

**A HISTORY OF ARCHIVES IN ZAMBIA, 1890-1991**

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**THIS THESIS HAS BEEN SUBMITTED IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE  
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## **Declaration**

I hereby declare that this thesis, submitted in accordance with the requirements for the award of the doctoral degree in Africa Studies in the Faculty of Humanities, for the Centre for Africa Studies at the University of the Free State is my original work and has not been previously submitted to another university for a degree. I hereby authorise copyright of this product to the University of the Free State.

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Miyanda Simabwachi

## **Dedication**

I dedicate this work to my loving mother, Rosemary Zama Simabwachi, for her unwavering support in parenting my daughters (Natasha and Mapalo) throughout the duration of my study.

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## **ABSTRACT**

This thesis examines the significant role of national archives' legislative framework, and of archival practices of appraisal, preservation and management, in the creation, positioning and formation of an identity for Zambia's archives under different government systems between 1890 and 1991. In so doing, it describes the procedures involved in the creation of archives and demonstrates the diversity and the shifting notions of the nature and importance of archives for bureaucracies and different government systems. While the British South African Company administration pioneered the process of generating records through administrative operations, their appreciation of records and archives was largely functional and devoid of devising a formal policy for standardising permanent preservation and collection practices. A conceptual shift to archives as sources of precedents and of colonial histories, prompted successive administrations of British colonial government and the federal government of Rhodesia and Nyasaland to devise a system of centralisation of permanent archives and the formulation of legislation denoting the nature of the archives and their safe preservation – thus changing the power dynamic lodged in the archives. In the postcolony, an understanding of archives as custodian of national histories attracted intensive state interest and control through reviews of colonial archives legislation and strategic decentralisation of the archiving system. This thesis argues that Zambia's archives have a history linked to changing administrative structures, legislative frameworks and archival perceptions and practices. It argues that the nature and position of Zambia's archives in government, and hence its history, evolved over time with shifts in administration, legislation, archival professionalisation and practices of preservation and management and changes in the perception of archives.

**Key words:** archives creation in Zambia, Zambian national archives, archival history, colonial archives, postcolonial archives

## **OPSOMMING**

Hierdie tesis ondersoek die betekenisvolle rol van nasionale argiewe se wetgewende raamwerk, asook van argivale waarderingspraktyke, bewaring en bestuur in die skep, posisionering en vorming van 'n identiteit vir Zambië se argiewe onder verskillende regeringstelsels tussen 1890 en 1991. Hierdeur beskryf dit die prosedures betrokke by die skep van argiewe en demonstreer die diversiteit en verskuivende begrippe van die aard en belangrikheid van argiewe vir burokrasieë en verskillende regeringstelsels. Terwyl die British South African Company se administrasie baanbrekerswerk gedoen het in die proses om rekords met behulp van administratiewe werksaamhede te genereer, was hulle waardering van rekords en argiewe grotendeels funksioneel en sonder enige formele beleid insake die standaardisering van permanente bewaring- en versamelingspraktyke. 'n Konseptuele verskuiwing na argiewe as bronne van presedente en koloniale geskiedenis het opeenvolgende administrasies van die Britse koloniale regering en die federale regering van Rhodesië en Njassaland aangespoor om 'n stelsel van sentralisasie van permanente argiewe en die veilige bewaring daarvan te ontwerp – om gevolglik die magsdinamiek wat in die argiewe gesetel was te verander. In die postkoloniale tydperk het 'n begrip van argiewe as bewaarders van nasionale geskiedenis intensiewe staatsaandag en -beheer ten gevolg gehad deur die hersiening van wetgewing rakende koloniale argiewe en strategiese desentralisasies van die argiveringstelsel. Hierdie tesis bepaal egter dat Zambië se argiewe 'n geskiedenis het wat verder terug as hierdie fase van sentralisasie strek, wat verbind kan word met veranderende administratiewe strukture, wetgewende raamwerke en argivale persepsies en praktyke. Dit betoog dat die aard en posisie van Zambië se argiewe in regering, en daarom die geskiedenis daarvan, oor tyd ontwikkel het, met verskuiwings in administrasie, wetgewing, argivale professionalisering en praktyke van bewaring en bestuur, asook veranderings in die persepsie van argiewe.

**Slutelwoorde:** argiefskepping in Zambië, Zambiese nasionale argiewe, argivale geskiedenis, koloniale argiewe, postkoloniale argiewe

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

ANC - African National Congress

BSAC - British South Africa Company

CAA - Central African Archives

ECARBICA - East and Central African Regional Branch of the International Council on Archives

ESARBICA - East and Southern African Regional Branch of the International Council on Archives

INDECO - Industrial Development Corporation

LMA - Livingstone Museum Archives

MHA - Ministry of Home Affairs

MLA - Ministry of Legal Affairs

NA - National Archives

NAZ - National Archives of Zambia

NCCM - Nchanga Consolidated Copper Mines

NIPA - National Institute of Public Administration

PEMS - Paris Evangelical Society

RC - Royal Crown

RCM - Roan Consolidated Mines

RST - Roan Selection Trust

SEC- Secretariat

UCCA - United Church of Central Africa

UNIP - United National Independence Party

UNZA - University of Zambia

UPP - United Progressive Party

ZCCM - Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines

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## CHAPTER ONE

### Introduction

#### 1.1 Introduction to the Study

This thesis describes the history of archives creation in relation to changing systems of government in Zambia from 1890 to 1991.<sup>1</sup> Zambia's public archives present an important source of national memory, documenting major phases of the country's social, economic, cultural and political history since the inception of colonial rule. The archives comprise colonial and postcolonial government records, as well as the historically important manuscripts of organisations, institutions and individuals. The study specifically examines the role of legislation, preservation and management approaches introduced and executed by the respective administrations of the British South Africa Company (BSAC) (1890-1923), the British colonial government (1924-1953), the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (1953-1963) and the postcolonial Zambian government (1964–1991), in determining the approach to and character of the creation of archives. It demonstrates how changes in government transformed perceptions of the nature and importance of archives and the processes of archives creation.

This study will also examine the extent to which colonial and postcolonial governments held central power over the generation and creation of archives through their administrative activities and legislation. It will demonstrate that state power was not the only factor that influenced the nature of archival records in the different periods considered but archival practices, which included the appraisal, preservation, and management of records, were also an important force in shaping the permanent collection of archives in Zambia.<sup>2</sup> In the course of performing their administrative functions, the respective government structures

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<sup>1</sup> In this thesis the concept of archives creation or production is used to describe in overarching terms the complex historical processes of records generation, appraisal, destruction and selection for permanent retention on the basis of historical, evidential, legal and fiscal value.

<sup>2</sup> In this thesis, appraisal is considered as the process that determined whether particular records had permanent archival value. The process identified records deposited with an archival institution considered having sufficient value to be accessioned. The process also determined the length of time records could be retained, based on legal requirements and their current and potential usefulness. For a discussion on how archival practice shapes archives see, Tom Nesmith, 'Seeing Archives: Postmodernism and the Changing Intellectual Place of Archives,' *The American Archivist*, 65/1 (2002), 24-41.

of the BSAC, the British colonial government, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and the Zambian government generated records, which became indispensable sources of institutional memory. These records preserved its histories through changing administrations and shifts in procedure, as this study will show, because of and, in other instances, despite of archival management practices instituted or neglected by successive administrations. The power of archives as a source of administrative precedence became an impetus to these governments for safeguarding their records. Therefore, they devised legislation, as well as centralised systems of preservation and management, which evolved over time and became part of the history of the archives.

This thesis argues that during these successive administrations, archives were integrally important to the enterprise of government, but differing levels of appreciation for this by the powers-that-be, gave rise to distinct approaches to preservation and management strategies that included indiscriminate destruction and loss of material. The earliest development of archives preservation under the BSAC administration, between 1895 and 1923, proved severely functionalist in its approach. It focussed on political control and, not surprisingly, commercial enterprise, mining and land rights, without any overarching directives or protocols for the establishment of a formal, centralised archival collection that would encourage permanent preservation of records of continuing value.

By contrast, as this thesis demonstrates, between 1924 and 1963, the successive administrations of the colonial and federal governments sought to centralise the preservation of their archives. This was prompted in part by the British government's required standard of records organisation, and was accompanied by a conceptual shift that assigned value to archives as sources of colonial histories. It further argues that the move to centralise archival collections in the colonial period was prompted by a series of factors: colonial government initiatives, imperial directives, regional politics and collaboration, in situ preservation, and archival management challenges. The Northern Rhodesia government embraced the introduction of registries for the organisation of its records from the British civil service. This was followed by the formulation of archives legislation. The legislation guiding the centralisation of archives was not originally the initiative of colonial governments. Legislation was issued in 1939, at the behest of a Colonial Office directive. This was prompted by deep concern over the indiscriminate destruction of colonial records

as a result of inappropriate and, in some instances, negligent, preservation environments. Thus, the thesis points out, imperial directives became crucial in facilitating the centralisation and permanent preservation of the archives on the basis of historical value and the perceived intrinsic value of information preserved not only in the individual record, but also by the *collection* of records, regarding, for example, policy, the law, administration, statistics and finance. Regional collaboration gradually arose out of the need for administrative efficiency and budgetary constraints after the Second World War. This witnessed the centralisation of the archives of three Central African territories: Northern Rhodesia (later Zambia), Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and Nyasaland (Malawi), located in Salisbury (Harare), and guided by uniform archives legislation. The centralised archive had to be broken apart again, when Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland gained independence, pointing to the vulnerability of the 'archive' to changes in political power and control, especially at the moment of transition from colonial to postcolonial archive.

The changing approach to, and nature of, the archives and archive management, this thesis suggests, becomes an invaluable gauge for changes in power and power dynamics. Following Zambia's independence in 1964 and the declaration of the country as a one-party state in 1972, the centralisation of the archives was consolidated through state control and the acquisition of records generated by individuals, private institutions and quasi-government organisations. As an appreciation of the 'archive' as custodian of the history of the country became popular, review of colonial archives legislation expanded the postcolonial archive in Zambia, while an accessioning initiative reflected a new emphasis on the nationalist history of Zambia. This change in approach influenced changes in perceived value of certain private collections and their subsequent promotion in status for permanent preservation. Thus, the nature of archives creation in Zambia was characterised at different times by state bureaucracy, imperial directive, regional collaboration and the postcolonial promotion of nationalist history.

In engaging with the historical process of archives creation, this thesis offers insights into the nature of Zambian archives by contextualising this within the classic Schellenberg definition that archives are the records of any public or private institution which are judged

worthy of preserving for reference and research purposes, and which have been deposited or selected for deposit in an archival institution.<sup>3</sup> According to this definition, archives are the product of subjective and changeable appraisal processes which transform selected records into items worthy of safeguarding in archival institutions on the basis of their historical, evidential, legal and/or fiscal value to the creating agencies, power brokers and the wider public. Implicit to this process of selection, is the destruction or discarding of records not deemed worthy of long-term preservation. Describing the nature of Zambian archives this way is equally situated within Judith Ellis's definition that archives are records selected for permanent preservation on the basis of their continuing value as primary source material documenting the culture and history of individuals, organisations and society. Ellis asserts that due to their historical and evidential value, archives provide a framework for understanding past events, acting as society's long-term memory. It thus facilitates access to past experiences, expertise, knowledge, and historical perspectives.<sup>4</sup> The characterisation of archives in these definitions provides a roadmap for a description of the nature of Zambia's archives. It should be emphasised that while this thesis acknowledges a broad range of archives and records, including oral memory pre-dating colonialism, missionary archives, and so forth,<sup>5</sup> this thesis is delimited to an administrative and institutional history, which focuses on the records created by the administrations of the period 1890 to 1991.

The thesis considers the Zambian archives as a collection constituted from the records of government, and, at various periods in its history, including quasi-government activities and organisations, as well as corporate and private papers of state interest. Upon inclusion in the archives, these documents were deemed no longer of immediate necessity for ongoing administrative use, but were considered valuable because of the long-term value of the information they contained, hence deemed worthy of permanent preservation. At the same time, it also examines the nature and development of archives as the products of provisionally preserved 'semi-current' record collections in intermediary depositories from

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<sup>3</sup> T.R. Schellenberg, *Modern Archives: Principles and Techniques* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956), 16.

<sup>4</sup> Judith A. Ellis, ed, *Keeping Archives* (Port Melbourne: Thorpe, 1993), 8.

