

Establishment of the Livingstone Museum and its role in colonial Zambia, 1934–1964¹

Friday Mufuzi*

Introduction

A number of scholars have explored the development of the Livingstone Museum and the role it played in colonial and post-colonial Zambia. Those who did so during the colonial period include Brelsford, Clark, Gluckman, Jones, Humphrey and Clay.² They discussed the evolution of museums in general, noting that firstly, their purpose was to acquire, select and preserve material culture; secondly, to add knowledge; and thirdly to diffuse that knowledge to the general public. They also highlighted the origins of Livingstone Museum, the reasons for its establishment and the policy governing it during its formative years.

According to Clark, the museum's policy was to interpret and show the history, development and status of the people resident in the country and to offer that knowledge to the public. He saw the role of the museum as a "liaison institution between the European settlers and African ethnic groups, bringing to both, closer understanding of each other, their modes of life, manufacturing, social and economic history and development".³ On the other hand, W.V. Brelsford, an administrative officer in the colonial government of Northern Rhodesia, discussed the role of museums from the administrative point of view. According to him, "many of the exhibits in the museum's care ought to inform the administrator of the traditions and beliefs that may long continue to assert their influence over the lives of his

* Friday Mufuzi, is Keeper of History at the Livingstone Museum His research interests include the social, economic and political history of Indians in colonial Zambia and the contribution of public history as practised in museums to academic history and vice versa He recently published "A Zambian Glory under the Microscope: A Brief History of the Livingstone Museum", *Bulleting and Record*, February 2011, pp 27–31 His forthcoming publications include chapters on "Indian Political Activism in Zambia: The Case of Livingstone's Indian Traders, 1950–1964", and "Indian Traders as Agents of Western Technological Consumption and Social Change in Mukuni: Memories of the Sharma Brothers Trading Store, 1950s to 1964", in J-B Gewald, M Hinfelaar and G Macola (eds), *Living the End of the Empire: Politics and Society in Colonial Zambia*, Brill Afrika-Studiecentrum Series, No 21 (Brill, Leiden, forthcoming)

1 The original version of this article was entitled, "Establishment of the Livingstone Museum and the Role it Played in Propagating Government Agenda, 1934–2006" It is a product of my PhD thesis entitled "The Livingstone Museum and its Contribution to Zambian History, 1934–2006" The article was presented at the Historical Association of South Africa (HASA) Biennial Conference, North-West University, South Africa, 23–25 July 2010 The author wishes to acknowledge the funding from the British Academy which enabled him to participate in the conference

2 V W Brelsford, *Handbook of the David Livingstone Memorial Museum* (Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, Livingstone, 1937); V W Brelsford, "Museums and Administration", *Rhodes-Livingstone Institute Journal*, 4, December 1945; J D Clark, "David Livingstone Memorial Museum: The Inception and Aims of the David Livingstone Memorial Museum, Livingstone, Northern Rhodesia", *The Museum Journal*, 39, 1, April 1939, pp 13–17; J D Clark, "The Museum as a Public Service: Memorandum on the Future Policy for the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute and Museum as Accepted by the Trustees", *Rhodes-Livingstone Institute Journal*, 4, December 1945, pp 40–54; M Gluckman, "The Rhodes-Livingstone Institute and the Museum", *Rhodes-Livingstone Institute Journal*, 1, June 1944; N Jones, "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; H C Humphrey, "What I should Like to See in the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum (a Layman's View)", *Rhodes-Livingstone Institute Journal*, 4, December 1945, pp 80–84; and G C R Clay, "The Rhodes-Livingstone Museum", *Museum*, 16, 3, 1963, pp 167–169

3 Clark, "The Museum as a Public Service", p 40

people”.⁴ He believed that through a detailed study of exhibits, intimate knowledge could be acquired on the ethnic groups.⁵ On the other hand, M.C. Humphrey, a European settler, discussed European settlers’ expectations from museums during the colonial period. He wanted to “learn something of man (sic) [people] in Northern Rhodesia in an easy and interesting way”.⁶ He also called for the creation of small sections in the museum where Africans could learn about the “white man’s progress”, and felt that a section showing “the effect of European influence upon African culture in series according to the varying degrees of impurity”, was desirable.⁷

Gervas C.R. Clay, a historian, former resident commissioner in Barotseland when it was still a protectorate and curator of the Livingstone Museum (1961–1964), showed that on the eve of independence (1963), the Livingstone Museum had well developed galleries that included pre-history, ethnography and history.⁸ The galleries presented the story of man in Zambia from the earliest times to the coming of Europeans. The pre-history displays dealt with the development of human culture in the territory as uncovered by archaeological excavations carried out by the museum staff since 1938. Most of the ethnographic displays in the ethnographic gallery illustrated the material culture of individual ethnic groups, while some cases were devoted to particular aspects of those cultures such as hunting and fishing techniques, musical instruments and witchcraft. Displays in the history gallery were on the collection of relics and letters of David Livingstone; early missionary and European administration activities; and the British South Africa Company and its architect, Cecil John Rhodes.⁹

Scholars who have written on museums in Zambia’s post-colonial period include Cross, Mataa, Mizinga, Chellah, and Mushokabanji.¹⁰ Cross highlighted the role of a museum in a developing nation. He discussed the importance of collections in a museum, which he considered the “soul” of a museum, the means by which it achieved recognition.¹¹ Additionally, he emphasised the need for collections to be displayed in a manner that communicated ideas on the cultural achievements of other people’s historical heritage.

