out one of the earliest ethnological researches in the country during the colonial period. The research focused on North-eastern Rhodesia and resulted into the publication of a book, *The Great Plateau of Northern Rhodesia*.¹ The book gave evidence to the general anthropology and history of ethnic groups that lived in the then North-eastern Rhodesia, the region that forms the current Luapula, Northern, Eastern, Lusaka and Central provinces of Zambia. The evidence was centred on ethnic groups that inhabited the area such as the Bemba, Bisa, Lungu, Tabwa, Namwanga and Senga.

Among other issues, the study revealed the history and ways of life of the different ethnic groups in the area. However, stress was on the Bemba origin and genealogy, kingship, rites of succession and enthronement, administration and officialdom, law and the justice system used during the pre-colonial period.

The study also gave evidence on the African belief system, taking the Bemba as a case study. It revealed that they believed in the idea of God and a number of spirits that included nature spirits (milungu), ancestral spirits (mipashi). These formed a central part of their religion and worship. Further, the study revealed that in situations that concerned misfortunes such as illnesses, divination performed by a witchdoctor formed a central role before medication and treatment of the disease responsible for the illness was commenced. Generally, misfortunes were ascribed to witchcraft, sorcery, wizardry or black magic. Furthermore, the study noted the importance that Bemba people attached to the rites of passage (birth, initiation, marriage and divorce and death).² Other issues on which the study generated information included village social life or activities such as salutations, hospitality, dress, personal ornaments, music, musical instruments, dance and traditional ceremonies. In addition, the study also yielded information on the Bemba economic activities and these included village arts such as hut building, industries such as smelting, pottery, fishing, salt making, agriculture and the chitemene (tree cutting) system for the fertilisation of the soil.³

Moreover, the study discussed the occupation of the area by Cecil John Rhodes and his British South African Company (BSAC), early European settlement of the area, slave trade and how it was defeated, establishment of the civil service, postal and telegraphs service stations, money economy, and taxation and African reaction to it. The study also gave evidence to commercial developments and

European justice system, activities of early colonial officials and how they were carried in machilas (hammocks) during tours of areas they supervised, the advent of White Fathers and establishment of a mission at Fife, now part of Isoka District, located in northern Zambia, and the history of Missions in NER (the London Missionary Society, the White Fathers and the Livingstonia Mission) and their activities.⁴

Other issues on which the study generated information concerned the type of life early European settlers led. It noted that they led a lonely life owing to long distances between stations with European populations that separated them. The study also gave evidence to the main occupation of early European settlers and their attitude towards Africans. It noted that most of them were in the civil service, trading and farming and had a low opinion of Africans who they regarded as heathens that needed to be civilised by them.⁵ The study also gave evidence to the type of flora and fauna found in the area during the early days of colonial rule and the pass-time activities of early European settlers. Most of them were engaged in hunting, particularly of elephants for their tusks. It also showed game laws that were in use during the early European settlement of the area.⁶

The information generated by Gouldsbury and Sheane's work was also noted in *The Native Tribes of North-Eastern Rhodesia: their laws and customs* compiled and edited by J.C.C. Coxhead from materials supplied by members of the District Administration of North-eastern Rhodesia and missionaries.⁷ Similar observations were made by C.W. Hobly on the ethnic groups of Kenya during the same period with special reference to the Kikuyu and Kamba.⁸ Other studies of similar nature made were specialised and centred on single ethnic groups as opposed to the forenoted which were general. Such works included those of H. Masters and W. E.

Masters on the Lambas, Frank H. Melland on the Kaonde⁹, Rev. Edwin W. Smith and Andrew M Dale on the Ila¹⁰ and Clement M. Doke of the South African Baptist Missionary Society, also on the Lamba.¹¹

Although Gouldsbury and Sheane's work and the edited work of Coxhead were of a general nature, the information was the first of its kind to be generated during the early period of colonial rule. It provided evidence regarding the natural environment (flora and fauna) of the country at the time Europeans began to settle; different ethnic groups that inhabited the area, their history, traditions and customs; advent to colonial rule and early European settlement and their activities. Additionally, ethno-historical works of Masters and Masters, Doke, Melland, Smith and Dale provided invaluable evidence on the origin and cultural practices that hitherto had not been known regarding the Lamba, Kaonde and Ila peoples respectively.

The studies noted were written from the imperial tradition point of view and their writers, regardless of whether they were missionaries or administrators, exhibited attitudes that reflected the low opinion that pioneer European settlers had about Africans and their ways of life. The account of Masters and Masters on the Lambas provides a typical example. The two authors saw Lambas as liars, loathsome savages whose customs were wicked while their morals horrible.¹² Nevertheless, this information is invaluable historical data as it reveals the negative racial attitudes that European settlers had about Africans right from the onset of European colonisation of the country. The studies are therefore significant in that they provide data for the reconstruction of the Zambian history regarding the environment, ways of life of different ethnic groups in the period just before the introduction of colonial rule, colonisation process, the early period of European settlement and European activities.

Museum Ethnological Researches during the Colonial Period and their Historical Significance

Following the establishment of the Museum in 1934, a part-time Curator at the Museum, R.S. Hudson, researched on information regarding objects that were in the Museum's custody.¹³ The research yielded enormous information, which in 1936, was compiled and published into a book, the *Handbook to the Museum Collection*. This was the Museum's first publication and contained information that revealed the dress, handcrafts and social and economic life of the different ethnic groups of the country during pre-colonial times.¹⁴ The information generated by this study provides data relevant to the reconstruction of Zambia's cultural history, particularly as regards the pre-colonial period and the early years of colonial rule. In 1937, W.V. Brelsford revised and enlarged it into a full guide to the Museum collections at that time.¹⁵

Notwithstanding the foregoing, coordinated and systematic research did not begin until 1938 when, as earlier observed, the Museum was merged to the newly formed Rhodes-Livingstone Institute and Clark was appointed Curator of the Museum and Secretary of the Institute respectively. Between 1938 and 1946, a single Board of Trustees ran the Museum and the Institute. The Board coordinated research and publications activities of the two institutions.¹⁶

While the studies made before the establishment of the Museum were of a general nature and focused on the description of the customs and practices of the people, the new studies were specific, more detailed and focused on particular ethnic groups and societies. Among such studies was Audrey Richards' anthropological research on the Bemba made in 1939.¹⁷ The study provided detailed information on their social and economic way of life. It revealed that the Bemba agriculture system was dominated by the chitemene system, which involved the cutting down and burning of trees in order to fertilise the soil.¹⁸ The information generated by this study

was the first of its kind to be made available on a single ethnic group. The work was also the first anthropological account by a person without either an administrative or missionary background published on an ethnic group in the country.¹⁹ Richards later researched on Bemba marriage and their economic condition. The study provided valuable information for the reconstruction of Zambia's cultural history during the pre-colonial and early colonial period, particularly regarding the way marriages among the Bemba people were conducted as well as their economic activities at that time.²⁰

During the period the Curator of the Museum was serving in the Second World War in East Africa, Max Gluckman, the Director of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute supervised the work of the Museum.²¹ Just like Richards whose researches centred on a single ethnic group, the Bemba, Gluckman extensively researched and published on the Lozi, focusing on their history, judicial and economic practices, paying particular interest on their origin, system of government, social order, economic and judicial practices during pre-colonial times. His researches revealed that during the pre-colonial era up to the early period of colonial rule, the Lozi society was linked to the ecology and environment of the area they occupied, while its economic system was based on a complex agricultural system, fishing and animal husbandry.²² Up till then, this information was unknown, save for bits of it revealed in works of David Livingstone, the missionary-explorer who traversed south-central Africa during the 19th century.²³

In 1946, the Museum and the Institute were separated and placed under different Boards of governance. Two years later, the Museum started a series of publications, the *Occasional Papers of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum*.²⁴ The objective of the Papers was to relate Museum collection to the historical and social

background of different ethnic groups in the country. It was envisioned that the Papers would be of value not only to Museum visitors but also to the public as a whole. Thus, while the casual visitor to the Museum would find all useful information he required on the labels in exhibition cases, *Occasional Papers* catered for the needs of serious visitors, general readers and academics as they provided detailed information on subjects they tackled. However, the Museum did not have enough research staff. Consequently, it engaged other researchers, who were experts in the subjects they tackled to write the Papers on its behalf. Most of the researchers engaged were employees of its sister institution, the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute. It was hoped that when complete, the series would have covered most aspects of the life and history of the country as depicted in collections made.

Subsequently, Papers on some aspects of the ethnography, history and natural history of the country and associated areas and themes were published. However, topics tackled were limited to the interests and expertise of researchers available. Generally, the Papers were an in-depth study of issues raised by studies of early scholars such as Masters and Masters, Doke, Melland, Smith and Dale. Thus, in the area of Ethnography, themes on which the Museum focused its researches and publications included material culture, social life and economic activities of the territory's different ethnic groups.

African Material Culture

In the second half of the 1940s, J. A. Barnes researched on the material culture of the Ngoni people of eastern Zambia and in 1948 had his research results published as *The Material Culture of the Fort Jameson Ngoni*.²⁵ The results of the study revealed the history of the Ngoni people tracing it to the rise of the Zulu under Chief Shaka in South Africa which it noted led to a number of migrations northwards

led by minor chiefs or army commanders who wished to avoid a clash with Shaka's armies or who had already clashed and had suffered defeat. The study also revealed the cultural, social, economic and political lifestyles of the Ngoni noting that their chieftainship was greatly centralised compared to their surrounding neighbours such as the Chewa and that Chieftainship was inherited from father to son. It also revealed that the Ngoni society was organised on regimental lines, noting that the system played an important role in unifying diverse elements within the Ngoni state.²⁶

Furthermore, the study yielded information that revealed the Ngoni people's ways of life such as their rites of passage; village set-up; staple food; their agricultural system; crops they grew; and the importance of cattle in their lives. Other aspects of Ngoni life on which the study gave information included types of tools they used in their economic and military activities; pottery, its importance and how it was made; mode of transport; music and dance and changes to their material culture in response to contacts with Europeans.²⁷ E. Colson, Barrie Reynolds, C.M. White and Bronislaw Stefaniszyn made similar studies. Studies by Colson and Reynolds resulted into the publication of *Life Among the Cattle-owning Tonga Plateau*²⁸ and *The Material Culture of the Peoples of the Gwembe Tonga*²⁹, which provided information on the material culture of the Plateau and Gwembe Tonga of southern Zambia respectively. On the other hand, studies of White and Stefaniszyn resulted into the publications of *The Material Culture of the Lunda-Lovale People*³⁰ and *The Material Culture of the Ambo of Northern Rhodesia*³¹, which generated information on the material culture of the Lunda-Lovale people of north-western Zambia and the Ambo people of Central and Eastern Zambia respectively. Although the noted Museum studies focused on the Tonga, Lunda-Lovale and the Ambo peoples, the information they generated was representative of the way of life of Zambian ethnic groups at that time. Thus, the

noted studies provide valuable data for the reconstruction of the cultural, socio-economic and political history of Zambia from the pre-colonial to the early period of European settlement in Zambia.

African Belief Systems

The Livingstone Museum conducted a number of researches that contributed information on specific ethno-cultural issues on the African belief systems such as rites, ceremonies, medicine, treatment of diseases and witchcraft. Among such studies were that of V.W. Turner who, on behalf of the Museum, in the early 1950s, researched on the Lunda people of North-Western Zambia. In 1953, its results were published as *Lunda Rites and Ceremonies*.³²

The study revealed that the Lunda people originated from the Mwatayanvwa Empire in the Congo from which they migrated as a central authority with a strong military organisation. However, by the early nineteenth century the Kingdom had broken up into small and virtually independent chiefdoms such as that of Kanongesha and Musokotanda. The Lunda migrants intermarried with the Mbwela³³ who they found and conquered. By the mid 19th century, the Ovimbundu slave-traders and Lwena and Chokwe slave raiders from Angola under the Portuguese had weakened the Lunda chiefdoms to a point of disintegration.³⁴

The study also gave written evidence to the Lunda social system noting that succession to chieftainship, headmanship and inheritance of property passed on the maternal side. However, women did not remain in their matrilineal villages during their adulthood as they went to villages of their husbands as soon as they got married.³⁵ The Lunda custom on marriages was therefore virilocal and this differed remarkably from matrilineal peoples such as the Bemba and Lamba among whom men went to their wife's villages on marriage.³⁶

Regarding rituals, the study revealed the existence of two main categories in the Lunda society. These were life-crisis rituals and rituals of affliction. The first type was associated with rites of passage (rituals and ceremonies associated with the physical and social development of the individual such as birth, puberty, marriage and death). The second type concerned the religious life of the Lunda people and centred on issues associated with misfortune in hunting, women's reproductive disorders and various forms of illness believed to have been caused by spirits of the dead. Whenever an afflicted individual had been divined and found to have had a spirit, he or she was made to undergo an elaborate ritual at which many people from several places attended and devised a strategy to propitiate and to get rid of the spirit that was thought to cause the affliction. Generally, the spirits that were thought to cause afflictions were those of relatives, (in Lunda it is called *mukishi*; singular and *akishi*; plural) strangers, nature or demons. By and large, a person who successfully completed treatment became a minor doctor (*chimbuki*), moving on to a principal doctor upon gaining much experience.³⁷ This suggests that in the old Lunda society, divination or religious fame was achieved through affliction.

The ceremonies that the study dealt with mainly concerned initiation rituals that boys and girls underwent in the Lunda society. The study revealed that boys of the same age group underwent circumcision (*mukanda*) ceremony before the onset of puberty, the objective of which was to inculcate tribal values, hunting skills and sexual instruction. During the ceremony, stress was placed on obedience to the discipline of elders and endurance to hardship. In contrast to boys, girls were initiated individually on the onset of puberty, in a ceremony called *Nkang'a* in Lunda. The objective of the ceremony was to prepare them for marriage, which followed

immediately in the majority of the initiates, and emphasis was on sex and reproduction.³⁸

Further, the study revealed the organisation of the *Mukanda* and *Nkang'a* ceremonies, noting the different Makishi masquerades that were associated with the Mukanda and their role in the ceremony and dances. Furthermore, it noted that the Lunda, unlike the Luena who have many makishi masquerades only had two, *Mvwengi*, also called *Sachingongu*, and *Katotoji*. The other makishis such as *Chizekuli* (the madman), *Chileya*, *Chawambanda* (the fool of women; corresponding to the Luena *Mwana pwevo* and Chokwe *Mwana pwo*), *Ndondo* (the one with a disease-swollen stomach), *Kalewa* and *Chikumbukumbu* were borrowed from Luena and Luchazi sources. *Mvwengi* symbolised male authority over women while *Katotoji* stood for the authority that seniors had over juniors in Lunda society.⁴⁹

The *Ngang'a* ceremony was not elaborately organised compared to the Mukanda and usually concerned only a single girl. Generally, the ceremony had three phases: *kw'ing'isha* (going-in), *kunkunka* (seclusion) and *kw'idyisha* (coming out).⁴⁰

One cardinal issue the study brought out regarding the difference between the collective nature of the boys ceremony as opposed to the individual nature of the girl's was the significance the ceremonies had on the different economic and social roles the two sexes were expected to play in the olden days. Girls and their instructresses were not confined for a long time because they were expected to work in the gardens, fetch water and cook for men and children. On the other hand, agricultural work for men was confined to clearing and burning the bush and some preliminary hoeing in the early rains. As men did no preparation and cooking of food, they spent most of their time hunting and their withdrawal in large numbers from economic activities could not produce any marked effect. Thus, the *Mukanda*

prepared a man for entrance into the hunting cults while *Nk'anga* prepared women to participate in the fertility cults. The *Mukanda* ritual was therefore associated with productive activity (hunting) while *Nkanga* was associated with reproductive activity. This was despite the fact that, as noted above, women's economic activities were essential to the existence of the community.

Other rituals on which this study generated information relate to funeral ceremonies regarding commoners and important people in Lunda society, rituals of affliction related to hunting cults, women's fertility cults and curative cults.⁴¹

The Museum also conducted research into African medicine and treatment of disease as practiced during the precolonial period to the early period of colonial rule.⁴² The study focused on the Ndembu of Mwinilunga District of northwestern Zambia. The study generated information on Ndembu history noting that they were a branch of the Southern Lunda thought to be descendants of the 17th century emigrants from the North Lunda Kingdom, not long after the establishment of the Mwata Yanvwa Empire.⁴³ It demonstrated various aspects of the Ndembu culture, paying attention to their beliefs system related to diseases, causes, symptoms, treatment and effects of a considerable number of ailments, both physical and non-physical. It also revealed Ndembu concepts and explanation of diseases, noting that their healing procedures were related to their religious rites and ceremonies.⁴⁴

Another important research the Museum conducted was on poisonous plants and medicines of Northern Rhodesia, focusing on the Lunda.⁴⁵ It noted that medicine in Africa was not only the drug taken to cure diseases but also the poison to kill the enemy. It showed some of the poisonous plants that were often used to kill enemies, prevent conception, induce abortions, and those used in the area of witchcraft and charms used to cause good or bad luck.⁴⁶ In this regard, the study provided

additional information on the subject of Lunda medicine. It also contributed to knowledge regarding poisonous plants in the country.

Furthermore, the study illustrated common diseases that afflicted the people of Zambia during the pre-colonial period as well as medicinal plants used to cure them, their preparation and how they were administered. The medicines highlighted include cure for abdominal pains, diarrhoea, dysentery, hookworms, ringworms, chronic coughs, tuberculosis, leprosy, measles, conjunctivitis, gonorrhoea, syphilis, pneumonia, anaemia, and convulsions. Others were: headaches, toothaches, nightmares, impotence, sterility or barrenness in women, continuous menstruation, insufficient breast milk in lactating mothers, infantile disorders, snake bites, boils and abscesses, lack of libido, swollen eyes or testicles, ear infections, bilharzia, wounds, cuts, burns and bleeding gums.⁴⁷ The study therefore gives evidence on common diseases that people in Zambia suffered before the onset of colonial rule and how they were managed, suggesting that pre-colonial Zambian society had a self-sustaining health care delivery system.

The issue of witchcraft was studied by the Museum in the present day Western Province of Zambia by Barrie Reynolds. For several years, he studied healing and supernatural arts in the Province, then called Barotseland. Reynolds was attracted to the subject following witchcraft objects he saw being offered as evidence during witchcraft trials of 1957 to 1958 that followed an upsurge of witchcraft accusations, witch-finding and the killing of suspected witches that came to the attention of the colonial administration.⁴⁸ Subsequently, the government prosecuted both practicing witches and witchfinders, by arresting those accused and gathered whatever evidence was found relating to necrophagy, poisoning and the use of magic with the intention to kill. The witchcraft objects collected were sent to the

Livingstone Museum where Reynolds was the Keeper of ethnography. Reynolds made drawings of objects of witchcraft, descriptions of practices by sorcerers, witchdoctors and diviners thereby providing rich material for historical analysis of witchcraft in Barotseland during pre-colonial period up to the 1950s.”⁴⁹

The results of his researches were published as *Magic, Divination and Witchcraft among the Barotse of Northern Rhodesia*⁵⁰, the first volume in the Robins series⁵¹ written by a member of the Museum staff. Reynolds’ researches in Barotseland also formed the basis for his PhD thesis which focused on Kwandu artists and their work.⁵² The thesis has remained the only text of book-length on Lozi artistry.”⁵³

By the time the country obtained its independence in 1964, the Museum had generated enormous information, which provided data for the reconstruction of the cultural history of the Lunda and Lozi people from the pre-colonial to the colonial period, particularly as regards belief systems, diseases, how they were managed, magic, witchcraft practices and divination and Lozi artistry and how it changed over time. Although the information generated is on the Lunda and the Lozi people, to a greater extent, it is representative of the Zambian society as it existed then and is an invaluable data for the reconstruction of the history of Zambia, particularly on the subjects they discussed.

African Dances and Music

Some of the researches the Museum did under the *Occasional Papers* series contributed to the understanding of African dances and music in the country during the pre-colonial period up to the early days of colonial rule. Among such researches were those of V.W. Brelsford and A.M. Jones.⁵⁴ Brelsford’s study revealed the significance of dance to the social and individual life of African communities,

demonstrating how it moved the performer into an emotional and mental state that was different from that of his ordinary life. The study, built on earlier studies of Gouldsbury and Shean, Doke, Melland, and Smith and Dale, noted that in that state, the self was lost and the urges of the subconscious mind acted in ecstatic movements which often caused the dancer to lose consciousness moving into the spiritual realm in which unseen powers were propitiated thereby instilling peace and harmony in the society.⁵⁵

The study also revealed that there were two categories of dances common among Africans: those that harmonised with the body and dances that were out of harmony with the body. The first category included dances related to pleasure, fertility and eroticism, funeral, spiritual and religious dances. Others were war dances, hunting and makishi (masks) masquerades and pole dances common among the Lovale, Luchazi, Lunda and Chokwe. Also included were close, round or front dances. These were mainly feminine although in some cultures men joined in close dances. Other dances on which the study provided information concerned puberty rites; engagement and birth.⁵⁶

The second group of dances consist of two types: the pure convulsive dances and the weakened convulsive dances. The pure convulsive dances were generally for curative purposes and involved the exorcism of the spirit that was believed to have caused ailments the patient was afflicted with, for instance, *Malambo* of the Chikunda, *Mashabe* of the Goba and *Kanonomera* of the Ngoni.⁵⁷ The weakened convulsive dances included the ecstatic and self-mutilating dances in which the performer often slashed his tang with a knife until blood flowed (for instance, the *Chitika* dance among the Chewa) or women pounded grain in a large mortar placed on his body. The other type was the dislocation dance in which the performer

wrenched and twisted his limbs. A good example is provided by the *Mashya* dance practiced among the Bemba and Lunda of Luapula.⁵⁸

The Museum also carried out a study that generated information on music practiced in the country during precolonial to colonial times in Zambia.⁵⁹ The study focused on musical practices of the Bemba, Lala, Swaka, Nsenga, Tonga, Ila and the Lozi. It gave evidence to the similarities of African music in Northern Rhodesia to that of Europeans, noting that just like European songs, African songs had tonality, melody, harmony and rhythm.⁶⁰ Their musical instruments were also similar to that of Europeans. For example, whilst instruments such as woodwind, strings, brass, percussion, piano, harp and many others accompanied the European orchestra, the Africans had their equivalents such as horns, xylophone, drums, and the *kalimba*, an equivalent of the piano. Results of the study also revealed that whereas European music had to be rehearsed several times to produce good music, African music did not need much rehearsal and was produced wherever there was a gathering of people. However, despite lacking rehearsals the quality of music produced exhibited an art form that expressed musical genius that was difficult to outdo.⁶¹

Furthermore, the study demonstrated that while European music was centred on aesthetic expression, in addition to that, African music found its rhythmic acts in daily life. In this respect, the rock driller, paddlers in a canoe and the woman doing her pounding, often translated their rhythmic work to song. The study suggested that African music was part of the people's way of life, beautified the common place and had a social function. Thus, wherever people gathered, there was music.⁶² From the foregoing, it is clear that the two Museum studies have provided information relevant to the reconstruction of Zambia's cultural history, particularly as regards its people and songs and dances significance to their daily lives.

Historical Studies

Most of the studies the Museum made under the *Occasional Paper* series were on ethnology. However, some of the studies made were historical. As a whole, studies of this nature made by the Museum could be divided into four themes: exploration; trade and trade routes; missionary and economic activities. Below, this study discusses each of these in some detail.

Early European Explorations in Africa

In the late 1940s, the Museum conducted research on African explorations based on maps in its collection. E. H. Lane-Poole, an administrative officer during colonial Zambia, carried out the research on behalf of the Museum. In 1950, the results of the research were published as *The Discovery of Africa as Reflected in the Collection of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum*.⁶³

The study revealed the Europeans' perception in the Old World about Africa, noting that it was a dark continent surrounded by vicious animals and inhabited by savages. It also revealed that the source of the Nile River was the chief speculation of geographers of Africa for two thousand years. This followed a rumour that Herodotus (484-425 B.C.) a great traveller, observer and chronicler had heard during his course of travel. As a result of this rumour, Herodotus championed that the Nile had its source between the two conical peaks of Crophi and Mophi. This erroneous piece of information greatly influenced later geographers. Much later, Ptolemy who lived about A.D. 127-151 ascribed the source of the Nile to between 10 and 12 latitudes, south of the Equator. Although close to the truth, the information was equally wrong. The study revealed that, in fact, it was this information that made David Livingstone erroneously believe that the Lualaba River was the source of the Nile.⁶⁴

The study also demonstrated that although credit to the discovery of the source of River Nile was given to Bruce about 1780, actually Pedro Perz discovered it in 1616.⁶⁵ Further, it showed the development of the map of Africa from its early crude and erroneous representation to an accurate contemporary one, noting down the main cartographers and the maps they produced. The study showed examples of important maps published by the Italian, Dutch, German and English scholars commencing from the 15th up to the end of the 19th century. It noted fifty-six maps all of which are in the Museum's collection.⁶⁶ Among these is the map made by David Livingstone in 1853. The map recorded and revealed Livingstone's journeys up the Zambezi from Sesheke to the confluence of the Kabompo and Liba Rivers. Also noted are reproductions of six other maps made by Livingstone, the originals of which are in the Royal Geographical Society's Museum. The maps reveal Livingstone's journeys from the Kazungula at the mouth of Chobe River to Loanda; the Upper Zambezi from Sesheke; Zambezi from Tete to Barotseland and Kafue River; the Central African area, including Lake Ngami, the Zambezi and all tributaries; the Upper Kasai and its tributaries and Lake Nyasa and surrounding areas.⁶⁷

Through this study, the whole history of the discovery and opening up of Africa is revealed. The study is therefore important in that the information it generated provides data relevant to the reconstruction of the early history of Africa, especially the perception of Africa by the outside world during the medieval period, the development of knowledge about the shape and position of Africa in the world and in particular the landscape of Zambia as revealed by the maps of David Livingstone.

Early Trading Activities and Trade Routes in East and Central Africa

The Museum also conducted a research that contributed valuable information on trade and trade routes. The research was made in the second half of the 1940s and was carried out by A. M. Quiggin. It focused on currency, trade and trade routes in East Africa. In 1949, its results were published as *Trade Routes and Currency in East Africa*.⁶⁸ Results of the study revealed that traders visited the East African coast long before the dawn of history. The principle traders during the prehistoric and historic times were from the Middle East. They crossed the Indian Ocean and dominated its western shores. The main trade items were spices, lances, hatchets, daggers and various kinds of glass. These were exchanged for ivory, rhinoceros horns, tortoise shells, palm oil and slaves⁶⁹, suggesting that slave trade began in the antiquity period.

The study noted that Arab travellers wrote much of what they saw during the course of their travels and their writings provide much information about trade during this period. Among the principle Arab travellers of this time were Masudi and Ibn Batuta. The earlier lived in the tenth century and made several voyages along the East African Coast. He described trading activities of the area as well as the dangers involved. The latter lived in the 14th century and also visited the East African Coast. From his voyage, it is revealed that ivory and gold were among the major trading items in the East African Coast by the 14th century.⁷⁰

The study also revealed that the Arabs and Swahili were the first to settle along the East African Coast long before 1000 AD. The Portuguese attacked them, as they looked for wealth, particularly gold. By 1509, the Portuguese had settled along the African Coast from Sofala to Malindi. Further, it revealed that a Portuguese, Antonio Fernandes, was the first white man to travel into the interior. He visited the Monomotapa Kingdom in 1514. Other Portuguese travellers who visited the interior

include Fernandes Honem, Dr. Francisco de Lacerda, Father Francisco Pinto, two *pombeiros* or half-castes, Pedro Baptista and Amara José and two army officers, Major José Monteiro and Captain Antonio Gamitto. Lacerda and Pinto visited the Mwata Kazembe in 1798, becoming the first white men to do so.

The study noted that although Lacerda died before coming back to Mozambique where he was a governor, his diaries revealed the flourishing trade that existed in the Chewa and Kazembe Kingdoms. Among the trade items involved were copper bars from Katanga in Congo, cloth, beads and cowries from the East African Coast while the Kingdom provided slaves and ivory. In fact, Baptista who visited the Kingdom in the years 1806 to 1810 noted that the Kingdom was well supplied with trade goods brought from the eastern and western routes.⁷¹

The study also revealed articles that were used as currency and the way trade was carried out during the pre-colonial period. These included salt, tobacco, cloth, iron, copper, cowries and beads while business transactions were carried out through barter system and silent trade. This went on till the establishment of colonial rule, which introduced coins as currency.⁷² The study therefore corroborates evidence brought out by archaeological excavations noted in the last chapter, such as cloth, iron, copper ingots, cowries and beads which suggests the existence of local and international trade in the country as far back as the 15th century.

Other studies that generated information on trade during the colonial period include works of E. C. Tabler, which focused on early travel and trade in the Middle Zambezi Region, Matebeleland and Barotseland now western Zambia. The works were published in 1960 and 1963 as *Zambezia and Matebeleland in the Seventies and Trade and Travel in Early Barotseland* respectively.⁷³

Early Missionary Activities in Zambia

The Livingstone Museum also made studies under the *Occasional Paper* series that generated information on the establishment of Mission stations and their activities in the country from the 1860s to the early years of colonial rule. The earliest study on this theme was conducted in the late 1940s and its results were published in 1950 as *Some Pioneer Missions of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland*.⁷⁴ It showed how mission stations in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland were established, their growth and activities. The study revealed that the first attempt to establish a mission station in the country was made in 1860 by the London Missionary Society in western Zambia then under the Lozi King Sekeletu. The mission failed to take root as it was abandoned owing to the death of nearly all missionaries who opened it from a fever suspected to have been caused by poisoning. Out of the fifteen sent, only three survived (Reverend R. Price and the Helmore children).⁷⁵

It was not until twenty years later that a mission station was established in 1878 by Francois Coillard, who was later joined by Adolphe Jalla. Both were French Protestant Missionaries in Basutoland. Later in 1882, Frederick Stanley Arnot visited Lewanika to seek permission for the establishment of a mission station in southern Zambia among the Batoka people then under the Lozi hegemony but failed. He later moved to Katanga in the Congo where he established the Plymouth Brethren Christian Missions in Many Lands (CMML). The study demonstrated the success story of the CMML, noting the chain of stations it established from Bihe in Angola to Katanga. From 1897 it moved southwards to northwestern Zambia where missions were established at Chitokoloki and Kalene Hill.⁷⁶

Based on the accounts left by early missionaries, who were eyewitnesses to events unfolding, the study revealed the political instability that was in the Lozi

Kingdom during the 19th century as well as manoeuvres made by the British South African Company in its bid to colonise northwestern and northeastern Zambia. Other missions on which the study generated information include: the Primitive Methodist Mission, Universities Mission to Central Africa, the Livingstonia Mission, the London Missionary Society, the Dutch Reformed Church Mission, the South African General Mission and the Wesleyan Methodist Mission, the South African Baptist Missionary, the Seventh Day Adventist and the Roman Catholic Mission of the White Fathers.⁷⁷

Related to the foregoing is the study made by I.M. Fletcher on David Livingstone, also under the *Occasional Papers* series.⁷⁸ The study revealed Livingstone's early life, exploration and missionary activities in south-central Africa. The information generated by this study is similar to Frank Debenham's findings in his, *The Way to Ilala, David Livingstone's Pilgrimage* published in 1955.⁷⁹ Debenham wrote the book on behalf of the Museum as part of the Museum's commemoration in 1955 of David Livingstone's centenary of his sighting of the Victoria Falls in 1855.⁸⁰ For the first time, Livingstone's geographical works in his explorations were revealed and he was recognised and presented as a geographer. Earlier works had presented him mainly as a missionary-explorer.⁸¹

Other Museum studies that yielded similar information include E. C. Tabler's two volume edited work, *The Zambezi Papers of Richard Thornton*.⁸² Although the study focused on Thornton, a geologist who accompanied David Livingstone in his First Zambezi Expedition, it shed light on the character of Livingstone. He was short-tempered, often used abusive language and lacked humility when handling issues that concerned his fellow white men in the Expedition.⁸³ This matter was later on acknowledged by Oliver Ransford in his *David Livingstone: The Dark Interior*.⁸⁴

Taken collectively, the noted studies shed light on the early history and missionary activities in Zambia and are an invaluable source of historical information regarding the reconstruction of Zambia's missionary and colonial history

The Production of Rubber and Fishing

The Museum also made studies that generated valuable information related to the economic history of the country. Among such studies are that of R.H. Hobson who researched on rubber in Northern Rhodesia in the late 1950s. The results of his research were published in 1960 as, *Rubber: A footnote to Rhodesian history* in 1960.⁸⁵ The study illustrated the history of rubber production and its use noting that its use was known in Southern America from early times but reached Europe in the 19th century. The rubber industry was revolutionised in 1844 by Charles Goodyear, an inventor who lived in Connecticut, USA following his patenting of the mixture of rubber and sulphur, a process now called vulcanisation.⁸⁶

The study also demonstrated the widespread production and use of rubber even before the onset of colonialism in the country, noting that it covered areas such as the Northwestern, Eastern, Luapula and Northern provinces of Zambia.⁸⁷ The local people used it mainly in the "manufacture of drums and drum sticks."⁸⁸ The colonial administration established a rubber-manufacturing factory at Chambeshi in 1913 from which by 1915, 12,000lb of rubber was produced and exported at an amount of £1,500.⁸⁹ However, the factory wound up by 1919 due to lack of sufficient labour and high production costs and the fact that by 1916, the factory was taken over by military authorities.⁹⁰ This work is significant in that to date, it remains the only detailed historical study on rubber production in the country and is an invaluable source of information on the subject.