<sup>5</sup> See for example, Marja Hinfelaar and Giacomo Macola, *A First Guide to Non-Governmental Archives in Zambia* (Lusaka: National Archives of Zambia, 2004), 81.

which the permanent collection of archives were selected and assembled at various stages in Zambian history.<sup>6</sup>

The thesis suggests that Zambia's official archives history can be traced to the late nineteenth century, when the first treaties were generated under the BSAC administration. This study thus covers the period from 1890 to 1991, starting with the years when initial archival documents on Northern Rhodesia (later Zambia) were created under the BSAC administration. In 1991, Zambia became a multi-party democracy. Thus the period after 1991 warrants a separate study, due to the rise of a different and more complex political environment at the national and regional levels.

This approach is different from existing scholarship, which tends to focus on the period directly following the Second World War, in the mid to late 1940s, as the starting point of archives history in Zambia.<sup>7</sup> This moment is when the Central African Archives was established. By starting the history of archives in the post-Second World War era, these studies foreground the role of formalised colonial and postcolonial archival institutions in the organisation, preservation and management of archives, but they *do not* historicise the archival procedures and conditions that anticipated and led to the creation and ever-changing nature of archives in the region, which have their roots in the early colonial period of the BSAC administration. These studies have thus hitherto failed to provide a much-needed, overarching synthesis of the history of archives creation in Zambia and the role of the legislation, preservation, management and appraisal processes, in influencing their nature and development, with consequences for institutional memory. Thus, there is little awareness in the literature of the phase of history of Zambian archives prior to their formal centralisation into permanent archival institutions. Yet, this thesis shows the value of following the full trajectory of archives development, as Ember has argued: 'The history of

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<sup>6</sup> 'Semi-current' or 'semi-active' records in this thesis refer to records identified by a government agency as of value, deposited in an intermediary, sometimes 'working' or regional archive. These records were no longer needed on a regular basis, but were still required for occasional consultation by the creating entities. 'Semi-current records' thus refers to those records with potential value for long-term preservation, and these collections became gateway collections from which archival records were selected for permanent collection.

<sup>7</sup> See, for example, Eric Edward Burke, 'Records Management in the Central African Archives,' *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 1/3 (1956), 62-66; T.W. Baxter, 'The Preservation of Archives with Particular Reference to Central Africa,' *Rhodes-Livingstone Institute Journal*, 8 (1956), 57-72; Lewis H. Gann, 'Archives and the Study of Society,' *Rhodes-Livingstone Institute Journal*, 20 (1956), 48-67; and W.V. Brelsford, *Handbook to the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland* (London: Cassell, 1960).

archival documents begin at a time when these documents are created, hence archives history must concern itself also with that phase of their history in which these documents are not yet in the custody of an archival institution; when they are not historical sources, only procedural means in the bodies that created them.<sup>8</sup>

The thesis thus argues that the Zambian archives are not only sources of history, but subjects with histories and politics of their own.<sup>9</sup> It is a comprehensive account that traces and historicises the role of legal frameworks, preservation management strategies, and appraisal processes in the creation of Zambia's archives from the inception of colonial administration until the postcolonial period. It demonstrates the manner in which broader and regional political and economic environments in both the colonial and postcolonial periods influenced shifts in government administration, and how this in turn affected the nature of archives legislation, preservation and management strategies, as well as the historical processes of archives creation over time. As a historical work investigating Zambia's archives history, it aims to offer an overarching understanding of the nature of the administrative process in the creation of the Zambian (Northern Rhodesian) archives and the politics involved in their creation. It specifically offers an understanding that the Zambian archives is not a monolithic entity, but the changing product of decisions made by a range of stakeholders over time: from the government institutions that created them, to the archivists who processed them, and the state bureaucracies and officials who determined which records had value for permanent retention. It is only by critically examining the historical conditions and circumstances under which Zambia's archives were created and processed that we can better understand and appreciate the present nature of the institution.

## **1.2 Historical Background**

The creation of public archives in Zambia had its origins in the colonial administration activities of the BSAC. Between 1890 and 1923, as Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia

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<sup>8</sup> G. Ember, 'On the Methodology of Archives-History,' *Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 16, 1/2 (1970), 184.

<sup>9</sup> See Elizabeth Yale, 'The History of Archives: The State of the Discipline,' *Book History*, 18/1 (2015), 332-359; and also Carolyn Hamilton, 'Backstory, Biography, and the Life of the James Stuart Archive,' *History in Africa*, 38 (2011), 319-341.

saw the encroachment of colonialism take hold under the rule of a chartered company without being a British colony. In this case, before the BSAC undertook administrative responsibility for Northern Rhodesia, a charter was procured from the British imperial government. It was preceded by the acquisition of written permission from the indigenous chiefs of Northern Rhodesia. The British imperial policy on colonial expansion stipulated that authorisation of administrative responsibilities to private companies would only be granted to regions where consent was given by local authorities.<sup>10</sup> Consequently, the BSAC officials generated written documents in the form of treaties and concessions with African local authorities.<sup>11</sup> By the end of 1890, a total collection of fifteen treaty and concession documents were acquired.<sup>12</sup> This marked the genesis of an archive tradition in the region: the creation of documented official archives pertaining to the administration of Northern Rhodesia. Similarly, in most other sub Saharan African countries, the conventional practice of archive keeping started with generating documents in colonial administrations.<sup>13</sup> Prior to this, generation and preservation of information in Africa and Northern Rhodesia in particular was largely oral.

The successful acquisition of treaties and concessions qualified the BSAC for a royal charter in 1891 to rule Northern Rhodesia on behalf of the British Government. Empowered by the charter, the BSAC established its administration by forming North-Western Rhodesia and North-Eastern Rhodesia.<sup>14</sup> In 1899, the Barotseland and North-Western Rhodesia Order in Council was passed. It provided statutory powers to the BSAC for the administration of the region. Similarly, the North-Eastern Rhodesia Order in Council was passed in 1900 and it granted the BASC statutory power of administration. The two territories remained distinct for the purposes of administration until the Northern Rhodesia Order in Council of 1911

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<sup>10</sup> See, for example, H. John Harris, *The Chartered Millions: Rhodesia and the Challenge to the British Commonwealth* (London: Swarthmore Press, 1920).

<sup>11</sup>A. J. Hanna, *The Beginnings of Nyasaland and North-Eastern Rhodesia 1890-95* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), 150; Ivor M. Graham and B.C. Halwindi, *Guide to the Public Archives of Zambia, 1895-1940* (Lusaka: National Archives of Zambia, 1970), 2.

<sup>12</sup> Graham and Halwindi, *Guide to the Public Archives of Zambia, 1895-1940*, 2.

<sup>13</sup> Alistair Tough, 'Archives in Sub-Saharan Africa Half Century after Independence' *Archival Science*, 9 (2009), 187-200.

<sup>14</sup> J.S. Galbraith, *Crown and Charter: The Early Years of the British South African Company* (California: University of California Press, 1974), 82. For the contents of the North-Eastern Rhodesia Order in Council see for example, North-Eastern Rhodesia, *The Statutory Law of North-Eastern Rhodesia, 1900* (Livingstone: Government Printer, 1910), 1-6.

amalgamated them as Northern Rhodesia.<sup>15</sup> By these Orders in Councils offices of Administrators, District Commissioners and Judicial systems marked by magistrates and High courts were established. The establishment of a formal bureaucratic administration system laid a foundation for the generation of archives of different categories and nature. This was because the operation of the BSAC administrative structures was based on written communication.

While the BSAC was mandated to administer Northern Rhodesia, the Colonial Office retained ultimate administrative responsibility. The British High Commissioner for South Africa was equally empowered to oversee the administration of the BSAC. As a result, all-important matters of policy relating to the administration of Northern Rhodesia were referred to the BSAC board of directors in London and the British High Commissioner stationed in South Africa. The higher administrative offices of the BSAC board of directors and the British High Commissioner, including the Colonial Office, exercised supervision and control through the written records that were despatched to Northern Rhodesia. The termination of chartered company rule in 1923 saw the end of the creation of archival records relating to company administration.

In 1924, the Colonial Office took over the administration of Northern Rhodesia. The assumption of administration by the Colonial Office saw the expansion of government structures, which also entailed a large accumulation of archival documents of a different nature. The office of the Administrator created under company rule was abolished. In its place, the office of Governor was established, an Executive Council was appointed and provision was made for a Legislative Council.<sup>16</sup> Correspondingly, the Secretariat was established as the head office of colonial Government. Accordingly, the British colonial administration introduced a professional system of creating archives, by way of selection, organisation and appraisal for permanent preservation, which included implicitly the discard of documents deemed not worthy of permanent conservation.

Later in 1945, the Central African Council was formed, drawing together the various technical services including archives across Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and

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<sup>15</sup> P.E.N. Tindall, *A History of Central Africa* (New York: Prager, 1967), 134.

<sup>16</sup> Graham and Halwindi, *Guide to the Public Archives of Zambia, 1895-1940*, 26.

Nyasaland. This was prompted by the exigencies of the Second World War and the need for closer economic coordination, as well as a vigorous political campaign for closer association.<sup>17</sup> The merging of archival services amongst Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, was also in anticipation of the coming of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, which eventually came into existence on 1 August 1953. The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland merged the government structures of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland under a federal system headed by a Governor General. Its government structure included a parliament and cabinet, under an elected Prime Minister, who was responsible to the Colonial Office in London.<sup>18</sup> Combining the government services of the three territories facilitated the generation of archives of a shared heritage. Hence, in 1958, the National Archives Act of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was enacted which unified the procedures for the creation, preservation, custody, control and disposal of public archives in the Federal territories.<sup>19</sup> However, the responsibility of Federal Government in the preservation, creation and control of archives ended with the dissolution of the federation in February, 1963.<sup>20</sup>

In 1964, Zambia obtained independence from British colonial rule. Attainment of political independence also entailed autonomy in the sphere of creation and preservation of its archives. A different milestone was set for the creation of archives in post-colonial Zambia. The process of constructing the post-colonial archives was guided by the National Archives Act, passed in 1969. The Act provided a broadened definition of post-colonial archives which included the collection and preservation of both government and non-governmental archives under state control. The collection policy was widened to accommodate a new emphasis on the history of Zambia and there was an appreciation of private collections for permanent preservation. Unlike in the colonial era, the focus of archives creation was extended to include corporate and private organisations as well as individuals.

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<sup>17</sup> National Archives of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, *Annual Report, 1954-1962* (Salisbury: National Archives, 1963), 2.

<sup>18</sup> T.J. Lovering, 'British Colonial Administration's registry systems: A comparative study of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland,' *Archival Science*, 10 (2010), 6.

<sup>19</sup> For the contents of the National Archives Act (1958) of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, see Appendix in National Archives of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, *Annual Report, 1954-1962*, 7-8.

<sup>20</sup> J. R. T. Wood, *The Welensky Papers: A History of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland* (Durban: Graham Publishing, 1963), 1213.

Following the declaration of Zambia as a one party state in 1972, the government exercised extensive control over records and archives that were preserved outside the national institution as a way of safeguarding information of national interest. In the National Archives Act, a provision was included for the establishment of alternative places of deposit for public archives. This provision paved the way for expansion of regional centralisation of public archives in provinces and corporate institutions. By the 1980s up until 1991 when the one party state government of the United Independence party (UNIP) was ousted out of power, preservation and centralisation of public archives was specialised but under government control and supervision. The Roan Consolidated Mine Archives in Ndola was preserving all mining related records generated by mine companies, political party archives were centralised at Freedom House, UNIP's headquarters while all records generated by government departments were centralised in provincial records centres such as Chipata, Kabwe, Livingstone, Ndola and Lusaka.

### **1.3 Survey of the Literature**

#### *Zambian archives in historiographical perspective*

The current historiography of archives policy, creation, preservation and management practices in Zambia may be divided into three periods based on the actors involved: colonial archivists and historians of the late 1940s to early 1960s; postcolonial archivists and scholars of the mid-1960s to 1980s; and contemporary archivists and scholars, writing since the 1990s.