Mataa’s study discussed reasons for the preservation of collections. According to him, cultural and historical heritage ought to be preserved because it offered a vital link in the development of humanity. Its preservation provided knowledge of past generations that enabled contemporary ones to face the present with confidence, thereby allowing them to plan for the future. He showed how preservation provided for the education and enjoyment of

4 Clark, “The Museum as a Public Service”, p 40

5 Brelsford, “Museums and Administration”, p 75

6 Humphrey, “What I Should Like to See”, p 81

7 Humphrey, “What I Should Like to See”, pp 81–82

8 Clay, “The Rhodes-Livingstone Museum”, p 168; also see M Liswaniso, “The Livingstone Museum: Storehouse of Zambian Culture”, *Horizon*, 11, 11, 1968, p 14

9 Clay, “The Rhodes-Livingstone Museum”, p 169

10 C Cross, “The Museum in the Developing Nation”, *Zambia Museum Journal*, 1, 1970, pp 9–15; N Mataa, “Preservation of Cultural Property by National Museums”, in G Zaucha (ed), *Zambia Legislation and Practice in Relation to the Preservation of Cultural Property* (University of Zambia, Lusaka, 1992); N M Chellah, “The National Museums of Zambia: Livingstone”, *Museum*, 35, 2, 1983, pp 128–130; F M Mizinga, “Addressing Different Audiences: A New Vision in the Museums of Zambia” (published in Italian) as “Tanti Diversi Interlocutori: Unanovva Visionedei Musei in Zambia”, *Sommario: Musei dell Africa Contemporanea*, 8, 8, 2001; and L Mushokabanji, “The Changing Contribution of the Livingstone Museum to Zambian Archaeology in the Light of Reduced Government Funding”, M Phil dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1997

11 Cross, “The Museum in the Developing Nation”, p 13

future generation in the light of the dynamism and versatility of culture, which enabled it to borrow heavily from other cultures whilst lending heavily too. He argued that cultures whose dynamism and versatility failed to keep pace with the rate of cultural diffusion, risked being swallowed by invading and more dynamic cultures. Unless they were preserved, such cultures were in danger of becoming extinct.¹² However, Mizinga took a contrary view. He argued that as much as preservation was important, emphasis needed to be on designing activities that provoked dialogue and helped audiences reflect on issues that could help them provide answers to questions that were relevant in their lives. “That way”, he argued, “museums could be tools of national development”.¹³

Mataa’s study also discussed post-colonial government policy in relation to museums. He noted that shortly after the attainment of independence in 1964, the new government enacted the National Museums Board of Zambia Act (Cap. 267 of 1966 of the Laws of Zambia). Through this Act, the function of the Board included the control, management and development of national museums.¹⁴ Whilst Mataa’s study was more general on policy matters concerning museums in Zambia, Mwimanji N. Chellah’s study was specific and discussed policy framework for the Livingstone Museum in post-colonial Zambia. According to him, the Livingstone Museum was to be “a living image of the past, a source of culture, a crossroad of ethnic cultures, [and] a symbol of national unity”.¹⁵ Chellah went on to observe that the museum’s activities were to be within the government’s social and economic development programme that was based on the concept of “One Zambia One Nation.” In this framework, Zambians were expected to be aware of their common history in order to work together towards the building of a strong and united modern nation.¹⁶

The works noted above are significant to this study in that they provide basic information on the development of the Livingstone Museum in both the colonial and post-colonial periods, and on issues such as the policies it followed over time. However, acquisition of collections, content of displays presented to the public and the role the museum was expected to play from both the colonial and post-colonial government perspective as well as the European settler’s point of view, are not sufficiently detailed. Most importantly, none of the studies mentioned above dealt with the role the museum played in the dissemination of information to the public. Those that attempted to do so only discussed the role the museum was expected to play and did not explore the role it actually played in disseminating cultural and historical information to the public.

This article attempts to redress this shortfall. It examines the factors that led to the establishment of the Livingstone Museum, its development and the part it played in carrying out government agenda from 1934 to 1964. The article argues that the stated aim for the establishment of the museum was noble in that it strove “to make a collection of the material culture of the various ethnic groups in the territory for study and preservation” because these examples of cultural objects were “fast dying out due to mass-factory produced goods”.¹⁷

12 Mataa, “Preservation of Cultural Property”, p 44

13 Mizinga, “Addressing Different Audiences: A New Vision in the Museums of Zambia”, p 1

14 Mataa, “Preservation of Cultural Property”, p 43

15 Chellah, “The National Museums of Zambia, Livingstone”, p 129

16 Chellah, “The National Museums of Zambia, Livingstone”, p 130

17 National Archives of Zambia (hereafter NAZ), Northern Rhodesian Government, *Legislative Council Debates*, Second Session of the Third Council, 7 March–1 April 1930 (Government Printer, Livingstone, 1930), columns 166–167; NAZ, District Notebooks File Series (hereafter KDB) 1/5/6: Secretary for Native Affairs (hereafter SNA) to Chief Secretary (hereafter CS), Livingstone, 2 December 1931; NAZ, KDB 1/5/6: SNA, Livingstone, to Provincial Commissioner (hereafter PC),

However, in reality it was aimed at perpetuating colonial rule in the country. The museum was expected to produce knowledge on the African way of life, information which would assist the colonial government in ruling Africans and thereby make it easier to exploit their natural and human resources.

Further, it argues that exhibitions during colonial Zambia focused on African material culture and the exploits of Europeans in the territory in order to show the rest of the world the superiority of European culture compared to that of Africans. Thus, the museum legitimised colonial rule, which European settlers saw as necessary if the “civilising” effects of European culture were to save Africans from their “primitive” way of life. To illustrate these issues, the article focuses on the museum’s permanent exhibitions of 1934, 1951 and the temporary exhibition mounted in 1955 to commemorate the centenary of the Scottish missionary-explorer, David Livingstone’s sighting of the Victoria Falls. The article also argues that the museum played an important role in preserving the material culture of various ethnic groups in Zambia. This cultural legacy would otherwise have been lost to posterity due to pressure from capitalist mass-produced goods.

Historical background

The idea of a museum in Zambia is traced back to 1901, when a social club was formed for members of the European settler community in Fort Jameson (Chipata), the then headquarters of North-Eastern Rhodesia (NER).¹⁸ In 1902, white settlers in Abercorn (Mbala) built the Tanganyika Victoria Memorial Institute (TVMI) in memory of Queen Victoria. The building was to be used solely as a library. However, as was the case with the VMI in Chipata, the functions of a museum and other social activities were added later.¹⁹ In 1907, the European settler community in Livingstone made similar efforts. During the year, Sir Leopold Moore reported that a small collection was organised by European settlers to establish a museum in the town,²⁰ but this effort, like those earlier in eastern and northern Zambia, did not yield significant results.