The Museum also carried out a research that generated information on different methods used by the African people in Central and Southern Africa for catching fish.⁹¹ Like the study on rubber, this study remains the only detailed work in the country on different methods Africans used to catch fish during the precolonial to the colonial period and is therefore a valuable source of historical data on the subject.

The Livingstone Museum Researches after Independence, 1964 – 2006

Following the country's attainment of political independence, the Museum realigned its research activities and publications. There was a paradigm shift, wherein, the Museum moved away from conducting researches that focused mainly on material culture, as was the case during the colonial period, to those that reflected the significance of different aspects of the country's cultural heritage and history. The new Museum's research objectives aimed "to throw a new light on the overall Zambian culture, history and natural history, to bring alive to the public the colourful, interesting and deep-rooted traditions of the Zambian peoples and thus keep alive the rich Zambian Cultural heritage."⁹² The research aims were underscored by the expectations of the new government's nationalist leaders in the Museum's provision of a national service that stimulated interest and awareness among the citizens of their common history and culture so that they could work together in the building of a strong and united modern nation.⁹³

Ethnographical Research Activities

In line with the shift in research aims, the Museum's ethnographical researches on material culture emphasised its utility value and the significance that it had on its producers rather than as pieces of art as was the case during the colonial era. In fact, it was this difference in perception that made Europeans think of African arts, crafts, customs and belief systems primitive. The post Independence research

activities at the Museum endeavoured to reveal African customs, traditions such as the mukanda and makishi masquerades, arts, crafts, in their context in order to help understand their significance to the people who made them, used them and believed in them.

Mukanda and Makishi Masquerades

In the years 1967 to 1969 the Museum undertook research into the Mbunda Makishi costumes and masks. P. Andre Vrydagh, then, Keeper of Ethnography at the Museum, carried out the research.⁹⁴ The research focused on the Mbunda people of Mongu and Kaoma, then Mankoya District in contemporary western Zambia as opposed to Turner and Brelsford's studies made during the colonial period that focused on makish masquerades of the Lunda, Luvale, Mbunda and Chokwe people of northwestern Zambia.

For the first time the Makishi masks and dances of the Mbunda were studied comprehensively in a sociological and technical manner using photographic analysis of the methods of fabrication of the different types of masks and costumes employed.⁹⁵ This was in sharp contrast to the way the Mbunda makishi were studied during the colonial period where they were considered as a mere secondary product of the rite of circumcision. The research's aim was to find out why makishi dances were performed during Mukanda circumcision among Mbunda and related people living in western Zambia in the late 1960s.

The study revealed that the Makishi portrayed Mbunda ancestral society and that their function was two fold. Firstly, to distinguish between men and women roles in the Mbunda society. Secondly, to transmit the concept of traditional Mbunda life from generation to generation, and in so doing, create a common bond of identification for the scattered groups of the ethnic group, thereby forming an

essential and stable link with their past in the face of both colonial and post colonial turmoil such as intertribal wars, slavery, oppression and hazards caused by modern social change.⁹⁶ Mapopa Mtonga made similar observations in his study on the Gule Wamkulu masquerades of the Chewa people living in Zambia, Malawi and Mozambique.⁹⁷

The study also revealed that the Makishi were a reminder to the young men of how their ancestors lived and how they were expected to live as adults. In this respect each character had its origin in the traditional role in their society and illustrated a moral value. Thus each *likishi* signified a typical member of traditional society such as a child, girl, mother, an old woman, headman, chief, joker, hunter, warrior, sorcerer and idler. Some signified specific characters such as the one born in a *Chipango* shelter (confinement house), the traveller who died on his journey, (signifying risks involved in travelling) a person struck by lightening (signifying hazards associated with nature) and the one who died at mukanda (signifying dangers to which mukanda initiates were likely to experience).⁹⁸

Further, the study revealed that dances, music and songs that accompanied each *likishi* masquerade performance varied with the personality of the character it played and the nature of its costume. Thus, while some danced with their shoulders, others danced with their hips. The songs that accompanied the dance were composed by individuals, adopted by the community and matched the rhythm of the drums.⁹⁹

Aaron Kafungulwa Mubitana, then the Livingstone Museum's Keeper of Ethnography and Art made a similar study.¹⁰⁰ The study focused on the mukanda initiation rites and ceremonies among the *Wiko*, a term embracing the Luvale, Luchazi, Chokwe and Mbunda, all characterised by a tradition of common origin and sharing a homogenous culture. Focus was on the *Wiko* people living in Livingstone.

The objective of the research was to find out why a rural social institution existed in the industrial and commercial situation of a town.¹⁰¹

The research findings revealed that the mukanda initiation did not serve the same functions in the urban situation as it did in the rural context. In the rural context, the institution was centred on problems of change amongst boys from childhood to adolescence and adulthood and its value in forming a bond of brotherhood among the cohort of circumcisiates. However, in the urban situation, in addition to problems of change, the institution served as a unifying symbol for a member of an ethnically related group whose social, economic and political conditions tended to be similar but different from those of other ethnic groups.¹⁰²

The information that the Museum generated through Vrydagh and Mubitana's researches is representative of societies in Zambia among whom the use of masquerades in their traditional rituals is common. It is important in that it provides data relevant to the reconstruction of the social and cultural history of the country, particularly regarding the use and significance of masks and masquerades from colonial Zambia to modern times and how these have adapted to the introduction of urban life.

Traditional Sculpture and Arts

Kafungulwa Mubitana conducted research, which analysed Zambian sculptural art from pre-colonial to post-colonial period, correlating it to major structural changes that occurred in sculpture.¹⁰³ Results of this research revealed that most changes in sculpture in terms of styles, techniques, expression and symbolism occurred in urban areas and in areas patronised by missionaries. The changes that Zambian sculptural art experienced in urban areas were caused mainly by economic reasons. In order to make more sales, sculptural carvers fashioned their produce

according to the taste of their market or souvenir collectors. This led to the appearance in major Zambian towns and cities of sculptural art in a curio form that came to be known as 'Airport Art', a degenerative form of traditional sculptural art. On the other hand, changes in sculptural art form in areas where missionaries were most active were due to European settler religious or philosophical ideas which were at variance to that of Africans. European settlers considered their religion (Christianity), superior to that of Africans. Thus, in their endeavour to promote and propagate it among Africans, Missionaries condemned sculptural objects, particularly those that venerated African cultural heroes, royal ancestors or those used in rituals, as idolatry. They allowed only those objects they considered harmless to be produced. For instance, in areas where Roman Catholics operated, Christian themes and motifs were promoted instead of ancestor and cultural hero themes.¹⁰⁴

The study also revealed that in African art, form was inextricably bound up with function noting that Zambian traditional art and sculpture integrated three factors: aesthetic value, utility value and religious value. Accordingly, it possessed decorative elements with combinations, which constituted forms that evoked in the spectator the desired response. For instance, art forms meant to express religious or philosophical ideas such as those used in witchcraft and divination often had an awful appearance in order to give an atmosphere that produced emotional responses that expressed the mysteries of life and death. On the other hand, utilitarian objects such as utensils had an appearance, often attractive, that elicited in the user an appropriate disposition suited for the occasion; for example, a jovial mood at a wedding or newborn ceremony.¹⁰⁵

The study also revealed that traditional sculpture was functional and divided into two main categories: religious or secular. The former expressed religious

philosophical ideas of the Zambian people and these and their carvers suffered cultural negation from Missionaries and Colonial Administrators who termed them as idolatry and a symbol of African belief in polytheism, which needed to be destroyed in favour of monotheism which was reserved for the western culture. This was despite the fact that it did not exclude intermediate supernatural powers such as the Holy Spirit and the pantheon of Saints.¹⁰⁶

Other researches the Museum did, provided evidence on structural changes of Zambian art; form and significance in the Art of the Mbunda, Luvale, Luchazi and Chokwe of Zambia and the structural changes that Zambian tools and headrests underwent from pre-colonial to contemporary times¹⁰⁷

African Music and Dance

The theme on African Music and dance carried out by V.W Brelsford and A.M. Jones during the colonial period was carried forward by Father Joseph J. Cobeil in 1972. However, Father Cobeil focused on musical instruments of the Bemba, an ethnic group that inhabit a large area of the northern part of the country. The aim of the research was to find out the type of musical instruments used by the Bemba and their function. The results of his research were published in the *Zambia Museums Journal*.¹⁰⁸ The study revealed that Bemba Music was not different from other African music in general and consisted of largely singing and drumming while their musical instruments were found to be in three main functional categories. These were private instruments, which were used for personal enjoyment, ritual or magical instruments mostly used by witchfinders or witchdoctors and social instruments used during weddings, mourning, beer parties and other similar occasions.¹⁰⁹

The study also revealed the composition of Bemba musical instruments, noting that they were of four main types, namely; stringed instruments (*ifya kulisha*

amorphous confederation of related chieftaincies. Over time, they developed elaborate and successful cultural, political and economic institutions till the establishment of effective colonial administration in the early 20th century. In line with its ideology of indirect rule, the colonial authority centralised the political structures of the Lenje chieftainship in order to have a firm control over its resources such as land and labour. This undermined the Lenje political authority and led to the underdevelopment of Lenje society.¹¹²

This study is important, as the information it generated does not only reveal the Lenje history but the colonial rule's role in the underdevelopment of the Lenje people of Kabwe in particular and south-central African societies in general. It is therefore valuable in the reconstruction of the history of Zambia pertaining to the role colonial rule played in the underdevelopment of the county's cultural, social, political and economic affairs.

Another Museum study on ethnic histories in Zambia based mainly on oral tradition relate to the Leya people of Chief Mukuni of the southern Province of Zambia, situated near Livingstone. It focused on the political and ritual practices of the Leya in an historical context. The results of the study has provided information on the history of the Leya chiefdom, its political organisation, particularly the chief's political power and judicial functions; power distribution between the chief and priestess, a core-ruler, called Be-Dyango; ritual functions of the priestess; control of epidemics; ceremonies and types of rituals practiced in the chiefdom.¹¹³

A similar study was carried out by the Museum in the late 1980s.¹¹⁴ However, this study focused on the social-economic and political organisation of the Mukuni-Leya with emphasis on the Lwiindi ceremony of the Mukuni-Leya in an historical context.¹¹⁵ The study made known the activities that characterised the ceremony and

its function, noting that essentially, it was used to solicit for rain, good harvest and health from their ancestral spirits through the chief who was believed to be spiritually connected to them.¹¹⁶ This was understandable being in an area that was predominantly agricultural but had poor soils while rainfall was inadequate and cattle rearing made difficult due to infestations of tsetse fly.

The study revealed that in general, the character of ceremonies in Zambia depended on the environment. Thus, the Shimunenga ceremony of the Ila, a predominantly pastoral people, was characterised by involvement of cattle while the Kuomboka of the Lozi, whose environment experienced flooding each year was characterised by movements of people from flooded areas to drier lands using boats. The study also revealed the effect of the colonial and post-colonial eras on the ceremony. During the earlier period, the Lwiindi Ceremony was watered-down by the introduction of Christianity and western education while during the latter; it became a mere spectacle for tourists.¹¹⁷

The Museum also carried out research on the history of the Sekute Chieftaincy. The study generated information on its early history, structure, and composition, noting that it consisted of the Leya, Toka, Subiya and Lozi elements. It also revealed the social process and change the chieftainship went through from pre-colonial to modern times as well as the political relationships that existed between Chief Sekute and his neighbouring Chiefs, Mukuni and Musokotwane, which it noted was often antagonistic.¹¹⁸

Part of the data collected by Vrydagh in the research carried out by the Museum in the years 1967 to 1969 on the Mbunda of western Zambia was published in the *Museum Journal* as “An Introduction to Traditional Mbunda Craftsmanship.”¹¹⁹ The publication generated information on Mbunda history. It

revealed that the Mbunda came to western Zambia in two major groups. The first group arrived in the early 19th Century from Angola through two Mbunda Chieftainships, which moved separately across the Zambezi. The first to migrate was Mwene Kandala Biemba, following the establishment of good relations with the Lozi King, Mulambwa Santulu through trade. They settled in the Zambezi Plain. A few years later, Mwene Chiyengele Chitenge asked for land from king Mulambwa. Both Mbunda chiefs were given land and settled on the eastern fringe of the Zambezi Plain. The second group of Mbunda arrived during the 20th century as individuals. They were in the general drift of people that went to Livingstone, moving along the line of rail up to the Copperbelt, running away from Portuguese oppression. This group settled on both the eastern and western sides of the Zambezi Plain where they lived scattered as minorities among the people they found.¹²⁰

The study also illustrated the main clusters in which the Bantu people in western Zambia were grouped based on common culture and language. It revealed three main clusters. The first were the Luyana consisting of the Lozi, Kwandi, Kwangwa, Mwenyi and the Mbowe tribes. The second cluster consisted of the Nyengo, Makoma, Imilangu, (Ndundulu), Simaa, Mashi, Shanjo and the first Mbunda migrants while the third cluster comprised of the Nkoya, Mashasha, Lukolwe and the Lushangwe grouped under the Nkoya group.¹²¹

Whilst the above noted research provided information on Mbunda migration to western Zambia, it did not show their activities in their new homeland. This was achieved by the research the Museum carried out between 1974 and 1980.¹²² Results of this study revealed that the Mbunda were well integrated into the Lozi society although the two major groups (Mbundas of Mwene Kandala and those of Mwene Chiyengele) were in a continuous feud and each tried to win the favours of the king

by constantly reporting on the misdeeds of the other. During the civil war, following Mulambwa's death, Mwene Kandala fought on the side of Silumelume while Mwene Chiyengele was on the side of Mubukwanu. When the Kololo invaded western Zambia in the 1840s, the Mbunda were still divided and when Lewanika was overthrown in 1884, Kandala fought on the side of Lewanika while Chiyengele was on the side of Tatila Akufuna.¹²³

Further, the study revealed that the Mbunda contributed immensely to the economic development of Barotseland. They were skilful handicraftsmen and good agriculturists who brought new crops to Barotseland. Above all, they excelled in magic, witchcraft, rainmaking and divination, thereby winning the confidence of the King who consulted them before he made any important decision.¹²⁴ When the Mbunda diviners who were afraid of losing influence in the Kingdom saw that Lewanika was keen to put his Kingdom under British protection, they accused him of being a sorcerer, blaming him for causing smallpox which killed many people and causing the draught which brought famine.¹²⁵

The Museum also carried out a study that contributed information on the understanding of African reaction to colonial rule, taking western Zambia (Barotse Kingdom) as a case study. The study focused on the themes: "collaboration" and "resistance" as a form of reaction to colonial rule. It revealed that when foreign rule was imposed on the Lozi Kingdom in the 1890s, the rulers accommodated it while the masses unsuccessfully resisted it.¹²⁶ The information generated by this study is important in that it gave evidence on the nature of African reaction to colonial rule in the history of Zambia. While others like the Bemba and Ngoni resisted colonial rule¹²⁷, Lozi rulers accommodated it against the wishes of their subjects.

Further, the Museum researched on the role that subject peoples played in empire building.¹²⁸ The study revealed that although standard texts on the history of Zambia¹²⁹ presented pre-colonial centralised kingdoms such as the Bemba, Lunda and Lozi as strong and self-sufficient politically, economically and socially, their greatness and self-sufficiency depended on conquered people who provided almost everything in the form of tribute or utter plunder of their resources. This Museum study therefore contributes to the understanding on the role subject peoples played in empire building during the nineteenth century.

Furthermore, the Museum, through Mataa conducted a research that generated information which explained the motives and *raison d'etre* for levying and paying tribute during the pre-colonial period.¹³⁰ The study revealed the political, economic and social-cultural implications of paying and receiving tribute, noting that strong kingdoms imposed levy in the form of tribute over societies they conquered in order to boost their economic base as it also gave them products that their kingdoms lacked.¹³¹ It also ensured allegiance of the subject peoples to their overlords. By paying tribute, weak states insured themselves against raids thereby allowing them continue with their daily activities.¹³²

In the 1970s, the Museum conducted two historical researches on the Ila people. One was on the history of the Ila from pre-colonial, to the post-colonial period¹³³ while the other was on the Primitive Methodist Missionary Society and the Ila from 1890 to 1936.¹³⁴ Both studies were conducted by Joseph Chubi, then Keeper of History at the Livingstone Museum. The first study highlighted the role-played by external forces such as the Lozi, Kololo, missionaries, traders and European colonial administrators in shaping the history of the Ila people,¹³⁵ while the second focused on

the missionary enterprise among the Ila people. It examined nature, successes and failures of the missionary enterprise.¹³⁶

Other historical researches undertaken by the Museum through its research staff include, W.W. Chakanika's work on missionary activities in Gwembe valley that revealed the activities of the German Missionary team, the Gossiner Service Team among the Valley Tonga of the Gwembe south region¹³⁷, G. Mwalukanga's studies which revealed social inequalities in pre-colonial Zambia and constraints faced by the cotton growing industry in colonial Zambia.¹³⁸ Others are Maud Muntemba's study which gave information on "Land Developments and Female Production in the Railway Region of Zambia during the colonial era" and one that generated information on the "Nzila Sect and Christian Churches in Livingstone."¹³⁹

Researchers from other institutions supplemented the Museum's researches through contributions of their research findings in the Museum's publications. Among such researchers was Sally Aldridge. Her research work revealed the existence of a flourishing salt making industry at Chibwa Marsh in Mpika District whose history she traced to the Early Iron Age period.¹⁴⁰ The study also revealed the methods used by the Bemba and the Bisa to produce salt with ashes from plants that grew in the Chibwa salt mash. Furthermore, it revealed the long historical linkage that Chibwa salt had with the salt trade in central Africa in general.¹⁴¹

Pierre Petit continued Aldridge's study by analysing the salt extraction carried out by the Bemba and the Bisa. The results of his study revealed that salt production had an economic and political dimension, and that salt regions constituted reasons for conquest. By the 19th century, salt production areas were all controlled by important states, which "imposed tribute on the local chiefs."¹⁴² The study also revealed that salt-works were a phenomenon of ritual activities in which the local chief was a key

factor. He was the ritual figure in contact with the ancestral spirits that guaranteed good production of the salt-works.¹⁴³

The two studies shed light on the methods used to produce salt during pre-colonial times. They also reveal the role that salt played in pre-colonial trade. It formed the focus for the centralisation of authority and growth of organised states achieved through the control of commodities and trade.¹⁴⁴ Others who contributed articles to the Museum journal which generated information on different aspects of Zambian history include; R. M. Allen¹⁴⁵, Henry S. Mebelo¹⁴⁶, Mwelwa Musambachime¹⁴⁷ and Nawa Nawa.¹⁴⁸

The Impact of the Livingstone Museum Researches and Publications on the Historiography of Zambian History

European travellers of the 18th to the 19th centuries consisting of explorers, fortune seekers (traders and hunters) and missionaries generated the early works that constitute the history of Zambia. The works were information based and for their sources they depended largely on direct and reported observations of local societies as well as oral histories which included myths, legends, epic, poetry and narratives.¹⁴⁹ These works formed the original archives on which the historiography of Zambian history was founded. The prominent feature of these works is that Africans were conceived as a mass of people who had no history and existed as part of the environment. Thus, as far as the historiography of Zambian history was concerned during this period, there were no Africans worth noting apart for tribal leaders such as chiefs, who even then, were portrayed negatively.

During the early years of colonial rule, missionaries and colonial government administrators undertook some limited study and publications of their findings. The works made, like those of early European travellers, were information based and for their sources depended largely on written accounts of the early European travellers

and African traditions they observed and noted. Consequently, the historiography of Zambian history for that period was anchored on sources generated by early European travellers. A typical example of such works is provided by Cullen Goulsbury and Hubert Sheane's *The Great Plateau of Northern Rhodesia* published in 1911, *The Native Tribes of North-Eastern Rhodesia: their laws and customs* edited by J.C.C. Coxhead and published in 1914 and Clement Dock's *The Lambas of Northern Rhodesia* published in 1931.¹⁵⁰ These resulted in the production of a colonial historiography, which generated knowledge of Zambia based on the premise of European superiority and the civilising nature of its mission.

Following the sociological-ethnographical works of the Museum such as those under the Occasional Papers series and the Robbins series of Monographs supplemented by those of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute produced in the pre- and post Second World War years, detailed information on various aspects such as origin, material culture, belief systems, political and social structures of different ethnic groups was generated. Examples of studies in which such information was generated include: *African Dances of Northern Rhodesia* by W.V. Brelsford, *The Material Culture of the Fort Jameson Ngoni* by J.A. Barnes, *The Material Culture of the Lunda-Lovale People* by C.M. White, *Magic Divination and Witchcraft among the Barotse of Northern Rhodesia* by B. Reynolds and *Life Among the Cattle-Owning Tonga: The Material Culture of a Northern Rhodesia Tribe* by E. Colson.¹⁵¹ Just as was the case elsewhere in Africa during this period, Europeans saw Africans as static and primitive recipients of European progress. They disregarded the evidence of artistic achievements, historic monuments, complex religious institutions and political kingdoms that resembled any western-type bureaucracy.¹⁵² Basically, these studies

presented the different Zambian ethnic groups and their institutions and way of life as primitive and backward.

By the mid 1950s, these studies had generated an enormous amount of information and this influenced the paradigm shift in the historiography of Zambian history from information based to the incorporation of material culture. This is evidenced in the first book written on the history of Zambia, *The Tribes of Northern Rhodesia* by W.V. Brelsford published in 1956.¹⁵³ The book focused on the origin of Zambian ethnic groups, their history and relationships with each other. For sources, it depended largely on ethnographical studies carried out by the Museum and its sister institution, the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute. Though intended to be a history text, it was ethnographical in nature and like earlier studies, presented Africans and their institutions negatively.

This new trend in the historiography of Zambia, whereby material culture was incorporated with written accounts continued into the late 1950s and the 1960s. Thus, even the first book in Zambia to be written by a professional historian, Lewis H. Gann, titled, *Northern Rhodesia, 1894-1914: The Birth of A Plural Society*, published in 1958, was heavily influenced by the anthropological tradition.¹⁵⁴ In the book, Gann attempted to show that the process of European colonisation in Northern Rhodesia was a complex interaction between different types of Europeans and different types of Africans. Accordingly, in addition to the conventional method of sourcing information for the reconstruction of history, such as oral and archival records, in his elucidation of historical events, Gann took into account some social-anthropological factors as well. These included social and political organisation, mode of life, culture, language of different ethnic groups as well as political relations between them.

Though the book was intended to be a history text on Zambia, the result was more of social-anthropology than orthodox history. Arguably, in support of the opinion held by the Museum's social anthropological studies of the period 1940s to the late 1950s that presented Africans as backward and primitive, the book defended and justified European colonisation of the area. In it, Gann demonstrated at length "that missionaries and administrators came to the area . . . to civilize and Christianise the Africans out of . . . 'savagery' and 'paganism.'"¹⁵⁵

By the time J. Desmond Clark, the Stone Age Archaeologist and first Curator of the Livingstone Museum left for the USA in 1961, extensive archaeological research had been done at the Victoria Falls, the Nachikufu and Mumbwa Caves and Kalambo Falls Prehistoric Sites. These resulted into numerous publications such as *The Stone Age Cultures of Northern Rhodesia* and "A note on the pre-Bantu inhabitants of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland."¹⁵⁶ These works influenced the writing of Zambian historiography in that by the 1960s, discoveries made by archaeological researches as well as material artefacts excavated from archaeological sites were incorporated in order to validate the history written. Thus, Gann in his second book on the history of Zambia, *A History of Northern Rhodesia: Early Days to 1953*¹⁵⁷ published in 1964 extensively utilised information generated from the Museum's Archaeological researches. The archaeological discoveries made at sites such as the Victoria Falls, Nachikufu and Mumbwa Caves coupled with discoveries made at other sites in the south-central African region consisting of Stone Age tools, evidence of technological developments, economic activities and rock paintings formed the background to this book.¹⁵⁸

From the late 1950s to the early 1980s, the Museum carried out extensive Iron Age researches in the country, particularly in the southern part. Major areas where

such researches were made include: the Kalambo Falls in northern Zambia, Dambwa, Ingombe Ilede, Isamu Pati, Kangila and the Victoria Falls Region in southern Zambia. Others were in the Upper Zambezi Valley in areas such as: Bulila in the Machile Valley, Kalongola, Kunyenyenga, Namakala, Nanga and Salumano, all in western Zambia. The researches resulted in numerous publications on the Iron Age peoples in Zambia. These include: the three volume *Kalambo Falls Prehistoric Site* by J. D. Clark, *Iron Age Cultures in Zambia (Kalomo and Kangila)* by B. M. Fagan and *Iron Age Cultures in Zambia (Dambwa, Ingombe Ilede and the Tonga)* by B.M. Fagan, D.W. Phillipson and S.G.H. Daniels, *Kamangoza, Kumadzulo and Simbusenga* by Joseph Vogel, “Some Iron Age Sites in Northern Rhodesia” and “An Iron Age Smelting Furnace” by R.R. Inskip and “The Iron Age in Zambia: Some New Evidence and Interpretations” by Katanekwa.¹⁵⁹

These studies generated enormous data on the Iron Age peoples in Zambia as well as early Bantu migrations and settlements into the country. The Ingombe Ilede excavations in particular were of great significance to the history of Zambia. They revealed the cultural, social, economic and political life of the people who inhabited the area as well as their involvement in local, long distance and international trade. Overall, excavations cited above yielded enormous valuable artefacts, most of which were photographed in-situ and later taken to the Livingstone Museum for preservation for posterity.

. Investigations made by J. D. Clark into the Stone Age sequence of the Zambezi Valley as well as the Kalambo Falls pre-historic site provided the basis of the Stone Age sequence in Zambia and demonstrated long antiquity and, though made in the absence of absolute dating methods demonstrated that the origin of Man was probably in central Africa. These studies coupled with the various Iron Age

investigations such as those made in the Upper Zambezi Valley, the Tonga Plateau and the Gwembe Valley generated enormous archaeological information on Zambia.

Following these studies, there was a shift in the historiography of Zambian history from a colonial perspective to liberal historiography in which Zambian history was considered in a more positive way than before. In this perspective, researchers endeavoured to recover and reclaim the history of the Zambian people so that it was in consonance with the ideals of political independence achieved in 1964. The studies put the history of the Zambian people in context and distinguished the history of Europeans in Zambia from the history of the Zambian peoples. However, the interpretation of African communities was based on European social formations instead of Africans.

Methodologically, the writing of history incorporated information generated by archaeological studies. Historians extensively used diagrams, drawings and photographs of excavated artefacts that archaeologists made in-situ as illustrations in order to authenticate the history written. The books, *A Short History of Zambia* edited by Brian Fagan published in 1966 and *A History of Zambia* by Andrew Roberts published in 1976 are good examples of the forenoted.¹⁶⁰ In fact, an examination of *A Short History of Zambia*, which is composed of nine chapters, reveals that more than half of it was written using archaeological evidence and extensively used illustrations such as drawings, photographs taken in-situ as well as ethnographical illustrations.

The Livingstone Museum, as noted in chapter four, also collected oral traditions (histories), particularly on Bantu migrations. The book, *A Short History of Zambia*, extensively used oral sources to write chapters that focused on migrations from the Congo (Chapters, 6 and 7). The last two chapters focused on Portuguese Expeditions in Zambia, Missionaries and Explorers (Chapter 9 and 10). Europeans

left a lot of written records on their activities in Africa. Thus, the two last chapters depended much on written records for sources.

Arising from the above, *A Short History of Zambia* demonstrates the shift of the historiography of Zambian history from the writing of history using orthodox sources (written records) to a multi-disciplinary perspective, where in addition to the use of orthodox sources, other sources such as ethnological and archaeological information, artefacts and oral traditions were incorporated.

Studies made from the 1970s, to the 1990s by the Museum research staff, particularly indigenous Zambian researchers such as Kafungulwa Mubitana, Maud Muntemba, Nawa Mataa, W.W. Chakanika, George Mwalukanga and Flexon M. Mizinga took an Africanist perspective in their way of writing history. These studies were similar to those written by liberal scholars, however, unlike liberal historiography, these researchers wrote Zambian history from the Zambian point of view. They utilised a combination of sources, although the predominant one was oral tradition blended with sources from social anthropology and written records to reconstruct the later period, and archaeology for the earlier one.

This perspective formed the framework for most works on Zambian history such as *Zambia Before 1890: Aspects of Pre-colonial History* by Harry W. Langworthy published in 1972, *Guardians in Their Time*, edited by Samuel N. Chipungu, published in 1992 and *A Political History of Zambia* by Bizeck J. Phiri, published in 2006.¹⁶¹

The foregoing demonstrates that the researches and publications made by the Livingstone Museum greatly influenced the trend the historiography of Zambian history took from time to time. Following numerous socio-ethnological researches and publications made by the Museum, by the late 1950s, the historiography of

Zambian history shifted from a methodological paradigm that used sources that were mainly information based and depended largely on written sources to a paradigm that incorporated material culture obtained from anthropological studies. Similarly, following enormous information generated by archaeological studies, after the mid 1960s, the historiography of Zambian history incorporated archaeological information and artefacts and used illustrations such as drawings and photographs taken in-situ to authenticate the history produced.

During this period, in contrast to the early years of European settlement of Africa in general and Zambia in particular in which oral history was not recognised as history just because it was not written¹⁶², oral sources (oral traditions/ history) were also incorporated, particularly when dealing with the pre-colonial period of Zambian history. The overall result was the creation of historiography of Zambian history that was multi-disciplinary or interdisciplinary. The framework blended an archaeological reconstruction of an earlier period with a subsequent historical one anchored on social anthropology, oral tradition and written records. This has been the predominant methodological paradigm for writing Zambian history since the 1970s. This is an important contribution because the interdisciplinary paradigm ensured objectivity in that each source assisted in minimising the weaknesses inherent in others, thereby leading to the production of an authentic history.

However, it is important to note that the positions taken by various researchers were a mirror of the general schools of thought that prevailed at the time. The general philosophy of history was changing the world over, and the studies of the Livingstone Museum contributed to this change in the case of the historiography of Zambian history. In this sense, the Livingstone Museum's researches and publications have had an impact on the historiography of Zambian history in that they contributed much

of the resource material used in the different strands of the historiography of Zambian history that emerged from time to time.

Conclusion

Ethnological and related researches were conducted in the country even before the Livingstone Museum was established. However, systematic studies began following its establishment. The earlier studies conducted by the Museum were of a general nature and focused on material culture while latter studies included the historical aspect and were more specific and focused on particular ethnic groups such as the Bemba, Tonga, Ngoni and Lozi. Results of these studies provided European settlers with information that was intended to help them understand Africans better thereby making it possible to effectively control them.

During the post-colonial period, researches and publications of the Museum focused on the different aspects of the country's cultural heritage and history rather than on mainly material culture as was the situation during the colonial period. This was done in order to stimulate awareness among the Zambian people of their common history and cultural heritage, and, in so doing, foster unity in the building of a strong and united modern nation.

The Museum's researches provided information on various aspects of the country's history, ranging from the country's environment before the onset of colonial rule, early European perception about Africa, development of the map of Africa by cartographers from the 14th to the 19th century, slave trade and its eradication, the establishment of colonial rule and its institutions such as the administration and justice system, to life during the colonial to the post-colonial period.

The studies also generated information on the establishment of different mission stations, their growth and activities. Further, they provided information on economic activities in the country such as salt production during the pre-colonial period and its significance in empire building, trade and how it was carried out during the pre-colonial period and production of rubber in colonial Zambia. Furthermore, they generated information on the role subject peoples played in empire building as well as the role the tribute system played on subject peoples and their overloads or strong kingdoms during the precolonial period.