As mentioned, scholarship on the Zambian archives, from the middle of the twentieth century onwards, has attempted to reconstruct the history of the archives in the context of the development of archival institutions, as well as their management and organisation. They attempted to foster public awareness of the existence of the archival collections and institutions in a largely descriptive fashion. The Zambian archives are discussed in the context of the Central African Archives, as they were preserved in a joint archival institution located in Southern Rhodesia. Thus, archivists attached to the Central African Archives and the National Archives of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, such as Teddy Baxter (1959-1970) and

Edward Burke (1946-1978),<sup>21</sup> were primarily responsible for the earliest work on the Zambian archives. Their work was instrumental in the archives' establishment, organisation, management and the documentation of the process. Colonial government officials such as William Vernon Brelsford (1930-1962), as well as Lewis Henry Gann (1954-1962) and John Peter Wallis (1943-1956),<sup>22</sup> were historians who also worked for the colonial archival institution and contributed to the historiography on the archives.<sup>23</sup> As pioneering studies written by professionals working for the archival institution and serving the colonial government, these works drew upon the authors' experiences and emphasised the functions, management, and description of archival materials and their use in the production of historical knowledge, rather than reflecting critically on their historical and contextual position in the broader arch of history.

In 1948, Wallis spearheaded the earliest discussion on archives preservation and management practices in Central Africa, framed by an evidently imperialist rationale. Interested in the value of administrative archives for the project of empire building, Wallis believed that the first directors of the BSAC, having had the rare 'privilege' of colonising Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia, should have preserved for posterity all the documents relating to its administration. He noted that the management of company records was instead entrusted to untrained clerks and, as a result, valuable historical information was indiscriminately destroyed due to poor judgement and inadequate

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<sup>21</sup> See, for example, Baxter, 'The Preservation of Archives with particular Reference to Central Africa,' 57-72; E. Burke, 'Some Archival Legislation of the British Commonwealth,' *The American Archivist*, 22/3 (1959), 275-296; and Burke, 'Records Management in the Central African Archives,' 62-66.

<sup>22</sup> William Vernon Brelsford joined the colonial civil service in Northern Rhodesia in 1930. In 1937 he was appointed as curator to establish the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute and Museum. He also served as colonial information officer in 1945, editor of the Northern Rhodesia Journal from 1950 to 1965, and member of the Legislative Assembly in 1962.

In 1954, the National Archives of Rhodesia and Nyasaland employed Lewis Henry Gann as an archivist. In the late 1950s, he was contracted by the colonial government of Northern Rhodesia to compile a history of the territory. Drawing on official archival sources, he authored, *A History of Northern Rhodesia: Early Days to 1953* (New York: Humanities Press, 1969).

John Peter Richard Wallis was an academic at the University of Pretoria between 1917 and 1943. In 1943 he joined the Central African Archives as an editor of the Oppenheimer series, which specialised in the publication of archival material. See also, Louis Frewer, 'The Provision of Raw Materials for African History,' in J.D. Pearson and Ruth Jones (eds.), *The Bibliography of Africa: Proceedings and Papers of the International Conference on African Bibliography, Nairobi, 4-8 December, 1969* (New York: Frank Cass and Company Limited, 1970), 214-223.

<sup>23</sup> Brelsford, *Handbook to the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland*; Gann, 'Archives and the Study of Society,' 49-67; and J.P.R. Wallis, 'The Story of the Central African Archives,' *African Affairs*, 47/189 (1948), 238-242.

preservation.<sup>24</sup> The failure to establish an official system for the long-term preservation of archival records during chartered rule, Wallis believed, led to the loss of invaluable information that might have contributed to the retrospective construction of Central African colonial history.<sup>25</sup> While Wallis's work emphasised the historical value of colonial archives, this thesis demonstrates that the meaning and significance of archives and records preservation was different for each successive government. And a history of the archives should not prescriptively impose a preconceived notion of what professional archival practice should be, onto past collections. Thus, this thesis argues, the purpose of archives preservation under chartered company rule should be interpreted as solely for administrative purposes with little acknowledgment of posterity. It was nonetheless functional and reflective of the administrative body it served.

Subsequent to Wallis, Baxter, Burke, and Brelsford contributed to this colonial historiography through their work on the purpose of archives preservation, legislation, and their interpretation of the perceived usefulness of the archival record. Gann extended Wallis's argument by pointing to the fact that archives were not only the preserve of historians, but were also of considerable value to sociologists and social anthropologists in supplementing and consolidating their research and hypotheses.<sup>26</sup> In his view, although methods of observation and interviews were effective for the investigation of societies, they were inadequate to fully understand a society undergoing rapid social transformation. Gann provided useful insight for this thesis by indicating the shift that occurred in the meaning of archives to a wider public beyond administrative usefulness. Building on Gann's work, this thesis explores the impact of the conceptual shift in the meaning of archives on the preservation and management of archival information under different regimes.

Teddy Baxter gave historical background to the establishment and development of the Central African Archives and described the contents of its historical manuscripts, library, and the photographic collections. Preservation methods applied at the time were also discussed, alongside the argument that archives were the young nation's memory, and were thus

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<sup>24</sup> Wallis, 'The Story of the Central African Archives,' 238-242.

<sup>25</sup> Wallis, 'The Story of the Central African Archives,' 238.

<sup>26</sup> Gann, 'Archives and the Study of Society,' 48-67.

important to colonial government officials for research purposes.<sup>27</sup> Baxter's work informs this study, especially regarding the earliest categorisation and organisation of colonial archives.

Attention was also paid to legislation and management. Edward Eric Burke's *Records Management in the Central African Archives* (1956) discussed the organisation and appraisal of colonial records after the establishment of the Central African Archives in the British colonial administration period.<sup>28</sup> Burke focused on the challenges of backlogs and limited suitable storage space posed by large deposits of records from the three territories (Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland). This was linked to the role of archival legislation in providing procedural guidelines for the management of archives. Burke argued that the duties of the principal officers of archival institutions were determined and were to be guided by such a legal framework. His work also noted that archival legislation in the British Empire largely followed the direction provided by Britain's Public Records Act (1838).<sup>29</sup> This thesis builds on his work through a critical analysis of the role of archives legislation and management practices in constructing the memory of the colonial past. It examines the ways in which the management practices of archival institutions influenced the nature and extent of the collections that resulted.

Writing in the early 1960s, during the period of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and arguing from the perspective of a colonial official, Brelsford asserted that the main function of the archival institution was to provide archival services to the colonial administrators. Brelsford did not have the same appreciation for the historical value of the archives, but rather focused on a purely functionalist approach to archives. In his view, the institution existed purely for the control, care and preservation of federal public records and published documents.<sup>30</sup> His study failed to provide an understanding of the historical factors that influenced the creation of colonial archives, which this thesis addresses.

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<sup>27</sup> Baxter, 'The Preservation of Archives with Particular Reference to Central Africa,' 57-72.

<sup>28</sup> Burke, 'Records Management in the Central African Archives,' 62-66.

<sup>29</sup> The British Public Records Act was passed in 1838 to provide for the preservation and safekeeping of British public records. For the provisions of archives legislation in the British Empire, see Burke, 'Some Archival Legislation of the British Commonwealth,' 275-296.

<sup>30</sup> Brelsford, *Handbook to the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland*.

### *The early postcolonial views on the creation of archives*

Compared to the 'non-historicized', functional colonial historiography, postcolonial scholarship drew attention to the challenges and gaps in archival collections and the potential value of archives in the production of knowledge. By the mid-1960s, a new group of historians and a select group of archivists, dominated by Africanist and Zambian scholars, emerged. Influenced by contemporary debates on the reconstruction of African history from local sources, they adopted a far more critical approach in the discussion of archives and in thinking about archives. Historians such as, for example, Prosser Gifford working in various colonial contexts, posed questions about the nature of archives and existing gaps in colonial archival collections.<sup>31</sup> Gifford acknowledged the Eurocentric predispositions inherent to the colonial archival holdings, but maintained that archives could not be dislodged from their past. To the contrary, they were critical sources for the study of Zambia's colonial past. Gifford attributed gaps in the archives to the colonial administrators' bias towards recording information that was of importance to the colonial government. This offers insight into the challenges associated with colonial archives production but, what Gifford's arguments lack, is an explanation of the ways in which these gaps shaped the archives in Zambia.

In the 1970s and 1980s, the focus of archives historiography on Zambia moved to consider the broader nature of postcolonial archiving and trends of archival practice in the postcolony. This historiography was mainly influenced by the implementation of the decentralisation policy in archiving provided in the postcolonial archives legislation. Archivists at the national archiving institution, the National Archives of Zambia (NAZ), including A.M. Banda, P. M. Mukula and D.E. Stiles, compiled the initial work. These studies focused on descriptions of the archival collections preserved in the national institution, including the care, custody and control implicit in the archiving system of the country.<sup>32</sup> This thesis addresses the limitations of this work in terms of critical analysis of management practices in the formation of archives by offering perspectives on how preservation and

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<sup>31</sup> Prosser Gifford, 'An Initial Survey of the Local Archival and Published Materials for Zambian History, 1895-Independence 1964,' *African Social Research*, 1 (1966), 59-84.

<sup>32</sup> See A.M. Banda, 'History of the National Archives of Zambia,' *ECARBICA Journal*, 1/1 (1973), 25-30; P.M. Mukula, 'National Archives of Zambia,' *ECARBICA Journal*, 1 (1973), 22-26; and D.E. Stiles, 'Libraries in Zambia: The National Archives of Zambia,' *Zambia Library Association Journal*, 2/1 (1970), 1-5.

management practices contributed to the nature of permanent collections in postcolonial archival institutions in Zambia.

Alistair Tough, Jim Moore and Joseph Chuubi introduced fresh perspectives of archivists working in the corporate sector, and they invaluable provided an account of the preservation and management practices in the Zambian mining industry. Tough, for example, offered an account of the development and centralisation of the Roan Selection Trust (RST) mining archives in Ndola. He argued that the archives were centralised to preserve company history and to serve as a reference for company officials.<sup>33</sup> He described how the archival institution of the mining companies preserved records generated by the board of directors, the central administration and also noted the contribution of the archives to recording the social aspects in the mining divisions of the RST. Moore, in turn, drew attention to the establishment of the Nchanga Consolidated Copper Mines (NCCM) archives and their contribution to the preservation of records generated by all mining divisions of the Anglo-American Corporation operating in Zambia.<sup>34</sup> Moore focused on the dispersed nature of the NCCM archives, resulting from the establishment of marketing offices in Britain and Southern Rhodesia, and the efforts made to repatriate this documentary product to Zambia. Chuubi in turn focused on the potential of mining archives in economic development. The archives of the Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines (ZCCM), for example, received attention as a valuable source in the provision of precedent for the effective operation and management of the mining companies of Zambia.<sup>35</sup> The contribution by archival scholars on the archives of corporate Zambia remains silent, or perhaps disinterested, in the historical processes through which these archives came to be created. Instead, they focused on the archives' contemporary contribution. This thesis offers some historical perspective by including these archives in the broader historiographical narrative of how archives were constructed in Zambia over a century.

In conclusion, a discussion of the postcolonial archives of Zambia would be incomplete without reference to the work of Mwelwa Musambachime. Musambachime discussed the

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<sup>33</sup> Alistair G. Tough, 'The Nchanga Consolidated Copper Mines Limited (NCCM) Company Archives,' *Zambia Library Association Journal*, 11/1 (1979), 1-10.

<sup>34</sup> Jim Moore, 'Business Archives: Roan Selection Trust Group,' *ECARBICA Journal*, 1/1 (1973), 18-22.

<sup>35</sup> Joseph Chuubi, 'The Establishment of the Growth of the Nchanga Consolidated Copper Mines Limited Archives, 1977- 1981,' *ECARBICA Journal*, 4 (1979), 23-27.

collection of the political archives held by the United National Independence Party (UNIP), responsible for the formation of the first Zambian government.<sup>36</sup> He argued that while there were several political parties present on the national landscape in both the colonial and postcolonial period, only the records of the African National Congress (ANC) and UNIP were preserved. However, due to poor preservation on the part of the UNIP party executives, large sections of the collection is missing. Musambachime pointed to this historical dilemma and invaluablely discussed the few books that were produced from the utilisation of the party archives. These covered the period of the struggle for independence, such as, most prominently, the work by David Mulford and Fergus Macpherson.<sup>37</sup> Musambachime however, did not look at other political archives (such as, for example, the Democratic Party, Federal Party and Liberal Party) that existed before the 1972 declaration of the one-party state in Zambia, which this thesis covers in chapter six. It supplements understanding of the absence of certain postcolonial archives in the permanent collections by offering an explanation on how this came about.