Mazabuka, 10 May 1833; and National Museums of Northern Rhodesia, *The Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, 1934–1951* (Government Printer, Lusaka, 1951), p 4

- 18 In that year, Sir Robert E Codrington, the administrator for North-Eastern Rhodesia laid the foundation stone for the Victoria Memorial Hall erected to the memory of Queen Victoria who died earlier in 1901. The hall was built through public subscription by the European settler community. In 1904, it became the Victoria Memorial Institute (VMI) following the enactment of the Victoria Memorial Institute Ordinance, 1904. In terms of this ordinance, the VMI was to be used as a library, museum, sports and social club. See *Northern Rhodesia Government Gazette*, vols 1–4 (1911–1914), p 58; Frederick G Smith (attorney general of Northern Rhodesia), “Victoria Memorial Institute Cap 144, 19 of 1921”, in F G Smith, *The Laws of Northern Rhodesia, 1930*, vol 30 (Waterlow & Sons, London, 1931), p 1347; and Brelsford, *Handbook of the David Livingstone Memorial Museum*, p 122.
- 19 NAZ, Historical Manuscripts (hereafter HM) 36/1/1, Minutes of the TVMI, January 1907– January 1953, Minutes of committee meeting held at Abercorn, 5 February 1929; NAZ, HM 36/1/1, minutes of committee meeting held at Abercorn, 5 April 1929; and Frederick G Smith, “Tanganyika Victoria Memorial Institute Cap 145, 42 of 1929” in Smith, *The Laws of Northern Rhodesia, 1930*, vol 30, p 1347.
- 20 L Moore, “The Livingstone Museum”, *The Livingstone Mail*, 55, 13 April 1907, p 1; L Moore, “The Livingstone Museum”, *The Livingstone Mail*, 57, 27 April 1907, p 1; and Livingstone Museum Archives (hereafter LMA), Northern Rhodesia Government (hereafter NRG), The National Museums of Northern Rhodesia (hereafter NMNR): *The Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, 1934–1951* (Government Printers, Lusaka, 1951), p 4

The first notable attempt to establish a museum was made in 1930, when Moffat-Thompson, who was the secretary for Native Affairs (SNA) from 1929 to 1934, convinced the government on the necessity of collecting the material culture of the various ethnic groups for study and preservation because it was fast dying out. Such studies would also provide the colonial government with information on the people under their rule. In March 1930, the Legislative Council (Legco) endorsed the idea and James Maxwell, the governor of the territory from 1926 to 1932, instructed district officers to collect suitable ethnological materials and if possible, to purchase them.²¹

These ethnological collections formed the foundation of the David Livingstone Memorial Museum, established in Livingstone in 1934. The museum was given this name following the suggestion of Sir Hubert Young, the governor of Northern Rhodesia from 1934 to 1939, in order to honour the Scottish missionary-explorer, Dr David Livingstone, who was believed to be the first European to sight the now-famous waterfalls, which the local people, the Leya, called Nshyungu Namutitima, while the Kololo, passing through Livingstone to Western Province, called Mosi-oa-Tunya. Livingstone renamed the waterfalls the Victoria Falls in honour of the reigning Queen of England, Victoria. Livingstone died at Chitambo, central Zambia, in 1873. For a long time thereafter, ethnography formed the core discipline of the institution.²²

In 1937, the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute (now the Institute of Economic and Social Research of the University of Zambia) was established for the purpose of undertaking anthropological and sociological research among the indigenous communities of Central Africa to study the many problems that had arisen from the cultural contact between Europeans and Africans. Thereafter, the David Livingstone Memorial Museum was incorporated as an essential part of the research institute and a single Board of Trustees administered both. In 1939, following the addition of the relics of Cecil John Rhodes and the British South Africa Company,²³ the name of the museum was changed to Rhodes-Livingstone Museum. Due to the tremendous expansion of the work of both the institute and the museum, the two were separated in 1946. The museum retained the name Rhodes-Livingstone Museum while the research institute became the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute.²⁴ In 1947, the National Monuments Commission was established as part of the museum. It was responsible for the conservation of immovable natural and cultural heritage, while the museum's responsibility was that of movable cultural and natural heritage. In 1948, the commission was separated from the museum and operated independently as the Commission

21 The question of putting up a museum in Livingstone, Zambia, then called Northern Rhodesia, was discussed in the Legco on 24 March 1930; see NAZ, NRG, *Legco Debates*, Second Session of the Third Council, 7 March–1 April 1930, columns 166–167; and NMNR, *The Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, 1934–1951*, p 4

22 NMNR, *The Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, 1934–1951*, pp 4–5

23 J D Clark, "Relics of Cecil John Rhodes in the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum", *Northern Rhodesia Journal*, 2, 2, 1953, pp 49–55

24 NAZ, *Hansard*, no 28, 26 June 1937, columns 11–12; Secretariat Series (hereafter SEC) 1/142, Rhodes-Livingstone Museum Ordinance, 1946, Minute no 21/1; Legal Report by the attorney-general (H G Morgan) on the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute Ordinance no 1 of 1937; Ordinance no 16 of 1946; and Ordinance no 17 of 1946, 5 September 1946; *Hansard* no 55, 28 August 1946, column 79; *Hansard* no 55, 29 August 1946, column 144; Rhodes-Livingstone Museum Ordinance, 1946, clauses, 1–7; Rhodes-Livingstone Institute for Social Research, *Director's Report for the Year ending 31 March 1959* (Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, Lusaka, 1959), p i; and LMA, NMNR, *The Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, 1934–1951*, p 5

for the Preservation of Natural and Historical Monuments and Relics. In 1989, it became the National Heritage Conservation Commission.²⁵

After Zambia's independence in 1964, the National Museums Board was created in 1966. Its functions included the control, management and development of national museums.²⁶ In the same year, the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum was given its present name, the Livingstone Museum. Then in 1967, the collection of the short-lived Military and Police Museum, housed at the Old Boma in Lusaka since its establishment in 1962, moved to the Livingstone Museum, thereby increasing its collection. In 1968, the board gazetted a gallery of natural resources in Ndola called the Copperbelt Museum into a state-owned museum.²⁷ Following this, in 1974, the Roman Catholic Church donated Moto Moto Museum, which had developed from the collection of materials of ethnic groups of northern Zambia collected by Fr Joseph J. Corbeil, to the government. The Moto Moto Museum was made a national museum that same year.²⁸