As a result of information generated by the Museum's ethnological and historical studies, the cultural, social, economic and political history of Zambia from the pre-colonial to the post-colonial period can be reconstructed. Above all, the Museum's studies and publications are significant in that from time to time they influenced the historiography of Zambian history.

The above notwithstanding, the research activities of the Museum did not encompass the country evenly. Most of them were carried out in areas within reach of the Museum, such as the Southern Province and parts of Western Province near Livingstone where the Museum is located. Due to financial constraints, few researches were conducted in places located far away from the Museum. This tended to bias the distribution of aspects of Zambian history known through the Livingstone Museum studies to areas within easy reach of the Museum. However, this situation is ameliorated by the researches of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute and scholars from other institutions, locally and abroad.

ENDNOTES

¹Cullen Gouldsbury and Hubert Sheane, *The Great Plateau of Northern Rhodesia* (London: Edward Arnold, 1911); also see G.E. Butt, *My Travels in North West Rhodesia or A Missionary Journey of Sixteen Thousand Miles* (London: E. Dalton, 1909). The earliest written ethnological book was written in Lozi vernacular language by the Parish Evengelist Missionary Society Missionary, Adolphe Jalla who wrote *Litaba za Sicaba sa Malozi* [History of the Lozi Nation] (Cape Town Oxford University Press, 1909). It was originally composed and published in Sesoto and translated into English in 1921. See, Giocomo Macola, Historical and “Ethnographical Publications in the Vernaculars of Colonial Zambia: Missioanary Contribution to the Creation of Tribalism”, Fasc. 4, Expressions of Christianity in Zambia, *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 33, 4, (November, 2003), 344-345. Brill Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1581747>. Accessed: 16 May 2009.

²Gouldsbury and Sheane, *The Great Plateau of Northern Rhodesia*, pp. 1 – 99. Also see Butt, *My Travels in North West Rhodesia*, pp. 254-257.

³Gouldsbury and Sheane, *The Great Plateau of Northern Rhodesia*, pp. 251 – 290. Also see Butt, *My Travels in North West Rhodesia*, pp. 246-254.

⁴Gouldsbury and Sheane, *The Great Plateau of Northern Rhodesia*, pp. 28-48, 129-143 and 210-230.

⁵Gouldsbury and Sheane, *The Great Plateau of Northern Rhodesia*, pp. 1-16. Also see Butt, *My Travels in North West Rhodesia*, pp. 192-203.

⁶Gouldsbury and Sheane, *The Great Plateau of Northern Rhodesia*, pp. 190-229. Also see Butt, *My Travels in North West Rhodesia*, pp. 112-126.

⁷LMA, HMS/23/1/Box 2: J.C.C. Coxhead (ed.), *The Native Tribes of North Eastern Rhodesia: Their Laws and Customs, Occasional Paper No. 5* (London: Royal Athropological Institute, 1914), p. 2. Also see Butt, *My Travels in North West Rhodesia*, pp. 90-111, 119-126, 140-150, 154-184 and 229-230.

⁸C.W. Hobly, *Bantu Beliefs and Magic* (London: Frank Cass and Company Ltd. 1967).

⁹F.H.Melland, *In Witch Bound Africa* (London: Frank Cass, 1923).

¹⁰E.W. Smith and A.M. Dale, *The Ila Speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia*, 2vols. (London: Mackmillan, 1920).

¹¹C.M.Doke, *The Lambas of Northern Rhodesia* (London: George, G. Harrap and Company, 1931).

¹²H. Masters and W. E. Masters, *In Wild Rhodesia*, Griffiths, 1920; and Lewis H. Gann, *A History of Northern Rhodesia: Early Days to 1953* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1963), p. 321.

¹³R.S. Hudson, *Handbook to the Livingstone Museum Collection* (Livingstone: Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, 1936).

¹⁴LMA, NRG, *The National Museums of Northern Rhodesia* (hereafter, *NMNR*): *The Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, 1934-1951* (Lusaka; government Printer, 1951), p. 17.

¹⁵W.V. Brelsford, *Handbook of the David-Livingstone Memorial Museum* (Livingstone: Livingstone Institute, 1948); LMA, J. Desmond Clark, "Report of the Progress made by the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum during the initial years, 1938-40", p. 12 in *Director's Report to the Trustees of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute on the Work of the First Three Years (1938-9-40)*; and *The Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, 1934-1951*, p.17.

¹⁶LMA, *The Rhodes Livingstone Museum, 1934 – 1951*, p. 17.

¹⁷A. Richards, *Land, labour and diet in Northern Rhodesia* (London: Oxford University Press for the International African Institute, 1939).

¹⁸Richards, *Land, labour and diet in Northern Rhodesia*, pp. 288-300.

¹⁹Gann, *A History of Northern Rhodesia: Early Days to 1953*, p.321.

²⁰Richards, *Bemba Marriage and their economic Conditions*, *Rhodes-Livingstone Paper*, 4, pp.50-78 and 85-87.

²¹LMA, *The Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, 1934-1951*, p. 6.

²²Gluckman, *Economy of the Central Barotse Plain* (Manchester: University Press for the RLI, 1941); *Economy of the Barotse Plain: Essays in Lozi Land and Royal Property* (Livingstone: RLI, 1943); and *The Judicial Process Among the Barotse of Northern Rhodesia* (Manchester: Manchester University Press for the Institute of African Studies of the University of Zambia, 1955).

²³David Livingstone, *Missionary Travels in south central Africa* (London: 1857); and D. Livingstone and C. Livingstone, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambezi and its Tributaries* (London: 1865).

²⁴LMA, *The Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, 1934 – 1951*, p. 17. In all, sixteen Papers were published. The Papers gained popularity among the general public and scholars, nationally and internationally and most of them ran out of print as soon as they were published. Most of the Papers remained the only source of information available on the subject they discussed. Consequently, in 1965, the University of Zambia Institute for African Studies (now the University of Zambia Institute of Economic and Social research) through Manchester University Press reprinted them all in one volume, *The Occasional Papers of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, Nos. 1-16*.

²⁵J. A. Barnes, *The material culture of the Fort Jameson Ngoni: The Occasional Papers of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum* (hereafter, TOPRLM) No. 1. (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1948).

²⁶Barnes *The Material Culture of the Fort Jameson Ngoni*, pp. 1-4.

²⁷Barnes *The Material Culture of the Fort Jameson Ngoni*. pp. 5-18.

²⁸E. Colson, *Life among the Cattle-Owning Tonga: The material culture of a Northern Rhodesia Native Tribe: TOPRLM, No. 6* (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1949).

²⁹Barrie Reynolds, *The Material Culture of the Peoples of the Gwembe Valley* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1968), particularly pp. 91-191 and 210-224.

³⁰C. M. White, *The Material Culture of the Lunda-Lovale People: TOPRLM, No. 3* (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1948).

³¹B. Stefaniszyn, *The Material Culture of the Ambo: TOPRLM, No. 16* (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1964), particularly pp. 54-89.

³²V.W. Turner, *Lunda Rites and Ceremonies: TOPRLM, No. 10* (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1953), pp. 40-43.

³³The Mbwela originated from Angola; see, N.M. Katanekwa, "The Iron Age in Zambia: Some new evidence and interpretations." A paper presented at the International Conference on the growth of farming communities in Africa from the Equator Southwards. Cambridge, U.K. 4th –8th July 1994; unpublished.

³⁴Turner, *Lunda Rites and Ceremonies*, pp. 3-4.

³⁵Turner, *Lunda Rites and Ceremonies*, p. 4.

³⁶Richards, *Bemba Marriage and their economic Conditions, Rhodes-Livingstone Paper, 4*; and Doke, *The Lambas of Northern Rhodesia*.

³⁷Turner, *Lunda Rites and Ceremonie*, pp. 5-7.

³⁸Turner, *Lunda Rites and Ceremonies*, pp. 9-27.

³⁹Turner, *Lunda Rites and Ceremonies*, pp. 14-15.

⁴⁰Turner, *Lunda Rites and Ceremonies*, pp. 20-27.

⁴¹Turner, *Lunda Rites and Ceremonies*, pp. 27-56.

⁴²V. W. Turner, *Lunda medicine and treatment of disease: TOPRLM, No. 15* (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1963).

⁴³Turner, *Lunda medicine and treatment of disease*, p. 5.

⁴⁴Turner, *Lunda medicine and treatment of disease*, pp.1-61; and Turner, *Lunda Rites and Ceremonies*, pp. 37-56.

⁴⁵W. Gilges, *Some African Poisonous plants and Medicine of Northern Rhodesia: TOPRLM*, No. 11 (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1955).

⁴⁶Gilges, *Some African Poisonous plants and Medicine of Northern Rhodesia*.

⁴⁷Gilges, *Some African Poisonous plants and Medicine of Northern Rhodesia*, pp. 9-23.

⁴⁸Karen E. Milbourne, "Diplomacy in Motion: Art, Pageantry and the Political Creativity in Barotseland", PhD thesis, facsimile, UMI Dissertation Services, University of Iowa, 2003, p. 106.

⁴⁹As cited in Milbourne, "Diplomacy in Motion", p. 106.

⁵⁰Barrie Reynolds, *Magic, Divination and Witchcraft among the Barotse of Northern Rhodesia* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1963). See also Lyn Schumaker, *Africanising Anthropology* (Duke and London: Duke University, 2001), p. 201; NRG, LMA, Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, *The National Museum of Northern Rhodesia Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1957*, pp. 27-28; and *Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1958*, pp. 30.

⁵¹The 'Robins Series' were Museum monographs started in 1957 in honour of Colonel Ellis Robins, a BSA Company Representative in Northern Rhodesia, who was instrumental in raising funds for the construction of the Museum building and spent twenty years giving invaluable service to its development. The series covered varied subjects in the archaeology, history, anthropology and ecology of south-central Africa. It was hoped that it would contribute further to the understanding of Northern Rhodesia and surrounding regions. See NAZ, SP1/4/16, 1958 – 66, Minutes of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, Vol. III, location 3031, Report on the Robins Series by Barrie Reynolds; NAZ, SP4/12/15, Vol. I, Rhodes-Livingstone Museum: 1936-50, Rhodes-Livingstone Annual Report, 1959, pp. 3-4; LMA, NRG, Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, *The National Museums of Northern Rhodesia Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1959* (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1960), pp.5-6; NAZ, SP4/12/15, Vol. I, Annual Report, 1959, p. 4; and LMA, NRG, *The National Museums of Northern Rhodesia Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1959*, p. 6.

⁵²The thesis is cited by Milborne in her footnotes as: Barrie Reynolds, *An Ethnographic Study of the Kwandu People, with Particular Reference to the Role of Craftsmen in the Society*, PhD thesis, Oxford University, 1967. See Milbourne, "Diplomacy in Motion", p. 107.

⁵³Milbourne, "Diplomacy in Motion", p. 107.

⁵⁴W.V. Breslford, *African Dances of Northern Rhodesia: TOPRLM, No. 2* (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1948; old series.); and A. M. Jones, *African Music in Northern Rhodesia: TOPRLM, No. 4* (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1949).

⁵⁵Breslford, *African Dances of Northern Rhodesia*, pp. 3-4.

⁵⁶Breslford, *African Dances of Northern Rhodesia*, pp. 7-21.

⁵⁷Breslford, *African Dances of Northern Rhodesia*, pp. 22-24.

⁵⁸Breslford, *African Dances of Northern Rhodesia*, p. 24.

⁵⁹Jones, *African Music in Northern Rhodesia and some other places: TOPRLM, No. 4* (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1958).

⁶⁰Jones, *African Music in Northern Rhodesia and some other places*, pp. 9-14.

⁶¹Jones, *African Music in Northern Rhodesia and some other places*, pp. 7-9.

⁶²Jones, *African Music in Northern Rhodesia and some other places*, pp. 7-9.

⁶³E. H. Lane-Poole, *The Discovery of Africa as reflected in the Collection of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum: TOPRLM, No. 7* (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1950).

⁶⁴Lane-Poole, *The Discovery of Africa as reflected in the Collection of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum*, pp. 3-4.

⁶⁵Lane-Poole, *The Discovery of Africa as reflected in the Collection of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum*, p. 4.

⁶⁶For details see Lane-Poole, *The Discovery of Africa as reflected in the Collection of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum*, pp. 5-28.

⁶⁷Lane-Poole, *The Discovery of Africa as reflected in the Collection of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum*, pp. 27-28.

⁶⁸A.M. Quiggin, "Trade Routes, Trade and Currency in East Africa: TOPRLM, No. 5", in *TOPRLM, Nos. 1-16 in One Volume* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1974), pp. 145-165.

⁶⁹Quiggin, *Trade Routes, Trade and Currency in East Africa*, pp. 146-148.

⁷⁰Quiggin, *Trade Routes, Trade and Currency in East Africa*, pp. 146-148.

⁷¹Quiggin, *Trade Routes, Trade and Currency in East Africa*, pp. 150-151.

⁷²Quiggin, *Trade Routes, Trade and Currency in East Africa*, pp. 159-165.

⁷³See E. C. Tabler (ed.), *Zambezia and Matebeleland in the Seventies* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1960); and *Trade and Travel in Early Barotseland* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1963).

⁷⁴C.W. Mackintosh, *Some Pioneer Missions of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland: TOPRLM, No. 8* (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1950).

⁷⁵Mackintosh, *Some Pioneer Missions of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland*, pp. 4-5.

⁷⁶Mackintosh, *Some Pioneer Missions of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland*, pp. 5-9.

⁷⁷Mackintosh, *Some Pioneer Missions of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland*, pp. 25-42.

⁷⁸I. M. Flecher, *David Livingstone: A Short Portrait of the Missionary-Explorer: TOPRLM, No. 9* (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1950).

⁷⁹F. Debenham, *The Way to Ilala, David Livingstone*, (London: Longmans Green, 1955).

⁸⁰NAZ, SEC1/32, Rhodes-Livingstone Museum: Annual Reports, Application for Assistance from the Colonial Development and Welfare Vote, Architectural Drawing of the Livingstone Museum, 1947- 48: Memo from the Chief Secretary, No. C/24/2/1 dated 17 December 1953 to the Provincial Commissioner, Southern Province; and LMA, NRG, *Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, The National Museums of Northern Rhodesia Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1955* (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1956), p. 7.

⁸¹LMA, NRG, *Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, The National Museums of Northern Rhodesia Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1955*, p. 7.

⁸²E. C. Tabler (ed.), *The Zambezi Papers of Richard Thornton*, 2 vols. (London: Chatto and Windus, 1964).

⁸³Tabler (ed.), *The Zambezi Papers of Richard Thornton*.

⁸⁴O. Ransford, *David Livingstone: The Dark Interior* (London: John Murray, 1978), pp. 4-5.

⁸⁵R.H. Hobson, *Rubber: A footnote to Rhodesian history: TOPRLM, No. 12*, (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1958).

⁸⁶Hobson, *Rubber: A footnote to Rhodesian history*, p. 49.

⁸⁷Hobson, *Rubber: A footnote to Rhodesian history*, pp. 2-4, 7, 12 and 16.

⁸⁸Hobson, *Rubber: A footnote to Rhodesian history*, p. 3.

⁸⁹Hobson, *Rubber: A footnote to Rhodesian history*, p. 21.

⁹⁰Hobson, *Rubber: A footnote to Rhodesian history*, pp. 25-29.

⁹¹P.I.R. Maclaren, *The Fishing Devices of Central and Southern Africa: TOPRLM, No. 12* (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1958.)

⁹²Director, Livingstone Museum (ed.), "Editorial", *Zambia Museums Journal*, 1 (1970), p. 7.

⁹³LMA, GRZ, *The National Museum of Zambia* (hereafter, NMZ), *Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1964*, p. 6; *NMZ, Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1965*, p. 4; and Mwimanji N. Chellah, "The National Museums of Zambia, Livingstone" *Museums*, (Paris: Unesco), No. 138 (Vol.XXXV, No. 2), 1983, p. 130.

⁹⁴LMA, MS-5-81, P. Andre Vrydagh, "Mbunda Makishi Costumes and masks", pp. 1-2; LMA, GRZ, *The National Museum of Zambia, Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1968*, p. 10; and GM, "New look for top Museum", *Z – Magazine* (1968), p.10.

⁹⁵LMA, MS-5-81, P. Andre Vrydagh, "Mbunda Makishi Costumes and masks", pp. 1-2.

⁹⁶LMA, MS-5-81, P. Andre Vrydagh, "Mbunda Makishi Costumes and masks", pp. 1-2; and Vrydagh, "Makishi of Zambia", *African Arts*, 10, 4 (July 1977), pp. 12-19, 88.

⁹⁷Mapopa Mtonga, "Gule Wamkulu as a Multi-State Enterprise", *Museum International*, 229/230 (May 2006), pp. 59-67.

⁹⁸LMA, MS-5-81, P. Andre Vrydagh, "Mbunda Makishi Costumes and masks", pp. 1-2.

⁹⁹LMA, MS-5-81, P. Andre Vrydagh, "Mbunda Makishi Costumes and masks", pp. 1-2.

¹⁰⁰Kafungulwa Mubitana, "Beyond the veneer of modernity: Wiko Masquarades in a Zambian Town" (MS in the Livingstone Museum, 1970), pp. 1-11; and K. Mubitana, "The Role of the Masquerade and the Social Significance of Masks in selected African societies, Diploma dissertation, University of Edinburgh, 1968, "Ethnicity and Integration in Urban Zambia: Wiko initiations and the use of masks in a modern African Town" MSc dissertation, University of Edinburgh, 1970.

¹⁰¹Director's Correspondence, 1972-76. See Letter by K. Mubitana, Director, Livingstone Museum, dated 24 April 1973, Minute No. S/A/1/1, addressed to Dr. Win van Binsberg of the Department of Sociology, University of Zambia, Lusaka and Mubitana, "Beyond the veneer of modernity: Wiko Masquarades in a Zambian Town", pp.1-2. Also see LMA, GRZ, *NMB Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1969* (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1970), p. 8; *Annual Report for*

the period 1 January to 31 Decembe, 1970, p. 8; and GM, "New Look for top Museum", *Z – Magazine, Zambian edn* (October 1969), p. 10.

¹⁰²Mubitana, "Beyond the veneer of modernity: Wiko Masquarades in a Zambian Town", pp.1-2; and LMA, GRZ, *NMB Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1969* (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1970), p. 8.

¹⁰³Aaron K. Mubitana, "Zambia's Sculptural Art: Its Essence and development", *Zambia Museum Journal*, 1, (1970.)

¹⁰⁴Aaron K. Mubitana, "Zambia's Sculptural Art: Its Essence and development", *Zambia Museum Journal*, 1, (1970), p. 16-18.

¹⁰⁵Mubitana, "Zambia's Sculptural Art: Its Essence and development", pp. 16-17.

¹⁰⁶Mubitana, "Zambia's Sculptural Art: Its Essence and development", pp. 17-19.

¹⁰⁷Mubitana, "Zambia's Sculptural Art", pp. 16-21; Mubitana, "Form and significance in the Art of the Lunda, Luvale, Luchazi and Mubitana, Chokwe of Zambia: A Boasian Approach", *Zambia Museum Journal*, 1 (1970), pp. 22-27; and "Tools and headrests in Zambia", *Zambia Museum Journal*, 1 (1971), pp. 7-38.

¹⁰⁸J.J. Corbeil, "Bemba Musical Instruments", *Zambia Museum Journal*, 3 (1972), pp. 7-14.

¹⁰⁹Corbeil, "Bemba Musical Instruments", p. 7.

¹¹⁰Corbeil, "Bemba Musical Instruments", p. 7.

¹¹¹Maud Muntemba now Shimwayi M. Muntemba was on the research staff of the Livingstone Museum as Keeper of History from 1967 to 1973.

¹¹²LMA, GRZ, *NMB Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December, 1970* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1971), p. 9; Maud Muntemba, "Thwarted Development: A Case Study of Economic Change in the Kabwe Rural District of Zambia, 1902-70", in Robin Palmer and Neil Parsons, (ed.), *Roots of Rural Poverty in Central and Southern Africa* (London: Heinemann, 1983), pp. 345 – 364; "The evolution of Political Systems in South-Central Zambia, 1894-1953", MA dissertation, University of Zambia, 1973; and "Rural Underdevelopment in Zambia: Kabwe Rural District, 1950-1970", PhD thesis, University of California, 1977.

¹¹³Maud Muntemba, "The Political and Ritual Sovereignty among the Mukuni Leya of Zambia", *Zambia Museums Journal*, 1, (1970), pp. 28-39.

¹¹⁴LMA, *National Museums Board Annual Report for the Year 1988* (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1989), p.5.

¹¹⁵Flexon M. Mizinga, "Activities Characterising the Lwiindi ceremony of the Leya of Mukuni Chieftaincy of Kalomo District", *The Livingstone Museum Newsletter*, 3, 1 (1995), pp. 24-28.

¹¹⁶Mizinga, Activities Characterising the Lwiindi ceremony", pp. 24-27.

¹¹⁷Mizinga, Activities Characterising the Lwiindi ceremony", pp. 24-27.

¹¹⁸K. Mubitana, "The Traditional History and Ethnography", in Phillipson D. W. (ed.), *Mosi-oa-Tunya: A Handbook to the Victoria Falls Region* (London: Longman, 1967), pp. 59-72; and K. Mubitana, "Christian Missions and the Toka-Leya of Southern Zambia", PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1977.

¹¹⁹P. Andre Vrydagh, "An Introduction to Traditional Mbunda Craftsmanship", *Zambia Museums Journal*, I, (1970), pp. 89-101.

¹²⁰Vrydagh, "An Introduction to Traditional Mbunda Craftsmanship", pp. 90-91.

¹²¹Vrydagh, "An Introduction to Traditional Mbunda Craftsmanship", pp. 90-91.

¹²²LMA, GRZ, NMB, *Annual Report for the period 1 January 1978*, p. 7; N. Mataa, "Brief Summary of the History of Mwenes Chiyengele Kandala Part I" *The Livingstone Museum Research Notes*, No. 2 (May 1980), 11-14; and "History of the Mbunda, Part 2", *Museum Research Notes*, No. 3 (August 1981), 9-13.

¹²³Mataa, "History of the Mbunda, Part 1" and "History of the Mbunda, Part 2" *Museum Research Notes*, pp. 9-10.

¹²⁴Mataa, "History of the Mbunda, Part 1" and "History of the Mbunda, Part 2" *Museum Research Notes*, pp. 10-11.

¹²⁵Mataa, "History of the Mbunda, Part 1" and "History of the Mbunda, Part 2" *Museum Research Notes*, pp. 12-13.

¹²⁶This study formed the basis of Mataa's Masters of Arts dissertation in History. See N. Mataa, "Collaboration and Resistance: Reaction to Colonial Rule", M.A. dissertation, University of Birmingham, 1977.

¹²⁷Lewis H. Gann, *A History of Northern Rhodesia: Early Days to 1953*, pp. 86-91; and Andrew Roberts, *A History of Zambia* (London: Heinemann, 1976), pp.162-170.

¹²⁸LMA, Acc. No. 2069, Index No. 0/73/523/1, *The Livingstone Museum Research Notes*, 1 (October, 1979), p. 14.

¹²⁹Gann, *A History of Northern Rhodesia*, pp.86-91; and Roberts, *A History of Zambia*, pp. 162-170.

¹³⁰LMA, g\GRZ, NMB, *Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 Decembr 1979*, p. 12.

¹³¹LMA, GRZ, NMB, *Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1979*, p. 12.

¹³²LMA, GRZ, NMB, *Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1979*, p. 12.

¹³³LMA, GRZ, NMB, *Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1974*, p. 10.

¹³⁴LMA, Joseph M. Chubi, "The Primitive Methodist Society and the Ila of Southern Zambia, 1890-1936"; unpublished Paper, 1977.

¹³⁵LMA, GRZ, NMB, *Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1974*, p. 10.

¹³⁶LMA, Joseph M. Chubi, "The Primitive Methodist Society and the Ila of Southern Zambia, 1890-1936, pp. 1-16.

¹³⁷W.W. Chakanika, "The Gossiner Service Team and the Valley Tonga of the Gwembe South Region", *Zambia Museums Journal*, 7, (1989), pp. 175-183.

¹³⁸G. Mwalukanga, "Social Inequalities in Pre-colonial Zambia" and "An Industry Thwarted: Constraints on Cotton Growing in Colonial Zambia", *Zambia Museums Journal*, 7, (1989), pp. 184-190 and 191-198 respectively.

¹³⁹M. Muntamba, "Twentieth Century Land Developments and Female Production in the Railway Region of Zambia", Joint History Department and Institute for African Studies Seminar, n.d., and "Zambia Nsila Sect and Christian Churches in the Livingstone Area", Paper read at a Conference on the History of African Religious Systems, University of Zambia, Lusaka, 1972.

¹⁴⁰Sally Aldridge, "The Salt-Making Industry at Chibwa Marsh, Zambia", *Zambia Museums Journal*, 7 (1989), pp. 161-174.

¹⁴¹Aldridge, "The Salt-Making Industry at Chibwa Marsh, Zambia", pp. 166-68.

¹⁴²Pierre Petit, "Industry and Economy of salt in the North of Zambia (Putu, Kaputa)", *Zambia Museums Journal*, 8 (2003), p. 8.

¹⁴³Pierre Petit, "Industry and Economy of salt", pp. 1-10.

¹⁴⁴Sally Aldridge, "The Salt-Making Industry", pp. 161-174.

¹⁴⁵R. M. Allen, "The Role of the Livingstone Mail in North-western Rhodesia", *Zambia Museums Journal*, 2 (1971), pp. 59-64.

¹⁴⁶Henry S. Mebelo, "The Concept of Man-centered in Zambian Humanism", *Zambia Museums Journal*, 5 (1980), pp. 23-30.

¹⁴⁷Mwelwa C. Musambachime, "The Influence of Copper Ore in delimiting the Rhodesia-Congo boundary in the Copperbelt area of Zambia: 1920-1933", *Zambia Museums Journal*, 8 (2003), pp. 16-24.

¹⁴⁸Nawa Nawa, "Forest Conservation in Barotseland, 1900- 1973", *Zambia Museums Journal*, 7 (2003), pp. 25-29.

¹⁴⁹Examples of such works include David Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* (London: J. Murray, 1957); David and Charles Livingstone, *Narrative of an Expedition on the Zambezi and its Tributaries* (London: J. Murray, 1865); and Emil Holub, *Travels North of the Zambezi, 1885-6* trans by Christa Johns and edit. By Ladslav Holy (Manchester: Manchester University on behalf of the Institute for African Studies, University of Zambia, 1975).

¹⁵⁰C. Gouldsbury and H. Sheane, *The Great Plateau of Northern Rhodesia*, (London: Edward Arnold, 1911); J.C.C. Coxhead (ed.), *The Native Tribes of North Eastern Rhodesia: Their Laws and Customs, Occasional Papers No. 5* (London: Royal Anthropological Institute, 1914); and C. M. Doke, *The Lambas of Northern Rhodesia* (George G. Harrap and Company, 1931).

¹⁵¹J. A. Barnes, *The Material Culture of the Fort Jameson Ngoni* TOPRLM, No.1 (Government Printers, 1948); W.V. Brelsford, *African Dances of Northern Rhodesia*, TOPRLM, No.2 (Government Printers, 1948); C.M. White, *The Material Culture of the Lunda-Lovale People* TOPRLM, No.3 (Government Printers, 1948); E. Colson *Life Among the Cattle-Owning Tonga: The Material Culture of a Northern Rhodesia Tribe* TOPRLM, No.6 (Government Printers, 1949); and B. Reynolds, *Magic Divination and Witchcraft among the Barotse of Northern Rhodesia* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1963).

¹⁵²E. S. Atieno-Odhiambo, "From African Historiographies to an African Philosophy of History", *Afrika Zamani*, Nos. 7 and 8 (1999-2000), p. 45; and J. Ki-Zerbo, "General Introduction", in J. Ki-Zerbo (ed.), *The UNESCO General History of Africa vol. 1: Methodology of African History*, (Abridged version) Carlifornia: James Currey, 1990), p. 5.

¹⁵³W. V. Brelsford, *The Tribes of Northern Rhodesia* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1956).

¹⁵⁴Lewis H. Gann, *Northern Rhodesia, 1894-1914: The Birth of A Plural Society* (Manchester: The Institute for Social Research of University of Zambia in association with Manchester University Press, 1968), p. xiii.

¹⁵⁵Gann, *Northern Rhodesia, 1894-1914: The Birth of A Plural Society*, p. xi.

¹⁵⁶J.D. Clark, *The Stone Age Cultures of Northern Rhodesia* (Cape Town: South African Archaeological Society, 1950); and "A note on the pre-Bantu

CHAPTER SEVEN

EXHIBITIONS MOUNTED AT THE LIVINGSTONE MUSEUM AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE TO THE DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION RELEVANT TO ZAMBIAN HISTORY, 1934 TO 2006

Introduction

The preceding two chapters have discussed the researches and publications made by the Museum in the period 1934 to 2006 and how information they generated contributed to Zambian history. In this chapter, I examine exhibitions made by the Livingstone Museum in the same period and demonstrate their role in the dissemination of information generated by the Museum's researches on Zambian history. In the chapter, I am not considering museological issues of exhibitions such as display techniques, preparation of objects and specimens, layout, labelling, type of showcases or panels to be used and colour and light system. Instead, I only highlight and examine exhibitions mounted and show their significance to Zambian history.

I also demonstrate that during the colonial period, exhibitions mounted were Euro-centric and projected the African image negatively while during the post-colonial period, exhibitions mounted aimed at restoring the African image. Further, I argue that in the process of the restoration of the African image, the Museum got carried away, and just like during the colonial era in which it mounted exhibitions that were Euro-centric, it too made exhibitions that were biased in that they were Afro-centric. I also argue that exhibitions mounted whether during the colonial or post-colonial period were significant in that they helped in disseminating historical information generated through collections, researches and publications to different publics.

The Colonial Period, 1934 -1964

As noted in the last two chapters, the Livingstone Museum carried out numerous researches. These researches yielded objects or artefacts of various kinds.

As Jules D. Prown observed:

Objects created in the past are the only historical occurrences that continue to exist in the present. They provide an opportunity by which ‘we can encounter the past at first hand; we have direct sensory experience of surviving historical events,’ Artefacts may not be important historical events, but they are, to the extent that they can be experienced and interpreted as evidence, significant.¹

Arising from Prown’s observation, it is clear that objects are manifestations of man through time and space. They give an idea on the way of life of the people who made and used them and therefore if interpreted carefully have the potential to present a history of the people who made and used them.

Generally, museums mount exhibitions to present manifestations of man to the public. In fact, the Livingstone Museum took this task seriously right from its inception. This was underlined in its formative years’ policy, which was defined as “the elucidation of the history, development and present status of man within Northern Rhodesia and the dissemination of that knowledge to the general public.”² As part of this policy, the Museum endeavoured to depict, using objects, analyses of social, political and economic conditions in the country since prehistoric times.³

In fact, right from its inception, the Museum dedicatedly disseminated to the public information generated from its researches. This was done mainly through exhibitions. The first exhibition was mounted in 1934, the year the Museum was established as the David-Livingstone Memorial Museum. In that year, the Museum collections made by colonial officers since the 1930s were opened to the public.⁴ Owing to the humble beginning of the Museum and lack of adequate financial resources, the exhibition mounted was a simple one. Exhibits were simply placed on

top of tables arranged in the room and veranda in the Old Magistrate Court building.⁵ The exhibits on display were composed of letters and relics of the Missionary-explorer, David Livingstone, which were obtained through donations or on loan. Others were ethnological materials from different ethnic groups of the Territory, which as was the case of similar materials elsewhere in Africa during this period, were perceived to be "in danger of being destroyed by the invasion of European mass factory produced goods."⁶

In 1937, the Museum moved from the Old Magistrate Court building to the larger building, which formerly housed the United Services Club. During the first eight years, the Museum collections were considerably enlarged while the majority of the objects on display were housed in glass cases⁷ (see Appendix XIIIc).