#### *Recent developments in the creation of the Zambian archives*

In the period starting with the last decade of the twentieth century, contemporary scholarship on the Zambian archives continued to emphasize the usefulness of the archives, their preservation, management practices, and legislation. Although these contemporary works were written in a period that lies beyond the scope of this study, they focus almost entirely on the pre-1991 period. Scholars such as Marja Hinfelaar and Giacomo Macola, as well as Miles Larmer, have emphasised the potential of the Zambian colonial and postcolonial archives for the production of history.<sup>38</sup> Hinfelaar and Macola describe religious and secular archives preserved by various White Fathers' missions in the Northern and Luapula provinces of Zambia. These archives fall outside the ambit of the current thesis, but the treatment of these archives by Hinfelaar and Macola is nonetheless useful in pointing to

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<sup>36</sup> M.C. Musambachime, 'The Archives of Zambia's United National Independence Party,' *History in Africa*, 18 (1991), 291-296.

<sup>37</sup> David C. Mulford, *Zambia: The Politics of Independence, 1957-1957* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967) and Fergus Macpherson, *Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia: The Times and the Man* (Lusaka: Oxford University Press, 1974).

<sup>38</sup> Marja Hinfelaar and Giacomo Macola, 'The White Fathers' Archives in Zambia,' *History in Africa*, 30 (2003), 439-445; Miles Larmer, "'If We are Still Here Next Year': Zambia Historical Research in the context of Decline, 2002-2003,' *History in Africa*, 31 (2004), 215-229.

the potential value archival histories such as this thesis hold for future work outside the ambit of the current work, but building on it. The work of scholars such as Hinfelaar, Macola and Larmer (who focused on the NAZ, ZCCM and related archives) all provide useful perspectives on the decentralised nature of postcolonial archiving in Zambia and point to the rich potential encapsulated in the archives, still to be explored.

As for contemporary archivists, of whom Benson Njobvu, Chrispin Hamooya, Precious Chitundu Mwila and Kashweka Kashweka present a representative sample, they focus on the role of government and legislation in the shaping of archives.<sup>39</sup> These authors all stress the danger of record destruction without clearly stipulated criteria, as well as poor funding and the lack of sufficient and competent staff to process a vast backlog of unarchived records, which in turn hinders the accessibility of valuable historical documents. None of these authors pay much attention to how the destruction of valuable historical documents affected the *shape* of archival collections in the Zambian archival institution, an aspect that this thesis will address. And, they differ on the implications of these challenges. Kashweka, for example, criticised the National Archives Act by contending that it failed to keep pace with developments in information management and does not reflect changing trends in archives and records management.<sup>40</sup> Hamooya, in turn, argued that successive Zambian governments, from the colonial administration to the post-independence period, have avoided transparency and accountability through the destruction of records.<sup>41</sup>

*A brief historiography of the East, Central, Southern Africa Regional Branch of the International Council on Archives (ECARBICA and ESARBICA)*

Observations made in this study regarding the historical creation of archives in postcolonial Zambia are based in part on regional studies outside the discipline of history. In the early 1970s, a rich collection of literature emerged on postcolonial African experiences of the creation, preservation and management of archives and records. These studies were

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<sup>39</sup> Benson Njobvu, Chrispin Hamooya and Precious Chitundu Mwila, 'Marketing and Public Programming of the Services at the National Archives of Zambia,' *Mousaion*, 30/2 (2012), 239-249; Chrispin Hamooya, 'Records and Governance: Running Away from Accountability: The Case of Zambia,' *ESARBICA Journal*, 25 (2006), 95-105; and Kashweka Kashweka, 'Archival Legislation and the Management of Public Records in Sub-Saharan Africa: The Case of the National Archives Act of Zambia,' *Zambia Library Association Journal*, 23/1 (2008), 13-22.

<sup>40</sup> Kashweka, 'Archival Legislation and Management of Public Records in Sub-Saharan Africa,' 13.

<sup>41</sup> Hamooya, 'Records and Governance,' 96.

inspired after the 1969 formation of the East and Central Africa Regional Branch of the International Council on Archives (ECARBICA) to promote cooperation on matters of creation, preservation and management of archival heritage in Africa.<sup>42</sup> Archivists of East and Central African countries collaborated in publishing work on themes such as archives administration, documentation, preservation, appraisal and legislation. In April 1973, the first volume of ECARBICA Journal was launched, which became the primary mouthpiece of this regional organisation. In 1985 the membership of ECARBICA was expanded to countries in the Southern African Region such as Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique and Swaziland.<sup>43</sup> This changed the name of the regional Branch to East and Southern African Regional Branch for the International Council on Archives (ESARBICA) and eventual renaming of the regional Journal to ESARBICA. As works produced by professionals in the making of archival knowledge, they provide useful insights into common problems and challenges faced by post-independence Africa, including Zambia.

Several such studies have informed this thesis's understanding of colonial practices of preservation and its management of archival information. Alistair Tough, Yvonne Tough, M. Musembi and Malimo Manyambula, have explored the direct relationship between colonial and postcolonial practices of archives organisation, preservation and creation in the immediate region.<sup>44</sup> There is a consensus that in some instances colonial legacies of record keeping persisted into the postcolonial period. Furthermore, Alistair Tough and Yvonne Tough noted the influence of the now defunct Central African Archives (CAA). They noted that the CAA had a major influence on archives and records management practices in postcolonial Botswana, Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe, as well as Kenya. In the 1940s and 1950s, the CAA existed as an inter-territorial service responsible for public archives and

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<sup>42</sup> ECARBICA was formed in 1969 after the International Council on Archives Conference held in Madrid in 1968 had unanimously approved the creation of a regional branch in developing countries. The initial ECARBICA members mainly included Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia due to non-existence of established archival institutions in the region at this moment. The first official Journal of ECARBICA which was edited by Jacob R. Kukubo aimed at making the general public in East and Central Africa aware of the importance of planned and proper production, preservation and utilisation of national documents. For further details see, *ECARBICA Journal* 1/1 (1973), 1-69; National Archives of Zambia (hereafter NAZ) National Archives (hereafter NA) 13/4/34/1 Minutes of ECARBICA Meeting held in Nairobi, 8 May 1972.

<sup>43</sup> N.M. Mutiti, '9<sup>th</sup> ESARBICA General Conference,' *Archives Association of Zambia*, 2 (1987) 41.

<sup>44</sup> Alistair Tough and Yvonne Tough, 'Accountability and Records Appraisal,' *ESARBICA Journal* 31(2012), 3-23; M. Musembi, 'Primitive Archival Practices in Colonial Kenya,' *ECARBICA Journal*, 5 (1982), 31-37; M. Manyambula, 'Public Service Reform Accountability and Records Management: A Case Study of Tanzania,' *ESARBICA Journal* 28 (2009), 20-35.

records, and their staffs was influential in introducing principles of retention, disposal scheduling and the establishment of records centres. This influence, however, was unevenly distributed in the broader geographical and chronological ambit of the CAA. Musembi, in turn, notes that in colonial Kenya, for example, archives were not satisfactorily preserved, and archival practices were of a rudimentary nature, despite many instructions and regulations from the Colonial Office in London. Independence did not change this and the large accumulation of important records in Kenya continued to be poorly managed. However, Malimo Manyambula presents a different picture for Tanzania, resulting in many cases in similar challenges. He showed that while the colonial governments of Britain and Germany maintained well organised record keeping practices, the postcolonial Tanzanian government had acute challenges in managing its information due to a lack of resources and access to skilled archivists after independence.<sup>45</sup> These comparative examples are invaluable for the present study of the archives of Zambia.

Much of the postcolonial works relevant to this study have focused on the experiences and challenges of preserving and managing archives in the region. Kago Romakote, Mathia Chida, Steve Mwiyeriwa, Nathan Mnjama, J.C. Kufa and Marius Manyeli, all have identified budget limitations, inadequate operational policies and a lack of detailed national preservation policies, a shortage of trained personnel, and a harsh tropical climate, as common challenges experienced by African countries, in the process of managing and preserving archival records.<sup>46</sup> However, these studies also indicate that archival preservation and management were not necessarily a priority for postcolonial governments, despite a stronger emphasis on the value of archives for the reconstruction of the historical record. The majority of postcolonial African governments were pre-occupied with accelerating the pace of economic development. Matters of archival preservation were thus relegated to what may be referred to as a 'waiting list' in national development

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<sup>45</sup> Manyambula, 'Public Service Reform Accountability and Records Management,' 22-26.

<sup>46</sup> Kago Romokate, 'Preserving the African Memory: Critical Challenges for ESARBICA Archival Organisations,' *ESARBICA Journal*, 25 (2006), 84-94; M. Chida, 'Preservation Management in Tropical Countries: A Challenging Responsibility and Limited Resources: The Case of the Zimbabwe National Archives,' *ESARBICA Journal*, 14 (1994), 22-36; Steve S. Mwiyeriwa, 'Records Management: General Observation and the Case of Malawi,' *ECARBICA Journal*, 2/2 (1974), 1-7; Nathan Mnjama, 'Records and Information: The Neglected Resource,' *ESARBICA Journal*, 23 (2004), 34-44; J.C. Kufa, 'Private Archives: Their Location, Collection and Accessibility with Reference to Zimbabwe,' *ECARBICA Journal*, 6 (1983), 27-38; and M. Manyeli, 'The Role of Archives in a Developing Country,' *ECARBICA Journal* 6 (1983), 63-70.

programmes. These comparative experiences certainly speak to the Zambian situation in the decades after independence in 1964.

### *Colonial archives in African and international literature*

This study acknowledges the literature on the creation of archives in the wider African and broader international context, insofar as it contributes to a relevant comparative analysis for the history of national archives in Zambia. Whilst this literature provides a broad strokes corollary for the writing of an administrative history of national archives in Zambia, it is therefore not intended to be exhaustive. However, in Southern, East and West Africa, a tradition of scholarship in archival studies emerged by the middle of the twentieth century. These scholars emphasised the histories of the establishment of archival institutions and the organisation of colonial archives in Africa. As in the case of the Zambian archives, scholars such as Henige, Keim, Silver, Stapleton and Maamoe (to quote but a small representative sampling), all gave descriptive accounts of colonial collections preserved in different locations in Africa.<sup>47</sup> Their purpose was to promote and increase the use of these archives and these scholars had little interest in questioning the role of colonial archiving processes in shaping historical perceptions of these same collections. Although their work is largely descriptive and generally confined to outlining archival collections, the information contained therein is valuable in drawing comparisons between the archives constituted during the colonial period. Other scholars, such as Curtin, have offered more consolidated perspectives. Basing his study on a survey of East and West African countries' archives, Curtin highlighted various categories of collections, and advocated their utilisation for the writing of African history. Employing an Africanist perspective, he contended that African history reconstructed from metropolitan archives, mainly reflected Eurocentric

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<sup>47</sup> David P. Henige, 'The National Archives of Ghana: A Synopsis of Holdings,' *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 6/3 (1973), 475-486; Hugues Legros and A.C. Keim, 'Guide to African Archives in Belgium,' *History in Africa*, 23 (1996), 401-409; James B. Silver, 'The Sekondi Archives,' *History in Africa*, 5 (1978), 365-370; and Timothy J. Stapleton and M. Maamoe, 'An Overview of the African National Congress Archives at the University of Fort Hare,' *History in Africa*, 25 (1998), 413-422. See also Marcia Wright, 'The Tanganyika Archives,' *The American Archivist*, 28/4 (1965), 511-520.

perspectives.<sup>48</sup> Curtin's work informed this study of the types of archival records that were organised and selected for permanent preservation in Britain's former African colonies.