In 1996, the Lusaka National Museum was opened, bringing the number of national museums to four. The history of this museum dates back to 1970, when the vice president of Zambia, Simon Mwansa Kapwepwe, mooted the idea of a national museum to preserve the political history of the country for posterity and to recognise the role freedom fighters had played in Zambia's liberation.²⁹

There were also initiatives to establish private museums in the country and among the notable ones is the Choma Museum and Craft Centre located in Choma, which is the custodian of the historical heritage of the Tonga people of Southern Province.³⁰ Another is Nayuma Museum, run by the Lozi Royal Establishment in Mongu, which presents the history and material culture of the Lozi people of Western Province.³¹ Other museums are the government-owned Railway Museum in Livingstone, under the control of National Heritage Conservation Commission and the Zintu Museum and Craft Centre, a privately-owned museum that was founded in Lusaka in 1979, but closed its doors in 1997.³²

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- 25 N M Katanekwa, "The National Heritage Conservation Commission and the Conservation of Zambia's Heritage", in Zaucha (ed), *Zambian Legislation and Practice in relation to the Preservation of Cultural Property* p 20
- 26 Mataa, "Preservation of Cultural Property", p 43
- 27 P A Mbewe, "The Copperbelt Museum: It's Formative Background", *The Livingstone Museum Newsletter*, 3, 1, 1995, pp 5–6
- 28 Moto Moto Museum, *The Moto Moto Museum Newsletter*, 2, 1993, p 4; and National Museums Board of Zambia (NMB), *Annual Report for the Period 1 January 1979* Government Printers, Lusaka, 1981), pp 31–32
- 29 P Njeleka, "Lusaka Museum: Showcase of Zambian Culture" in *Zambia Tourism Times*, 1, 2, 1996, p 11
- 30 W W Chakanika, "The Gossiner Service Team and Valley Tonga of the Gwembe South Region", *Zambia Museums Journal*, 1, 1979, p 177; and interview conducted by author with Pythias A Mbewe, Livingstone, 10 June 2006
- 31 National Museums Board of Zambia (hereafter NMB), "Museum Conservation Survey Questionnaire", answered by V K Katanekwa, director/curator, Nayuma Museum, 27 October 1991, p 2; NMB, "Update of Directory of African Museums Questionnaire", answered by V K Katanekwa, 27 October 1991, p 3; P Borum, "Western Province: A Cultural Gold Mine", *Zambia Daily Mail*, 20 May 2005, p 7
- 32 G Chongwe, "The Role of Craft Making in the Preservation of Craft Forms", in Zaucha (ed), *Zambian Legislation and Practice in Relation to the Preservation of Cultural Property*, pp 48–56; "Zintu Museum", *International Council of Museums (ICOM) Zambia Newsletter*, 1, 1996, pp 6–7 On the Railway Museum see I M Nzila, "The Railway Museum: Performance Analysis, 1987–1991", *Livingstone Museum Newsletter*, 3, 1, 1979, pp 11–13

The colonial period, 1934–1964

During the colonial period, the Livingstone Museum focused on the collection and study of ethnological and archaeological objects. This was because the colonial officials wanted to study the material culture of the people over whom they ruled, in order to understand them better. In this way they hoped to minimise areas of conflict arising from cultural contact between Europeans and Africans following the imposition of European colonial rule in the country.³³ Further, they wanted to reinforce the then contemporary racial beliefs, based on the supposed superiority of the European race, that Africans had no developed culture except when encouraged to do so European intruders.³⁴ In addition, as Stocking, cited by Lyn Schumaker observed:

... the collection of artefacts, both archaeological and contemporary gave anthropology meaning during the "Museum Era" prior to ... functionalist fieldwork-oriented anthropology. The older anthropology tended to be conceived as a study of the human past as it was embodied in collectible physical objects, rather than an observational study of human behaviour in the present; its important relationships were to be the biological sciences represented in museums of natural history rather than the social sciences³⁵

Arising from the foregoing, it is hardly surprising that during the museum's formative years, there was no systematic collection of historical objects, nor was a historian employed. Colonial officials still followed the nineteenth-century Hegelian notion that viewed Africa as a continent with no history except that of European activities. According to them, pre-colonial Africa had showed neither change nor development and the African people were incapable of progress or education; their status was as it had always been.³⁶ This view predominated well into the twentieth century. For example, in the early 1960s, A.P. Newton, a renowned professor of Modern History at London University, asserted emphatically: "Africa had no history before the coming of the Europeans. History only begins when men take to writing; primitive custom ... was the concern of archaeologists, linguists and anthropologists".³⁷

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

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

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- 33 Ekpo Eyo, "Conventional Museums and the Quest for Relevance in Africa", *Proceedings of the May 1988 Conference and Workshop on African Material Culture* (American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council, Bellagio, 1988), p 95
- 34 J D Fage, "The Development of African Historiography", in J Ki-Zerbo (ed), *UNESCO General History of Africa, Volume 1: Methodology and African Prehistory* (James Currey, London, 1981), pp 30–37
- 35 L Schumaker, *Africanising Anthropology* (Duke University Press, Durham and London, 2001), pp 140–141
- 36 Fage, "The Development of African Historiography", p 30
- 37 Quoted in Fage, "The Development of African Historiography", pp 32-33

connected with it in some way.³⁸ Exhibitions included ethnological, archaeological and a few historical exhibits that focused on European explorers, colonial administrators and their exploits along the railway line and the Copperbelt. The museum's general policy aimed to show:

... the life of the peoples of the Territory from the earliest Stone Age through the material culture of the earlier Bantu tribes to the coming of the first Europeans, the exploration and early settlement by Livingstone and the followers of Cecil Rhodes, the effects of this new civilisation upon the modern native, and finally the industrial development of the ... Copperbelt ... from which the country derived most of its economic prosperity³⁹