In the new building, the Museum mounted a permanent exhibition whose aim was to present as attractively as possible, the life of the peoples who had inhabited the Territory from the earliest Stone Age through the material culture of indigenous ethnic Bantu peoples to European colonisation of the area.⁸

The exhibits presented were largely archaeological and ethnological. Archaeological exhibits were in two main forms. The first aimed at giving an idea of the development of early man and of his stone implements and of the length of time involved while the second was composed of collections from important sites within the Territory and was composed of both pre-historic and proto-historic materials. Most of these came from collections made by Desmond Clark during his researches in the Victoria Falls area noted in Chapter Five. Among the exhibits on display was that of a burial of a proto-historic Bantu woman with associated grave furniture. A diorama showing life on the banks of the Zambezi during the Stone Age era completed the picture.⁹

The Museum's Ethnological exhibits also took two main forms. These were technological exhibits which demonstrated the manufacture of domestic utensils such as pots and baskets, and the processes used in other domestic arts such as weaving, bark cloth making, iron making and salt making. These enabled the visitor to have an idea of the essential points of African domestic art and provided a background to the study of the second type of exhibits.¹⁰

The second part of the exhibition consisted of ethnic exhibits. This was in line with the Museum's policy, which proposed the setting up of ethnic exhibits that showed the way of life of what they termed as "important tribes."¹¹ It was envisioned that when complete the exhibition would contain a representative collection from twenty tribes.¹² To illustrate the tribal way of life, models of native huts and villages were made. By 1940, five of these had been completed. The exhibits depicted the way of life from the Lozi, Bemba, Tonga and Toka, Ila and Lunda ethnic groups while a nuclei of exhibits from the Lamba, Lala, Mbunda and Bisa had been formed. In this type of exhibits, the local differences between the cultural groups were emphasised.¹³ Both types of exhibits were accompanied by a booklet hung at the side of the case that presented a brief description of the process involved, the history and sociological conditions of the ethnic group while a number of photographs augmented the descriptions.¹⁴

In addition, there were two more types of exhibits, namely group photographs and those that related to a particular phase of each ethnic group's life styles. Thus, in the former type of exhibits were dress and adornment, knives, currency and many others. The later included Makishi dancing masks and costumes (found among the Mbunda, Luchazi, Chokwe and Luvale ethnic groups found in the present Western and North-western Provinces of Zambia), witchcraft and magic objects.¹⁵

The Historical Section, whose aim was to show the development of the territory since the coming of the first Europeans, followed the Ethnographic Section. The exhibits comprised maps of Africa, which dated from 1478 to contemporary times, the coming of the first Europeans, European exploration, activities of the Missionary-Explorer, David Livingstone and other missionaries. Others were exhibits that showed the activities of Cecil John Rhodes, the effects of colonisation such as the industrial development of the Copperbelt, urbanisation and its effects on the local people. On display were also exhibits from the First World War.¹⁶

Exhibits that showed the life and works of David Livingstone and Cecil John Rhodes and their role in the European colonisation process of the area occupied the largest portion in the exhibition.¹⁷ This was because in the eyes of white settlers, both David Livingstone and Cecil Rhodes were important figures in the history of the country because in their different ways they played decisive parts in opening Central Africa to "European civilisation".¹⁸

Although the aims of the Museum were lofty and noble, a critical examination of the exhibitions that were mounted during that time shows that, as a colonial creation, the Museum was preoccupied with highlighting imperial preoccupations while at the same time showing African ethnic groups as having no history except as shown by their ethnological objects. It can therefore be safely stated that the exhibitions were meant to advance the then dominant western view of the superiority of Europeans over the Africans¹⁹ in order to justify colonial rule in the territory.

The policy proclamations on Museum activities, particularly those pertaining to exhibitions did not embody any racially restrictive regulation in the manner exhibitions were to be mounted, however, a review of exhibitions mounted as shown above, reveal that in practice they were mounted in a racially discriminatory manner.

The design of exhibitions did not include African activities because Africa was not considered to be a historical continent for the reason that its people did not have written records, although they had a lot to tell through their oral traditions. History was considered to have begun in Africa with the coming of Europeans. It is from this point of view that the massive featuring of European exploration, Christian missionary activities, colonisation process and works of the colonial administration in the exhibition can be explained.

The exhibitions mounted also reveal that most of the exhibits on the African people on display were ethnological rather than historical. This was in line with the social Darwinism of the times, which did not consider Africa to have history, but “a laboratory for earlier forms of human civilisation.”²⁰ Abdul Sheriff and others, writing about the Zanzibar Museum during the colonial period, noted that:

It had plenty of photographs and costumes “typical” of different ethnic groups in Zanzibar, emphasising their diversity rather than the process of homogenisation characteristic of the Swahili culture. The Museum’s central rotunda featured the exploits of the colonisers and their agents, while the hexagonal wings were devoted to such themes as the arts, local industries, traditional beliefs, communication presented in a rather static way.²¹

The situation noted by Sheriff and others on the exhibitions in the Zanzibar Museum also featured in the Livingstone Museum during the colonial period. The exhibitions mounted emphasised exhibits that categorised the Zambian people into ethnic groups, which exhibitors, in accordance to colonial parlance, called “tribes” instead of factors common to all, considering the fact that most of them originated from the same area, the Luba-Lunda Empire, in the present Democratic Republic of Congo.²² The same trend continued in exhibitions mounted in the museum building opened in 1951.²³ The History exhibits mounted at the new museum building were merely increased by adding more on the themes featured at the former United

Services Club. The exhibits featured mainly Arabs and European exploits in the country and displays that illustrated industrial and human progress which stood triumphant over the 'savagery' of the 'native condition' following the establishment of colonial rule. Thus, on display were exhibits on Arab and Portuguese early exploits in the territory, activities of European explorers and Christian missionaries, colonisation process and colonial administration and its "civilising" effects on Africans. Additional themes were the construction of the Victoria Falls Bridge and the development of communication and transport.²⁴ Exhibits that reflected activities of the indigenous African ethnic groups were relegated to the Ethnography Exhibition.²⁵

The Livingstone Museum was used as a tool to advance aspirations of the colonial authority through its exhibitions. This is evidenced by the temporary exhibition, 'The David Livingstone Centenary Exhibition' that the Museum mounted in 1955 (see Appendix XVIIc). The exhibition ran from 1 June to 31 August 1955. It was one of the events that the Government put up to commemorate the Centenary of the sighting of the Victoria Falls by David Livingstone on 16 November 1855. The climax of the celebration was held on 16 November 1955 and was attended by the Governor-General, Lord Llewellyn (see Appendix XVIIa) and the three Territorial Governors of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.²⁶

In the 1930s and 1950s, the Museum had participated in exhibitions staged in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia respectively. The exhibitions highlighted successes and aspirations of respective governments of the two countries to the public. The first such exhibition in which Northern Rhodesia participated was the "Empire Exhibition" that took place in 1936 in Johannesburg and was celebrating Johannesburg's Jubilee (50 years) since gold was discovered in the South African Highveld in 1886.²⁷

The exhibition showcased the history and economic advancement that the Union of South Africa had achieved in the field of mining, agriculture, manufacturing, commerce, science, education and art since gold was discovered in the Highveld in 1886. It was also meant to promote trade relations with other members of the commonwealth by securing their participation in the exhibition.²⁸

In 1952, the Afrikaner government put up an exhibition, the “Jan van Riebeck Tercentenary Festival”, which celebrated Jan van Riebeck’s landing at the Cape in 1652. Riebeck was the first Dutch Governor at the Cape and was credited by white South Africans for introducing white presence. The Festival was meant to create a national narrative of white unity for the South African white community around the figure of Van Riebeck.²⁹ However, the Northern Rhodesia government did not participate as the exhibition reflected white Afrikaner supremacy through the ideology of *Apartheid* introduced in South Africa in 1948, which was opposed by the British government, which controlled Northern Rhodesia through the Colonial Office.

Similarly, in 1953, Southern Rhodesia put up the “Rhodes Centenary Exhibition.” The exhibition was meant to rally white national unity around the figure of Cecil John Rhodes in order to perpetuate white settler rule. Rhodes was credited among the white settlers for bringing white rule to the territory.³⁰ The Northern Rhodesia Government participated in this exhibition, which was opened by the Queen Mother.³¹ The Livingstone Museum put up an exhibition on the history of Northern Rhodesia.³²

Not to be outdone, in 1955, the Northern Rhodesia Government followed suit and organised the David Livingstone Centenary which celebrated the life, ideals and works of David Livingstone.³³ Clearly, the Centenary celebration was an attempt by the white settlers in Northern Rhodesia to look for a historical figure around which

they could unite in their endeavour to perpetuate colonial rule in the territory. As part of the Centenary celebration, the Livingstone Museum mounted an exhibition that highlighted the life and works of David Livingstone³⁴ (see Appendix XVII).

The Museum also mounted numerous temporary exhibitions during the colonial period. Such exhibitions included a representative series of stone tools and associated wood from the Kalambo Falls exhibited in 1956,³⁵ the Barotse witchcraft material confiscated by the government in its 1956 to 1958 crusade to stamp out witchcraft from Barotseland following rampant deaths resulting from allegations of sorcery. The exhibition took place in 1957 and was popular both among the European and African visitors.³⁶ The other one was the Exhibition of African Discovery and Exploration mounted in 1961³⁷ and shown in Salisbury now Harare in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe).³⁸ In the following year, it was taken to Ndola.³⁹ Among the temporary exhibitions put up were also the finds from Ing'ombe Ilede, put up in 1964.⁴⁰

The African Discovery and Exploration Exhibition illustrated the history of discovery and exploration in Africa from about 2,800 BC to contemporary times. It used as examples, the early maps in the Museum collections, photographs, documents, manuscripts and coloured Photostat copies of relevant materials. To add colour and realism, on display were a series of models of ships made by the Museum staff. To illustrate the storehouse of Africa and how it was opened up to the outside world through trade, products of ancient Africa such as gold, skins, models of slaves, copper, incense and ivory were exhibited.⁴¹

The temporary exhibition on Ing'ombe Ilede finds showed some of the materials excavated at the Ing'ombe Ilede site in the years 1960-62. The materials included copper ingots, strings of glass beads, gold bead necklace, gold bangles,

copper bangles, cloth and bark-cloth, conus shells and a variety of iron tools. In order to get a scale reconstruction of one of the burials, a full size photograph of the skeleton was made and all the objects discovered were mounted in their appropriate positions.⁴²

From the foregoing, it is clear that exhibitions the Museum mounted during the colonial period reflected the superiority of Europeans over Africans. This is evident in their design and content whereby Africans were presented as people without a history. The exhibitions mounted never attempted to highlight the history of African kingdoms or chiefdoms. The African reaction to colonialism was also ignored. The exhibits on displays on Africans, such as utensils, dress and adornments, musical instruments, weapons and tools were often presented in a static way and out of context, usually as works of art, thereby underplaying their utilitarian value (see Appendix II). Furthermore, displays on the African way of life, emphasised exhibits that negatively presented Africans such as magic and witchcraft. Thus, during the colonial period, exhibitions at the Livingstone Museum were devoted to establish a dichotomy between civilisation and economic progress brought by colonialism on the one hand and primitiveness and backwarness of the African people on the other. In this situation, Africans were recipients of civilisation under the tutelage of European settlers thereby justifying colonialism.

The above notwithstanding, the exhibitions were significant in that they disseminated to a wide public, whether literate or not, information generated by the Museum's archaeological, ethnological and historical researches. The information generated, as noted in the last two chapters is significant as it provides a valuable source of information on the construction of the Zambian history. Exhibitions mounted provided chance for museum visitors to learn about the outcome of the

Museum's researches in relation to the history of the country. For instance, exhibitions on the African Discovery and Exploration and the Ingombe Ilede findings provided knowledge to audiences, regardless of their age, background and whether they were literate or not on the early history of Africa in general and Zambia in particular.

Similarly, the negative manner in which the African way of life was presented in exhibitions provided the public historical information and an understanding of the social order in colonial Zambia. They shed light on prejudices that Europeans had against Africans during the colonial period. Thus, the exhibitions provided valuable historical information to Museum visitors at that time concerning race relations during colonial Zambia. Furthermore, by collecting exhibition materials such as pottery, basketry, woodwork, beadwork, matting and many others, the Museum preserved a large number of priceless cultural and material artefacts that would have otherwise been lost.

Exhibitions during the Post-colonial Period, 1964 - 2006

Whilst the Livingstone Museum exhibitions during the colonial period emphasised displays that advanced the supremacy of the white race and the backwardness of Africans, those mounted during the post-colonial period sought to change the situation. They reflected the African leaders' desire to build a country based on the diversity of the different people's cultural and historical background. Thus, they emphasised the role of the Museum as an educational centre in which people would be educated in the cultural heritage and the history of the country.⁴³ The exhibitions endeavoured to make good of the negative image that the Zambian culture and history experienced during the colonial era.⁴⁴

Consequently, in 1964 the year the country achieved her independence, an exhibition on Zambian culture, in which the Museum staff played an important role, was held in Lusaka from 19 October to 30 November. On display were objects on some aspects of Zambian music; musical instruments; art objects such as makishi masks, mbusa objects (objects related to Bemba girls initiation ceremonies); woodcarving and beadwork. Others were pottery objects; basketry and mats; ivory and horn carvings; metal work; stone work; skin and bark cloth work and traditional paintings. Most of the objects were from the Livingstone Museum and were collected from different parts of the country.⁴⁵

The exhibition was the first of its kind in Zambia and was designed to show the wide range of the country's cultural heritage not only to the country's citizens but also to many foreign guests who had come to witness the birth of the new nation, Zambia, on 24 October 1964. Regarding this exhibition, Simon M. Kapwepwe (see Appendix XIV), a former Freedom Fighter in Zambia and advocate of the promotion and propagation of African culture in general and Zambian culture in particular noted:

Each nation has its own cultural and artistic heritage and all these cultures are part of the story of man's endeavours on this earth. Zambia's day has dawned; and just as we now reveal our own political and economic personality so must we show that our own cultural heritage will add colour and vitality to the rich tapestry of mankind's achievements. . . . In this exhibition. . . we have made an impressive start in revealing our cultural heritage. Let us now go forward into our future bearing these gifts from the past and let us draw inspiration from them so that we can make a continuing contribution to the history of the world's art and culture.⁴⁶

Thus, in a country where the indigenous people's culture was despised and Africans made to look into their history through the eyes of European settlers, the exhibition demonstrated the importance of appreciating one's own cultural heritage and its significance in the promotion of national unity and identity through cultural diversity. The exhibition was also a contribution to the history of the world's cultural heritage.

In fact, it was part of the *International Art Exhibition*, also held in Lusaka from 19 August to 30 October 1964 as part of Zambia's Independence celebrations. Kapwepwe, who emphasised that "Culture was the backbone of a Nation"⁴⁷, spearheaded the exhibition

A similar exhibition, "Exhibition of Modern Zambian Sculptural Art" was held in Lusaka from 15 to 28 August 1966. The exhibition consisted of old pieces; contemporary sculpture based on traditional style but with new concepts and mass-produced tourist art.⁴⁸ The exhibition was significant in that it disseminated information that shed light on the past material culture of the Zambian people and how traditional cultures and technology evolved overtime. It was therefore an invaluable source of information on the development and history of sculpture in the Zambian history.

In the same year, Zambia participated in the "First World Festival of Negro Arts" that was held in Senegal. Most of the exhibits came from the Livingstone Museum.⁴⁹ In 1970, the Museum mounted a similar exhibition, "Treasures of Zambian Traditional Art" at the Lusaka, Mulungushi Hall, during the Third Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries in Lusaka⁵⁰ Later, in the year, it participated in the "International Exhibition on African Sculpture" staged at the National Gallery in Washington.⁵¹

Arising from the above, in contrast to the negative way Zambian cultural heritage was presented during the colonial era, during the post-colonial period the Museum promoted it, not only nationally, but also internationally, thereby contributing to the understanding and appreciation of world culture and history.

As noted earlier, the Museum's exhibitions during the colonial era were Eurocentric. Consequently, as soon as the country obtained its independence, the research

staff, as noted in Chapter Three, was strengthened by the appointment of Zambian researchers. For instance, in 1965, Kafungulwa Mubitana was appointed in the department of Ethnography, and in 1967, Maud Muntemba was appointed in the History department. The Zambian research staff spearheaded researches that aimed to restore the negative image the Zambian culture and history was bestowed during the colonial period. In the field of history, Muntemba collected historical data for the new Gallery from Eastern, Central and Southern Provinces in 1969. Data from other parts of the country were provided by scholars like Mutumba Bull, Harry Langworthy, Robbin Fielder and Robert Schecker.⁵² Historical artefacts on various topics were collected from the Zambian Government and the British Government with the help of Simon Kapwepwe. Several Ministries and some of the people who took part in the Second World War provided their personal effects related to the war.⁵³

On 9 September, 1971, a new History Gallery that housed a new Permanent History Exhibition was opened. The Exhibition highlighted pre-colonial history, focusing on centralised and amorphous states; colonial history, where the focus was on the struggle for independence and post-colonial history, where emphasis was on achievements made since independence.⁵⁴

In presenting its exhibitions, though Afrocentric they were, the Museum was expected to be objective. This came to light in the speech Jack Shamwana, Chairman of the NMB, gave during the opening of the Permanent History Exhibition in 1971. Shamwana gave a brief treatise on history, which he said consisted of a series of facts, whose interpretation and the way they were constructed differed from country to country and even from one person to the other. He noted that the Livingstone Museum's interest was not in the different interpretations but in "the presentation of actual facts" embedded in the exhibits regardless of whether they were of a

controversial nature or not. He hoped that the Zambian people and Government would understand and appreciate the dilemma the Museum faced in its endeavour to present the truth through its collection.⁵⁵

Thus, during the colonial period, the Livingstone Museum went through a paradigm shift from Euro-centric to Afrocentric presentations. However, the Museum enjoyed more autonomy from the Government than was the case during the colonial period when among others, it was an 'expose' of research findings of the RLI. As noted in Chapter two, the RLI was mandated by the Government to find ways of reducing tension that was believed to have been caused by cultural misunderstandings between European settlers and the African people in the country through its research activities.

Similar changes were made in the Museum's Archaeology and Ethnography exhibitions.⁵⁶ For instance, the Museum's Archaeology exhibition displayed the prehistory of Zambia, and this was divided into two epochs, the Stone Age and Iron Age. The display on the Stone Age period illustrated the development of man as he underwent physical changes, which transformed him from the primitive man-ape of *Homo habilis* type to modern *Homo sapiens* through evolution and adaptations to the technological and ecological resources available.⁵⁷ The advances in Stone Age technology as he moved from less specialised ones such as hand axe or cleaver to more specialised tools such as flakes, bone and wooden tools as well as grass and other fibres for cordage and matting were also exhibited.⁵⁸

The displays on Iron Age Man were illustrated by maps showing his movement from Middle East 3000 years ago down the Nile along the Mediterranean coast across the Sahara trade routes, into West Africa and the Democratic Republic of Congo Basin up to Zambia in the first millennium A.D. The Iron Age tools were also

exhibited. The revolution the Iron Age people brought into Zambia such as food production and metal working which replaced the Wilton culture hunter-gatherers was also highlighted. Others on display were the Broken Hill Man, the Mosi-oa-tunya and Nachikufu caves, rock paintings and artefacts excavated from Ingombe Ilede such the Ingombe Ilede woman skeleton and Iron Age trade implements.⁵⁹

The displays in the History Gallery endeavoured to give a general view of historical events in the country through the medium of historical documents, maps and photographs and materials used by important figures and those used during important events in the Zambian history.⁶⁰

The first section explored the origins of the various peoples of Zambia, tracing their history back to the earliest days of the Early Iron Age and expansion of the Bantu-speaking peoples. Maps and brief texts were used to illustrate this section. Objects that denoted the leaders of traditional society illustrated the traditional Zambian concept of polity. These included weapons of local manufacture, ceremonial axes, copper ingots, double gongs, elaborate bow stands, rare animal skins, ivory, shell beads and fly-switches. These symbols of traditional authority reminded visitors that traditional Zambia was a highly organised society with a typical African political structure.⁶¹

Others exhibits included a variety of ancient European maps that illustrated old ideas of the geography of the African continent and European explorations in Africa; David Livingstone, the Missionary-explorer, his original letters and possessions; John Cecil Rhodes and the BSA Company; Missionaries and their activities; colonial rule; the struggle for independence, the first Zambia Flag and the last British Flag. The Gallery ended with the First World War.⁶²

The new Ethnography and Art Gallery endeavoured to show the material and spiritual culture of the people of Zambia. It gave a general view of the traditional art, architecture, belief and religious artefacts and various forms of indigenous technology. The exhibits were presented on a cross-cultural plane rather than on selective and “tribal” basis, as was the case with previous arrangements during the colonial era. Commenting on the reasons for the new change of concept regarding presentation, W.W Chakanika, the then Keeper of Ethnography, noted:

. . . the authors of the new Gallery see the development of material culture as being directly or indirectly related to man’s endeavour to come to terms with his environment whether this be social, physical or spiritual. As such the problem of appreciation of the material culture of the people of Zambia cannot adequately be understood in terms of the cultural advances of individual groupings or ‘tribes’. Rather, the new Gallery attempts to present a generalised but integrative view of the traditional arts, architecture and technology of the people of Zambia.⁶³

Consequently, the new exhibition reflected the conceptual change, and various artefacts on display were traditional handicrafts, various forms of traditional technology, indigenous architecture, works of art and items related to religious beliefs. The Gallery started with chiefs’ stools, ornamental objects, masks and costumes, plastic arts, Man’s life cycle (passage of rites; that is birth, initiation, marriage and death), development of cloth from tree, skin and natural cotton, traditional weapons, witchcraft, slave trade, fishing and trapping methods and Zambian staple crops. The Gallery ended with a Zambian Village.⁶⁴

The Natural History gallery introduced Zambians and other visitors to the country’s varied and fascinating wildlife. It endeavoured to arouse in people an awareness of the need to conserve wildlife for posterity. In pursuance of that objective, the Gallery displayed exhibits that showed traditional and modern methods of conserving nature (flora and fauna). It also displayed a model that illustrated the balance of nature and how man through his activities such as large-scale hunting,

deforestation and industrial development disturbed it, thus threatening his existence. A wide range of exhibits from disciplines of Herpetology, Entomology, Mammalogy and Ornithology were also exhibited.⁶⁵

Commenting on these exhibitions, William Muzala Chipango, former Mayor of Livingstone, noted that they were highly educative for the African people in areas of history and culture compared to those mounted during colonial times, which denied indigenous people their history, making them see themselves through the eyes of white settlers. Chipango further noted that, some people, particularly those with western education, even denounced their culture as primitive in preference to the western one. The exhibitions tried to restore the image of Zambian culture and history that was distorted by a long period of colonial rule.⁶⁶

Furthermore, Chipango applauded the various temporary exhibitions that the Museum staged on various aspects of Zambian Art, noting that they enhanced acceptance and confidence in the way Zambians saw their culture and themselves. In addition, he noted that displays on the Stone and Iron Age Man, African Kingdoms and the people's struggle against foreign rule provided information that educated audiences on the Zambian people's history and common struggle for survival.⁶⁷

Harischandra B. Oza, echoed Chipango's observations on the educative role the new exhibitions had on the indigenous Zambian people's culture and history. However, he noted that the exhibitions overemphasised African culture at the expense of other cultures that existed side by side with African cultures and in this way were as racially segregative as were the colonial ones. He noted that although Indians occupied a higher status in the highly racial compartmentalised colonial society in Zambia, compared to Africans, on the whole, just like Africans, they also faced social, economic and political discrimination from European settlers. He sombrely

noted that, it was for that reason that some Indians like himself, R.V. Nayee, Bimsih J. Devalia in Livingstone; Rambhai D. Patel, who was popularly known as 'Kanjombe' in Lusaka and T. L. Desai in Ndola identified themselves with African nationalism during the struggle for independence and yet displays of Indian culture and history in Zambia were not reflected, just as was the case during the colonial period.⁶⁸

George Grubb concurred with Oza's sentiments.⁶⁹ He noted that where the white man's activities were displayed, the exhibitions emphasised the nefarious aspects of colonial rule, thereby rendering him into a symbol of ridicule, yet the new leaders were claiming to build a country where all people regardless of race, tribe, creed, or religion, lived harmoniously through the principle of "One Zambia One Nation."⁷⁰ J. R. Nayee and R. S. Nayee echoed Oza and Grubb's observations.⁷¹

From the above, it can be safely said that in its effort to redress the negative way in which indigenous people were portrayed in colonial presentations, the Museum research staff, which by now was predominantly Zambian became overzealous and produced exhibitions that projected an Africanist image, thus rendering them racially segregative in the eyes of minority racial groups.

In 1986, the Museum's exhibitions came under heavy criticism from a group of students from Germany touring African museums. Speaking through their spokesman, Adolf Muller, they attacked the Museum, noting that: "it lacked innovation and planning to make new discoveries on the prehistory of Zambia which would improve its limited exhibits in galleries."⁷² They also noted that exhibits at the Livingstone Museum and other museums in Zambia were stereotyped and inadequate in giving a clear history of the country. Further, they lamented that they had visited the Museum more than six years ago but no change was found to the exhibits and yet

Africa was a rich continent of undiscovered history, which still remained unknown due to lack of research by the museum, which was entrusted with that responsibility.⁷³

In response to the criticism, the Museum, through its deputy Director, Mataa, who was also Secretary of the National Museum Board, accepted the criticism and noted that although justified, there was little the Museum could do because of inadequate funding from the government for operational purposes such as research to satisfy public expectations.⁷⁴

Thus, the government's insufficient financial support to the Museum was an impediment to its development and to its capacity to give a continuous updated history of the country to the satisfaction of its varied audiences. It also impeded the establishment of other types of Museums such as those that preserved artefacts related to mining technological history. This situation worried some Zambian citizens such as Mwelwa Musambachime, who in 1993 bemoaned the lack of a museum that specifically preserved for posterity technologies used in mining, smelting and refining of metals from pre-colonial to contemporary times, thereby risking the loss of the country's mining technological history.⁷⁵

History Exhibitions, 1994 - 2003

Because of financial constraints that the Museum faced, it was not until almost quarter a century later, in 1994, that the permanent History Exhibition was overhauled.⁷⁶ The main theme of the gallery was, "Follow the Steps in Zambia's History." The changes effected were meant to improve the presentation of materials and update the exhibition by adding new information. The presentation was laid in a chronological order and was enhanced by some artistic displays including the use of object friendly mounting techniques in order to improve on the conservation of the objects.⁷⁷

chested black man, a triumphant look on his face, uplifting his arms as he breaks free from the chain.”⁸¹ This display (see Appendix Xb) was also included in the permanent History Exhibition mount put up in 2004. However, he was disappointed that the Museum did not include some tragic events such as the ritual murders in Livingstone that were alleged to have been fomented by Asian traders in 1995 and the food riots of June 1990 that resulted in thirty deaths.⁸²

Commenting on the large number of people he witnessed in the Museum, McArthur noted: “. . . the interior is swarming with Zambian men, women, and organised school children, alone and in organised groups, examining the exhibits in an orderly fashion. There isn’t a stick or live animal in sight”⁸³

McArthur’s observations noted above are an indication that the Museum’s exhibitions were popular, easy to follow and played an important role in providing information on the history of Zambia to all categories of Museum visitors. Thus, the Museum was truly turned into an educational centre where Zambian and foreign visitors obtained information on the country’s history. However, it needed to include exhibits that presented controversial issues and the tragic side of the Zambian history as well.

Writing about the purpose of temporary exhibitions in museums, Mushokabanji noted that they provided an opportunity to display parts of collections normally held in storage because of inadequate display space; to show new acquisitions and to highlight particular themes or subjects in the display in greater detail.⁸⁴ Numerous temporary exhibitions were mounted at the Livingstone Museum on account of reasons noted by Mushokabanji. Such exhibitions complemented permanent exhibitions. Among the temporary exhibitions mounted at the Museum between 1970 and 2002 were the “Prehistoric rock paintings and engravings of

Zambia” mounted in 1972. This exhibition was also displayed in Lusaka and Ndola.⁸⁵ Others were the “Witchcraft Exhibition” mounted in 1982⁸⁶, the “Special Witchcraft Exhibit: Lilomba” exhibited in 1987⁸⁷, “The Significance of Guns to Zambia’s History, 1850-1945” mounted in 1988; “The History of Livingstone Town and the Livingstone Museum Exhibition” mounted in 1994 and The History of the Asian Trading Community in Livingstone Exhibition mounted in 2002.⁸⁸

The Permanent History Exhibition, Opened in 2004

As noted in Chapter Three, from 1 January 2003 to 31 December 2004, the Museum was rehabilitated through a funding from the European Union. Consequently, all exhibitions in the Museum were overhauled so that they reflected what the Zambian society went through over time. In fact, in 1996, Mungoni Sitali, Keeper of Ethnography and Art at the Museum, carried out a survey in Livingstone among Zambian and foreign visitors to the Museum to find out what they would have liked to see in the displays.⁸⁹ The results of the survey showed that the Museum’s exhibitions were out of touch with public expectations.⁹⁰ In part, the survey’s report noted that:

The demands for information and materials on political history are many. Both groups of visitors have requested for the updating of the History Gallery where themes are not abreast with contemporary facts. The presentation of colonial history gives visitors an impression that the colonial era was an easy affair in the people’s lives. Respondents expressed wishes to see amplifications of negative effects of colonialism in Zambia.⁹¹

In order to redress the situation revealed by Sitali’s study, the Museum’s permanent exhibitions in all galleries were organised around the theme, “The Story of Man in Zambia and his Environment.” Thus, the Archaeology Gallery described and analysed the story of human evolution and cultural developments in Zambia from the Stone Age Period to Iron Age (see Appendices II, I and XIXc), while the History Gallery took the visitor on a fascinating journey through the history of Zambia from

about 1550 to 2001 (see Appendices VI and X). The exhibition was broad based compared to previous exhibitions, which focused more on the political history of the country. The new exhibition included other dimensions of history such as cultural/social and economic history.⁹²

As most people traced their origins from villages, although many lived in towns, the Art and Ethnography exhibition, “From our Village to their Town”, highlighted how traditional life stood (see Appendix VIIa and b) compared to modern life while the Natural History exhibition gave the visitor some samples of ecology, systematic and behavioural patterns in the plant and animal life in relation to man in Zambia and his environment.⁹³

The history exhibition mounted was broad based compared to the previous one, which focused more on the political history. The new exhibition included other dimensions such as cultural, social and economic history of the country. For the first time in the history of the Museum, exhibits reflecting Asian contribution to the history of Zambia were displayed. A hammock (*machila*) in which colonial administrative government administrative officers were carried during their tours of rural areas was also displayed. Photographs showing colonial administrative officers, with, in some cases their spouses, being carried in the hammocks or on the back of African men, complemented the hammock display. A montage showing some eminent personalities in the cultural, social, economic and political development of the country from the pre-colonial period to about 2001 was among the displays. The social, economic and political developments during President Chiluba’s era, 1991 to 2001, were also highlighted.⁹⁴

The exhibits on David Livingstone were removed from the main History Gallery to form a new Gallery, “The David Livingstone Gallery.” This Gallery

presented in detail the life and works of David Livingstone (for examples of displays in this Gallery, see Appendix XV). Emphasis was on his missionary and exploratory expeditions in southern and central Africa and events after his death up to his burial at Westminster Abbey in London in 1874. However, David Livingstone, particularly as he was reflected in the old exhibition was unpopular among the local visitors and even some foreign visitors who saw him as a precursor of colonialism. This was evidenced by Mungoni Sitali's survey on the opinion of Zambian and Foreign visitors pertaining to Museum exhibitions at Livingstone Museum. Regarding the David Livingstone exhibition, he noted that:

They believe that the exhibition on the late missionary-explorer is too neat as evidence abounds that the missionary paved the way for colonialism in Africa. This, they say has been underplayed at the Livingstone Museum exhibitions. . . . Respondents expressed to see. . . . Dr. David Livingstone's role in the exposure and colonisation of this country and change of his roles can be interesting.⁹⁵

In 1995, Douglas McArthur had made similar observations. He scornfully noted that: "While recent books have questioned Livingstone's accomplishments as a missionary and explorer, his namesake museum still treats him as a hero."⁹⁶

In view of the above, the new David Livingstone exhibition included exhibits that took on board comments made by members of the public. Thus, among the exhibits included was a copy of the letter David Livingstone wrote in 1958 to his friend Professor Freire Sedridge in which he confided to him his ulterior imperial motives for his African explorations.⁹⁷ A copy of a photograph in which Livingstone is shown together with his friend, Vardom, a hunter and trader (see Appendix VIIIa), who he first met in the 1850s, was also exhibited. In the photograph, a rhinoceros horn is also shown. David Livingstone is believed to have corresponded with Vardom up to 1873, the year he died. The exhibit questioned the motive behind Livingstone's

companionship with a hunter-trader for the rest of his life. However, it was left to individual members of the public to make their own interpretations.