Professional historians, discussed below, have conducted empirical studies and published works based on their analysis of, and experience in, the archives related to the region. Although these reflections are mostly drawn from personal accounts of archives, which may include inevitable subjectivity, the encounters nonetheless provide useful leads in tracing the nature, transformation and trends in the creation and development of these particular institutional archives over time. These studies were equally useful for noting changes in policy and the implications thereof for archive creation and management. Based on his experience of using the Goa Archives, for example, Beach discovered collections that were valuable for reconstructing the economic history of Zimbabwe (Rhodesia, at the time he wrote). He was, however, silent on the political and economic conditions under which these archives were created. Beach also noted missing documents in the archival collections, but did not demonstrate how this affected the nature of institutionalised archives.<sup>49</sup> Similarly, Mann explored the archives of Mali and argued that political changes at the time opened up new research opportunities for historians and social scientists interested in colonial and postcolonial history.<sup>50</sup> And Bessant, in 1997, considered the transformation effected in terms of service provision at the National Archives of Zimbabwe. In particular, she noted increased professionalism in serving the needs of researchers, as well as the development of new programmes targeted at collecting more information for the institution through field research<sup>51</sup> - this situation may have changed in the intervening years, but it offers invaluable snapshots of the archives through the experiences of its users. The details of difficulties, for example, in accessing archives in other locations, hence provided hints for the present study on the concerns surrounding the process of creating archives in Zambia and how it historically may have affected the character of the archival collections. In a different context, Stuart McConnell illustrated some of the difficulties and successes encountered at the National Archives of Uganda, in order to access archival records. While he provided

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<sup>48</sup> Philip Curtin, 'The Archives of Tropical Africa: A Reconnaissance,' *Journal of African History*, 1/1 (1960), 129-147.

<sup>49</sup> D.N. Beach, 'Africana in the Goa Archives,' *History in Africa*, 3 (1976), 171-173.

<sup>50</sup> Gregory Mann, 'Dust to Dust: A User's Guide to Local Archives in Mali,' *History in Africa*, 26 (1999), 453-456.

<sup>51</sup> Leslie Leonard Bessant, 'Descent from Privilege: A Researcher's Memoir of the National Archives of Zimbabwe, 1984-1993,' *History in Africa*, 24 (1997), 401-408.

details relating to the archival collections preserved at the institution, he also argued that the nature of historical study determines historians' experiences of the archives – an invaluable reminder.<sup>52</sup>

### *Postcolonial and transnational archives*

The most recent and vibrant debates among historians of the postcolonial period focus on the incomplete nature of postcolonial archival collections. The main argument of this scholarship is that gaps and absences in postcolonial archives can be resolved through a transnational approach, as recent scholarship, such as the work of Allman and White, has demonstrated that a national archive does not reside in one place. Allman and White have suggested that the documentary sources for reconstructing African postcolonial histories extend beyond the repositories of national archives.<sup>53</sup> These scholars view gaps and absences in archives as an encouragement to triangulate between the colonial and imperial archives. Twentieth-century records, for example, were produced with carbon copies, which presents the possibility of locating information missing from a national collection, in transnational archives. This approach is not universally accepted. Rutland, for example, is less convinced, contending that the triangulation of other archives can only be determined by the nature of the subject under consideration.<sup>54</sup>

Ntewusu,<sup>55</sup> taking the focus away from transnational archives, has pointed to the contributions of specific local archives to social history, and asserted that limitations in one archive can be supplemented by another local archive within a particular region. The debate was extended by Straussberger and Ochonu, who argued that postcolonial archival fragmentation presents an opportunity for imagining a new kind of historical writing in

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<sup>52</sup> Stuart McConnell, 'Historical Research in Eastern Uganda: Local Archives,' *History in Africa*, 32 (2005), 467-478.

<sup>53</sup> Marie Jean Allman, 'Phantoms of the Archive: Kwame Nkrumah, a Nazi Pilot Named Hanna, and the Contingencies of Postcolonial History-Writing,' *American Historical Review*, 118, 1, (2013), 104-129; and Luise White, 'Hodgepodge Historiography: Documents, Itineraries, and the Absence of Archives,' *History in Africa*, 42 (2015), 309-318.

<sup>54</sup> Suzanne Rutland, 'Research in Transnational Archives: The Forgotten Story of the Australian Immigration Project,' *Holocaust Studies*, 19/3 (2013), 105-130.

<sup>55</sup> Samuel Aniegye Ntewusu, 'Serendipity: Conducting Research on Social History in Ghana's Archives,' *History in Africa*, 41 (2014), 417-424..

which the concept of the bureaucratically organised archive is inadequate.<sup>56</sup> This work has been relevant to this thesis insofar as it informs the preoccupation with destruction of records (and the resultant 'gaps' in the archival record), which is a constant thread throughout the history of the establishment of the Zambian national archives. These transnational debates are also relevant to this study in pointing to the potential of this thesis that it might have to point future researchers to avenues of interest.

### *Subaltern studies and the archives*

Scholars of subaltern studies, originating in India, proposed an interpretation of colonial history that rejected the master narratives of imperialism in favour of a history that emphasised a more contextual examination of the modes of knowledge and representations among the local colonised populations. In terms of colonial archives, the search for marginalised groups manifested itself in the practice of reading the official colonial records 'against the grain'. Work in this field focused on reading archival documents to attempt to access the 'voices' of marginalised groups, such as women and indigenous populations.<sup>57</sup> Scholars such as Guha, Spivak and Ballantyne, demonstrated how the creation of records by colonial administrators contributed to an imbalance in colonial history making.<sup>58</sup> Ranajit Guha concluded that a colonial archive is not a collection of immutable facts of the past. Rather, it comprises the fragments and residues of the ruling elite. As such, archival pursuits demand a persistent critique of colonial power. This 'against the grain' approach led to the writing of, for example, *The Rani of Simur: An Essay in Reading the Archives* by Gayatri Spivak. Spivak suggested that because the colonial archive is complicit in its specific colonial

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<sup>56</sup> Moses E. Ochonu, 'Elusive History: Fractured Archives, Politicized Orality and Sensing the Postcolonial Past,' *History in Africa*, 42 (2015), 287-298; and John Straussberger, 'Fractures and Fragments: Finding Postcolonial Histories of Guinea in Local Archives,' *History in Africa*, 42 (2015), 299-307.

<sup>57</sup> For a sampling of work on subaltern studies in relation to archives see, for example, Anjali Arondekar, 'Without Trace: sexuality and the colonial archive,' *Journal of History of Sexuality*, 14/1 (2006), 10-27; Jeannette A. Bastian, 'Reading Colonial Records Through an Archival Lens: The Provenance of Place, Space and Creation,' *Archival Science*, 6/3-4 (2006), 267-284; Jeannette A. Bastian, 'A Question of custody: The Colonial Archives of the United States Virgin Islands,' *The American Archivist*, 64/1 (2001), 96-114; B. Joseph, *Reading the East India Company, 1720-1840: Colonial Currencies of Gender* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); A. Burton, *Dwelling in the Archive: Women Writing House, Home and History in Late Colonial India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); and Ranajit Guha, *An Indian Historiography of India: A Nineteenth-Century Agenda and its Implication* (Calcutta: K.P. Bagchi & Co, 1988).

<sup>58</sup> Ranajit Guha, *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999); Gayatri Spivak, 'The Rani of Sirmur: An Essay in Reading the Archives,' *History and Theory*, 24/3 (1985), 247-272; and T. Ballantyne, 'Archive, Discipline, State: Power and Knowledge in South Asian Historiography,' *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies*, 3/1(2001), 87-105.

point of view, there is a limit to which other voices can be heard through the fog of imperial governance that often shrouds glimpses of the agency of subaltern others.<sup>59</sup> She further argued that the absence of peasant voices in colonial and Indian nationalist historiographies was not solely an exigency of historical writing, but a problem of the archive. The biases were written into the documents by colonial officials and officers, but were further exacerbated by the inadequate readings of Indian historians.

Although subaltern studies is invaluable for critiquing the colonial construction of knowledge present in the archive, this thesis is an *administrative* history of the national archives and thus does not engage at length with analysis of how the Zambian archive has contributed to the silencing of indigenous agency. It is hoped, however, that the account provided in this thesis of the genealogy of the Zambian archives and attendant policies and practices, will form the basis for future studies that could potentially turn a critical eye on how historians have and can utilise the archives to examine African voices and African pasts 'against the grain'.

#### *The role of bureaucracy in the creation of archives*

In the Asian context, some scholars have analysed the influence of national archival institutions in the process of archives' creation. The same applies to North America. Robertson, for example, explains how modern bureaucracies and practices limit the production of historical knowledge. He specifically discussed the logistical difficulties faced in the United States National Archives and Records Administration of accessing particular archives. He concluded that the bureaucratic nature of policies exhibited by custodians of archives reduces access and eventually limits historical narratives.<sup>60</sup>

Ghosh and Sahadeo have further suggested that national narratives and identities are significant features in the production of historical knowledge, particularly in the ways that archives are shaped by the spaces and conventions of archival institutions.<sup>61</sup> They argue

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<sup>59</sup> Spivak, 'The Rani of Sirmur,' 68.

<sup>60</sup> C. Robertson, 'Mechanism of Exclusion: Historicizing the Archive and the Passport,' in Antoinette M. Burton (ed.) *Archives Stories: Facts, Fictions and the Writing of History* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2005), 68-86.

<sup>61</sup> Durba Ghosh, 'National Narratives and the Politics of Miscegenation: Britain and India,' in Antoinette M. Burton (ed.) *Archives Stories: Facts, Fictions and The Writing of History* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press,

similarly that the production of historical knowledge is largely determined by archival conditions beyond the user's control, including conditions such as whether the research topic is congenial to particular types of national narratives and whether the nation-state in which research is conducted is invested in preserving the required records. In line with the above argument, Sentilles has noted that the production of historical knowledge can also be influenced by the shifting nature of archives.<sup>62</sup> She pointed out that the reformatting of physical archives into digitised forms, for example, poses the challenge of omissions of information, which in turn impacts history writing.

This thesis was certainly informed by the important role of bureaucracy in influencing the construction of archives and the politics involved in the selection of archival documents for preservation and deselection for subsequent destruction. Also, although, with its administrative focus, the thesis does not engage at length with the process of history writing, it is very much aware of the ways that questions of access – including destroyed, missing or uncatalogued records – affect the ability of historians and other researchers to write effectively critical studies of the Zambian past.

### *Conceptualising the archive*

Theoretical studies, produced most notably since the last decade of the twentieth century, reconsider colonial archives within a broader interrogation of the nature of archives. Underpinning these discussions is the conception of the 'archive' as presented by Jacques Derrida and Steedman, among others.

Steedman's work has pointed out that much historical research that takes place in archival institutions is a process that did not exist before the eighteenth century. The archives themselves contain distorted remnants of the human experience curated by the state or by institutions. Instead of functioning as sources of 'truth', the archives are reservoirs of stories that historians use to construct and deconstruct people's lives. She argues that state archives, in particular, are tied to a nineteenth-century conception of political history that

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2005), 27-44; and Jeff Sahadeo, "'Without the Past There is No Future": Archives, History, and Authority in Uzbekistan,' in Antoinette M. Burton (ed.) *Archive Stories: Facts, Fictions and the Writing of History* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2005), 45-67.

<sup>62</sup> Renée M. Sentilles, 'Toiling in the Archives of Cyberspace,' in Antoinette M. Burton (ed.) *Archive Stories: Facts, Fictions and the Writing of History* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2005), 136-156.

limits scholars as much as it helps. Steedman therefore advocates that scholars should keep these limitations in mind and employ a critical eye to the archive as a curated space of knowledge; they should always consider the structure of, and 'silences' within, archives – in the hope that they might open avenues for writing ever more critical histories.<sup>63</sup>

Derrida traced the development of the concept of archives and archiving from its Greek origins to the present time. Through a deconstructive analysis of archiving, he provided insightful mediations on remembering, time and technology. He demonstrated how the concept of 'archive' contains within itself a set of diverse and disparate meanings. His argument is that although the archive is as a rule a public entity, it nevertheless is the repository of private and personal details. Derrida asserts that archiving represents an attempt to preserve information to be remembered and leaves out certain facts to be forgotten.<sup>64</sup> Steedman and Derrida thus point to a future basis for interrogating the nature of the Zambian colonial archives, the gaps therein contained, and the archival collection policy in a contemporary setting.

Archives have also been discussed as documents of exclusion and monuments to configurations of power. Hayes, Silvester, Hartmann, and Harris, for example, have examined the processes of the creation of archives, with particular emphasis on the power relations involved therein.<sup>65</sup> In the South African context, Hamilton has considered the methodological imperatives that necessitate investigation into the conditions whereby archives are constructed. She argues that background information regarding the period and context of construction, and biographical information on the recorders of archival documentation, are prerequisites to understanding the factors that have given shape to archives over time.<sup>66</sup> Harris further argues that archives in any particular circumstance only represent part of the entire 'truth'. In discussing the construction of South African archives

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<sup>63</sup> Carolyn Steedman, *Dust: The Archive and Cultural History* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2002).