The museum's policy also included the collection of geological and botanical objects in order to avail them to experts for study and for staging exhibitions to demonstrate the relationship between European and African mining and other industries. The objective was to highlight the influence of Europeans on the local people.⁴⁰

It is thus clear that the Livingstone Museum's policy during its formative years suppressed African cultural and historical development while advancing the then dominant Western view of the superiority of the European over the African race. It was designed to justify European colonial rule in Zambia, just as was the case elsewhere in Africa at that time. This policy was in line with the views of George W.F. Hegel, Hugh Trevor-Roper, A.P. Newton and C.G. Seligman. The history of Africa before the advent of colonial rule "could only be reconstructed from the evidence of material remains and from the study of language and primitive custom".⁴¹ Thus, the ethnological and archaeological collections at the Livingstone Museum were used to demonstrate how primitive and backward Africans were and how underdeveloped their technology was before the inroads of European colonial rule in the area. Similarly, the history collection and exhibitions demonstrated how European civilisation had advanced in comparison to that of the Africans. Nevertheless, the policy was significant in that it served to promote the collection and preservation of indigenous African material culture that was under threat of extinction.

Exhibitions during the formative years

During the colonial period, the Livingstone Museum carried out numerous research projects.⁴² These yielded objects or artefacts of various kinds that present tangible manifestations of the people of Zambia through the centuries. They give an idea of the way of life of the people who made and used these artefacts and therefore if interpreted correctly have the potential to present a history of the communities who made and used them.

Generally, museums mount exhibitions to present manifestations of mankind to the public. The Livingstone Museum took this task seriously from its inception. This was underlined in its formative years' policy, that was geared towards "the elucidation of the history, development and present status of man (sic) [people] in Northern Rhodesia and the

38 Clark, "David Livingstone Memorial Museum: Inception and Aims", p 17

39 Clark, "David Livingstone Memorial Museum: Inception and Aims", p 17

40 Gluckman, "The Rhodes-Livingstone Institute and Museum", p 7

41 Fage, "The Development of African Historiography", pp 32-33

42 This includes archaeological research carried out by J D Clark in the middle Zambezi valley and at Kalambo Falls; J O Vogel in the middle Zambezi valley; Brian M Fagan in the lower Zambezi and ethnographical research carried out by Barrie Reynolds on witchcraft and material culture in western and southern Zambia respectively

dissemination of that knowledge to the general public”,⁴³ As part of this policy, the museum endeavoured to use these objects to analyse the social, political and economic conditions in the country since pre-historic times.⁴⁴

In fact, from its inception, the museum dedicatedly disseminated information generated from its researches to the public. This was done mainly through exhibitions. The first of these was mounted in 1934, the year the museum was established as the David Livingstone Memorial Museum. In that year, the museum collections acquired by colonial officials since the 1930s were opened to the public.⁴⁵ Owing to the humble beginnings of the museum and the lack of adequate financial resources, the exhibition was a simple one. Exhibits were merely placed on tables that had been arranged in a room and on the veranda of the Old Magistrate Court building.⁴⁶ The exhibits on display included letters and relics of the missionary-explorer, David Livingstone. Most of these had been donated to the museum, or were on loan. Other exhibits were ethnological materials from different ethnic groups in the territory. As was the case of similar materials elsewhere in Africa during this period, they were perceived to be “in danger of being destroyed by the invasion of European mass factory produced goods”.⁴⁷

In 1937, following its relocation from the Old Magistrate Court building to a larger building that formerly housed the United Services Club, the museum mounted a permanent exhibition. This presented information on the peoples who had inhabited the territory from the earliest Stone Age by exhibiting objects of material culture of indigenous ethnic communities until to European colonisation of the area.⁴⁸ The exhibits were largely archaeological and ethnological. In line with the museum policy, archaeological material collections, which were mainly of the Stone Age period, were set up together with the faunal remains of the same era to give an indication of life during Stone Age times. The exhibits were in two main forms. The first aimed at giving an idea of the development of early mankind, their stone implements and the period of time involved. The second comprised collections from important sites in the country and was composed of both pre-historic and proto-historic materials. Most of these came from collections made by Desmond Clark during his research in the Victoria Falls area. Among the exhibits on display were a burial of a proto-historic African woman with associated grave furniture. A diorama showing life on the banks of the Zambezi during the Stone Age completed the picture.⁴⁹

43 Clark, “The Museum as a Public Service”, 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* (Government Printer, Lusaka, 1954), p 27

44 Clark, “The Museum as a Public Service”, pp 44–45; and M Gluckman, “The Seven Year Research Plan of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute”, *The Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 4, December 1945, p 29

45 LMA, Museum Development Plans and Appeals, “A Ten-Year Development Plan for the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum”, 5 December 1952, pp 1–2

46 LMA, Museum Development Plans and Appeals, “A Ten-Year Development Plan for the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum”, 5 December 1952, pp 1–2

47 H 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 correspondence by district commissioners and provincial commissioners to the secretary for Native Affairs located in the LMA, G155-162, File 156, vol 1, Department of Native Affairs: Native Arts and Crafts, 23 November 1929 to 24 December 1931; and in the Numerical Index and Catalogue of Exhibits in Native Arts and Crafts Museum, 1933

48 LMA, Museum Development Plans and Appeals, “A Ten-Year Development Plan for the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum”, 5 December 1952, p 2

49 Clark, “David Livingstone Memorial Museum: Inception and Aims, p 17

The ethnology section of the exhibition was a pre-colonial technology collection that illustrated how various articles were made. Like archaeological exhibits, they also took two main forms. There were technological exhibits that demonstrated the manufacture of domestic utensils such as pots and baskets, and the processes followed in domestic arts such as weaving, bark-cloth making, iron making and salt making. These were supplemented with photographs, giving the visitor an idea of the essential aspects of African domestic art and providing a background to the study of the second category of exhibits,⁵⁰ the ethnic exhibits. This was in line with the museum's policy, which proposed the setting up of ethnic exhibits showing the lifestyle of what they termed the "important tribes". It was envisioned that when complete, the exhibition would comprise a representative collection drawn from twenty different ethnic communities.⁵¹ To illustrate the tribal way of life, models of dwellings and villages were constructed. By 1940, five of these were complete. The exhibits depicted the traditional lifestyle of the Lozi, Bemba, Tonga and Toka, Ila and Lunda ethnic groups, while progress had been made towards construction of the basic nucleus of exhibits on the Lamba, Lala, Mbunda and Bisa ethnic groups. In this type of exhibit, the local differences between the cultural groups were emphasised.⁵² An informative booklet was placed conveniently at the side of each exhibition case, giving a brief description of the process involved, the history and sociological conditions of the ethnic group and a number of appropriate photographs.⁵³