Undoubtedly, it is too early to conclusively assess the impact of the new permanent exhibitions on the public due to the short period between the time they were opened to the public, 2004 and the end of the time frame for this study, 2006. Nonetheless, the book, *Zambia, Then and Now: Colonial Rulers and their African Successors*⁹⁸ authored by William D. Grant, a historian and former colonial District Commissioner in Kasempa, Northwestern Zambia, who visited the country in 2006, forty eight years after his first arrival in the country gives a glimpse of the type of reactions expected from visitors to the exhibitions. In the book, Grant included a brief analysis of the Museum's new exhibitions, which he visited on 22 July 2006. He glowingly praised them and was impressed with the Prehistory, Precolonial and the Natural History exhibitions. In part, he noted: "I found particularly interesting the Africans' copper mining and smelting initiatives . . . some as early as the twelfth century. The other part of the Museum was the David Livingstone Gallery, which offered a comprehensive study of his several explorations, with facsimile copies of his letters and extracts from his journals."⁹⁹ Although the new exhibitions had more information on the colonial and post-colonial eras compared to previous post-colonial period permanent exhibitions, Grant observed that information in the new exhibitions on the two eras was inadequate.¹⁰⁰

The criticism is understandable, particularly as a former colonial officer. Most probably, he expected to see minute details of colonial activities to which he contributed as a participant in the colonial administration. He also expected to see detailed information regarding post-colonial developments so that he could compare them to developments concerning the colonial period. This explains the choice of the

title of his book, *Zambia, Then and Now: Colonial Rulers and their African Successors*.

A museum is one of the places where one could obtain cultural and historical information of a country at a glance. Grant was therefore disappointed that the exhibitions at the Livingstone Museum could not provide him with much of the cultural and historical data on colonial and post-colonial Zambia, which he so much needed, most probably, for his book. However, it is difficult for any museum to put up an exhibition that contained all information regarding themes on display due to among other things, limitation of space.

Grant also attempted to compare the Livingstone Museum's exhibitions with those at Lusaka National Museum, which he visited earlier on 27 June 2006.¹⁰¹ He found the Livingstone Museum exhibitions more interesting and professionally done than those at the Lusaka National Museum. In reference to the Livingstone Museum, he noted: "It was light-years better than the so-called 'National' Museum, in the capital, Lusaka. Its scope was still limited, but their [its] presentations were interesting and very professional. It was well worth the US \$5 entrance fee."¹⁰²

Owing to the newness of the exhibitions, it was not possible to obtain sufficient data on their impact to the public. However, arising from Grant's observations and those in the Museum's Visitors' Comments Books for 2004 to 2006¹⁰³, though, generally, not detailed and critical¹⁰⁴ enough, compared to those in newspapers¹⁰⁵ or books¹⁰⁶, they have certainly been appreciated by members of the public. For some years to come, they are likely to play a positive impact on educating members of the public on the cultural and historical heritage of Zambia.

Conclusion

Both the colonial and post-colonial governments used the Livingstone Museum as a tool to advance their political agendas. During the colonial period, exhibitions mounted by the Museum were guided by European needs and thinking of the time. Thus, the exhibitions carried out were skewed towards the projection of Africans as a backward and ahistorical people. This was done so as to legitimise colonial rule in the territory on the pretext of serving Africans from their 'primitive' way of life as evidenced from their 'primitive' material culture. Similarly, exhibitions mounted by the Museum during the post-colonial period were tilted towards highlighting the government's agenda of disseminating information on the cultural and historical heritage of the country and its ideas of building a country based on national unity and development through cultural diversity.

Exhibitions mounted by the Museum are significant in that they disseminated information relevant to the understanding of Zambian history to a wider audience, which included both the literate and non-literate. For example, exhibitions mounted during the colonial period provided information to museum visitors on the nature of colonial rule, particularly as regards European prejudices against Africans while those mounted during the post-colonial period provided significant knowledge on areas such as pre-colonial centralised and amorphous African states; social, economic and political conditions in the country during the colonial era; the struggle for independence; post-colonial governments and cultural, social, economic and political conditions obtained in the country up to 2006. In this way, exhibitions mounted at the Livingstone Museum from 1934 to 2006 did not only make the Museum an enormous valuable learning or educational centre where exhibitions were the "history text

books” and exhibits the “texts” understood by museum visitors but also played a significant role in educating the Zambian people on their culture and history.

While providing information on different aspects of the history of Zambia to varied audiences, exhibitions mounted have publicised researches made at the Museum both nationally and internationally. This put the country on the world map thereby making a contribution to world history. Additionally, collections made during research activities and ultimately used as exhibits during exhibitions provide physical evidence on different aspects of Zambia’s history and are significant in the reconstruction of Zambian history. They provided a past in which the Zambian people could participate and take pride of their collective memory.

ENDNOTES

¹Joule D. Prown, "Mind in Matter: Introduction to Material Culture and Method", n.c, n.p., n.d. p. 8.

²J. Desmond Clark, "The Museum as a Public Service, Memorandum by the Curator (J. Desmond Clark) on a future Policy for the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum as accepted by the Trustees", *The Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 4 (December, 1945), p. 41; and LMA, Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, "The Original Policy of the Museum", *NMNR Annual Report for the Period 1st January to 31st December, 1953*, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1954), p. 27.

³Clark, "The Museum as a Public Service, pp. 44-45; and Max Gluckman, "The Seven Year Research Plan of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute" *The Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 4 (December, 1945), p. 29.

⁴LMA, Museum Development Plans and Appeals, 5/12/52, A Ten-Year Development Plan for the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, pp. 1-2.

⁵LMA, Museum Development Plans and Appeals, 5/12/52, A Ten-Year Development Plan for the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, pp. 1-2.

⁶Herbert Sanslmayr, "Museums and Liberation", Paper presented at the Southern African Development Coordinating Committee (SADCC) Museums Conference held in Livingstone, Zambia, 13-18 June, 1988, p. 2. Some of the collections made during early colonial Zambia are listed in the numerous correspondence by DCs and PCs to the SNA located in the 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.

⁷LMA, Museum Development Plans and Appeals, 5/12/52, A Ten-Year Development Plan for the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, p. 2.

⁸J.D. Clark, "The Inception and Aims of the David Livingstone Memorial Museum", *Northern Rhodesia, Museum Journal*, 39, I (April 1939), p. 17.

⁹Clark, "The Inception and Aims of the David Livingstone Memorial Museum", p. 17.

¹⁰Clark, "The Inception and Aims", p. 17; J. D. Clark, "Report of the Progress Made by the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum during the initial years, 1938-1940", pp. 9-10; in *Director's Report to the Trustees of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute on the Work of the First Three Years (1938-9-40)*; and A.A.L., "The Livingstone Museum", *The Livingstone Mail*, 3 September 1943, p. 1.

¹¹Clark, "The Inception and Aims", p. 17.

¹²Clark, "The Inception and Aims", p. 17; and A.A.L., "The Livingstone Museum", p. 1.

¹³Clark, "The Inception and Aims", p. 17; Clark, "Report of the Progress Made by the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum during the initial years, 1938-1940", pp. 9-10, and A.A.L., "The Livingstone Museum", p. 1.

¹⁴Clark, "The Inception and Aims", p. 17; Clark, "Report of the Progress Made by the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum during the initial years, 1938-1940", pp. 9-10; and A.A.L., "The Livingstone Museum", p. 1.

¹⁵Clark, "The Inception and Aims", p. 17, and "Report of the Progress Made by the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum during the initial years, 1938-1940", pp. 9-10; and A.A.L., "The Livingstone Museum", p. 1.

¹⁶Clark, "The Inception and Aims", p. 17; and A.A.L., "The Livingstone Museum", p. 1.

¹⁷Clark, "The Inception and Aims of the David Livingstone Memorial Museum", p. 17; and A.A.L., "The Livingstone Museum", p. 1.

¹⁸LMA, Newspaper Cuttings file, "Research in Central Africa", *The Times*, 30 June, 1937.

¹⁹Fage, "The development of African Historiography", pp. 30-37.

²⁰Abdul Sheriff and Paul Voogt with Mubiana Luhila, *The Zanzibar House of Wonders Museum: Self reliance and Partinership: A Case Study in Culture and Development* (n. c. : KIT Publishers, n.d.), p. 20.

²¹Sheriff and Voogt with Mubiana, *The Zanzibar House of Wonders Museum: Self-reliance and Partnership*, p. 20.

²²See, Gann, *A History of Northern Rhodesia*; Roberts, *A History of Zambia*.

²³LMA, Newspaper Cuttings File, J. D. Clark, "A Modern Museum in Central Africa: Problems of Organisation", *The Times, British Colonies Review* (Summer 1953), p. 29; and NRG, *NMNR: The Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, 1934-1951*, pp. 11-13.

²⁴LMA, NRG, *NMNR: The Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, 1934-1951*, pp. 11-13.

²⁵See Layout plan in NAZ, SP1/4/16, 1958-66, Minutes of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, File No. Mus ½, Vol. III, Loc. 3031: Rhodes-Livingstone Museum New Scheme for Historical Gallery.

²⁶NAZ, SP1/1/32, David Livingstone Centenary (Discovery of the Victoria Falls), n.d. Memo from dated 1 October 1955 from PC, Southern Province to Resident Commissioner, Barotseland Protectorate, PCs, Northern, Eastern, Central and North-Western Provinces and copied to SNA.

²⁷Anon, "The Rhodesias at the Exhibition", *The Star, Johannesburg, Transvaal*, 21 September 1936, p. 12; for details, see, Jennifer Robinson, "Johannesburg's 1936 Empire Exhibition: Interaction and Modernising in a South African City", *Journal of South African Studies*, 29, 3 (September 2003), pp. 759-89.

²⁸For details, see Jennifer Robinson, "Johannesburg's 1936 Empire Exhibition: Interaction and Modernising in a South African City."

²⁹For details, see C. Rassol and L. Witze, "The 1952 Jan Van Riebeeck Tercentenary Festival: Constructing and Contesting Public National History in South Africa", *The Journal of African History*, 34, 3 (1993), pp. 447-468 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/183102>. Accessed, 18 December 2008.

³⁰For details, see Allister K. Shutt and Tony King, "Imperial Rhodesians: The 1953 Rhodes Centenary Exhibition in Southern Rhodesia", *Journal of Southern African History*, 31, 2 (June 2005), pp. 357-379.

³¹Anon, "Her Majesty Opens the Rhodes Centenary Exhibition before a crowd of 25,000: Queen sends Message from London - Special cheer at Queen's Ground for arrival of Northern Rhodesia's Governor", *The Livingstone Mail*, 7 July 1953, p.1. At this exhibition the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum presented an exhibition entitled, "The History of Northern Rhodesia Told as a Series of Ten Dioramas by the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum." Ranford Sililo made the Dioramas based on the storyline written by J. Desmond Clark. See LMA, File No.123, Rhodes-Centenary Exhibition, Ref. 99, "The History of Northern Rhodesia told as a Series of Ten Dioramas by the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum", and Ref. 111, "The Story behind the Exhibits, Northern Rhodesia: Central African Rhodes Centenary Exhibition, Bulawayo, 1953"; and Minutes of a Meeting held at 0900hrs on Wednesday, 6 February 1952 at the Secretariate, Lusaka, to Consider Participation by Government Departments in the Central African Rhodes Centenary Exhibition, 1953, pp. 1-5; and Interview, Ranford Sililo, 22 January 2006, Livingstone.

³²Anon, "The History of Northern Rhodesia told in a series of ten dioramas – The Rhodes-Livingstone Museum Exhibit at the Centenary Exhibition", *The Livingstone Mail*, 1 June 1953, p. 6.

³³LMA, Mail, Reporter, "What Livingstone Means to Rhodesia", *The Chronicle*, 24 June 1955, p.24; Mail Reporter, "Mayor Opens Livingstone Centenary Exhibition- Life of Missionary Explorer Portrayed", *The Livingstone Mail*, 1 June 1955, p. 1; and NAZ, SP1/1/34, David Livingstone Centenary (Discovery of the Victoria Falls, n. d. See Memo No. 1730A/939 dated 1 October 1955, from PC, Southern Province to Resident Commissioner, Barotseland Protectorate, PC, Northern, Eastern, Central and North-western Provinces and copied to the SNA.

³⁴For details regarding the exhibition, see LMA, Box file No. 4, MN10/25/3/9, *David Livingstone Centenary Exhibition: Discovery of the Victoria Falls, 1 June to 31 August 1955* (Livingstone: The Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, 1955); and *Livingstone Museum, A Brief Guide to the David Livingstone Collection in the Livingstone Museum*, revd. ed. The National Museum Board of Zambia, n.d.

³⁵LMA, NRG, *The Rhodes-Livingstone Museum Annual Report for the Period 1 January to 31 December, 1956* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1957), p. 11.

³⁶LMA, Anon, “Witchcraft and Cannibalism in N.R. not yet Stamped out – Biggest Investigation in History of Territory”, *The Livingstone Mail*, 1 June 1957, p.1. NRG, *The Rhodes-Livingstone Museum Annual Report for the Period 1 January to 31 December 1957*, pp. 32-33.

³⁷LMA, NRG, *Rhodes-Livingstone Museum Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 Decembe, 1961* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1962), pp.43-45.

³⁸LMA, NRG, *Rhodes-Livingstone Museum Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1961*, p. 45.

³⁹Anon, “Museum Sending Exhibition to Ndola”, *The Livingstone Mail*, 20 April 1962, p. 5.

⁴⁰LMA, GRZ, *Rhodes-Livingstone Museum Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1964*, p. 29.

⁴¹LMA, NRG, *Rhodes-Livingstone Museum Annual Report the period 1 January to 31 December 1961*, pp. 43-45.

⁴²LMA, NRG, *Rhodes-Livingstone Museum Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 Decembe, 1964*, p. 29.

⁴³LMA, GRZ, *Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December, 1964*, p. 6; and Museum Development Plans and Appeals, Livingstone Museum - Five Years Development Plan, 1972 – 1976, p.2.

⁴⁴LMA, GRZ, *Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, Annual Report for the period 1 January to 31 December 1964*, p. 6; and LMA, Museum Development Plans and Appeals, Livingstone Museum- Five Years Development Plan, 1972 – 1976, p. 2.

⁴⁵See, LMA, *Exhibition of Zambian Culture, Lusaka, 19 October to 30 November 1964* (n.c: n.p., nd.)

⁴⁶LMA, *Exhibition of Zambian Culture – Lusaka, 19 October – 30 November*, p.7.

⁴⁷LMA, *Zambia, October 24, 1964, International Art Exhibition*, Lusaka, 19 October to 30 November 1964.

⁴⁸LMA, Index No. H1/38, Acc. No. 9173/1296: *Exhibition of Modern Zambian Sculptural Art*, (Lusaka, 15-28 August 1966).

⁴⁹LMA, *First World Festival of Negro Arts: Art and Dances from Zambia*, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1966).

⁵⁰LMA, GRZ, *The National Museums Board Annual Report for the Period 1 January to 31 December 1970*, p.7.

⁵¹LMA, GRZ, *The National Museums Board Annual Report for the Period 1 January to 31 December 1970*, p.7.

⁵²LMA, GRZ, *The National Museums Board Annual Report for the Period 1 January to 31 December 1969*, p.7.

⁵³LMA, GRZ, *The National Museums Board Annual Report for the Period 1 January to 31 December 1969*, p.7.

⁵⁴LMA, M/T/5, Opening of New Galleries, 1969: Speech of the Chairman of the NMB at the opening of the new History at Livingstone Museum on 9 September 1971; and GRZ, *The National Museums Board Annual Report for the Period 1 January to 31 December 1969*, pp. 6-7.

⁵⁵LMA, M/T/5, Opening of New Galleries, 1969: Speech of the Chairman of the NMB at the opening of the new History at Livingstone Museum on 9 September 1971, p. 1.

⁵⁶LMA, GRZ, *The National Museums Board Annual Report for the Period 1 January to 31 December 1969*, pp. 6-7; GM, "New Look Museum", *Z Magazine*, Zambia edn. (October, 1969), p. 8; and Chellah, "The National Museum of Zambia, Livingstone", *Museum* pp. 128-129.

⁵⁷LMA, Joseph O. Vogel, "The Archaeology" in J.O. Vogel (ed.), *A Guide to the Livingstone Museum* (Livingstone: Livingstone Museum, 1975), p. 13; and R. Nsakanya, "Guide to the Livingstone Museum", paper presented at the SADCC Museums Conference held in Livingstone, Zambia, 13 – 17 June 1988, p. 3.

⁵⁸LMA, Vogel, "The Archaeology", p. 13; and Nsakanya, "Guide to the Livingstone Museum", p. 3.

⁵⁹LMA, "Vogel, The Archaeology", p. 13; and Nsakanya, "Guide to the Livingstone Museum", p. 2.

⁶⁰Mataa, "The History Gallery", in J.O. Vogel, (ed.), *A Guide to the Livingstone Museum*, pp. 33-36; and Nsakanya, "Guide to the Livingstone Museum", p. 3.

⁶¹Mataa, "The History Gallery", pp. 33-36; and Nsakanya, *Guide to the Livingstone Museum*, p. 3.

⁶²Mataa, "The History Gallery", pp. 33-36; Nsakanya, *Guide to the Livingstone Museum*, p. 3.

⁶³LMA, R.N.A. Chakanika, "Ethnography and Art Gallery", in J.O. Vogel, (ed.), *A Guide to the Livingstone Museum*, p. 25.

⁶⁴Chakanika, “Ethnography and Art Gallery”, p. 25; and Nsakanya, “Guide to the Livingstone Museum”, p. 2.

⁶⁵Nsakanya, “Guide to the Livingstone Museum”, p. 2.

⁶⁶Interview, Muzala Chipango, 7 May 2007, Livingstone.

⁶⁷Chipango, Livingstone.

⁶⁸Interview, Harishchandra. B. Oza, 6 July 2002, Lusaka.

⁶⁹Interview, George Grubb, 9 May 2007, Livingstone.

⁷⁰Grubb, Livingstone.

⁷¹Interviews, J. R. Nayee 12 May 2007, Livingstone; and R. S. Nayee, 14 May 2007, Livingstone.

⁷²Anon, “L/stone Museum ticked-off”, *Zambia Daily Mail*, 21 May 1986.

⁷³Anon, “L/stone Museum ticked-off”, *Zambia Daily Mail*.

⁷⁴Anon, “L/stone Museum ticked-off.”

⁷⁵Mwelwa Musambachime, “Mining Museum – An absolute Necessity”, *Zambia Daily Mail*, 11 November 1993, p. 6.

⁷⁶LMA, GRZ, *National Museums Board Annual Report 1994* (Livingstone: National Museum Board Secretariat), p. 8.

⁷⁷LMA, GRZ, *National Museums Board Annual Report 1994*, p.8; and *National Museums Board Annual Report 1995* (Livingstone: National Museum Board Secretariat), p. 7.

⁷⁸For details, see LMA, Flexon M. Mizinga, Storyline for the Exhibition, “Follow the Steps in Zambia’s History.”

⁷⁹Douglas McArthur, “Colonialism assailed at the Museum”, *The Globe and Mail Travel*, 26 July 1995, p. D.

⁸⁰McArthur, “Colonialism assailed at the Museum”, p. D5.

⁸¹McArthur, “Colonialism assailed at the Museum”, p. D5.

⁸²McArthur, “Colonialism assailed at the Museum”, p. D5.

⁸³McArthur, “Colonialism assailed at the Museum”, p. D.

⁸⁴Liywalii Mushokabanji, “The Changing contribution”, p. 40.

⁸⁵For details, see D.W. Phillipson, *Exhibition Catalogue – Prehistoric Rock Paintings and Engravings* (Livingstone: Livingstone Museum, 1972).

⁸⁶LMA, NMB, “Witchcraft Exhibition: Temporary Exhibition Gallery” (Livingstone: Livingstone Museum, 1982).

⁸⁷LMA, F. Musonda, “Special Witchcraft Exhibit: Lilomba” (Livingstone: Livingstone Museum, 1987).

⁸⁸LMA, F. Mufuzi “The History of the Asian Community in Livingstone Exhibition” (Livingstone: Livingstone Museum, 2002).

⁸⁹LMA, Mungoni Sitali, “Livingstone more than a Missionary . . . a Colonialist”, *International Council of Museums (ICOM) Zambia Newsletter*, 1 June 1996.

⁹⁰Sitali, “Livingstone more than a Missionary”, p. 1.

⁹¹Sitali, “Livingstone more than a Missionary”, p. 1.

⁹²Chibwe Imasiku, “L/stone Museum at the heart of Zambia’s tourism”, Tourism Supplement, *The Post*, 22 September 2002, p. xii.

⁹³Stanford Siachoono, “Livingstone Museum Re-opens its Doors to the Public”, *Zambia Traveller Magazine*, 29 January/February 2005, pp. 36 – 37; and Imasiku, “L/stone Museum at the heart of Zambia’s tourism”, p. xii.

⁹⁴For details, see F. Mufuzi, “The Story of Man in Zambia Exhibition”, 2004.

⁹⁵Sitali, “Livingstone more than a Missionary”, p. 1.

⁹⁶McArthur, “Colonialism assailed at the Museum”, *The Globe and Mail Travel*, 26 July 1995, p. D1.

⁹⁷For details of this letter see, Timothy Holmes, (ed.), *David Livingstone Letters and Documents, 1841-1872* (London: James Currey, 1990), pp. 49 - 50. The book was published on behalf of the Museum. It contains the Zambian Collection at the Museum on David Livingstone which was previously unknown or unpublished.

⁹⁸William D. Grant, *Zambia, Then and Now: Colonial Rulers and their African Successors* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009).

⁹⁹Grant, *Zambia, Then and Now: Colonial Rulers and their African Successors*, p. 269.

¹⁰⁰Grant, *Zambia, Then and Now: Colonial Rulers and their African Successors*, p. 269.

¹⁰¹Grant, *Zambia, Then and Now: Colonial Rulers and their African Successors*, pp. 186-187.

¹⁰²Grant, *Zambia, Then and Now: Colonial Rulers and their African Successors*, p. 269.

¹⁰³For instance, Demetris Michael, who visited and examined the exhibitions in the Museum for four hours on 8th October 2004 noted that they very educational and gave a well articulated history of the country before and since independence. John W. D. Clark from England and son of the Museum's first Director, J. Desmond Clark, on 15 August 2005 noted that he was last at the Museum in 1963 before his father left Zambia. Regarding the Museum and its exhibitions, he observed that his father would have been proud of what the Livingstone Museum was today. For all the forenoted, see LMA, Livingstone Museum Visitors' Comments Book, 8 October 2004 to 20 March 2006. Felicity Lubinda and Euphemia Milambo, who visited the Museum on 9 December 2006 noted that the Museum's exhibitions contained information, which was useful especially to young Zambians. They also indicated that exhibits were well arranged and showed the rich culture and history that the country had. See LMA, Livingstone Museum Visitors' Comments Book, 14 December 2006 to 2 January 2008.

¹⁰⁴A few comments were however quite critical, educative, insightful and challenged the Museum to do more research on exhibits before putting them on display. Such comments included those of Brandon Reed of the USA, Lawrence Dritrus of Scotland and Joan Haig (Zambia). For instance, on 18 June 2006, Reed disputed the correctness of the picture used to present the Neanderthalman in the Museum. He argued that the image in the picture looked like a San Bushman. In part, Reed noted: "I think this is incorrect, because, as far as I have seen at other Museums in the USA and Johannesburg, Neanderthalman does not look like any of the San (which are considered Homo Sapiens Sapiens). Also, according to the newest theory, Homo Sapiens evolved separately from Neanderthals; they (Homo Sapiens) came out of Africa to Europe where Neanderthals already were, then (and this is the theory) Homo Sapiens either took up all of their resources or came into conflict with them, whereby they eventually became extinct." On 4 December, 2006, Dritrus noted thus: "I was interested in the contrast between 'Our Village' and 'Their Town.' It was curious that the town was not presented as something that was Zambian in the same way as the village. I very much enjoyed the history galleries. I only wish the original letters of other historical figures were available to view like those of Livingstone." Also on 4 December 2006, Haig, noted thus: "I think that in some areas . . .the divide between 'traditional' and 'modern life' is very harsh – e.g. that deforestation is brought about by modernism, when it is largely rural, traditional communities who cut down trees for livelihood." See all the above in LMA, Livingstone Museum Visitors' Comments Book, 7 April to 4 December 2006.

¹⁰⁵Douglas McArthur, "Colonialism Assailed at the Museum", *The Globe and Mail Travel*, 26 July 1995, pp. D and D5; and Mungoni Sitali, "Livingstone more than a Missionary . . . a Colonialist", *ICOM Zambia Newsletter*, 1 (June 1996), p. 1.

¹⁰⁶Grant, *Zambia, Then and Now: Colonial Rulers and their African Successors*, pp. 186-187 and 262.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

On the basis of the evidence presented in this study, it has been established that the Livingstone Museum has played a valuable role in the generation and presentation of knowledge relevant to *Zambian* history, thereby contributing to our understanding of the history of *Zambia* as well as the value and role of public history as practiced in museums to academic history. Its contributions are registered in the numerous collections significant to the country's historical heritage that it made and preserved for posterity as well as researches it undertook on various themes regarding the culture and history of *Zambia*. The materials collected such as three-dimensional objects, archives, photographs and paintings are a physical evidence of *Zambia's* rich cultural heritage and provide valuable data essential in the reconstruction of the country's history. Similarly, the Museum's researches have provided cultural and historical information on the people that have inhabited *Zambia* from the prehistoric period to the present and have contributed data that has been used in the writing of different strands of the historiography of the history of *Zambia* that emerged from time to time.

European penetration into *Zambia* in the 18th century brought a lot of challenges with respect to the country's cultural and historical heritage. A lot of objects of historical significance were taken to museums in Europe and America. The advent of colonialism worsened the situation as in addition to the continued expatriation of the country's cultural heritage to the outside world, the local people resorted to the use of European factory produced goods rather than continue manufacturing traditional wares and utensils for their use. This resulted in the systematic reduction of material culture of the various ethnic groups in the country.

The enactment of the Northern Rhodesia Bushmen Relics Proclamation of 1912, and the Preservation of Archaeological Ordinance, 1930, which, though not tailored for museum purposes, formed a foundation on which movable heritage materials were collected, managed and preserved thereby, arresting the further loss of heritage materials.

During the colonial period white people had a negative perception towards objects made by Africans for their use. The white settler researcher collected artefacts in order to justify that he was in the field. Attention was not made on the uses and significance of objects. Objects were often seen as pieces of primitive art and as evidence to show the primitive nature of Africans, and, in this way, disregarded the context in which they were produced. This was done so as to justify colonialism in the area. As far as European settlers were concerned, colonialism saved Africans from their primitive ways of life. Much of the collections made were mainly archaeological and ethnological in nature. Few historical collections were made. This was because the Museum developed as a social-anthropological institution specialised in the collection of archaeological and ethnological objects. Consequently, researchers employed during the formative years of the Museum up to the late 1950s were specialists in stone archaeology and ethnography.

Tribal histories collected and translations of the vernacular histories supplied by the Publications Bureau of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland provided a synopsis of tribal history in Northern Rhodesia in the light of historical record elucidated by ethnological and archaeological evidence. They are useful in the understanding of the History of Zambia from the point of view of the local people and have been widely consulted by scholars writing on ethnic histories in Zambia and related historical themes.

Since the establishment of the Livingstone Museum in 1934 up to the end of its timeframe in 2006, only two pieces of legislation specifically tailored for the Museum in respect to the management of the country's movable heritage were enacted. These were the Rhodes-Livingstone Ordinance 17 of 1946 and the National Museums Act Cap 267 of 1966, which replaced the 1946 legislation and established the National Museums Board of Zambia (NMB). The latter legislation though enacted during the post-colonial period did not differ significantly from the earlier piece of legislation.

Just as was the case with the Rhodes-Livingstone Ordinance 17 of 1946, the NMB Act Cap 267 of 1966, was inadequate in that it only allowed the NMB supervisory roles on the management, protection and preservation of movable heritage. It did not empower it with the 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 situation endangered the preservation of movable heritage for posterity. Undoubtedly, though so far such an occurrence has not been reported, it could still happen and if it did, it would result into a considerable loss of objects significant to the history of the country through collectors and private museums.

Cultural and historical resources are irreplaceable once lost and yet important in the promotion of national identity and historical and cultural awareness of the people in any country. They are also valuable in the reconstruction of a nation's history. It is therefore imperative that government strengthens legislation that protects cultural heritage in order to ensure its long life and lessen the chances of its loss to posterity. The Museum legislation need to be empowered with a clause that allows it to confiscate materials it considered important for preservation for posterity just as the

National Heritage Conservation Commission law allowed it to declare any site it considered important for preservation as a heritage site.

Further, the study has revealed that for the Livingstone Museum to carry out excavations or obtain movable materials found *in situ* on heritage sites, it needed permission from the NHCC. Although so far there has never been an instance where NHCC prevented Livingstone Museum from conducting excavations on its sites, this situation cannot be guaranteed and therefore can potentially hamper the Museum's ability to execute its mandated functions, particularly of acquiring objects of historical significance to the country for preservation, study and exhibitions. To redress the situation, this study proposes the merging of the two institutions, National Museums and the Heritage Conservation Commission, under which the custody of Zambia's immovable heritage fall, thereby forming a single body and legislation. The body could be titled, "Museums and Heritage Commission", or any other suitable title. In the proposed heritage body, the two segments, National Museums and the Heritage Conservation Commission should operate as separate entities in which each entity would continue undertaking the functions for which it was created but controlled by the same Act or legislation.

In order to maintain high standards in the management and development of the country's movable and immovable heritage, the study proposes the creation of an independent body or authority, under the title, "Museums and Heritage Authority", whose main task would be the overseeing of activities of both the National Museums and the National Heritage Conservation Commission. This would ensure the maintenance of accepted standards in the management of materials significant to the country's cultural and historical heritage; thereby guarantee their preservation for posterity.

During the period when Directors with doctoral credentials, whether European or African, led the Livingstone Museum, most of its research staff possessed doctoral qualifications in their specialities or were studying for such qualifications. The Museum also carried out numerous researches and publications. Directors who led the Museum from 1979 to the end of the time frame for this study did not have doctoral qualifications. By the 1990s, only one researcher, who in 1991 became Director Lusaka National Museum Project and later, the Chief Executive of the NMB, thereby removing him from active research, had a doctoral qualification. In this period research activities at the Museum were at the lowest ebb.

Funding to the Livingstone Museum since its inception has not been adequate. It is true therefore that although the issue of funding is a fact in hampering research activities, it was daunting even during the formative period when J. Desmond Clark was the first Director. In fact, he had to use his personal financial resources and transport when he excavated the lower Zambezi in the Victoria Falls area. Most of the major researches the Museum conducted were through funding from cooperating partners; for instance, the Kalambo Falls excavation was partly financed by the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research based in New York while the Kalomo/Choma Iron Age research project was financed by a grant from Nuffield Foundation. Undoubtedly, the Museum received such grants on the basis of the academic and research credentials of its chief executives and researchers. It would appear that the financiers were convinced that the researchers were well grounded in the mechanics of research and would be able to complete the research projects successfully. Thus, to revitalise the Museum's research activities and international reputation it enjoyed through its many years of existence as a research institution, the Government through the NMB should endeavour to build the research capacity of the

people it recruits and trains to the doctoral level. Alternatively, it should recruit researchers with a good track record in research and publications. In order to attract such researchers, it should put in place a competitive remuneration package.

During the colonial period, the Museum was often called upon by the Government to execute its tasks. For instance, in 1957, the Museum was tasked to investigate witchcraft practices that came to light in Barotseland (Western Province) from 1957 to 1958. This led to the prosecution of suspected witches and a comprehensive study of witchcraft practices in the province. The investigation yielded valuable information, which government officers such as magistrates and District Commissioners used in the course of their duties while confiscated witchcraft objects were donated to the Museum for preservation and further study. This aspect was missing during the post-colonial period. This is because the Government had new priorities in the new nation such as the eradication of poverty, development of human resource and infrastructure in areas such as agriculture, education and health.

Based on data from this study, it is evident that during the colonial period, senior Government officers such as District Officers, Secretary for Native Affairs, District and Provincial Commissioners, Resident Commissioner of Barotseland Protectorate up to the Governor of the Territory paid particular attention to affairs of the Museum. Government officers donated a lot of collections, particularly ethnological and historical collections to the Museum. On the other hand, senior officers in the post-colonial government paid little attention to the affairs of the Museum due to the shift in administrative paradigm. The new Government left the task of the preservation of objects solely in the preserve of museum professionals in order to enable the Government concentrate on issues such as the eradication of

poverty, development of human resource and infrastructure in the education, health and agriculture sectors. As a result, more collections were made during the colonial period compared to the post-colonial era.