<sup>64</sup> For example, Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression* (Chicago: University Chicago Press, 1998); and Jacques Derrida, 'Archive Fever in South Africa,' in Carolyn Hamilton et al (eds.) *Refiguring the Archive* (Cape Town: David Phillip, 2002), 38.

<sup>65</sup> Patricia Hayes, Jeremy Silvester, and Wolfram Hartmann, "'Picturing the Past" in Namibia: The Visual Archive and its Energies,' in Carolyn Hamilton et al (eds.) *Refiguring the Archive* (Cape Town: David Phillip, 2002), 103-134; and Verne Harris, 'The Archival Sliver: A Perspective on the Construction of Social Memory in Archives and the Transition from Apartheid to Democracy,' in Carolyn Hamilton et al (eds.) *Refiguring the Archive* (Cape Town: David Phillip, 2002), 135-160.

<sup>66</sup> Hamilton, 'Backstory, Biography and the Life of the James Stuart Archive,' 319-341.

in the context of the transition from apartheid to democracy, he cites the hegemony of state control over social memory that involved both remembering and forgetting. Memory institutions, such as the apartheid archival record, legitimised apartheid rule in preserving historical information whereby apartheid's marginalised and oppressed communities were poorly reflected in the public record.<sup>67</sup> In answer to this, Brent Harris and Derrida gave a detailed account of the construction of archives by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) of South Africa. The TRC archive was established through presentations and interpretations of public testimonies. The inscription in a public space for these testimonies poses problems of selection, and limitations, which will eventually affect the history of South Africa. By using these archives as example, they were able to point out that archives are interpretations of the facts, and the commissioners in charge of recording the testimonies and building the archives, were influenced by their own motivations and pre-conceived schemes of interpretation.<sup>68</sup>

Mbembe, Peterson and Van Zyl, have also theorised about the archive. Mbembe discussed the power of an archive and its political significance. He pointed out that archives are a product of judgement exercised by a specific power and authority, which involves preserving certain documents as of value to the archives, and discarding others. He argues that an archive is fundamentally a matter of discrimination and selection of records, which results in granting a privileged status to certain documents and judging other records as obsolete.<sup>69</sup> Peterson in turn expressed concern about the composition and accessibility of the South African archives. The exclusionary nature of archives is associated with South Africa's racialised and divided history, whereby apartheid authorities denied the existence of any histories of the black majority worthy of preservation beyond mostly ethnographic knowledge or records that fail to highlight African agency, but have instead validated the experiences and discourses of the white minority. Peterson argues that robust forms of

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<sup>67</sup> Verne Harris, 'Redefining Archives in South Africa: Public Archives and Society in Transition, 1990-1996,' *Archivaria*, 42 (1996), 6-27; and Verne Harris, 'The Archival Sliver: Power, Memory and Archives in South Africa,' *Archival Science*, 2 (2002), 63-86.

<sup>68</sup> Brent Harris, 'The Archive, Public History and the Essential Truth: The TRC Reading the Past,' in Carolyn Hamilton et al (eds.) *Refiguring the Archive* (Cape Town: David Phillip, 2002), 161-178; and Jacques Derrida, 'Archive Fever in South Africa,' 38.

<sup>69</sup> Achille Mbembe, 'The Power of the Archive and its Limits,' in Carolyn Hamilton et al (eds.) *Refiguring the Archive*, (Cape Town: David Phillip, 2002), 19-27.

knowledge that could not be ignored or denied were reshaped and appropriated in the service of the apartheid system.<sup>70</sup> Van Zyl views the institution of archives as existing in an ambiguous and symptomatic relation to time. She argued that archival records as materials of historical information are unstable and ever-changing in meaning, according to exigencies and the recasting of the future.<sup>71</sup> These studies offered insights into the agents involved in the construction of archives and the ways in which their decisions affected the shape and nature of Zambian archives as the writing of this thesis unfolded.

#### **1.4 Methodology and Sources**

This is a qualitative study of the administrative history of the Zambian archives, which benefited largely from extensive primary research conducted in Zambia between January and June 2017, and again from January to February and December 2018. As a pioneering study that has looked beyond current Zambian historiography, it was mainly informed by archival material from the NAZ, ZCCM and UNIP archives. The narrative of this thesis is constructed from a number of sources that include archival documents, secondary material and interviews with archivists and scholars.

##### *The National Archives of Zambia (NAZ)*

The most valuable primary material on the history of the development of the national archives in Zambia was sourced from the NAZ. I accessed a considerable number of colonial and postcolonial administrative files created by archival institutions during the period demarcated by the thesis. The files created by the Central African Archives (CAA) are classified under the Secretariat series (SEC 1/143-149) covering the period 1929 to 1954. They consist of correspondence, minutes, memoranda, reports, notes, letters and policy documents. The collection cover a wide range of subjects ranging from the establishment of the CAA, the organisation, preservation and management of colonial archives, the formulation of colonial archival policies and legislation.

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<sup>70</sup> Bhekizizwe Peterson, 'The Archives and the Political Imaginary,' in Carolyn Hamilton et al (eds.) *Refiguring the Archive* (Cape Town: David Phillip, 2002), 29-37.

<sup>71</sup> Susan van Zyl, 'Psychoanalysis and the Archive: Derrida's Archive Fever,' in Carolyn Hamilton et al (eds.) *Refiguring the Archive* (Cape Town: David Phillip, 2002), 39-60.

This study was also informed by a series of files created by the national archives of Rhodesia and Nyasaland during the federation period, between 1954 and 1963. These files are classified under the Ministry of Home Affairs series and comprise information on the transformation of archival services, management and policies after the introduction of the federal administrative system. These files largely informed the arguments presented in chapter two, while chapters three, four and five focused on the history of archives formation in the British colonial administration and the federation period. The files provided a broad coverage of information on archival development in the colonial period. As such, they proved valuable in discovering and tracing the transformation that occurred in relation to archive legislation, the political, social and economic environments, and how this impacted on the formation of government archives in Northern Rhodesia.

Fewer files exist on the government archives in the postcolonial period, due to a huge backlog in classification attributed to inadequate staffing and limited budgets. The only primary material that is in the public domain, covers the period 1964 to 1972, mainly in the form of minutes, reports, circulars and policy documents created by the NAZ. This consists primarily of administrative files on matters relating to the takeover of federal records, transitional development plans and the formulation of postcolonial archival legislation and policies. These files provided useful information pertaining to the politics involved in the formation of the archives, and in particular on the politics at work at the moment of dissolution of the federation and the formation of the inter-governmental committee that devised strategies for the distribution of federal records.

Additionally, in covering the archival information gap up to 1991, the year in which this study ends, I was granted permission to utilise unprocessed information, due for public consultation, but awaiting appraisal for permanent preservation. These records consisted of departmental and administrative files containing correspondence, minutes, reports and notes exchanged between the NAZ and government departments on matters of access, appraisal and disposal, as well as the transfer and management of records. Working with unprocessed files was time consuming and often close to overwhelming. A lot of time was spent on searching for unclassified files, usually in unlabelled boxes.

In the category of unprocessed information was also the Eastern and Central African Regional Branch of International Council on Archives (ECARBICA) and Eastern and Southern African Regional Branch of the International Council on Archives (ESARBICA) file series, created between 1969 and 1991. The ECARBICA and ESARBICA file series comprise conference papers, correspondence, minutes, memoranda and reports pertaining to matters promoting regional co-operation in the preservation of records and the development of contemporary principles and standards of records management in East, Central and Southern African States. Information from these files proved useful, especially in providing comparative examples of experiences related to preservation, policy and management of archives in the region.

The other important source of material that informed this study was collections of minutes generated by the advisory council committee between 1970 and 1987. The national archives advisory council committee was formed in 1970 under the National Archives Act of 1969, to advise the Minister of Home Affairs on matters relating to the preservation and management of archives in Zambia. The minutes record a wide range of changes that occurred in the Zambian archival sphere during this period, which in turn prove influential on aspects of management policy, as well as the acquisition and preservation of archival materials.

Annual reports were also accessed from the National Archives Library, produced by the CAA and covering the period 1948 to 1954; the National Archives of Rhodesia, 1954 to 1963; and the NAZ, covering a much wider period from 1964 to 1991. These reports discuss matters related to storage and accommodation, budget allocations, staffing levels, as well as challenges experienced by the institutions, and the functions and activities of these archival institutions.

A series of colonial inventories were also surveyed to understand the collection and preservation trends of the colonial and postcolonial archival systems. There are specific inventories and descriptive lists in the NAZ for the BSAC collection, the Crown collection and the Secretariat records, as well as postcolonial government ministries and departments.

### *Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines Archives (ZCCM)*

The active preservation of mining archives was introduced in 1962 under the Roan Selection Trust Company (RST). The ZCCM archives hold information relating to mining activities in Zambia. While much information exists on mining, not much effort was made to preserve the information on the archiving activities of its institution. Nonetheless, this thesis benefited from a handful of correspondence files generated by the administrative section of the RST, the Nchanga Consolidated Copper Mines (NCCM) archives, and later the ZCCM archives. The earliest existing file, which covers the period 1968 to 1977, broadly relates to matters of archiving in the mining industry and the repatriation of other mining archives held in South Africa, the United Kingdom and Zimbabwe. The correspondence files created after 1982, following the complete nationalisation of the mining industry, cover a wide period. The file series classified as archives correspondence covers the period 1980 to 2004, but with combined categories of archival material in the form of reports, minutes and letters. These records were valuable in the discussion of archives in an independent Zambian society, and how the political transformation affected the formation and management of the archives. The consequences of nationalisation are quite evident in the construction and collection of the mining records.

### *The United National Independence Party (UNIP) Archives*

During the above mentioned research period, I also conducted research at the UNIP archives, but without much success. Since the UNIP's ousting from power in 1991, its archives have been relocated several times. The records were not accessible to the public for the last two years since the most recent relocation and only became available by May 2017. At the time I visited the institution, in May and June of 2017, records were still being transferred from a previous location, and I only managed to discover three relevant files: UNIP 2/4/1, (1974-1975), UNIP 2/5/2 (1977), and UNIP 2/7/8 (1978-1979), as well as an unpublished inventory compiled by Marja Hinfelaar in 2004, which proved useful in tracing the collection policy of political archives in Zambia. Although limited in their number, these files contain valuable information on the archives policy that guided the processing of archives and their preservation in the 1970s. The most recent records relate to the conflicts and politics that arose after the revocation, in 1991, of the 1977 statutory instrument that

declared Freedom House a place of public deposit for all records relating to political parties in Zambia.

#### *The Livingstone Museum Archives*

In 1938 the Livingstone Museum was the earliest formal depository of government archives in Northern Rhodesia. Although its archive now mainly contains primary material pertaining to the museum's institutional history and the cultural history of Zambia, there are selected files that provided useful argument for this study. A series of correspondence papers such as the LM 1/1/1 series, generated in the late 1930s by the offices of the district and Provincial Commissioners and the curator of the Livingstone Museum, offered valuable perspectives on the earliest efforts at centralisation of government archives in Northern Rhodesia. These files contain information on the initial deposit of government records from the districts and provinces of Northern Rhodesia and the challenges experienced.

#### *The University of Zambia Library*

Secondary sources held in the special collections of the University of Zambia Library, enhanced this thesis. The periodical section contains both the *ECARBICA Journal* (1973-1983) and *ESARBICA Journal* (1991-2013); the *African Journal of Libraries, Archives and Information Studies* (1995-2003); and the *Archives Association of Zambia Newsletters* (1987-1994). These periodical series covered a wide range of pertinent themes, which included conservation, preservation, financing, digitisation, policing, collaboration, staff training, and other challenges to archive management, all specifically focused on the African region.

#### *Oral Interviews*

This thesis benefited from 35 oral interviews. While not all interviews are cited directly, they were invaluable in offering background and nuance to understanding the processes involved in, for example, appraisal programmes, preservation and management strategies in various periods. Open-ended interview guides were distributed before the interviews were conducted to help the respondents familiarise themselves with the questions. The interview guide and the interview were all in English. It should be mentioned here that as this study mostly deals with government archival institutions still in operation, due consideration has been given to the ethical issues related to confidentiality. University of the Free State ethical

guidelines were followed. Mention of personal names of interview subjects in the discussion within the chapters, has been largely avoided. However, with the permission of the interviewees, their names are reflected in the bibliography. While not all interviews are cited directly, they informed this thesis's understanding of the issues of archives creation, preservation, managements, and policy, which also shaped the reading of archival materials such as the National Archives (NA) series.