In addition, there were photographs of a general nature on dress and adornment, knives, currency, etc. and those that depicted traditional practices of particular ethnic groups such as Makishi dancing masks and costumes (found among the Mbunda, Luchazi, Chokwe and Luvale ethnic groups in the present Western and North-western provinces of Zambia), witchcraft and magic objects.⁵⁴

The historical section, that aimed to show the development of the territory since the coming of the first Europeans, followed the ethnographic section. It formed the final stage in the museum's survey of the country. The exhibits comprised maps of Africa which dated from 1478 to contemporary times; the coming of the first Europeans; European exploration; and the various activities of David Livingstone and other missionaries. There were also exhibits on Cecil John Rhodes; the effects of colonisation, such as the industrial development of the Copperbelt; and on urbanisation and how it had influenced the local people. Exhibits from the First World War period were also on display.⁵⁵

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

51 Clark, "David Livingstone Memorial Museum: Inception and Aims", p 17; and A A L, "The Livingstone Museum", p 1

52 Clark, "David Livingstone Memorial Museum: Inception and Aims", p 17; Clark, "Report of Progress Made", pp 9-10; A A L, "The Livingstone Museum", p 1

53 Clark, "David Livingstone Memorial Museum: Inception and Aims", p 17; Clark, "Report of Progress Made", pp 9-10; A A L, "The Livingstone Museum", p 1

54 Clark, "David Livingstone Memorial Museum: Inception and Aims", p 17; Clark "Report of Progress Made", pp 9-10; A A L, "The Livingstone Museum", p 1

55 Clark, "David Livingstone Memorial Museum: Inception and Aims", p 17; A A L, "The Livingstone Museum", p 1

Exhibits on 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 of the exhibition.⁵⁶ This was because in the eyes of white settlers, these two men were important figures in the history of the country and in their different ways had made a significant contribution to opening up central Africa to “European civilisation”.⁵⁷

Although the aims of the museum were lofty and noble, a critical examination of the exhibitions that were mounted at that time shows that as a colonial creation, the museum was preoccupied with highlighting imperial preoccupations and at the same time showing African ethnic groups as having no history other than was apparent in their ethnological objects. It can therefore safely be stated that the exhibitions were meant to advance the then dominant Western view of the superiority of Europeans over the Africans⁵⁸ in order to justify colonial rule in the territory.

As noted above, the mounting of displays based on ethnic groups such as the Bemba, Tonga, Nyanja and Lozi, which were labelled “important tribes”, was therefore one way in which colonial masters tried to use the country’s diverse ethnicity to entrench the state’s ideological stance and policy of divide and rule based on racial discrimination. Thus, museum policy, although not clearly defined, contributed to the justification of European colonial rule in the country. By putting up exhibitions that portrayed indigenous ethnic groups as having no history other than a backward and primitive cultural heritage, whilst showing Eurocentric history and culture in a positive light, the museum was making a statement that colonial rule would be to the benefit of Africans, and that European ‘civilisation’ would uplift their lives. Thus Monica Wilson’s observation that “archaeological research carried no political implications during that time”,⁵⁹ is inaccurate.

The policy proclamations on museum activities, particularly those pertaining to exhibitions, did not embody any racially restrictive regulation in the way exhibitions were to be mounted, however, when the exhibitions discussed above are reviewed, it becomes clear that in practice they were prepared in a racially discriminatory manner. The design of exhibitions did not include African activities because Africa was not seen as a continent rich in history because its people did not have written records. Although Africans had a great deal to tell by way of oral traditions, the prevalent opinion was that history only began in Africa with the coming of Europeans, hence the overwhelming predominance of exhibits featuring European exploration, Christian missionary activities, colonisation and the achievements of the colonial administration.

Furthermore, most of the exhibits on African people were ethnological rather than historical. This was in line with the social Darwinism of the time, which maintained that Africa and its people were merely “a laboratory for earlier forms of human civilisation”.⁶⁰ Abdul Sheriff and others, writing about the Zanzibar Museum during the colonial period, noted that:

56 Clark, “David Livingstone Memorial Museum: Inception and Aims”, p 17; A A L, “The Livingstone Museum”, p 1
 57 LMA, Newspaper cuttings file, “Research in Central Africa”, *The Times*, 30 June 1937
 58 Fage, “The Development of African Historiography”, pp 30–37
 59 M Wilson, “The First Three Years, 1938–41”, *African Social Research*, 24, 1977, p 282
 60 A Sheriff and P Voogt with M Luhila, *The Zanzibar House of Wonders Museum: Self-Reliance and Partnership: A Case Study in Culture and Development* (KIT Publishers, no place, undated), p 20

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 way⁶¹

The situation noted by Sheriff and others on the exhibitions in the Zanzibar Museum also applied to the Livingstone Museum during the colonial period. The exhibitions categorised the Zambian people into ethnic groups or – in accordance with colonial parlance – “tribes”, instead of showing aspects common to all indigenous people, most of whom, after all, had originated from the same area, the Luba-Lunda Empire, in the present Democratic Republic of Congo.⁶² The same trend characterised exhibitions mounted in the new museum building that opened in 1951.⁶³ The history exhibition at the new building was merely increased in size by adding more exhibits on the same themes featured at the previous museum site. For the most part, the exhibits focused on the exploits of the Arabs and Europeans in the country and displays that illustrated industrial and human progress after the onset of colonial rule; these stood triumphant over the “savagery” of the “native condition”. There were exhibits on Arab and Portuguese inroads into the territory; the activities of European explorers and Christian missionaries; the impact of colonisation; projects undertaken by the 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.⁶⁴ Exhibits that reflected the lifestyle of the indigenous African ethnic groups were relegated to the ethnography exhibition.⁶⁵

The fact that the Livingstone Museum was used as a tool to advance the aspirations of the colonial authority is well illustrated by examining the temporary exhibition mounted in 1955, the David Livingstone Centenary Exhibition. The exhibition ran from 1 June to 31 August and was one of the events staged by the government to commemorate the centenary of the sighting of the Victoria Falls by David Livingstone on 16 November 1855. The climax of the celebration was on that same date a century later and was attended by the governor-general, Lord Llewellyn and the three territorial governors of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.⁶⁶ In the 1930s and 1950s, the museum participated in exhibitions staged in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia respectively, highlighting the successes and aspirations of these two countries.