The policy of the Museum was to collect objects from all parts of the country so that museum collections were representative of the culture and history of the country. However, collections were not national because of lack of adequate funding and staff to conduct research and make collections all over the country. Because of insufficient funding, adequate transport could not be acquired and this limited the mobility of the few researchers available to make national collections. As a result, policy on national collections was not adequately fulfilled. Much of the collections made were those in the proximity of the Museum such as the Southern and Western Provinces. Few collections were made from the Eastern and Central Provinces. Collections made in northern Zambia were mainly through Moto Moto Museum. This situation tended to bias the distribution of aspects of Zambian history known through the Livingstone Museum studies to areas within easy reach of the Museum. The non-representative of collections made regarding the culture and history of the country was also due to the interest of the museum researchers available. For instance, Barrie Reynolds was interested in researching witchcraft in western Zambia while Desmond Clark's interest was in Stone Age technology in the Victoria Falls region in southern Zambia and the Kalambo Falls in northern Zambia.

The Museum as a national institution was not centrally located but at the far southern corner of the country and this made it difficult for researchers to reach far flung areas such as the northern or eastern end of the country except where researchers had a special interest. To make a representative collection, more museums should be

established and adequate funding made for research, collections and collection management.

During the colonial period, researchers conducted more researches compared to the post-colonial period. This was because researchers concentrated more on their research activities while exhibitions were a responsibility of technical officers. Researchers simply provided information on exhibitions while technical officers executed exhibitions based on the information provided by researchers. Thus, researchers had ample time to conduct research and write articles for publications either in journals or book form.

On the other hand, during the post colonial period, particularly following the restructuring of the institution after the mid-1990s which saw the abolishing of the office of technical officer, researchers were reduced to mere curators looking after collections made, thus impinging their professional development as researchers.

This study has underpinned the need for a Museum to have a progressive, well-articulated and accepted policy framework for it to have a meaningful development and impact on the public. As a result of the Livingstone Museum's 1943-1952 and 1953-1962 policy frameworks devised by Desmond Clark and accepted by the Museum Trustees, Livingstone Museum developed tremendously. The two policy frameworks led to the collection and preservation of a large number of artefacts, the undertaking of numerous researches, publications, and exhibitions as well as a well-developed infrastructure, which formed the basis for the Museum's development during the post-colonial period.

The study also revealed that history in a museum was a construct and that the manner in which it was presented was inherently a political statement and what constituted history was reflected in the values and attitudes of those who interpreted it.

Thus, managing a museum meant deciding a story the museum will tell and implementing the decision by orchestrating research, exhibits and interpretation. Thus, during the colonial period, exhibitions mounted at the Livingstone Museum reflected the polity of the period. Consequently, exhibitions mounted were Eurocentric. They presented Africans as though they had little or no history till the coming of Europeans thereby reflecting the supremacy of the European race and the backwardness of Africans. In so doing, they justified and legitimised colonial rule in the country. On the other hand, during the post-colonial period, they were Afrocentric, thereby reflecting a paradigm shift in the political governance of the country from European to African rule.

Museums, collections and exhibitions are products and agents of social change and that a museum has the potential in propagating government policy to government officers and members of the public. This is reflected in the way both the colonial and post-colonial Government Administrators used the Livingstone Museum. The Colonial Administrators used the Museum to generate information for use by government officers and the settler community. Realising that to become effective administrators, they needed to be knowledgeable in the African past and institutions to understand the people they were ruling, the Museum, particularly during the early years of colonial rule, undertook researches on the political institutions, culture and customs of the various Zambian ethnic groups.

Likewise, realising that colonialism divided the Zambian people along ethnic lines as well as alienating them from their African identity, during the post-colonial period, nationalist leaders, particularly during the early years of independence, used the Museum to propagate its agenda of achieving national unity, pride, identity and development through the country's cultural and historical diversity of its peoples.

Though no Government official forced the Museum to do so, as a Government institution, it was expected to follow Government policy. Consequently, most of the displays it mounted focused on the promotion of unity among the country's diverse ethnic groups. By so doing, it was hoped that conflicts among people would be reduced while political stability and economic development would be ensured.

Although no study so far has been conducted to find out whether or not the Livingstone Museum activities made during the post-colonial period, particularly the early part, contributed in fostering peace and national unity, this author suggests that it did. The publications and exhibitions in particular provided the Zambian people a common platform where they could learn and discuss their culture and history which colonial rule almost destroyed. This gave them a sense of brotherhood and could have contributed to the relative peace the country has been enjoying since independence. However, a study needs to be done to establish whether or not this suggestion is correct.

During its transition from colonial into a post-colonial institution, 1964 to 1972, the Museum experienced problems of race relations between European members of staff, all of whom occupied senior positions, and African employees who occupied junior positions. The hostile race relationship was a microcosm of race relations during this period in most institutions in Zambia. It was caused and accentuated by European employees, most of whom, still nursed colonial hangover of European superiority over Africans while, Africans, instigated by some overzealous local political authorities, were eager to take over positions held by European employees despite having no requisite qualifications. This demonstrates that at the time of independence, nationalist leaders were more concerned with fulfilling promises of achieving hopes, aspirations and desires of "good life" they had made to

their people during the struggle for independence. They were eager to undo what Europeans had put in place that was viewed by Africans as discriminatory against them. That included the holding of senior positions in public and private institutions which had been monopolised by white settlers.

The departure of most European senior members of staff from the Museum in 1966, including its Director, Barrie Reynolds, as well as the repatriation of the Museum's premier objects (the David Livingstone relics), to Scotland in 1967 as a result of poor race relations, undermined the Museum's ability to preserve its cultural heritage as most knowledgeable people left the institution. The repatriation of the David Livingstone relics in particular is significant in that it revealed the lack of trust and confidence that Europeans had in Africans in looking after national affairs during the early years of independence.

European colonial administrators did not prepare Africans into leadership positions in the country. As a result, when the country gained her independence, the Museum lacked sufficiently skilled human resource to take over its running. This hampered the Museum's performance, particularly in areas of research and publications. The situation was aggravated by the Museum's failure to retain the Zambian research staff it recruited and trained at a great cost and time due to poor funding and the fact that the few remaining research staff went into administrative positions. The study therefore advocates for the government's provision of adequate funding to the Museum for it to fulfil its mandated activities as this will ensure delivery of quality services to the public and by so doing justify its existence.

It also advocates for the creation of two directorates running parallel to each other in all museums under NMB. These are the administrative directorate to be headed by a professional administrator and the research directorate to be headed by a

researcher with impeccable evidence of research. However for purposes of administration, the Director for Research should be answerable to the Director for Administration. This would allow researchers, even when they were promoted to the most senior position continue with research activities thereby ensure that they continued undertaking the work they were trained for, unlike the situation revealed by this study.

With proper focus, the Museum has the ability of raising funds through its activities. It could do this by tailoring some of its activities to the needs of both the local and international communities. This is exemplified by the Winter School of Archaeology programme which the Museum ran from 1957 to about 1965 in which amateur archaeologists and interested members of the public within and outside the country were given theoretical and practical lessons in a course on the general world archaeology and on specific areas in the Archaeology of Southern Africa. Through partnership with the University of Zambia and/or any university in the country, the Museum could provide courses related to Archaeology, Ethnography, Heritage and Museum Studies and Management. Currently, such programmes are only available abroad. In this way, the country would save a lot of money that would normally be used in training people wishing to take such programmes abroad. An appreciable amount of such money would accrue to the Museum; in this manner, reduce its dependence on government funding.

To enhance performance in Museums and bring the institutions to international standards, it is important that the Museum builds a network of associates both at individual and institutional level, inside and outside the country interested in issues of heritage. Such partnerships would enhance the Museum ability to perform its mandated functions and respond accordingly to public expectations. This is

demonstrated by the assistance the Museum obtained from Prevention in Museums in Africa (PREMA), International Centre for the Prevention and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM) and Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA).

Through the help of ICCROM and JICA the Museum developed a documentation system that fairly managed and preserved the collections under its custody for posterity and by 2006 a computerised documentation system had been established. However, in the midst of inadequate funding, it remains to be seen whether it will be put into successful operation, particularly once the donor (JICA) detaches itself from the project, so that it is completely in the hands of the institution. There will be need for more funding to run the project. Members of staff will also need to reorient their attitude to the new system.

During much of the colonial period, the dominant perspective at the Livingstone Museum was the study of archaeology and social anthropology rather than history. This was because Africa was not considered a historical continent but a laboratory for earlier forms of human civilisation. That being the case, African history could only be studied from material culture. This was in line with the social Darwinism perspective of the times. The situation began to change, when the Pan-African Congress Meeting on Prehistory held at the Livingstone Museum in July 1955 established that mankind probably had roots in Africa. Consequently, two years later a Prehistorian specialised in Iron Age was recruited to undertake Iron Age Studies, thus leading to the establishing of the Harry Wulfsohn History. In contrast, during the post-colonial period, right from its beginning in 1964, the study of history was emphasised in the Museum's activities in order to correct the poor image colonial rule bestowed on African history and culture.

Furthermore, this study has highlighted the importance of museum artefacts and their contribution to our understanding of the past and present cultures. The study has also highlighted the commitment that various scholars have made to the preservation of Zambia's cultural and natural heritage. It has led to the understanding of various complex problems that accompanied the generation of knowledge ranging from the study of exotic societies, lack of written records, working under difficult conditions, logistical problems such as lack of knowledge of local languages and cultures, finances, transport, roads and many others.

The Museum's archaeological researches on the Stone Age Man in areas such as the Victoria Falls region, Mumbwa Caves, Kalambo Falls, Nachikufu Rock-shelter and Nsalu Cave generated knowledge of the earliest origin and stages of human culture and physical development of man in Zambia from the hunter-gatherer, primitive man-ape of *Homo habilis* type, to modern *Homo sapiens*. Through these researches, it has been possible to divide the Stone Age period in Zambia into three main sequences, industries or cultures, namely; Early Stone Age, (Oldowan industry), Middle Stone Age (Sangoan industry) and Later Stone Age (Mangosian or Microlithic industry).

Similarly, the Museum's studies on the Iron Age period in Zambia have resulted in the division of Iron Age into three categories, namely: Early Iron Age, Middle or Later Iron Age and Late or Recent Iron Age. In addition, its researches at Kalambo Falls have revealed evidence that early hominid inhabitants of the area used fire.

The Iron Age excavations it made at Ingombe Ilede and at Kalundu have generated a build-up of knowledge on the history of movements of the successive Iron Age people in Zambia. They have also provided a clear understanding that hunter-

gatherers whose technology was predominantly stone tools preceded societies that practiced crop cultivation, animal husbandry, settled village life, pottery manufacture and metallurgy.

The Museum through the Ingombe Ilede burial research excavation in particular, has thrown light on the social and economic conditions of the people who inhabited the area. It has established the existence of trading activities between people in the area and the East Coast and the Indian Ocean. Its researches on the later Iron Age or metal using food-producing stages at Kamangoza, Kumadzulo, Machile, Salumano, Lunsemfwa Drainage Basin and Sikalongo have provided links between the prehistoric past and the historic records and the oral traditions.

Thus, the Museum has generated information relevant to the reconstruction of the history of Zambia from prehistoric to historic times. Consequently, though much still need to be done, Zambia, particularly its southern part, now has a well-informed account of its prehistory from Stone Age to the Iron Age. For example, the way of life of man in Zambia from Stone Age to Iron Age is now known. While the Stone Age man was a hunter-gatherer and depended on stone technology, the Iron Age Man, among others had a metal-based technology, mixed agriculture with an element of foraging, production of pottery vessels, settled village community and a tribal social structure. In fact, most of the known history regarding early man in Zambia such as physical and technological development; discovery and early use of fire; social organisation; metallurgy; pottery traditions; burial practices, and trade networks come from information generated by the Museum's archaeological researches.

The Livingstone Museum through ethnological researches it conducted on ethnic groups such as the Ngoni, Luvale, Mbunda, Chokwe, Luchazi and Tonga generated information on their traditional histories; way of life and belief system; for

instance, in witchcraft, magic, sorcery, healing, music, dance, masquerades and the role they played in societies in which they were practiced, and initiation ceremonies. Generally, this information was representative of most of the ethnic groups in Zambia and therefore the Zambian people

The Museum's historical studies generated information on the cultural and socio-polity of the people of Zambia before the onset of colonial rule, early European perception about Africa, development of the map of Africa from the 14th to the 19th century, slave trade and its eradication, establishment of colonial rule, and the social, economic and political life during the colonial to the post-colonial period.

The Museum's historical studies also provided information on the establishment of different mission stations, their growth and activities. They also provided information on economic activities during the pre-colonial period such as salt production and its significance in empire building, trading activities as well as the production of rubber in colonial Zambia. Coupled with information generated by archaeological studies, the Museum has provided a well-informed account of the history of the country from Stone Age to contemporary times. Above all, the Museum's researches and publications are significant in that from time to time they influenced the historiography of Zambian history.

The Museum was established at the time when the country was going through a difficult development process not fully supported and this resulted in its impact being felt only as far as scholars could collect the materials. It had more impact on the surrounding areas like the Southern Province of Zambia. Local societies could not benefit much where as the wide society benefited much through researches based on the materials collected. Based on the Museum's studies, as shown above, we begin to

see a clear picture of the nature of the societies that existed in the country prior to the introduction of writing and often which was very sophisticated.

It is these same researches and publications that have helped historians write about the history of Zambia. No comprehensive history book on the history of Zambia, particularly the early history, would be successfully written, without making reference to researches made by former Museum researchers such as J. Desmond Clark, R.R. Inskeep, Brian M. Fagan, Joseph O. Vogel, Nicholas Katanekwa and Francis Musonda. Similarly, no written work on the cultural history of Zambia would be complete without referring to Museum researchers such as Barrie Reynolds, P. Andre Vrydagh and Kafungulwa Mubitana or historical studies on the development of underdevelopment in Zambia without mentioning researches of Maud Muntemba.

Publications of the Museum such as *The Occasional Papers of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum*, the *Robins Series*, *The Zambia Museums Journal* and the *Zambia Museum Papers* have provided information on different aspects of Zambian history. Without those publications it would not have been possible to write the history of Zambia. We see a situation whereby from the earliest time when European explorers and missionaries begin to arrive in the country as well as the setting up of the colonial government, the Museum has been at the centre of the provision of data in the form of three-dimensional objects, historical documents such as treaties, manuscripts, photographs, paintings or publications on various aspects of Zambian history. One wonders whether the history of Zambia would have been written, without them as it is anchored on collections and researches made by the Museum.

Historians writing on the history of Zambia have not ignored information that the Museum has generated and offered, showing that the Museum has impacted on the generation of knowledge relevant to the reconstruction of the history of Zambia.

Another aspect that came from the study is the impact that exhibitions have made on the Zambian society. Exhibitions have not only highlighted and disseminated the history of the local people but have enhanced their understanding and appreciation of their rich history and cultural traditions. In this respect, the Museum has contributed significantly in the education of the Zambian people regarding their cultural and historical heritage.

The Museum through exhibitions also played an important role of distinguishing the various phases of the historical development of the country. It has ably distinguished one ethnic group from another and history can be written along those lines. In modern society, that is what distinguishes a Zambian from a non-Zambian.

Exhibitions have also enhanced the teaching of Zambian history and many pupils from schools and students from colleges and universities have visited the Museum. It has also enhanced the appreciation of Zambian history among members of the public, whether, literate or not, young or old, handicapped or not and local or foreign. It has demonstrated that Museum education is unique in that it uses objects and other media of communication that directly appealed to all senses of human reception. This offers a challenge to curriculum planners in Zambia regarding the teaching of history from primary school to university education. They should consider incorporating artefacts and exhibitions in their teaching rather than focusing on written sources only as is largely the case at the moment.

Although the Museum had outreach programmes as far back as the 1950s, these were limited to places within its proximity. Consequently, people living in far-flung areas did not benefit much from its activities and yet without public involvement, there would be little public appreciation of the country's heritage which

would in turn lead to lack of public support. Consequently, there would be lack of public and government support in funding Museum activities as well as protection of historical sites and of the information contained in them. The lack of public support could also lead to public's hesitation in making donations of objects of historical significance to the country to the Museum for preservation. This study therefore challenges the Museum to consider strengthening its outreach programmes so as to get maximum public and government support and appreciation of its activities.

Undoubtedly, evidence in this thesis show that despite various problems the Livingstone Museum faced from time to time such as inadequate funding and skilled human resource, it has played an important role to the development of the country. It has provided a well-informed account of the history of the country from Stone Age to contemporary times. It is therefore critical that the Government consider establishing more museums in the country, which it should fund adequately. The existing national museums should reorient their activities to the market driven socio-economic system the country currently follows to avoid total dependency on the government.

Arising from the foregoing, this study is significant because it has revealed the important role that the Livingstone Museum has played in generating knowledge relevant to the reconstruction of Zambian history. This is important because historical knowledge ensures that people know where they came from, circumstances that led them to their present situation and provides ideas on how they can progressively move forward by avoiding pitfalls their ancestors encountered. It also helps in fostering national unity and identity, which is necessary for national development. Above all, the Museum has provided much of the resource materials that have been used in writing the different strands of the historiography of Zambian history that emerged from time to time.

Additionally, this study is important in that it has contributed to the understanding of the role of museums in the production of knowledge, the provision of education and the promotion of national unity and identity in a country. It has also demonstrated the value and role of public history as practiced in museums to academic history. Considering the importance of Museums to society, the government should consider establishing a national museum in each provincial centre and a regional museum in each district centre and, provide incentives to those wishing to establish private museums. High institutions of learning such as the University of Zambia offering courses in history should consider introducing public history in their programmes rather than focusing on academic or orthodox history, as is the current situation.

APPENDICES

Appendix I A Display Showing Main Stages in Man's Physical Evolution

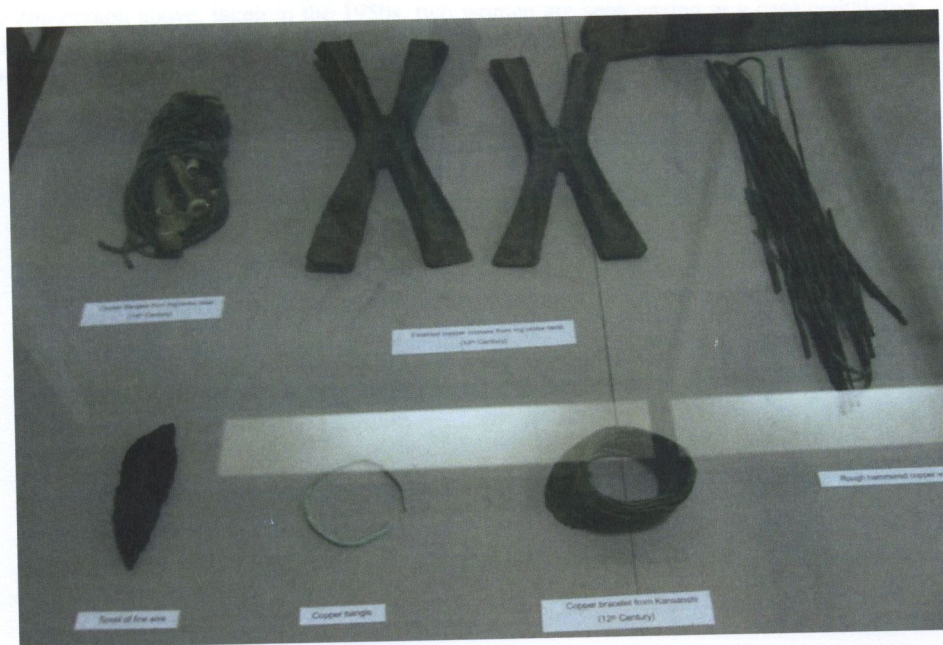


A display in the Livingstone Museum showing main stages of Man's physical evolution. The top two shows casts of Australopithecus Africanus which was widely distributed in East and Southern Africa and aged 2 million years before present, the middle one shows a caste of the Neanderthal Broken Hill Skull discovered in Zambia in 1921 and was dated about 2, 000 years before present while the bottom left is a cast of the late Neanderthal and on the right side is that of Homo Sapiens. Source: Livingstone Museum Archaeology Exhibition mounted in 2004.

Appendix II
A Display Showing Stone Age Tools of Broken Hill Man and some Iron Age
Objects from Ing'ombe Ilede Excavations



(a) A display of Stone tools of the Broken Hill Man whose skull was discovered in the present day Kabwe. Source: Livingstone Museum Archaeology Exhibition mounted in 2004.



(b) Some of the Iron Age objects collected from the Ingombe Ilede excavations made in the late 1950s to the early 1960s on display at the Livingstone Museum. Source: Livingstone Museum Archaeology Exhibition mounted in 2004.

Appendix III
African Women Gazing at a Display on African Traditional Life, 1953

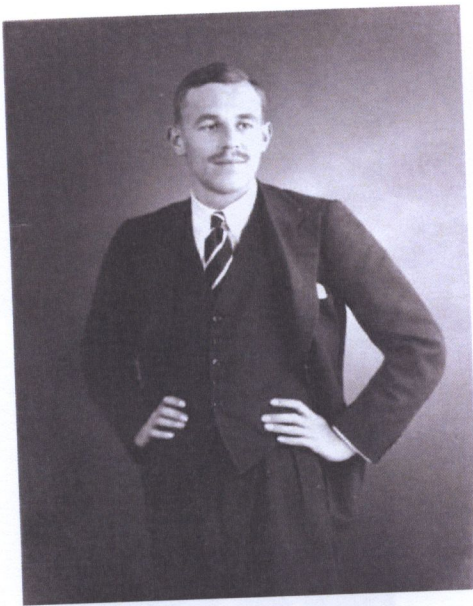


Right from inception, the Livingstone Museum was open to both Europeans and Africans. In the photograph above, taken in the 1950s, two women are seen gazing at a case containing exhibits relating to the African traditional life. Source: *The Times British Colonies Review*, Summer 1953, p. 29.

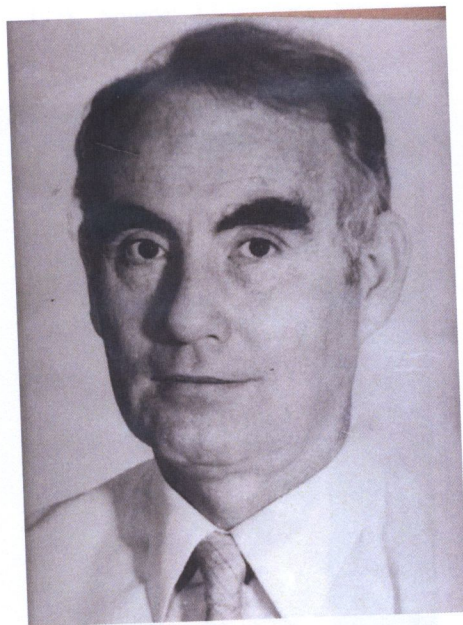
Appendix IV
Directors for the Livingstone Museum during the Colonial Period



(a) John Desmond Clark, BA., MA., PhD:
First Curator and Director of Livingstone
Museum, 1938 – 1961. Source: Livingstone
Museum Photo Archives.



Gervas R. C. Clay, BA, MA, PhD,
Director, Livingstone Museum, 1961- May
1964. Source of photo: Robert Clay, "A
Tribute to Gervas (Robert Charles), 16
April 1907- 18 April 2009."
<http://www.spanglefish.com//gervasclay/>
Accessed: 4 September, 2009.



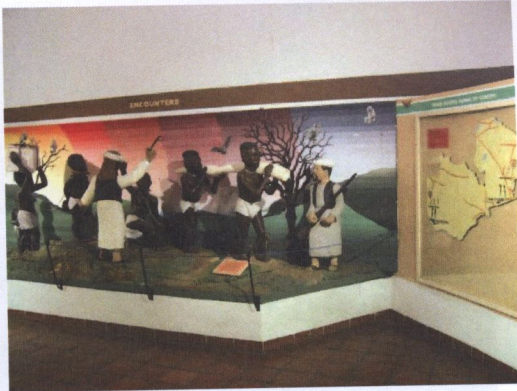
(b) Barrie Reynolds, BA, MA, PhD,
Director, Livingstone, May 1964 to post
colonial period in 1966. Source:
Livingstone Museum Photo Archives.

Appendix VI

Displays on Bantu Migrations, Slave Trade, Colonial Rule, African Reaction to Colonialism in “The Story of Man in Zambia Exhibition”



(a) Bantu migrations into Zambia in the permanent exhibition, “The Story of Man in Zambia, c. 1550-2001” in the History gallery mounted in 2004. Note the marked change from the old display put up in 1990. The display is beautiful, not over-crowded, with clearly illustrated information aided by sketches. Source: Livingstone Museum History Exhibition mounted in 2004.



(b) Slave trade and trade routes display, 2004. Compare it with the display on the same subject mounted in 1990 shown in Appendix X (c) Source: Livingstone Museum History Exhibition mounted in 2004.

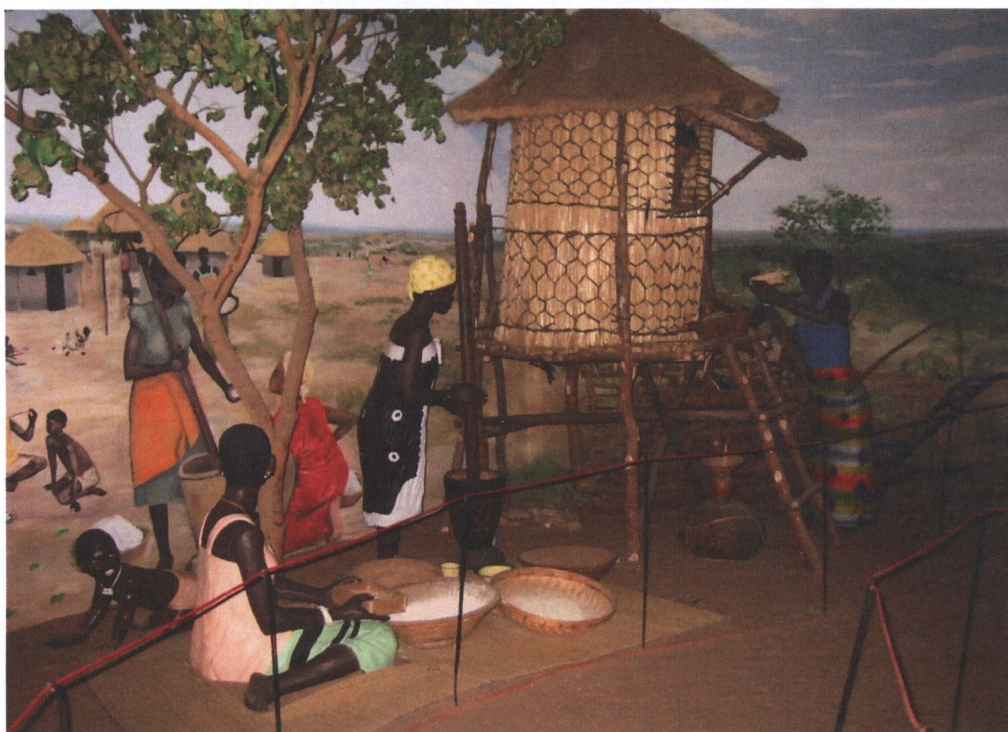


(c) A display on colonial rule in Northern Rhodesia. Note the Union Jack and instruments of labour stabilisation on the mines such as source pan radio and gramophone used on social occasions by Africans during the 1930s. Source: Livingstone Museum History Exhibition mounted in 2004.



(d) A display on African reaction to colonial rule in Northern Rhodesia. Source: Livingstone Museum History Exhibition mounted in 2004.

Appendix VII
Displays of a Typical Zambian Village Scene and Witchcraft Objects



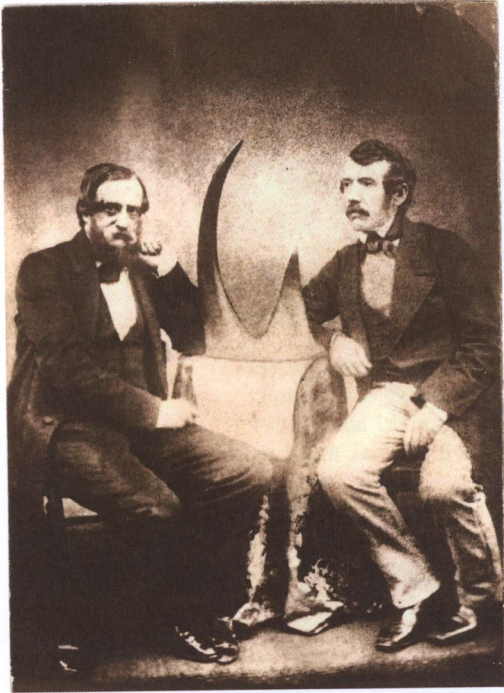
(a) A display depicting a traditional village scene. Source: Livingstone Museum Ethnography Exhibition mounted in 2004.



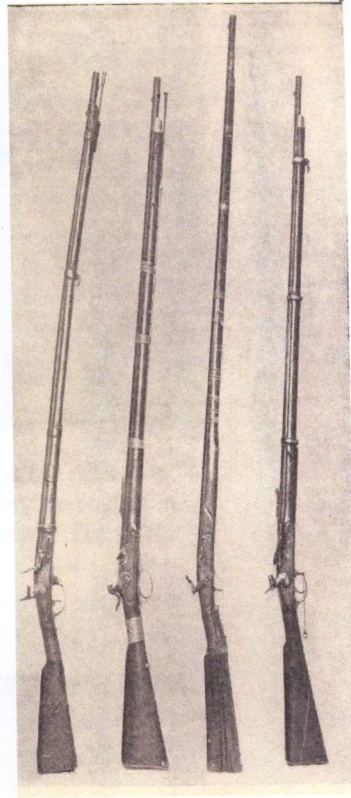
(b) A display showing witchcraft objects. Source: Livingstone Museum Ethnography Exhibition mounted in 2004.

Appendix VIII

Displays on Major Frank Vardom and Dr David Livingstone in the David Livingstone Gallery and some of the Fire Arms in the Livingstone Museum Collection



(a) Major Frank Vardom with David Livingstone. Vardom came to hunt in the Bechuana country (now Botswana) with Steel and Murray in the 1840s. Livingstone corresponded with him almost until his death. Source: The Livingstone Museum Photo Archives. Also see, Livingstone Museum, *The Life and Work of David Livingstone and the Discovery of the Victoria Falls- Guide to the Exhibition 1 June to 31 August 1955* (Glasgow: Glasgow University Press, 1955), pp.30-31.



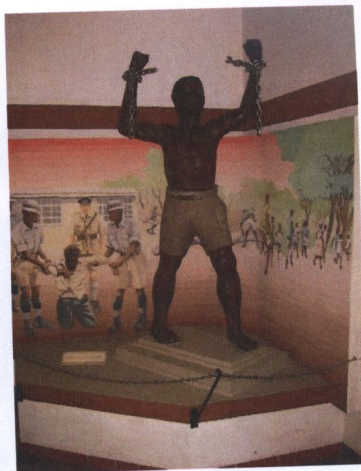
(b) The Livingstone Museum has in its collection over 100 firearms of various types. The photograph above shows some of the muzzle-loading guns in its collection. Source: G. Tylden, "The Gun trade in Central and Southern Africa", *The Northern Rhodesia Journal* 1, II (1953), p. 46.

Appendix X

Displays on the Struggle for Independence and Attainment of Independence in Zambia



(a) A display on the ChaChaCha campaigns of the early 1960s. Note Kapwepwe's mourning shirt and logs of wood and iron objects used to block roads. Source: Livingstone Museum History Exhibition mounted in 2004.



(b) Freedom statue display. Source: Livingstone Museum History Exhibition mounted in 2004.



(c) A display showing Zambian symbols of independence and the euphoria that people experienced on the Independence Day (24 October 1964) at Independence Stadium in Lusaka. Source: Livingstone Museum History Exhibition mounted in 2004.