Interviews were conducted with the current and retired directors, archivists and records managers of the NAZ, ZCCM, the UNIP, and the Livingstone Museum Archives (LMA), who have had decision-making authority in records management and preservation processes. Since archival sources do not in and of themselves provide an analytical perspective on the impact of legislation, preservation and management practices, and the role of government in the creation of archives, this study engaged in interviews with both the retired and current directors of the NAZ, ZCCM, LMA and UNIP, on aspects of institutional management practices, archival collection policy, and social, political and economic influences on the creation of national archives in Zambia. The information collected from these interviews provided insight into changing trends and shifts in the management of archival documents, as well as gaps that exist in the collections. Additionally, current and retired archivists of the same archival institutions were also interviewed. They gave especially useful information on changing appraisal programmes and how they determined what records were considered of permanent value for preservation.

Other interview subjects were current and former members of the national archives advisory board and historians who have played a significant role in ensuring the preservation of archives in Zambia. I compiled an interview guide, which contained questions covering aspects of policy, preservation and management. In particular, the questions focused on the role of policy in shaping archival collections in Zambia, the impact of preservation strategies and management practices in the production of archives, and how economic and political factors have influenced the production of archives.

### *Brief note on the limitations of the sources*

The records contained in the four archival institutions mentioned above cover a wide range of archival themes. They are particularly valuable on questions of records and archives centralisation, preservation, management and legislation in both the colonial and postcolonial periods. However, the major weakness of the material in these archives is that information pertaining to archiving at the NAZ in particular, only begins in 1929 and dwindles by the early 1970s. Information on aspects of record keeping during the period 1890 to 1928, a period covered by chapter two and part of chapter three, does not exist in the archives. To cover this historical break in the archives, this study relied largely on the *Guide to the Public Archives of Zambia, 1895-1940*, by Ivor Graham and B.C. Halwindi for the analysis of the collection and preservation policy.<sup>72</sup> The study also drew upon the work of Lewis H. Gann, *The Birth of a Plural Society: The Development of Northern Rhodesia Under the British South Africa Company 1894-1914*<sup>73</sup> and *A History of Northern Rhodesia: Early Days to 1953*,<sup>74</sup> which between the two provide much by way of a comprehensive administrative history which covers this archival break. As for the postcolonial breaks in the archives, this study benefited from the consultation of unprocessed archival information pending appraisal, as mentioned already. The study also attempted to address this by way of information gleaned from interviews.

### **1.5 Scope and Organisation of the study**

This study is an administrative history on the creation and development of archives in the changing government systems of Zambia between 1890 and 1991. It focuses on the role of government bureaucracy in archives legislation, preservation and management, and hence its influence on the nature of the archival record. This thesis comprises seven chapters. Chapter one, represents the introduction. Chapter two explores the process of the initial inscription of official records in Northern Rhodesia from 1890 to 1923. It begins with an exploration of the development of official archives through the BSAC and traditional chiefs'

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<sup>72</sup> Ivor M. Graham and B.C. Halwindi, *Guide to the Public Archives of Zambia, 1895-1940* (Lusaka: National Archives of Zambia, 1970).

<sup>73</sup> Lewis H. Gann, *The Birth of a Plural Society: The Development of Northern Rhodesia Under the British South Africa Company 1894-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1968).

<sup>74</sup> Lewis H. Gann, *A History of Northern Rhodesia: Early Days to 1953* (New York: Humanities Press, 1969).

signing of treaties and concession documents. The chapter demonstrates how the administrative structures of the Administrator, the civil service and the judicial systems, instituted during chartered rule, generated archival records. This chapter argues that, while the BSAC archives were generated in the course of routine administrative functions of the company, their nature was largely informed by the historical context of British imperialism and company rule in North-Eastern (N.E.) Rhodesia, North-Western (N.W.) Rhodesia and Northern Rhodesia. While N.E. Rhodesia, N.W. Rhodesia and Northern Rhodesia operated under similar organisational structures and processes in the period 1895 to 1910, the records produced by each of these entities were different and influenced by unique circumstances. This chapter further notes that the chartered company retained its records as private documents rather than national or public ownership, resulting in the estrangement of large quantities of records to its headquarters in South Africa and London. It also did not institute standardised principles for their organisation, preservation and management.

Chapter three considers the development of standardised record keeping practices and archives policy in Northern Rhodesia following the introduction of a British colonial administration between 1923 and 1944. The chapter demonstrates the extent to which administrative change in Northern Rhodesia – from chartered company rule to British colonial administration – transformed the practice of record keeping and preservation, and the nature of the archival record. It argues that the power of administrative information was appreciated particularly by the colonial administration, which in turn motivated it to devise standardised record keeping and preservation systems. The chapter draws attention to the BSAC's failure to devise similar standardised systems of record keeping and demonstrates the urgent steps taken by the colonial administration in initiating well-defined systems of managing and preserving information. It explains the initial centralisation of records in Northern Rhodesia through the establishment of registries. And it furthermore notes that centralisation adopted principles that were similar to those used in the British civil service, but without any imperial directive. Nonetheless, between 1929 and 1936, the Colonial Office became involved in ensuring safeguards for the proper preservation of colonial records. The Colonial Office provided instructions and guidelines through circular despatches to the Northern Rhodesian administration on the development of an archives

policy and centralised systems of records preservation. The collaboration between the colonial administration and the Colonial Office much improved the centralisation and preservation of records in Northern Rhodesia. It thereby moved from a functionalist approach to a professional approach to archives management.

Chapter four examines the creation, preservation and management of archives in the era of regional collaboration and informed by a regional legislative framework. This spanned the years 1945 to 1953. The chapter traces the establishment of the Central African Archives (CAA) and explores the significant role played by the Southern Rhodesia archives in introducing Northern Rhodesia to professional archival practice, guided by a legal framework: in 1946, Southern Rhodesia negotiated with Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland for a joint collaboration, which led to the establishment of the CAA in Salisbury. The purpose of this initiative was to encourage the preservation and consolidation of regional history in a centralised permanent collection. The chapter suggests that the formation of the Central African Council after the Second World War, which coordinated common services in the region, influenced Northern Rhodesia to abandon its own plans to centralise its archives, in favour of a joint collaborative undertaking. In 1946, the council facilitated the formulation of common archives legislation providing similar principles for the preservation and management of records across Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and Southern Rhodesia. The chapter argues that the enactment of the Northern Rhodesia Archives Ordinance (1946) transformed the course of archives creation and management in the territory. The introduction of the Ordinance resulted in the formation of a record destruction committee and an archives commission, which recommended the selection and destruction of records on the basis of the assignment of legal, administrative, fiscal and/or historical value. The Ordinance further facilitated the centralisation and management of the Northern Rhodesian archives in a common repository in Southern Rhodesia.

Chapter five describes the inextricable and formative relationship between the transformation of a system of government and the creation of archives during the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (1953-1963). It argues that regional politics induced changes in the manner of archives production in Central Africa and Northern Rhodesia, in particular. The chapter observes that the formation of the federation had an impact on the legislative framework, archives preservation approaches, management practices, and the

processes of archives creation in Northern Rhodesia. Following the formation of the federal government, the Northern Rhodesia Archives Ordinance was repealed and replaced with the National Archives Act of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (1958). The federal administration assumed control over the preservation of records generated by the Northern Rhodesian territorial government. The merging of the three territories' (Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland) government services resulted in the production of information that was of common interest. Thus, inevitably, following the dissolution of the federation, the respective territorial governments claimed ownership of the relevant collections in the centralised federal archives, which resulted in the fragmentation of a once centralised entity. While part of the federal archive was divided between the newly independent states of Zambia and Malawi, and the settler state of Rhodesia, the collection that was of common interest to all the three territories, remained in the custody of Southern Rhodesia Archives.

Chapter six examines increased state intervention in the creation and management of archives in the postcolonial period. Following Zambia's independence in 1964 and eventual declaration of the country as a one party state (1972), the centralisation of the archives was consolidated through state control and its footprint broadened to include the acquisition of records generated by individuals, private institutions and quasi-government organisations. This implied a far broader understanding of the public record and the role of archives as national memory, than what existed before. The state, through the national archiving institution, initiated the collection of non-government records in the form of historical manuscripts in an attempt to create and preserve a more consolidated national history. The chapter argues that the National Archives Act (1969) was an instrument of control through which the state exercised its authority in shaping the processes of archives production. The provisions of the National Archives Act mandated the National Archives of Zambia (NAZ) as key executor of its provisions. The chapter shows how NAZ hence controlled the preservation and production of both private and government archives on behalf of the state. As Zambia functioned as a one-party state from 1972 until 1991, the chapter furthermore examines the implications of the ruling party's (UNIP) stamp on archival collections, including the exclusion or neglect of records pertaining to aspects of Zambian history that did not validate the ruling party's nationalist narrative of the Zambian past.

Chapter seven represents the conclusion of this thesis.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **The Creation of the British South Africa Company Records in Northern Rhodesia, 1890 – 1923**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

When studying the nature and process of archives creation in colonial Africa, the primary focus must necessarily fall on imperial authorities as pioneers of record keeping. Imperial authorities introduced administrative systems. These systems produced, shaped and determined the nature, organisation, preservation and dissemination of official records in the early years of colonial rule.

In Northern Rhodesia, the British South Africa Company (BSAC) pioneered the creation of records. This chapter is particularly concerned with the development and production of archives by the BSAC through its establishment of administrative structures in Northern Rhodesia. The chapter begins with a brief background whereby the BSAC established its administration in North Eastern Rhodesia (N.E. Rhodesia) and North Western Rhodesia (N.W. Rhodesia) and later Northern Rhodesia, after their amalgamation in 1911. The chapter explains how the administrative structures of the Administrator, civil service and judicial systems created records of archival importance through their prescribed roles, and demonstrates how this process evolved over time. This chapter argues that, while the BSAC archives were created in pursuit of the routine administrative activities and responsibilities of a private enterprise, their nature was also informed by political circumstances in N.E. Rhodesia, N.W. Rhodesia and Northern Rhodesia, coupled with British imperial policies. The chapter shows that, although N.E. Rhodesia and N.W. Rhodesia operated under related organisational structures and processes in the period 1895-1910, the records produced were distinctly different. The chapter shows how the processes of records production and practice of record keeping were transformed through the amalgamation of N.E. Rhodesia and N.W. Rhodesia in 1911 until 1923 when the BSAC administration was terminated.

## 2.2 The origins and development of the British South Africa Company records in Northern Rhodesia

### 2.2.1 The genesis of records creation in North Eastern Rhodesia

The genesis of the creation and keeping of administrative records in Northern Rhodesia is associated with the BSAC. The BSAC was established to pursue its commercial interests in land and mining in Southern and Central Africa, all under the guise of British imperial expansion. The BSAC was established following the amalgamation of the Central Search Association and the London based Exploration Company Limited, which had originally competed to exploit the expected mineral wealth of Mashonaland (Southern Rhodesia), but united because of common economic interests.<sup>1</sup> The two companies amalgamated to strengthen their position in securing a charter from the British government. Amalgamation was an idea initiated by businessman, statesman and strong proponent of British imperialism, Cecil John Rhodes of the Central Search Association. Similar to the aim of the British imperial government, Rhodes's ambition was to establish a zone of British commercial and political influence from the Cape (South Africa) to Cairo (Egypt).<sup>2</sup>

In this context, the earliest official documents on Northern Rhodesia were the product of a partnership between imperial and commercial interests; that is, between the British government and the BSAC, a commercial company empowered by a Royal Charter issued in 1889 though no northern limits were set for the company's operations.<sup>3</sup> International politics and economic conflicts over spheres of influence between the British and Portuguese governments, and King Leopold of Belgium in Central Africa laid an important foundation for the genesis of records creation. An existing Church of Scotland missionary

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<sup>1</sup> For detailed discussion of the origins and early development of the BSAC see especially, J. S. Galbraith, *Crown and Charter: The Early Years of the British South Africa Company* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974); A.J. Hanna, *The Beginnings of Nyasaland and North-Eastern Rhodesia: 1859-95* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956); and Lewis H. Gann, *A History of Northern Rhodesia: Early Days to 1953* (New York: Humanities Press, 1969).

<sup>2</sup> Gann, *A History of Northern Rhodesia*, 57.