61 Sheriff and Voogt with Mubiana, *The Zanzibar House of Wonders Museum*, p 20

62 See, L H Gann, *A History of Northern Rhodesia: Early Days to 1953* (Chatto & Windus, London, 1964), pp 14–16; A Roberts, “The Age of Traditions (A D 1500 to 1850)”, in B M Fagan (ed), *A Short History of Zambia: From the Earliest Times until A.D. 1900* (Oxford University Press, London, 1966), pp 103–122; and H W Langworthy, *Zambia before 1800: Aspects of Pre-colonial History* (Longman, London, 1974), pp 14–27

63 LMA, 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

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

65 See Layout plan in NAZ, Southern Province Files Series (hereafter SP) 1/4/16, 1958-66, Minutes of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, vol 3, loc 3031: “Rhodes-Livingstone Museum: New Scheme for Historical Gallery”

66 NAZ, SP 1/1/32, David Livingstone Centenary (Discovery of the Victoria Falls), undated Memo, from PC, Southern Province to resident commissioner, Barotseland Protectorate and PCs, Northern, Eastern, Central and North-Western Provinces and copied to SNA, 1 October 1955

The first of these, in 1936, was Northern Rhodesia's participation in the Empire Exhibition in Johannesburg, that celebrated Johannesburg's jubilee (50 years) since gold was discovered on the Witwatersrand in 1886.⁶⁷ The exhibition showcased the history and economic advancement of the Union of South Africa in the fields of mining, agriculture, manufacturing, commerce, science, education and art since the discovery of gold. It was also staged to promote trade relations with other members of the commonwealth by securing their participation in the exhibition⁶⁸

In 1952, the National Party government put up an exhibition as part of the Jan van Riebeeck Tercentenary Festival, to celebrate Van Riebeeck's landing at the Cape in 1652. He was the first Dutch governor at the Cape and white South Africans credited him with introducing white presence into the Cape. The festival was meant to create a national narrative of white unity for the South African white community around the figure of Van Riebeeck.⁶⁹ However, the Northern Rhodesian government chose not to participate because the exhibition reflected white Afrikaner supremacy and the apartheid system introduced in South Africa after 1948. Furthermore, the British government that controlled Northern Rhodesia at the time through the Colonial Office in London opposed the apartheid policy.

Similarly, in 1953, Southern Rhodesia staged the Rhodes Centenary Exhibition, hoping to rally white national unity around the figure of Cecil John Rhodes in an attempt to perpetuate white settler rule. Rhodes was revered in white settler circles for bringing colonial rule to the territory.⁷⁰ The Northern Rhodesian government participated in this exhibition, which was opened by the Queen Mother.⁷¹ The Livingstone Museum put up an exhibition on the history of Northern Rhodesia.⁷² Not to be outdone, in 1955, the Northern Rhodesia government followed suit and organised the David Livingstone centenary commemoration which celebrated the life, ideals and works of David Livingstone.⁷³ Clearly, this was an attempt by white settlers in Northern Rhodesia to identify a historical figure around whom they could unite in their endeavour to perpetuate colonial rule in the territory. As part of the celebrations, the Livingstone Museum mounted an exhibition that highlighted the life and works of David Livingstone.⁷⁴

67 Anon, "The Rhodesias at the Exhibition", *The Star* (Johannesburg), 21 September 1936, p 12 For details, see J Robinson, "Johannesburg's 1936 Empire Exhibition: Interaction and Modernising in a South African City", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 29, 3, 2003, pp 759–789

68 Robinson, "Johannesburg's 1936 Empire Exhibition"

69 For details, see C Rassool and L Witz, "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

70 See A K Shutt and T King, "Imperial Rhodesians: The 1953 Rhodes Centenary Exhibition in Southern Rhodesia", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 31, 2, June 2005, pp 357–379

71 Anon, "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

72 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" See Anon, "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

73 LMA, "What Livingstone Means to Rhodesia", *The Chronicle*, 24 June 1955, p 24; "Mayor Opens Livingstone Centenary Exhibition Life of Missionary Explorer Portrayed", *The Livingstone Mail*, 1 June 1955, p 1; and NAZ, SP 1/1/34, "David Livingstone Centenary (Discovery of the Victoria Falls), undated See also Memo 1730A/939 from PC, 1 October 1955

74 For details, see LMA, Box 4, MN 10/25/3/9, *David Livingstone Centenary Exhibition: Discovery of the Victoria Falls*, 1 June to 31 August 1955 (Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, Livingstone, 1955); and

From the foregoing, it is clear that exhibitions the museum organised during the colonial period reflected the supposed superiority of Europeans over Africans. This is evident in their design and content, with Africans presented as people without a history. The exhibitions mounted made no attempt to highlight the history of African kingdoms or chiefdoms; the African reaction to colonialism was also ignored. The African exhibits on display 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. Furthermore, displays on the African way of life often reflected negatively on traditions such as magic and witchcraft.

Thus, during the colonial period, exhibitions at the Livingstone Museum were devoted to creating a dichotomy between civilisation and economic progress (the fruits of colonialism) on the one hand, and the primitive backwardness of the African people on the other. In this situation, Africans were the 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 research projects. This information also became a valuable source of data for the construction of Zambian history. Similarly, the negative manner in which the African way of life was presented in exhibitions provided the public with historical information and an understanding of the social order in colonial Zambia. They shed light on the prejudices that Europeans had against Africans during the colonial period. The exhibitions also provided valuable historical information on race relations during the colonial period in Zambia. Furthermore, by collecting exhibition materials such as pottery, basketry, woodwork, beadwork, matting and many others, the museum preserved a many priceless cultural and material artefacts that would have otherwise been lost.