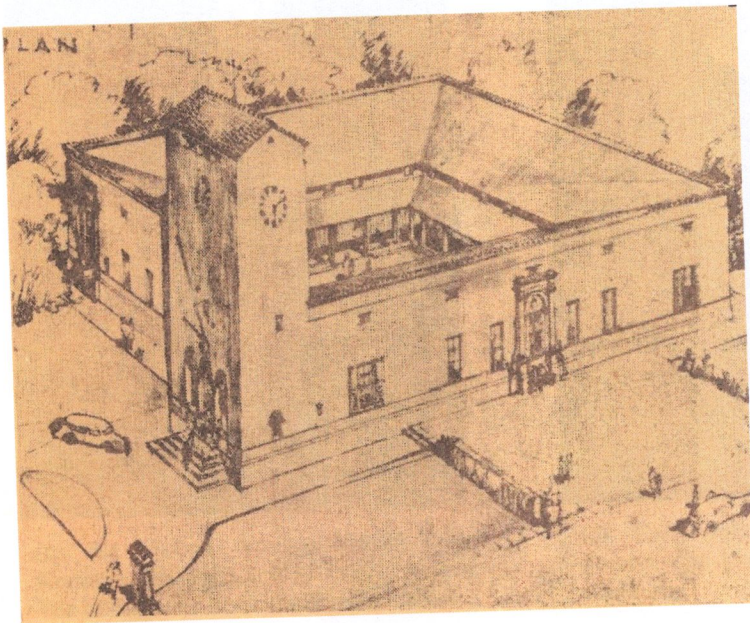
Appendix XI
Laying of the Foundation Stone for the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum Building
and a Sketch of the Building, 1950



(a) Col. Sir Ellis Robins shown on the left with the presentation trowel under his arm. He laid the foundation stone of the new Rhodes-Livingstone Museum on 28 February 1950. On the centre is J. D. Clark, Curator of the Museum. Source: *The Bulawayo Chronicle*, 10 February 1950



(b) The Mayor of Livingstone, Mr. T. Jager, speaking at the ceremony of the laying of the foundation stone of the new Rhodes-Livingstone Museum. Source: *The Bulawayo Chronicle*, 17 February 1950.



(c) A Sketch of the envisioned built-purpose new Rhodes-Livingstone Museum. Source: *The Bulawayo Chronicle*, 10 February 1950.

Appendix XII

Men behind the Establishment of a Museum in Northern Rhodesia, 1930-34



(a) James Moffat Thomson, Secretary for Native Affairs, Northern Rhodesia (1928-1934). Source: Livingstone Museum Photo Archives.



(b) Sir James Maxwell, Governor of Northern Rhodesia (1926-1932). Source: Livingstone Museum Photo Archives.

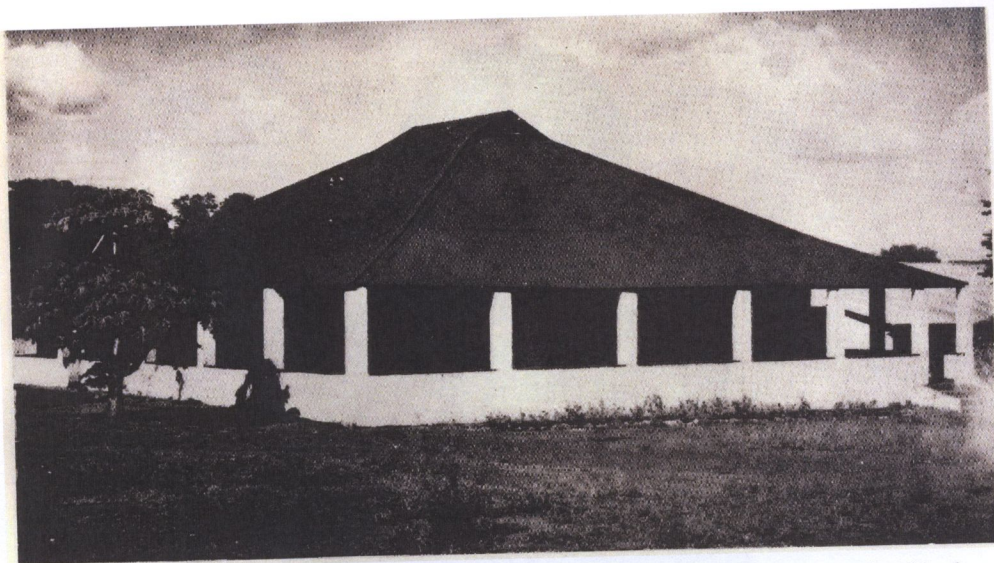


(c) Sir Hubert Young, Governor of Northern Rhodesia, (1934-1939). Source: The Livingstone Museum Photo Archives.

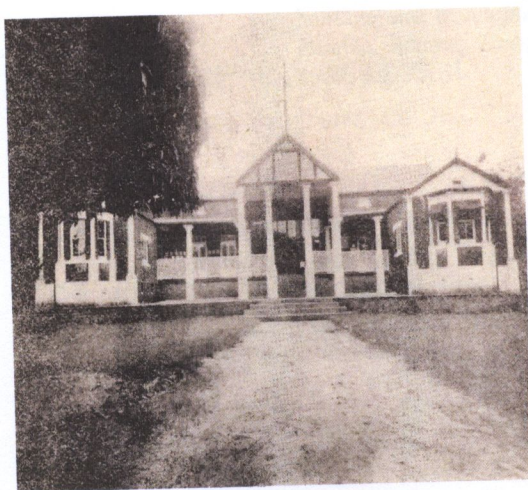


(d) Cecil John Rhodes, (1853-1902) Source: The Livingstone Museum Photo Archives.

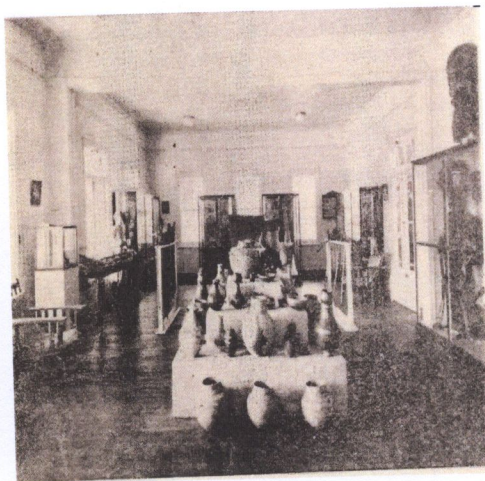
Appendix XIII
Museum Buildings and a Display of Ethnological Collections, 1934-1950



(a) The First Museum (Old Magistrate's Court House), 1934-1937. Source: *The Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, 1934-1951*.



(b) The Second Museum Building (United Services Club Building), 1937-1950. Source: *Director's Report to the Trustees of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum on the Work of the First Three Years (1938-9-40)*



(c) A display of ethnological collection at the United Services Club Museum Building. Source: *Director's Report to the Trustees of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute on the work of the First Three Years (1938-9-40)*

Appendix XIV
Simon Mwansa Kapwepwe



Simon Mwansa Kapwepwe. Was an advocate of the preservation of cultural heritage and development of museums in Zambia. Source: *Times of Zambia*, 2 July 1969, p.1.

Appendix XV
Some of the Displays in the David Livingstone Gallery



(a) A display of David Livingstone's coat and cap in the David Livingstone Gallery opened in 2004.



(b) One of the displays in the David Livingstone Gallery. In the cabinets are original letters written by David Livingstone.

Appendix XVI
 The Purpose-built Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, 1951



(a) The newly opened Rhodes-Livingstone Museum as reported by the *Bulawayo Chronicle* of 18 May 1951.

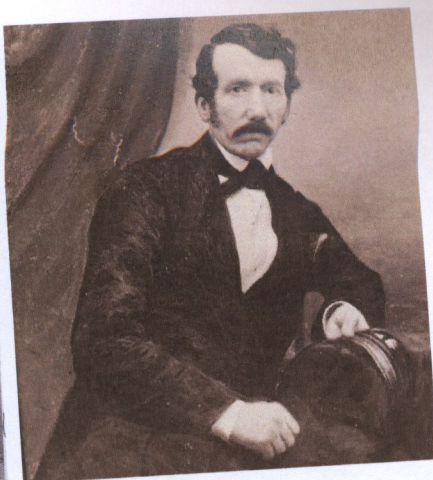


(b) The New Museum Building. Source: *The Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, 1934-1951*

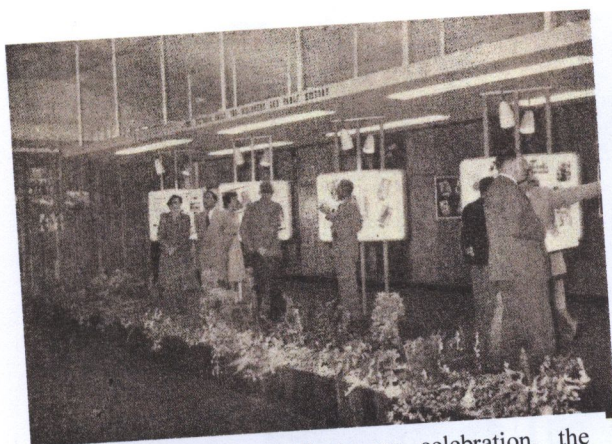
Appendix XVII
 The David Livingstone Centenary Commemoration, 1955



(a) In 1955, Northern Rhodesia celebrated the David Livingstone Centenary following his sighting of the Victoria Falls. In the photo above, the Governor General of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Lord Llewellyn, is seen unveiling the rededication plaque at the foot of Livingstone's statue. Source: *The Livingstone Mail*, 18 November 1955, p. 1.



(b) Dr David Livingstone, 1813-1873



(c) As part of the Centenary celebration, the Livingstone Museum mounted an exhibition called "The David Livingstone Centenary Exhibition". The photo above shows European settlers viewing displays of the exhibition. Source: *Rhodes-Livingstone Museum Annual Report, 1955*.

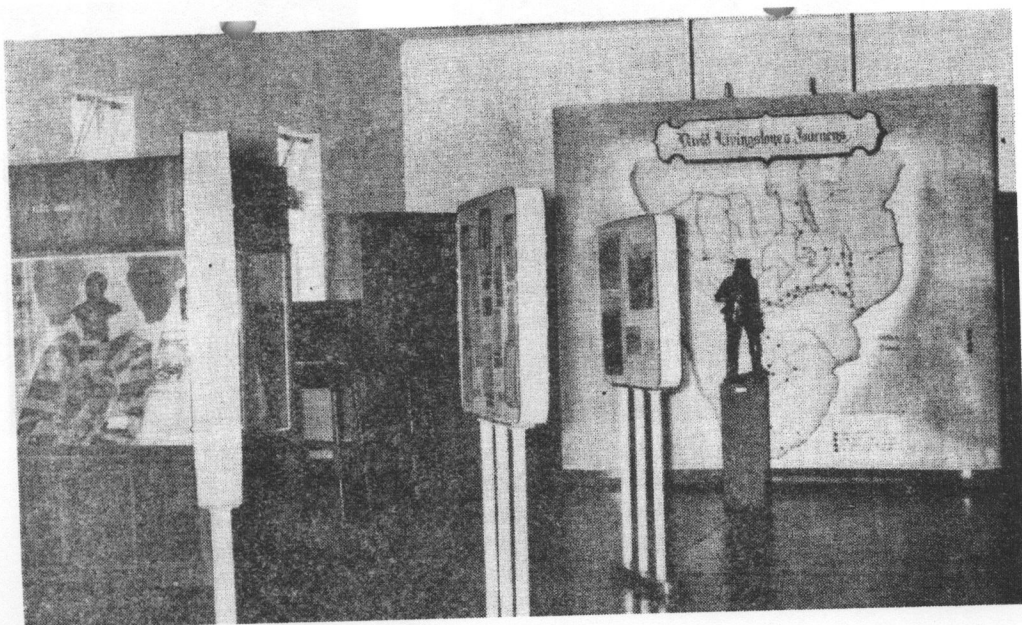


(d) The Statue of David Livingstone erected in 1955 at the Victoria Falls to commemorate a centenary in 1955 after becoming the first white man to see the Falls in 1855. Source: *The Chronicle*, June 24 1955, p. 24.

Appendix XVIII
The Harry Wulfsohn History Gallery, 1957



(a) Official opening of the Harry Wulfsohn Gallery, Livingstone Museum on 17 October, 1957: Left to right: The Chief Secretary, Mr. Evelyn D. Hone, President of the Board of Trustees at the Livingstone Museum and Mr. Harry Wulfsohn and the Mayor of Livingstone, Alderman W. G. Johnson. Source: *The Livingstone Mail*, 19 October 1957, p. 1.

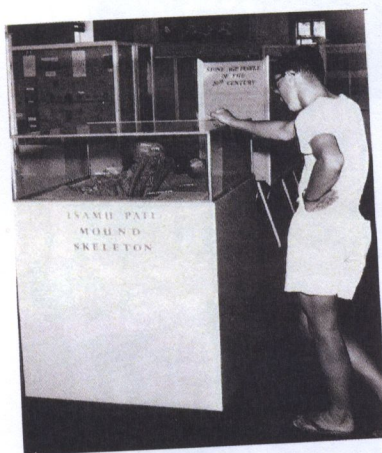


(b) Some of the displays in the Harry Wulfsohn Gallery, 1957. Source: Rhodes-Livingstone Museum Annual Report, 1957, p. 21.

Appendix XIX
The Iron Age Skeleton from Isamu Pati Mound in Kalomo as exhibited in 1961
and 2004 in the Livingstone Museum



(a) An early Iron Age crouched burial from Isamu Pati Mound in Kalomo, which was excavated *in toto*. Source: *Rhodes-Livingstone Museum Annual Report, 1961*, adjacent to p. 42.



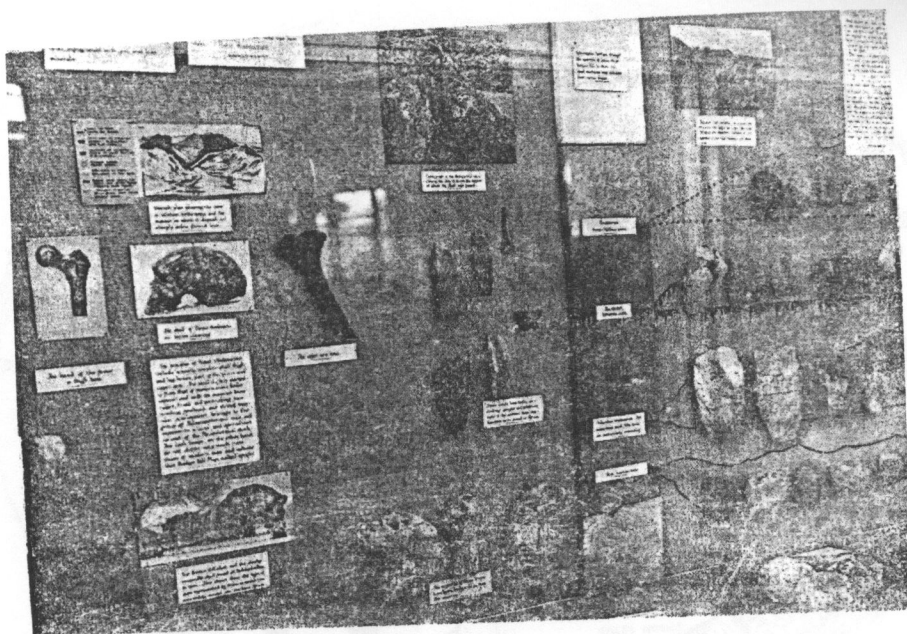
(b) A display of the Isamu Pati skeleton at the Livingstone Museum mounted in 1961. Source: *Rhodes-Livingstone Museum Annual Report, 1961*, adjacent to p. 43.



(c) The skeleton indicated above is shown exhibited on the front right corner of the photograph above in the Archaeology gallery of the Museum. Note the differences in aspects of aesthetics between the display mounted in 1961 (b) and the above one mounted in 2004. Source: *The Livingstone Museum Archaeology*

Appendix XX

The Old and Modern form of Displays in the Livingstone Museum



(a) The jumbled and over-crowded display of the old-type museum. Source: *Z-Magazine, Zambia Edition*, October 1969, p. 9



(b) New look: The clean, neat, showcasing of the new display. Note the contrast with the old style of exhibiting shown in (a) above. Source: *Z-Magazine, Zambia Edition*, October 1969, p. 8

Appendix XXII
The Third Pan-African Congress on Prehistory, 1955



THIRD PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS ON PREHISTORY, JULY, 1955. GROUP OF THE DELEGATES.

Delegates of the Third Pan-African Congress on Prehistory held in July 1955 at the Livingstone Museum. Source: Rhodes-Livingstone Museum Annual Report, 1955, p. 25.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. UNPUBLISHED PRIMARY SOURCES

1. National Archives of Zambia (NAZ)

1.1 Secretariat Series

SEC 1/129, Co-operation between Government and Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, 1944-47.

SEC 1/129, Rhodes-Livingstone Institute: Minutes of Livingstone Trustees, 1945-48.

SEC1/130, Minutes and Recommendation of Rhodes-Livingstone Institute regarding the administration of the Institute, 1945-48.

SEC 1/132, Rhodes-Livingstone Museum: Annual Reports, Application for Assistance from the Colonial Development and Welfare Vote, Architectural drawing of the Livingstone Museum, 1947-48.

SEC 1/134, Purchase of elephant tasks for Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, Kaffrian Museum exhibits, Model Huts, 1942-1948.

SEC 1/137, Report on the Livingstone Museum Rules, 1946-47.

SEC 1/139, Antiquities from Secretariat, 1929-49.

SEC 1/141, Report on the amendment of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute Ordinance, 1946-47.

SEC 2/215: Eligibility and training of Africans for administrative and judicial posts, 1942-1948.

SEC 1/142, Report on the Rhodes-Livingstone Ordinance, 1945-46.

1.2 SP Series

SP 1/3/5, Museum Annual Reports from ancient Monuments Commission, 1949-68.

SP4/8/4, Historical Monuments: Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, Anthropology, 1956.

SP 4/16, Minutes of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, 1958-66.

SP 1/14/34, David Livingstone Centenary (Discovery of the Victoria Falls), n.d.

SP/1/14/38, Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, 1955-65.

SP 1/14/39, Museums: Rhodes-Livingstone, Agenda/Trustees, 1955-66.

MM 10/25/3/9, 1181a/55, Box File III D4, The Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, David Livingstone Centenary, 1955.

M/T/5/2, Minutes of Trustees Meetings, 1964.

M/T/5/4, Minutes of Trustees Meetings, 1966.

M/T/5, Opening of New Galleries, 1969.

0/73/523/1-3, Acc. No. 2069, The Livingstone Museum Research Notes: 1, October 1979; 2, May 1980; 3, August 1981 and 4, February 1983.

S/4/1/2, Staff Disputes, 1966-1972.

TH 2/17/1-17, Tribal Histories.

2.2 Historical Manuscripts

Chubi, J. M. The Primitive Methodist Society and the Ila of Southern Zambia, 1890-1936.

MS-5-81, Vrydagh, P. A. "Mbunda Makishi Costumes and masks", n.d.

Mubitana, K. "Beyond the veneer of modernity: Wiko Masquarades in a Zambian Town" (MS in the Livingstone Museum, 1970.)

2.3 Miscellaneous Files

Deputy Director's General Correspondence File, 1970-1972.

Director's Correspondence, 1950-2000.

Minutes of Staff Meetings, 1991-2000.

Minutes of Meetings of the Board of Trustees of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum files, 1938-1965

Minutes of Meetings of the Zambia National Museums Board Members, 1966-1990.

Museum Development Plans and Appeals, 1972-1976.

2.4 Miscellaneous Reports

Klausen, Anna-Lise. (Compl.) 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.

Livingstone Museum. The Livingstone Museum Celebrates its 60th Anniversary, 1934 – 1994. Livingstone: Livingstone Museum, 1994.

National Museums Board of Zambia. "Museum Conservation Survey Questionnaire." Initiated by National Museums Board in conjunction with Prevention in Museums in Africa an organ under International Centre for the Preservation of Cultural Property answered by V.K. Katanekwa, Director/Curator, Nayuma Museum, 27 October 1991.

Mushokabanji, L. "Choonga Excavation Report", Unpublished, Livingstone Museum, 1995.

Musonda, F. B. "Archaeological Reconstruction of the Prehistory of the Sikalongo Area", Livingstone Museum, 1987.

Shereylyn, O. A Report on the State of Preservation of Library and Archival Materials at the Livingstone Museum dated 31 August 1995.

Tordoff, W. Report on the Affairs of the Livingstone Museum, December 1966.

2.5 Storylines

Mizinga, F. M. Follow the steps of Zambian History: Pre-colonial to 1991. 1990.

Mufuzi, F. Photographic Exhibition on the History of the Asian Community in Livingstone, 1905 to the 1990s. 2002.

Mufuzi, F. The Story of Man in Zambia, c. 1750s to 2001. 2004.

Musonda, F. B. Special Witchcraft Exhibit: Lilomba. 1987.

2.6 Visitors' Comments Books

LMA, Index No. N/53, Acc. No. 9034, Visitors Notebook, Easter, 1936 - 24 November 1964.

LMA, Visitors Notebook, 3 October 1963 - 24 November 1964.

LMA, Visitors Notebook, 10 June 1966 - 14 February 1967.

LMA, Visitors Notebooks, 1990 - 2006

3. Oral Evidence

Note: I conducted about 30 interviews. Only the most useful to this study are cited here.

Chipango, W. M. First African/Zambian Mayor of Livingstone and Member of Trustee of the Livingstone Museum, 1965 to 1966), Livingstone, 5 May 2007.

Grubb, G. Retired farmer/businessman, Livingstone, 9 May 2007.

- Lishiko, B. B. Senior Conservation Officer (Archaeology), South-West Region, National Heritage Conservation Commission, Livingstone, 6 May 2007.
- Kandyata, O. Historian and Director of South-Central Region, National Heritage Conservation Commission. Lusaka, 9 July 2007.
- Katanekwa, V. K. Former Curator and Director, Nayuma Museum Mongu, currently Director, Livingstone Museum, Livingstone, 20, 24, 26 July 2007; 30 August 2007.
- Kwalombota, P. former Nationalist, Provincial Political Secretary and Diplomat during the Kaunda Regime, Kafue, 21 March 2008.
- Mbewe, A. P. Livingstone, Former Curator, Copperbelt Museum, Livingstone, 10th June 2006 and Mbala, 19 November 2007.
- Mizinga, F. M. Former Keeper of History, Lusaka National Museum, Director, Moto Moto and Lusaka National Museums and currently Executive Director, National Museums Board of Zambia (NMB), Lusaka, 1, 27 June 2007.
- Mudenda, G. S. Former Keeper of Ethnography, Lusaka National Museum and Director, Moto Moto Museum. Currently, Director, Lusaka Museum. Lusaka, 30 June 2007.
- Mushokabanji, L. Keeper of Archaeology, Moto Moto Museum, Mbala, 20 November 2007.
- Musonda, F. B. Former Keeper of Archaeology, Deputy Director, Livingstone Museum and Executive Director, NMB, now Senior Lecturer, University of Zambia, Lusaka, 27 June, 2007.
- Nayee, J. R. Businessman, Livingstone, 14 May 2007.
- Nayee, R. S. Businessman, Livingstone, 12 May 2007.
- Oza, H. B. He was 89 years old at the time of the interview. He migrated to Livingstone from India via Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) in 1941 where he established trading and later wholesale businesses. Currently, a retired Lusaka businessman. Lusaka, 6 July 2007.
- Siachoono, S. M. Director of Copperbelt Museum, Ndola, Mbala, 20 November 2007.
- Sililo, R. Joined the Museum in 1948 as Messenger and shortly afterwards trained in Zimbabwe as sculptural and mural artist for the Museum. He left the Museum in the early 1960s to work as a private practitioner. However, the Museum continued hiring him for their sculptural and mural works up to the end of the time frame for this study. In fact, Sililo made most of the sculptural and mural works in possession of the Museum. At the time of wrapping up the writing of this thesis, Sililo was in a serious stroke and being nursed by one of his sons in Lusaka. Livingstone, 22 January 2006.

Simata, B. S. Mukuni Royal Village, Mukuni, Kazungula District, 30 August 2007.

Simunchimbu, C. Keeper of History, Lusaka National Museum, Lusaka, 2 July 2007.

Wamulume, L. He was employed by the Museum as a Carpenter in 1951, mainly making display cases and panels. He retired in the late 1980s. Livingstone, 20 January 2006.

4. Personal Communication

Johnson, T. Livingstone, 4 September 2007.

Katanekwa, V. Livingstone, 30 August 2007.

Munalula, K. Livingstone, 15 September 2007.

Sinyama, E. Livingstone, 12 September 2007.

Nyambe, T. Livingstone, 12 August 2007.

Phiri, V. C. Livingstone, 15 September 2007.

Senior Chief Mukuni, Livingstone, 30 August 2007.

II. PUBLISHED PRIMARY SOURCES

1. British Government Publications

Report of the Commission Appointed to Enquire into the Financial and Economic Position of Northern Rhodesia, Colonial 145, Chairman, A. Pim, London: H.M.S.O., 1938.

2. Northern Rhodesia Government Publications

The Rhodes-Livingstone Institute and Museum Annual Reports: 1938-43

The Rhodes-Livingstone Museum Annual Reports: 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963 and 1964.

The Statute Law of North-eastern Rhodesia, 1905-1911; North-western Rhodesia, 1910- 1911 and Northern Rhodesia, 1911- 1916. Livingstone: Government Printer, 1917.

Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council Debates, Second Session of the Third Council, 7th March to 1st April 1930. Livingstone: Government Printers, 1930.

Northern Rhodesia Legco Debates, 3rd Session of the 5th Council, 10 – 31 October 1936, Lusaka: Government Printers, 1936.

Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council Debates, Hansard No. 28, 1937. Lusaka: Government Printers, 1937.

Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council Debates, Hansard No. 55, 1946. Lusaka: Government Printers, 1946.

Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council Debates, Hansard No. 56, 1946. Lusaka: Government Printers, 1946.

Northern Rhodesia Gazette Supplement: Ordinances, 1946. Lusaka: Government Printer, 1947.

Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council Debates, Third Session of the Eighth Council, 30 November 1946 to 12 February, 1947, Hansard No. 56. Lusaka: Government Printers, 1947.

Supplement to the Laws of Northern Rhodesia 1946, containing Ordinances enacted between 1 July 1930 and 31 December 1945 and Subsidiary Legislation published since 31 December 1933 and in force since 31 December 1945. Lusaka: Government Printer, 1946.

Ten-Year Development Plan . . . Approved by the Legislative Council on 11 February 1947. Lusaka: Government Printer, 1951.

3. Zambian Government Publications

Communocracy, A Strategy for Constructing a People's Economy and Humanism: Address by Kenneth D. Kaunda to the Leadership Seminar and the Ninth UNIP National Council Held at Mulungushi Rock of Authority, Kabwe, 14-24 September 1976.

Final Restructuring Report for the National Museums. Lusaka: Management Development Division, Cabinet Office, October 1996

First National Development Plan, 1966-1970. Lusaka: Government Printer, 1966.

Organisation Analysis and Job evaluation for the National Museums Board of Zambia. Lusaka: Management Services Board, April 1995.

Second National Development Plan, January, 1972 – December, 1976. Lusaka: Government Printer, 1971.

The National Museums Board of Zambia, Livingstone Museum Annual Reports: 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1988, 1989, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999 and 2000.

The National Assembly of Zambia, Hansard No. 4, 1965. Lusaka: Government Printers, 1965.

The National of Zambia Assembly, Hansard No. 6g, 1966. Lusaka: Government Printer, 1966.

Third National Development Plan, 1979-1983. Lusaka: Government Printer, 1979.

Zambia, 1964-1974. Lusaka: Zambia Information Services, 1974.

4. International Council of Museums (ICOM) Newsletters and News

ICOM News, 21, 4, December 1968.

ICOM News, 54, 4, 2001.

International Committee for Museums and Collections of Natural History, 7/1999.

International Committee for Museums and Collection of Archaeology and History Newsletter (9/2001), 1 – 2.

Managing Change: Museums facing economic and social challenges 19th General Conference, Barcelona. Special Issue. 2001 54, 3, 2001.

Museums and Communities XVII General Conference of ICOM, 2 – 7, July 1995.

Museums and Globalisation, 55, 1, 2002.

Zambia Newsletter, 1, June 1996.

5. Museum Newsletters and Research Notes

Livingstone Museum Newsletters 1, 1, 1989 and 3, 1, 1995.

Moto Moto Museum Newsletters: 2, 1993.

III. SECONDARY SOURCES

1. Books

Alexander, P. E. *Museums in Motion: An Introduction to the History and Functions of Museums.* 5th Edn. Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1987.

Ambrose, T. and Crispin, P. *Museum Basics.* London and New York: International Council of Museums (ICOM) and Routledge, 1993.

Barham, L. and Mitchell, P. *The First Africans: African Archaeology from the Earliest Toolmakers to Most Recent Foragers.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

- Barnes, J. A. *The material culture of the Fort Jameson Ngoni: The Occasional Papers of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum No. 1.* Lusaka: Government Printers, 1948.
- Boahem A. A. (ed.) *United National Education Scientific Cooperation Organisation (UNESCO) General History of Africa vol. vii: Africa under Colonial Rule, 1880 – 1935 - Abridged Edn.* California: James Currey, 1990.
- Brelsford, W.V. *Handbook of the David Livingstone Memorial Museum.* Livingstone: Rhodes Livingstone Institute, 1937.
- _____. *African Dances.* Occasional Papers of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum. Rhodes- Livingstone Institute, 1948.
- Burcaw, G. E. *Introduction to Museum Work*, 3d. Edn. New York and Oxford: Altamira Press, 1997.
- Butt, G. E. *My Travels in North West Rhodesia: Or a Missionary Journey of Sixteen Thousand Miles.* London: E. Dalton, 1909.
- Chipungu, S.N. (ed.) *Guardians in their Time: Experiences of Zambians under colonial rule, 1890-1964.* London: Macmillan, 1992.
- Clark, J. D. *Stone Age Cultures in Northern Rhodesia and the Possibilities of Future Research. Supplementary to the Museum Handbook.* Livingstone: Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, 1939.
- _____. *The Stone Age Cultures of Northern Rhodesia.* Claremont, Cape: The South African Archaeological Society, 1950.
- _____. *The Prehistory of Africa.* New York: Praeger Publications, Inc, 1970.
- _____. *Kalambo Falls Prehistoric Site*, 3vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969, 1974 and 2001.
- Colson, E. *Life among the Cattle-Owning Tonga: The material culture of a Northern Rhodesia Native Tribe: The Occasional Papers of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, No. 6.* Lusaka: Government Printers, 1949.
- _____. *The Social Organisation of the Gwembe Tonga.* Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1960.
- Coxhead, J. C. C. (ed.) *The Native Tribes of North Eastern Rhodesia: Their Laws and Customs, Occasional Paper No. 5.* London: Royal Anthropological Institute, 1914.
- Crane, A. S. (ed.) *Museums and Memory.* California: Stanford University Press, 2000.
- Debenham, F. *The Way to Ilala, David Livingstone.* London: Longmans Green, 1955.

- Derricourt, R. M. *People of the Lakes: Archaeological Studies in Northern Zambia. Zambian Paper 13*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1980.
- Doke, C. M. *The Lambas of Northern Rhodesia*. London: George, G. Harrap and Company, 1931.
- Fagan, B. M. *The Victoria Falls*. Glasgow: Glasgow University Press, 1963.
- _____. *Iron Age Cultures in Zambia (Kalomo and Kangila)*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1967.
- _____. , Phillipson, D. W., and Daniels, S. G. H. *Iron Age Cultures in Zambia (Dambwa, Ingombe Ilede and the Tonga)*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1969.
- _____. , and Van Noten, F. *The Hunter-Gatherers of Ngwisho*. Tervuren: Mus'ee Royal de l'Afrique Centrale, 1971.
- _____. (ed.) *A Short History of Zambia*. Nairobi and Lusaka: Oxford University Press, 1972.
- Fletcher, I. M. *David Livingstone: A Short Portrait of the Missionary-Explorer: The Occasional Papers of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, No. 9*. Lusaka: Government Printers, 1950.
- Franklin, H. *Unholy Wedlock: The Failure of the Central African Federation*. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1963.
- Gann, L. A. *The Birth of a Plural Society*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1958.
- _____. *History of Northern Rhodesia: Early Days to 1953*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1964.
- Garbel, C. *Stone Age Hunters of the Kafue Basin*. Boston: Boston University Press, 1965.
- Gewald, J. B., Hinefelaar, M. and Macola, G. *One Zambia, Many Histories: Towards a History of Post-colonial Zambia, Afrika-Studiecentrum Series, vol. 12*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008.
- Gilges, W. *Some African Poisonous plants and Medicine of Northern Rhodesia: The Occasional Papers of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, No. 11*. Lusaka: Government Printers, 1955.
- Gluckman, M. *Economy of the Central Barotse Plain*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1941.
- _____. *Economy of the Barotse Plain: Essays in Lozi Land and Royal Property*. Livingstone: Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, 1943.

- _____. *The Judicial Process Among the Barotse of Northern Rhodesia*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1955.
- Gouldsbury, C., and Shean, H. *The Great Plateau of Northern Rhodesia*. London: Edward Arnold, 1911.
- Government of Northern Rhodesia. *Guide to Rhodes-Livingstone Museum Craft Centre*. Lusaka: Publicity Print Services, c. 1960.
- _____. *Official Guide: Rhodes-Livingstone Museum African Craft Village*. c.c.: n.p., c. 1960/61.
- Government of the Republic of Zambia. *Zambia, 1964-1974*. Lusaka: Zambia Information Service, c. 1974.
- Hall, M. and MacArthur, S. *Heritage Management in New Zealand and Australia: Visitor Management, Interpretation and Marketing*. Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Henderson, A. and Kaepler A. L., eds. *Exhibiting Dilemmas: Issues of Representation at the Smithsonian*. Washington and London: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1997.
- Hobly, C. W. *Bantu Beliefs and Magic*. London: Frank Cass and Company Ltd. 1967.
- Hobson, R. H. *Rubber: A footnote to Rhodesian history: The Occasional Papers of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, No. 12*. Lusaka: Government Printers, 1958.
- Holmes, T. (ed.) *David Livingstone Letters and Documents 1841 – 1872: The Zambian Collection at the Livingstone Museum*. London: James Currey, 1990.
- Holy, L. (ed.) *Emil Holub's Travels North of the Zambezi, 1885-6*. Trans. Chrita Johns. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1975.
- Hopper-Greenhill, E. *Museums and Gallery Education*. Leicester, London and New York: Leicester University Press, 1991.
- _____. *Museums and their Visitors*. London: Routledge, 1994.
- _____. *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*. London and New York: Routledge, 2003.
- Howe, J. B. and Kemp, L. E. *Public History: An Introduction* (Malabar and Florida: Robert E. Krieger Publishing Company, 1988), p. 223.
- Horace, W. *The Last Journals of David Livingstone in Central Africa from 1865 to his death: His last moments and suffering obtained from his faithful servants Chuma and Susi*. 2vols, vol 1. London: John Murray, 1880.

- Hudson, R. S. *Livingstone-Memorial Museum Handbook*. Lusaka: Government Printer, 1936.
- Humphrey, H. C. "What I Should Like to See in the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum (A Layman's View)", *Rhodes-Livingstone Institute Journal*, 4 December, 1945.
- International Council of Museums (ICOM). *Proceedings of the May 1988 Conference and Workshops on African Material Culture*. Bellagio, Italy, 1988.
- _____. *What Museums for Africa: Heritage in the Future, Benin, Ghana, Togo, 18-23 1991*. ICOM: 1992.
- _____. *International Council of Museums Statutes: Code of Professional Ethics*. Paris: ICOM, 1996.
- Jones, A. M. *African Music: The Occasional Papers of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, No. 4.*, Old series. Lusaka: Government Printers, 1949.
- _____. *African Music in Northern Rhodesia and some other places: The Occasional Papers of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, No. 4*. Lusaka: Government Printers, 1958.
- Kaplan, F. E. S. (ed.) *Museums and the making of Ourselves: The Role of Objects in National Identity*. London and New York: Leicester University Press, 1994.
- Kavanagh, G. (ed.) *The Museums Profession: Internal and External Relations*. London and New York: Leicester University, 1991.
- Kayombo, N. A. *General Guidelines for Establishment and Management of Museums in Tanzania*. Dar-es-Salaam: Dar-es-Salaam University Press, 2005.
- Ki-Zerbo, J. (ed.) *UNESCO General History of African Vol. 1: Methodology and African Prehistory.*, Unabridged Edn. California: Heinemann, 1981.
- Lane-Poole, E. H. *The Discovery of Africa as reflected in the Collection of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum: The Occasional Papers of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, No. 7*. Lusaka: Government Printers, 1950.
- Libakeni, Y. K. *They Built Zambia: Zambia's Hundred Graduates at Independence*. MIFES Enterprises, 2008.
- Livingstone, D. *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*. London: John Murray, 1957.
- _____. and Livingstone, C. *Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambezi and its Tributaries*. London: John Murray, 1865.
- Mackintosh, C. W. *Some Pioneer Missions of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland: The Occasional Papers of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, No. 8*. Lusaka: Government Printers, 1950.

- Maclaren, P. I. P. *The Fishing Devices of Central and Southern Africa: The Occasional Papers of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, No. 12.* Lusaka: Government Printers, 1958.
- Macpherson, F. *Kwacha Ngwee: How the Zambian Nation was Made.* London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1977.
- Makasa, K. *Umusungu wa Musonko.* Lusaka: National Educational Company of Zambia Limited, 1981.
- _____. *Zambia's March to Political Freedom.* Nairobi: Heinemann Educational Books, 1985.
- Masters, H. and Masters, W. E. *In Wild Rhodesia.* Griffiths, 1920.
- Mbikusita-Lewanika, A. *Hour for Reunion, Movement for Multi-Party Democracy: Conception, Dissension and Reconciliation, vol.1.* Lusaka: African Lineki Courier, 2003.
- Melland, F. H. *In Witch Bound Africa.* London: Frank Cass, 1923.
- Monk, W. (ed.) *Dr. Livingstone's Cambridge Lectures.* London: Bell and Daldy, 1958.
- Mulford, D. C. *Zambia: The Politics of Independence, 1954 – 1964.* London: Oxford University Press, 1967.
- Mukula, P. M. *National Archives of Zambia Calendars of the District Notebooks: Northern Province, 1862 – 1963.* Lusaka: National Archives of Zambia.
- National Heritage Conservation Commission, *Guidelines for the Export, Collection and/or Removal of Heritage Objects (Relics) in Zambia.* Ndola: Mission Press, n.d.
- National Museums Board of Northern Rhodesia. *The Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, 1934 – 1951.* Lusaka: Government Printers, 1951.
- _____. *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.
- _____. *Annual Report for the period 1st January 1979.* Lusaka: Government Printers, 1981.
- _____. *Handbook of Museum Documentation System in Zambia.* 2002.
- Nuttall, S. and Coetzee, C. (eds.) *Negotiating the past: The making of memory in South Africa.* Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Palmer, R. and Parsons, N. (ed.) *Roots of Rural Poverty in Central and Southern Africa.* London: Heinemann, 1983.

- Peers, L. and Brown, K. A. (eds.) *Museums and Source Communities: A Routledge Reader*. London and New York: Routledge, 2003.
- Phillipson, D. W. *Annotated Bibliography of Zambian Archaeology*. Livingstone: National Monuments Commission, 1968.
- _____. *National Monuments of Zambia*. Ndola: Mission Press, 1972.
- _____. *Exhibition Catalogue: Prehistoric Rock Paintings and Engravings*. Livingstone: Livingstone Museum, 1972.
- _____. *The Iron Age in Zambia*. Lusaka: Neczam Ltd. 1975.
- _____. (ed.) *Mosi-oa-Tunya: A Handbook to the Victoria Falls Region*. Harare: Longman Zimbabwe, 1990.
- Phiri, B. J. *The Political History of Zambia: From the Colonial Period to the Third Republic*. Trenton: Africa World Press, Inc. 2006.
- Quiggin, A. M. *Trade Routes, Trade and Currency in East Africa: The Occasional Papers of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, No. 5, The Occasional Papers of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum Nos. 1-16*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1974.
- Ransford, O. *David Livingstone: The Dark Interior*. London: John Murray, 1978.
- Reynolds, B. *Magic, Divination and Witchcraft among the Barotse of Northern Rhodesia*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1963.
- _____. *The Material Culture of the Peoples of the Gwembe Valley*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1968.
- Richards, A. *Land, labour and diet in Northern Rhodesia*. London: Oxford University Press for the International African Institute, 1939.
- _____. *Bemba Marriage and their economic Conditions, Rhodes-Livingstone Paper, 4*.
- Roberts, A. *A History of Zambia*. London: Heinemann, 1976.
- Rhodes-Livingstone Museum. *David Livingstone Centenary, 1955, Discovery of the Victoria Falls*. Glasgow: Robert McLehore and Company, 1955.
- Rotberg, R. I. *The Rise of Nationalism in Central Africa: The Making of Malawi and Zambia, 1873 – 1964*. Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1972.
- Schlereth, J. T. *Cultural History and Material Culture: Everyday Life, Landscapes, Museums*. Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1992.

- Schmidt, P. R. and McIntosh, R. J. (eds.) *Plundering Africa's Past*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1996.
- Schumaker, L. *Africanising Anthropology: Fieldwork and the making of Cultural Knowledge in Central Africa*. Durban and London: Duke University Press, 2001.
- Serageldin, I. and Taboroff, J. (eds.) *Culture and Development in Africa: Proceedings of an International Conference held at the World Bank, Washington D.C., April, 2 – 3, 1992*. Washington D.C.: International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and World Bank, 1994.
- Sheriff, A., Voogt, P., and Luhila, M. *The Zanzibar House of Wonders Museum: Self-reliance and Partnership: A Case Study in Culture and Development*. n. c. : KIT Publishers, n.d.
- Sherman, D.J. and Rogoff, I. *Museum Culture: Histories, Discourses, Spectacles*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994.
- Smith, E. W. and Dale, A. M. *The Ila Speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia*, 2vols. London: Macmillan, 1920.
- Stefaniszyn, B. *The Material Culture of the Ambo: The Occasional Papers of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, No. 16*. Lusaka: Government Printers, 1964.
- Tabler, E. C. (ed.) *Zambezia and Matebeleland in the Seventies*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1960.
- _____. (ed.) *Trade and Travel in Early Barotseland*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1963.
- Tembo, N. *The Lillian Burton Killing*. Lusaka: Apple Books, 1986.
- Theal, G. M. *Records of South Eastern African II*. (Facsimile reprint of the edition of 1898-1903) Cape Town: C. Struik, 1964.
- Thomson, M. A. J. (ed.) *Manual of Curatorship: A Guide to Museum Practice*. London: Butterworth and the Museum Association, 1984.
- Tiberondwa, A. K. *Missionary Teachers as Agents of Imperialism: A Study of their Activities in Uganda, 1877 – 1925*. Lusaka: Associated Printers, 1989.
- Turner, V. W. *Lunda Rites and Ceremonies: The Occasional Papers of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, No. 10*. Lusaka: Government Printers, 1953.
- _____. *Lunda medicine and treatment of disease: The Occasional Papers of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, No. 15*. Lusaka: Government Printers, 1963.
- Vansina, J. *Oral Tradition as History*. London: James Curry, 1985.

- Vogel, J. O. *Kamangoza: An Introduction to the Iron Age Cultures of the Victoria Falls Region, Zambia Museum Papers No. 2*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971.
- _____. *Kumadzulo: An Early Iron Age Village Site in Southern Zambia, Zambia Paper No. 3*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971.
- _____. *Simbusenga, Zambia Paper No. 4*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975.
- _____. (ed.) *A Guide to the Livingstone Museum*. Livingstone: Livingstone Museum, 1975.
- White, C. M. *Witchcraft, Divination and Magic*. Lusaka: Government Printers, 1947.
- _____. *The Material Culture of the Lunda-Lovale People: The Occasional Papers of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, No. 3*. Lusaka: Government Printers, 1948.
- Witcomb, A. *Re-Imagining the Museum: Beyond the Mausoleum*. London and New York: Routledge, 2003.
- Wright, T. *The History of the Northern Rhodesia Police*. Bristol: British Empire and Commonwealth Museum, 2001.
- Zambia Information Services, *Mulungushi Conference 1967 Proceedings of the Annual General Conference of the United National independence Party held at Mulungushi, 14-20 August 1967*. Lusaka: Government Printer, 1967.
- Zaucha, G. (ed.), *Zambian Legislation and Practice in relation to the Preservation of Cultural Property: Proceedings of the Workshop on Zambian Legislation and Practice in relation to the Preservation of Cultural Property organised by the Zambian National Committee for the International Council of Museums, Livingstone, March, 1991*. Lusaka: University of Zambia Press, 1992.
- Zulu, A. G. *Memoirs of Alexander Grey Zulu*. Ndola: Times Printpack Zambia Limited, 2007.

2. Journal Articles

- Aldridge, S. "The Salt-Making Industry at Chibwa Marsh, Zambia", *Zambia Museums Journal*, 7, 1989, 161-174.
- Allen, R. M. "The Role of the Livingstone Mail in North-western Rhodesia", *Zambia Museums Journal*, 2, 1971, 59-64.
- Armstrong, A. L., and Jones, N. "The Antiquity of Man in Rhodesia as demonstrated by Stone implements of the Ancient Zambezi gravels south of the Victoria Falls" *Journal of the Royal Anthropology Institute*, 66, 1936, 331-48.

- Anon. "Angola: a thumbnail sketch of museums in 1988", *Museum*, 161, XLI, 1, 1989, 35-36.
- Balfour, H. "Note upon an implement of Palaeolithic type from the Victoria Falls, Zambezi", *Journal of Anthropology Institute*, 36, 1906, 170-1.
- Barham, L. S. "Preliminary Results from Mumbwa Caves of Central Zambia", *Southern African Field Archaeology* 2, 2, 1993, 108-110.
- Barnes, J. "The Perception of History in Plural Society", *Human Relations*, 4, 1951.
- Bessire, M. H. "History, Content and Identity at the Sukuma Museum", *Museum International*, 195, 49, 3, 1997, 53-58.
- Brelsford, W. V. "Museums and Administration", *Rhodes-Livingstone Institute Journal*, 4, December 1945, 74-79.
- Brinkley, A. "Historians and Their Public", *Journal of American History, JAH*, 81, 3, 1994, 1027-1030.
- Carson, C. "Lost in the Fun House: A Comment on Anthropologists' Contact with History Museums", 81, 1, 1994, 137 – 150.
- Cassily, M. "History and the Public", *Journal of American History*, 81, 3, 1994, 969 – 971.
- Chakanika, W.W. "The Gossiner Service Team and Valley Tonga of the Gwembe South Region", *Zambia Museums Journal*, 1, 1979, 175-183.
- Chubb, E. C. "Lists of Vertebrate Remains from Broken Hill", *Proceedings of Rhodesia Science Association*, 7, 2, 1908, 21-23.
- Chellar, N. M. "The National Museums of Zambia, Livingstone", *Museum* No.138; Vol. XXXV, No.2; Paris: UNESCO, 1983, 128-130.
- Clark, J. D. "David Livingstone Memorial Museum: The inception and aims of the David Livingstone Memorial Museum, Livingstone, Northern Zambia", *The Museum Journal*, 39, 1, April 1939, 13-17.
- _____. "The Museum as a Public Service (Memorandum) on the Future Policy for the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute and Museum", *Rhodes-Livingstone Institute Journal*, 4, December 1945, 40-54.
- _____. "The Newly discovered Nachikufu Culture of Northern Rhodesia", *South African Archaeological Bulletin*, 5, 19, 1950, 2-15.
- _____. "Relics of Cecil John Rhodes in the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum", *Northern Rhodesia Journal*, 2, 2, 1953, 49-55.
- _____. "Digging Up History", *Northern Rhodesia Journal*, 3, 5, 1958, 403-412.

- _____. "A Note on the Pre-Bantu Inhabitants of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland", *South African Journal of Science*, 47, 3, 1950, 80-85.
- _____. "A Note on the Pre-Bantu inhabitants of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland", *Northern Rhodesia Journal*, 1, 2, 1950, 42-52.
- _____, and Fagan, B. M. "Charcoals, Sands and Channel-Decorated Pottery from Northern Rhodesia", *American Anthropologist*, 67, 2, 1965, 353-371.
- _____. "Archaeological Retrospective 10", *Antiquity*, LX, 1986, 179-188.
- Clay, G. C. R. "The Rhodes-Livingstone Museum", *Museum*, XVI, 3, 1963, 167-169.
- Colson, E. "The Institute under Max Gluckman, 1942 – 47", *African Social Research*, 24, December, 1977, 285-295.
- _____. "The Relevance of Irrelevant Studies: The Future of Anthropology in Development Research", *African Social Research*, 27/28, December 1996/June, 1997, 18-26.
- Corbeil, J. J. "Bemba Musical Instruments", *Zambia Museum Journal*, 3, 1972, 7-14.
- Costa, A. "Mozambique: making museums a permanent source of teaching and learning", *Museum*, 161, XLI, 1, 1989, 32-34.
- Cross, C. "The Museum in the Developing Nation", *Zambia Museums Journal*, 1, 1970, 9-15.
- Daniels, S. G. H. "A Note on the Iron Age from Kamusongolwa Kopje, Zambia", *South African Archaeological Bulletin*, 22, 1967, 142-150.
- Derricourt, R. D. "Archaeology in Zambia: An Historical Outline", *African Social Research*, 21, June 1977, 31-50.
- _____. *People of the Lakes: Archaeological studies in Northern Zambia*. Zambia Paper 13. Manchester: Manchester University Press on behalf of the University of Zambia, Institute of African Studies, 1980.
- Fagan, B. M. "The Kalomo/Choma Iron Age Project (1961-1963): preliminary Report", Reprint from the *South African Archaeological Bulletin*, XVIII, 69, n.d., 3-19.
- _____, and Phillipson, D. W., "Sebanzi: The Iron Age Sequence at Lochinvar and the Tonga", *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 95, 2, July-December 1965, 253-294.
- _____, and F. Van Noten, "Wooden Implements from Late Stone Age Sites at Ngwisho Hotsprings, Lochinvar, Zambia", *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, 32, 1966, 246-261.

- Fielden, H. W. "The Stone Age of the Zambezi Valley and its relation in Time", *Nature*, 72 November 1905, 77-78.
- Forsdyce, J. "The Functions of National Museums", *The Museums Journal*, 49, 2, May 1949, 30-31.
- Franco, B. "The Communication Conundrum: What is the Message? Who is Listening?", *Journal of American History*, 81, 1, 1994, 151-163.
- Furniss, R. P. "Butala bwa maka – A man called Mr. Energy", *Horizon*, 10, 10, October 1968, 4-5.
- _____. "Father Corbeil's Collection of Indigenous artefacts and crafts", *Horizon*, 10, 10, 1968, 6-13.
- Garbel, C. "Lochinvar Mound: A Later Stone Age camp-site in the Central Kafue Basin", *South African Archaeological Bulletin*, XVIII, 70, 1963, 40-8.
- Gluckman, M. "The Rhodes-Livingstone Institute and Museum", *Rhodes-Livingstone Institute Journal*, 1-4, June 1944, 4-9.
- _____. "Seven-Year Development Plan of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute of Social Studies in British Central Africa", *The Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 4, December 1945, 3-32.
- _____. "The Use of Sociological Research in Museum Display", *Rhodes-Livingstone Institute Journal*, 4 December 1945, 66-73.
- _____. "Social Anthropology in Central Africa", Reprint from *The Rhodes-Livingstone Institute Journal*, 20, June 1956, 1-27.
- Grundlingh, A. "Reframing Remembrance: the Politics of the Centenary Commemoration of the South African War of 1899-1902", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 30, 2, June 2004, 359-375.
- Handler, R. and Gable, E. "The Authority of Documents at some American History Museums", *JAH*, 81, 1, 1994, 119-136.
- Harris, N. "Museums and Controversy: Some Introductory Reflections", *Journal of American History*, 82, 3, 1995, 1029-1035.
- Harwit, M. "Academic Freedom in 'The Last Act' ", *Journal of American History*, 82, 3, 1995, 1064-1082.
- Hess, J. "Exhibiting Ghana: Display, Documentary, and 'National' Art in the Nkrumah Era", *African Studies Review*, 44, I, April 2001, 59-77.
- Humphrey, H.C. "What I Should like to see in the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum (A Layman's View)", *Rhodes-Livingstone Institute Journal*, 4, December 1945, 80-84.

- Inskeep, R. R. "Some Iron Age Sites in Northern Rhodesia", *South African Archaeological Bulletin*, 17, 1962, 136-180.
- _____. "An Iron Smelting Furnace in Southern Zambia", *South African Archaeological Bulletin*, 33, 1978, 113-117.
- Jones, N. "Symposium: The Colonial Museum-Introductory Note on the Need for Collecting and Preserving Objects of Native Material Culture", *Rhodes-Livingstone Institute Journal*, 4, December 1945, 33-39.
- Joyce, T. A. "Africa South: On a Ceremonial Mask and Dress from the Upper Zambezi now in the British Museum", *MAN*, 2, 38, 1902, 75.
- Kashoki, E. M. "The Institute for African Studies in the University of Zambia and the Future of Social Science Research into the 21 Century", *African Social Research*, 27/28, December 1996/June 1997, 27-39.
- Katankwa, N. M. "Some Early Iron Age sites from Machili Valley of South-West Zambia", *AZANIA*, 13, 1978, 135-166.
- _____. "Namakala and Nanga Sites and the chronology of the Early Iron Age in Southern and South West Zambia" *South African Archaeologist Bull*, 34, 1979, 120-122.
- _____. "Upper Zambezi Iron Age Research Project Phase II: Preliminary report on the Salumano site excavations", *Archaeologia Zambiana*, 20, 1981, 12-14.
- _____. "Bantu Bo 73: The Origins of the Zambian Tribes", *Zambia Heritage News*, 6 June-December 1994, 16-17.
- Kohn, H.R. "History and the Culture of Wars: The Case of the Smithsonian Institute's Enola Gay Exhibitions", *Journal of American History*, 82, 3, 1995, 1036-1063.
- Kuo Wei Tcheu, J. "Back to the Basics: Who is Researching and Interpreting for Whom?", *Journal of American History*, 81, 3, 1994, 1004-1010.
- Lamplough, G. W. "Notes on the occurrence of stone implements in the valley of the Zambezi around Victoria Falls", *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 36, 1906, 159-169.
- Levy, V. "The National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe", *Museum*, 138: XXXV, 2, 1983, 131-132.
- Linenthal, T. E. "Committing History in Public", *Journal of American History*, 81, 3, 1994, 986- 991.
- _____. "Struggling with History and Memory", *JAH*, 82, 3, 1995, 1094-1101.
- Liswaniso, M. "The Livingstone Museum: Storehouse of Zambian Culture", *Horizon*, 11,11, November 1968, 13-17.

- Macrae, F. B. "The Stone Age in Northern Rhodesia", *Native Affairs Department Annual (NADA)*, 1, 4, 1926, 67-68.
- Madondo, T. W. "In Botswana: bridging the ignorance gap", *Museum*, XXXIV, 3, 1982, 189-193.
- Macmillan, H. "The Life and Art of Stephen Kappata", *African Arts*, XXX, 1, Winter 1997, 20-31 and 93.
- McGregor, A. and Schumaker, L. eds., "Special Issue on Heritage in Southern Africa", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 32,4 (December, 2006).
- Mebelo, H. S. "The Concept of Man-centered in Zambian Humanism", *Zambia Museums Journal*, 5, 1980, 23-30.
- Miller, S. F. "The Age of Nachikufan Industries in Zambia", *South African Archaeological Bulletin*, 26, December 1971, 143-146.
- Mizinga, F. M. "Activities Characterising the Lwiindi ceremony of the Leya of Mukuni Chieftaincy of Kalomo District", *The Livingstone Museum Newsletter*, 3, 1, 1995, 24-28.
- _____. "Marriage and Bridewealth in a matrilineal society: The case of the Tonga of Southern Zambia: 1900 – 1996", *African Economic History*, 28, 2000, 53-87.
- _____. "Addressing Different Audiences: A New Vision in the Museums of Zambia". The article is a version that was published in Italian in an Italian journal in 2001 – "Tanti Diversi Interlocutori: Una nuova Visione dei Musei in Zambia" *Sommario: Musei dell'Africa Contemporanea*, VIII, 8, 2001.
- Mubitana, A. K. "Zambia's Sculptural Art: Its Essence and development", *Zambia Museum Journal*, 1, 1970, 16-21.
- _____. "Form and significance in the Art of the Lunda, Luvale, Luchazi and Chokwe of Zambia: A Boasian Approach", *Zambia Museum Journal*, 1, 1970, 16-21, 22-27.
- _____. "Tools and headrests in Zambia", *Zambia Museum Journal*, 1, 1971, 7-38.
- Muntemba, M. "The Political and Ritual Sovereignty among the Mukuni Leya of Zambia", *Zambia Museums Journal*, 1, 1970, 28-39.
- Musambachime, M. C. "The Contribution of the University of Zambia's Institute for African Studies to the Study of Social Sciences in Central Africa", *History in Africa*, 19, 1991, 120-130.

- _____. "An Appraisal of the Success and Problems of the Institute for African Studies", *African Social Research*, 27/28, December 1996/June 1997, 35-36.
- _____. "The Influence of Copper Ore in delimiting the Rhodesia-Congo boundary in the Copperbelt area of Zambia: 1920-1933", *Zambia Museums Journal*, 8, 2003, 16-24.
- Mtonga, M. "Gule Wamukulu as a Multi-State Enterprise", *Museum International*, 229-230, May 226, pp. 59-67.
- Mwalukanga, G. "Social Inequalities in Pre-colonial Zambia" and "An Industry Thwarted: Constraints on Cotton Growing in Colonial Zambia", *Zambia Museums Journal*, 7, 1989, 184-190 and 191-198.
- Nawa, N. "Forest Conservation in Barotseland, 1900- 1973", *Zambia Museums Journal*, 7, 2003, 25-29.
- Njeleka, P. "Lusaka Museum: Showcase of Zambian Culture" in *Zambia Tourism Times*, 1, 2, December 1996, 10-11.
- Pearce, S. "Thinking about Things", *Museums Journal*, 85, 1, 1979, 1-16.
- Petit, P. "Industry and Economy of salt in the North of Zambia (Putu, Kaputa)", *Zambia Museums Journal*, 8, 2003, 1-15.
- Phillipson, D. W. "The Early Iron Age in Zambia – regional variants and some tentative conclusions", *Journal of African History*, IX, 1968, 191-211.
- _____. "Archaeology in Zambia", *Journal of African History*, XI, 1, 1974, 1-25.
- Plaen, G. "The Lubumbashi Museum: a museum in Zaire that is quite different", *Museum*, 162: XLI, 2, 1989, 124-126.
- Rassool, C. and Witze, L. "The 1952 Jan van Riebeck Tercentenary Festival: Constructing and Contesting Public National History in South Africa", *Journal of South African History*, 3, 1993, 447-468.
- Reynolds, B. "Some Ideas on the Storage of Ethnographic Material", Reprinted from the *Museums Journal*, 62, 2, September 1962, 1-9.
- Richards, R. "The Rhodes-Livingstone Institute: An Experiment in Research, 1933 – 38", *African Social Research*, 24, December 1977, 275-278.
- Robinson, J. "Johannesburg's Empire Exhibition: Interaction, Segregation and Modernity in a South African City", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 29, 3, September 2003, 759-789.
- Saasa, S. O. "The Future Plans, Priorities and Prospects of the Institute for African Studies: 1990 and Beyond", *African Social Research*, 27/28, December, 1996/June, 1997, 61-74.

- Sherwin, J.M. "Hiroshima as Politics and History", *Journal of American History*, 82, 3, 1995, 1085-1093.
- Sibanda, D. J. "The Education programme of the National Gallery of Zimbabwe", *Museum*, 158: XL, 2, 1988, 103-106.
- Simons, H. J. "Prologue", *African Social Research*, 24, December 1977, 259-273.
- Stannus, H. S. "Central Africa: A Rare Type of Musical Instrument from Central Africa", *MAN*, 20, March, 1920, 37-39.
- Vogel, J. O. "The Kalomo Culture of Southern Zambia: Some notes towards a Reassessment", *Zambia Museums Journal*, 1, 1970, 77-88.
- _____. "The Shongwe Traditions", *Zambia Museums Journal*, 3, 1972, 27-34.
- _____. "The Mosi-oa-Tunya Sequence", *Zambia Museums Journal*, IV, 1973, 105-152.
- _____. "The Iron Age Pottery of the Victoria Falls Region", *Zambia Museums Journal*, 5, 1980, 41-74.
- _____. "An Early Iron Age Burial from Chundu Farm, Zambia", *Zambia Museums Journal*, 6, 1982, 118-125.
- Vrydagh, P. A. "An Introduction to Traditional Mbunda Craftsmanship", *Zambia Museums Journal*, I, 1970, 89-101.
- _____. "Makisi of Zambia", *African Arts*, 10, 4, July 1977, 12-19, 88.
- Wilson, G. "Anthropology as a Public Service", Reprint from *Africa: Journal of the International Languages and Cultures*, XIII, 1, n.d., 43-61.
- Wilson, M. "The Early History of the Transkei and Ciskei", *African Studies*, 18, 1959, 167-179.
- _____. "The First Three-Years, 1938-1941", *African Social Research* 24, December 1977, 279-283.
- Wood, D.A. "The Practice of [American] History: A Canadian Curator's Perspective", *Journal of American History*, 81, 3, 1994, 1011-1026.
- Woods, A.T. "Museums and the Public: Doing History Together?", *Journal of American History*, 82, 3, 1995, 1111-1115.

IV. UNPUBLISHED DISSERTATIONS AND THESES

- Billiard B. Lishiko. "The Politics of Archaeological Knowledge: A Case Study of the Later Stone Age Rock Art Painting of Kasama, Northern Zambia", MA Dissertation in Public and Visual History, University of Western Cape, 2004.
- Chikumbi, D. C. "The 1989 Zambia Heritage Act: Archaeological Implications", M.Phil Dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1992.
- Mataa, N. "Collaboration and Resistance: Reaction to Colonial Rule", MA Dissertation, University of Birmingham, 1977.
- Milbourne, K. E. "Diplomacy in Motion: Art, Pageantry and Political Creativity in Barotseland", PhD Thesis in Art History, Facsimile, UMI Dissertation Services, Graduate College, The University of Iowa, 2003.
- Mubitana, K. A. "The Role of the Masquerade and the Social Significance of Masks in selected African Societies, Diploma Dissertation in Social Anthropology, Edinburgh University, 1968.
- _____. "Ethnicity and Integration in Urban Zambia: Wiko initiations and the use of masks in a modern African town", MSc Dissertation in Social Anthropology, University of Edinburgh, 1970.
- Mufuzi, F. "A History of the Asian Trading Community in Livingstone, 1905 – 1964", MA Dissertation in History, University of Zambia, 2002.
- Muntemba, M. "The Evolution of Political Systems in South-Central Zambia, 1894-1953", MA Dissertation in History, University of Zambia, 1973.
- _____. "Rural Underdevelopment in Zambia: Kabwe Rural District, 1950-1970", PhD Thesis, University of California, 1977.
- Mushokabanji, L. "The changing contribution of the Livingstone Museum to Zambian Archaeology in the light of reduced government funding", MPhil Dissertation, University of Cambridge, Queens' College, 1997.
- Musonda, F. B. "Aspects of the Prehistory of the Lunsemfwa Drainage Basin, Zambia during the Last 20, 000 Years", PhD Dissertation in Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, 1983.
- Wamulungwe, L. P. "Strategic Management in Zambia's Museums", MA Dissertation in Museum Studies, University of Leicester, 1994.

V. UNPUBLISHED PAPERS

- Chaplin, J. M. "Preliminary Account of Iron Age Burial in the Gwembe Valley", Seminar Paper presented at the first Federal Science Congress, Salisbury, 1960.

- Katankwa, N. M. "The Iron Age in Zambia: Some new evidence and interpretations." A paper presented at the International Conference on the growth of farming communities in Africa from the equator southwards. Cambridge, United Kingdom, 4 –8 July 1994.
- Mizinga, F. M. "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.
- Muntemba, M. "Twentieth Century Land Developments and Female Production in the Railway Region of Zambia", Joint History Department and Institute for African Studies Seminar, n.d.
- _____. "Zambia Nsila Sect and Christian Churches in the Livingstone Area", Paper read at a Conference on the History of African Religious Systems, University of Zambia, Lusaka, 1972.
- Musonda, F. B. "Iron Age Studies in Southern Zambia and their contribution to the understanding of the Tonga", (unpublished paper.)
- Sanslmayr, H. "Museum and Liberation", Paper Presented at the Southern African Development Coordinating Conference (SADCC) Museums Conference held in Livingstone, Zambia, 13 – 17 June, 1988.

VI. NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES

- Bulawayo Chronicle*: 1937.
- Livingstone Mail*: 1907, 1943, 1953, 1955, 1957, 1960, 1962, 1964, 1965, 1966 and 1967.
- Sunday Times*: 1985.
- The Post*: 2006.
- The Chronicle*: 1955.
- The Globe and Travel Mail*: 1995.
- The Illustrated London News*: 1964.
- The Star Johannesburg Travel*: 1936
- The Times*: 1937.
- The Times British Colonial Review*: 1953.
- Times of Times*: 1966, 1967 and 1999.