The colonial authority therefore saw the Livingstone Museum as an ally in addressing the needs of the European settler community. Through the museum's material collection on different ethnic groups, the colonial authority was able to monitor the African response to their policies. The museum also intended to perpetuate the myth that European lifestyle was superior to that of Africans. They did this by showing African material culture negatively, presenting them in their artistic form and deliberately underplaying their utilitarian value. The strategy fitted well with their pervading policy of racial discrimination based on the superiority of the European race. The approach also conformed to the dual mandate policy developed by Lord Lugard⁷⁵, which was the basis of the policy of indirect rule that ensured that British Common Law and Customary Law operated side by side, thereby allowing the survival of the African culture while at the same time mindful of protecting white supremacy.

Conclusion

The colonial government used the Livingstone Museum as a tool to advance its political agenda. As such, exhibitions mounted by the museum were guided by European needs and

Livingstone Museum, A Brief Guide to the David Livingstone Collection in the Livingstone Museum, (National Museum Board of Zambia, Lusaka, undated)

75 R F Betts, "Methods and Institutions of European Domination", in B A Adu (ed), *UNESCO General History of Africa, Volume 7: Africa under Colonial Rule, 1880–1935* (James Currey, Oxford, 1990), pp 143–152; Gann, *A History of Northern Rhodesia*, p 291; and Mizinga, "Addressing Different Audiences: A New Vision in the Museums of Zambia", p 2

thinking of the time. Consequently, the exhibitions presented were skewed towards projecting Africans as a backward and ahistorical people. This was done to legitimise colonial rule in the territory on the pretext of rescuing Africans from their “primitive” way of life as evidenced by their “primitive” material culture. Nevertheless, these exhibitions were significant in that they disseminated relevant data on Zambian history. Exhibitions mounted during the colonial period provided information to museum visitors on the nature of colonial rule, particularly as regards European prejudices against Africans. Additionally, collections gathered during research projects and used in exhibitions, do indeed provide physical evidence on different aspects of Zambian history and are significant in the reconstruction of the country’s history, during the colonial era, in particular that of central and southern Africa and Africa in general. They also provided a past in which the Zambian people could participate and gave them the opportunity to take pride in their collective memory.

Abstract

While some museums in Africa were established by scholars and connoisseurs, others like the Livingstone Museum, formerly called the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, were established by colonial officials. This article examines the factors that led to the establishment of the Livingstone Museum. It also looks at its development and the role it played in carrying out government agendas from its inception in 1934 to 1964. The argument is put forward that the museum was expected to produce knowledge on the African way of life in order to reduce conflict caused by the clash of two different cultures (those of the African and European). This was necessary largely because European settlers and colonial government officers exploited the territory’s natural and human resources. Above all, using the museum’s permanent exhibitions mounted in 1934, 1936 and the temporary exhibition mounted in 1955 as a centenary commemoration of the sighting by Scottish missionary-explorer, David Livingstone of the Victoria Falls, the article argues that during the colonial period, the museum presented a space to exhibit the African material culture in order to demonstrate to the rest of the world the superiority of European culture compared to that of Africans. Thus, the article posits the thesis that in real terms, the museum was established for the purpose of legitimising colonial rule in the territory, which colonial officials saw as necessary to save Africans from their “primitive” way of life.

Keywords: Northern Rhodesia; Zambia; Livingstone Memorial Museum; Rhodes-Livingstone Museum; Livingstone Museum; African material culture; European culture; white settlers; colonial government officials; temporary exhibitions; permanent exhibitions; Empire Exhibition; Jan van Riebeeck Tercentenary Exhibition; Rhodes Centenary Exhibition; David Livingstone Centenary Exhibition; Desmond Clark; David Livingstone; Cecil John Rhodes.

Opsomming

Die stigting van die Livingstone Museum en sy rol in koloniale Zambië, 1934–1964

Terwyl party museums in Afrika gestig was deur geleerdes en kenners, was ander soos die Livingstone Museum, voorheen geken as die Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, gestig deur koloniale beamptes. Hierdie artikel ondersoek die faktore wat gelei het tot die stigting van die Livingstone Museum. Dit ondersoek ook die ontwikkeling en die rol wat dit gespeel het om die staat se agenda uit te voer vanaf 1934 tot 1964. Hierdie artikel redeneer dat dit van die museum verwag was om kennis van die Afrika manier van lewe te voorskyn te bring om die

konflik van twee verskillende kulture (die Afrika en Europese kultuur) te verminder want die Europese setlaars en die koloniale staatsamptenare het die landstreek se natuurlikebronne uitgebuit. Onderandere, die gebruik van die museum se permanente vertonings wat gemonteer was in 1934, 1936 en die tydelike vertoning wat gemonteer was in 1955 om'n eeufees te herdenk sedert die Skotse sendeling-ontdekker, David Livingstone, die Victoria Watervalle waargeneem het. Hierdie artikel redeneer dat gedurende koloniale Zambia, die museum vertonings van Afrikaanse materiele kultuur vertoon het om vir die res van die wêreld te wys dat die Europese kultuur meer hoogagtig was in vergelyking met die van Afrikane. Dus, neem hierdie artikel 'n posisie in dat die museum gestig was vir die rede om koloniale regering te wettig. Die koloniale beamptes het geglo dat dit noodsaaklik was sodat die effek van sivilisasie deur die Europese kultuur gebruik kan word om die Afrikaan te red van hulle "primitewe" manier van lewe.

Sleutelwoorde: Noord Rhodesia; Zambia; Livingstone Gedenkteken Museum; Rhodes-Livingstone Museum; Livingstone Museum; Afrikaanse materiele kultuur; Europese kultuur; wit setlaars; koloniale staatsamptenare; tydlike vertonings; permanente vertonings; Jan van Riebeeck Eeufees Vertoning; Rhodes Eeufees Vertoning; David Livingstone Eeufees Vertoning; Desmond Clark; David Livingstone; Cecil John Rhodes.