<sup>3</sup> For further discussion see, Galbraith, *Crown and Charter: The Early Years of the British South Africa Company*; and Gann, *A History of Northern Rhodesia*, 57.

presence drew Britain into parts of Central Africa, covering Nyasaland and North Eastern Rhodesia, especially once the BSAC agreed to subsidise its administration costs.<sup>4</sup>

In order to formalise this expansion, documentation to support and legitimise a claim over Central Africa was urgently needed. The Berlin Conference of 1884 had stipulated that nations engaged in colonial expansion must produce proof of occupation of the territories they claimed to have acquired. Thus, the quest for the extension of the British Empire into Central Africa, also marked the impetus and starting point for the creation of records and record keeping in Northern Rhodesia. In this regard, Article 34 of Chapter Six of the Berlin Conference Act required any European nation that took possession of land on the African continent to notify the other signatory powers of the Act by proof of ownership.<sup>5</sup> This international agreement, which regulated European partition of Africa paved the way for the creation of the earliest collection of records material relating to land treaties and concessions. Valid treaty and concession documents were needed to strengthen British colonial expansion.<sup>6</sup> The written consent of local African leaders was central to obtaining a claim to political and commercial rights in the Central African region. Treaty making was in the interests of both the Company and imperial authorities.<sup>7</sup> As a result, there were combined efforts by the imperial government and the BSAC to acquire and to sign treaties and concessions with local chiefs.<sup>8</sup>

Accordingly, in 1890, Cecil John Rhodes, who effectively controlled the BSAC, and Harry Johnston, the British consul in Mozambique, worked together to this end. The BSAC's officials drafted the treaty and concession documents on its terms, which were then signed by local leaders. These documents provided for British protection of local leaders against rival claimants. This was done in exchange for the extension of British political authority, and the grant of land and mining rights. The recognition of the validity of the concession documents, as well as their terms of agreement, required the signatures of African leaders.

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<sup>4</sup> Hanna, *The Beginnings of Nyasaland and North-Eastern Rhodesia*, 142.

<sup>5</sup> See contents of the General Act of the Berlin Conference, 1885 in E. Hertslet, ed, *The Map of Africa by Treaty* (Biblio: Bazaar, 2014), 128.

<sup>6</sup> Hanna, *The Beginnings of Nyasaland and North-Eastern Rhodesia*, 150.

<sup>7</sup> Fergus Macpherson, *Anatomy of a Conquest: The British Occupation of Zambia 1884-1924* (Harlow: Longman, 1981), 20.

<sup>8</sup> J.A. Barnes, *Politics in a Changing Society: A Political History of Fort Jameson Ngoni* (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), 74.

By signing the documents, the chiefs bound themselves to accept British colonial rule and granted a monopoly of mineral and land rights to the BSAC.<sup>9</sup> In this respect, chiefs were not initiators but chance participants in the creation of land and concession records. The involvement of African leaders in the creation of treaty documents contradicts Betty Joseph's argument that imperial powers, initiated processes that denied the colonised any role in the creation of primary material.<sup>10</sup>

Two BSAC agents, Alfred Sharpe and Joseph Thompson, were sent to obtain treaties from local chiefs in the area that became N.E. Rhodesia.<sup>11</sup> Backed by Rhodes with a cheque for two thousand pounds (£2000) to cover the expense of treaty making Sharpe was instructed to make treaties in the region under the control of the Ngoni and Bemba peoples.<sup>12</sup> Sharpe distributed small sums among the lesser chiefs in the region in the form of presents.<sup>13</sup> But powerful leaders, such as Mpezeni of the Ngoni and Chitimukulu, paramount chief of the Bemba refused these blandishments.<sup>14</sup> Neither of them signed the treaty documents, as they saw no good reason to seek protection against their neighbours, nor to grant special privileges to the British government.<sup>15</sup>

Lesser indigenous chiefs were minor accomplices in the creation of treaty and concession records because of the surrounding hostile raiding environment. As illustrated above, the treaties offered protection. Their signing was considered a means of establishing security and protection against the powerful Ngoni and Bemba raiding chiefs.<sup>16</sup> Local notables who contributed to the creation of records and subsequent archives based on treaties, were the

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<sup>9</sup> D. Mulford, *Zambia: The Politics of Independence, 1957-1964* (Oxford: University Press, 1967), 1-4.

<sup>10</sup> B. Joseph, *Reading the East India Company 1720-1840: Colonial Currencies of Gender* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 5.

<sup>11</sup> Hanna, *The Beginnings of Nyasaland and North-Eastern Rhodesia*, 142; Gann, *A History of Northern Rhodesia*, 57; and Ivor M. Graham and B.C. Halwindi, *Guide to the Public Archives of Zambia, 1895-1940* (Lusaka: National Archives of Zambia, 1970), 2.

<sup>12</sup> Richard Hall, *Zambia 1890-1964* (London: Longman, 1976), 28.

<sup>13</sup> Hanna, *The Beginnings of Nyasaland and North-Eastern Rhodesia*, 149.

<sup>14</sup> For the process and challenges of treaty-making in Northern Rhodesia, see for example, Andrew Roberts, *A History of Zambia* (Lusaka: Heinemann, 1976), 159-170; Barnes, *Politics in a Changing Society*, 68-78; Henry S. Meebelo, *Reaction to Colonialism: A Prelude to the Politics of Independence in Northern Zambia, 1893-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University press, 1971).

<sup>15</sup> For Chief Mpezeni's attitude towards treaty signing, see Barnes, *Politics in a Changing Society*, 68-72.

<sup>16</sup> Further details on the nature and reign of the Bemba and Ngoni chiefs see especially, A. Roberts, *A History of the Bemba: Political Growth and Change in North-Eastern Zambia Before 1900* (London: Longman, 1973); Roberts, *A History of Zambia*, 118-120; and Barnes, *Politics in a Changing Society*, 29-60.

'Sultans', Arab protectors of lesser chiefs. The Arabs in the region were friendly towards the British, perhaps assuming that they would not be as harmful to their slave raiding activities as the authorities were in East German Africa.<sup>17</sup> Overall it seems that most documents related to colonial expansion were contracted with minor local leaders, rather than with the politically powerful. This was prompted because of the need for protection. For example, only relatively insignificant Nyasa chiefs participated in treaty making for fear of powerful chiefs, such as Matakanya, who dominated and terrorised local inhabitants.<sup>18</sup>

Thompson, the other BSAC agent, facilitated the creation of a collection of treaty documents from the region that later became the Central Province of Northern Rhodesia. However, unlike Sharpe, the treaties that Thompson collected were questioned and contested by the British government. Administrative privileges and jurisdictions granted to British citizens through concessions were subject to imperial scrutiny. The Colonial Secretary verified all concession agreements and only approved if the contents were in line with imperial policy.<sup>19</sup> In the case of Thompson's treaties, the wording of these documents was inaccurate and many of the chiefs who signed them were, in fact not chiefs at all, and therefore had no authority to append their signatures.<sup>20</sup> Allegedly, Thompson had rushed to procure treaties at the rate of one per day and once, on 4 November 1889, two bagged in one day. Information recorded in these documents was frequently inaccurate.<sup>21</sup> His documents often comprised lists of names of persons whose identity could not be established. As Richard Hall observed, 'the concessions obtained by Thompson were ludicrous confusion ... in return for trade goods, men who could neither read nor write and whose very existence in most cases seems quite forgotten, handed over most extensive rights.'<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Lewis H. Gann, *The Birth of a Plural Society: The Development of Northern Rhodesia Under the British South Africa Company, 1894-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1968), 56.

<sup>18</sup> Hanna, *The Beginnings of Nyasaland and North-Eastern Rhodesia*, 157.

<sup>19</sup> See Article 4 of the British South Africa Charter in North Western Rhodesia, *The Statute Law of North-Western Rhodesia, 1899-1909* (Livingstone: Government Printer, 1910), 2.

<sup>20</sup> A.J. Wills, *An Introduction to the History of Central Africa* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), 180.

<sup>21</sup> A. Krishnamurthy, 'The Thompson Treaties and Johnston's Certificates of Claim,' *African Social Research*, 8 (1969), 592. Research that was later conducted among the holders of chieftainships named in Thomas's list, and with people well versed in the local history of Central Province suggests that the original list was compiled after questioning informants who were not chiefs. See also Macpherson, *Anatomy of a Conquest*, 28.

<sup>22</sup> Hall, *Zambia*, 31.

Despite this, the documents obtained were deemed to constitute a sufficiently strong backing for the extension of British colonial influence in the Central African region. In a memorandum to the Foreign Office, dated 17 October 1891, Harry Johnston, urged London to recognise as much of the content of these treaties as was legally admissible. Although certain parts could be rejected, he argued, this was not sufficient reason for the non-recognition of other parts.<sup>23</sup> On this basis, it would later be argued that, imperial state power shaped the nature of colonial documents, and society's memory of the historical processes of nascent records creation. As a result, the records generated during the process of making treaties were largely a reflection of the needs and desires of its creators (BSAC). Arguably, they were social constructs whose origins lie in the information needs and ultimately, the values of the bureaucrats tasked with their creation to obtain administrative control.<sup>24</sup>

The generation of documentation through treaty making, was one end of a spectrum giving rise to nascent archives in the region in the late-nineteenth century. Another emerged after the proclamation of Nyasaland in 1891 as a British protectorate. Harry Johnston was appointed Administrator for Nyasaland, as well as for the region that became N.E. Rhodesia.<sup>25</sup> Thereafter, a legal procedure for registering and recognising concessions within the British sphere was established on 18 July 1891.<sup>26</sup> Johnston, as the representative of the British imperial government in Nyasaland and N.E. Rhodesia, was charged with the responsibility of assessing all treaties and concessions acquired from local chiefs and issuing Certificates of Claim.<sup>27</sup> In the same year, Nyasaland was proclaimed as a British protectorate, the concessions and treaty documents secured by the BSAC through Sharpe and Thompson were validated, resulting in the creation of six Certificates of Claim.<sup>28</sup> These written titles to landownership became a new category of document, recording the history of land acquisition and rights in the early years of colonial rule in Northern Rhodesia. In

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<sup>23</sup> Hanna, *The Beginnings of Nyasaland and North-Eastern Rhodesia*, 159.

<sup>24</sup> For a similar argument see for example, Joan M. Schwartz and Terry Cook, 'Archives, Records and Power: The Making of Modern Memory,' *Archival Science*, 2/1-2, (2002), 3.

<sup>25</sup> A. Kirk-Greene, *Britain's Imperial Administrators 1858-1966* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000), 48.

<sup>26</sup> Barnes, *Politics in a Changing Society*, 74.

<sup>27</sup> Norman H. Pollock, *Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia: Corridor to the North* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1971), 201.

<sup>28</sup> Graham and Halwindi, *Guide to the Public Archives of Zambia, 1895-1940*, 2.

general, these documents accepted that chiefs, as grantors of rights and privileges, were the sole and rightful owners of the land and that royalties of one percent of all minerals excavated, were payable to them.<sup>29</sup> These records therefore came into being because of the commercial interests of the BSAC in Northern Rhodesia. As A. Burton observed, all archival records come into being as a result of specific political, cultural and socioeconomic pressures which leave traces of history.<sup>30</sup>

### **2.2.2 Partnership in the creation of the British South Africa Company records in North Eastern Rhodesia**

Although within the BSAC's remit, N.E. Rhodesia was initially administered from Nyasaland, as company offices in Kimberley and Cape Town were too distant to exercise effective control. The ensuing administrative partnership between the British government and the BSAC turned on the existence of official records and their preservation. The Company and the High Commissioner's office corresponded on matters of expenditure, costs and policy relating to the administration of N.E. Rhodesia. By agreement, the High Commissioner administered N.E. Rhodesia at the company's expense. The BSAC pledged to provide funds for the maintenance of law and order making available an annual amount of ten thousand pounds (£10,000) for a police force and a further five thousand pounds (£5,000) towards the cost of introducing Indian troops.<sup>31</sup>

An important responsibility of the Nyasaland Administration saw the creation of financial records. Between 1891 and 1894, the administration generated annual financial reports for the Colonial Office and the directors of the BSAC in London. The reports contained accounts of expenditure in the administration of N.E. Rhodesia.<sup>32</sup> Other reports covered development projects such as the construction of a fort at Lake Mweru, an administrative centre at

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<sup>29</sup> Graham and Halwindi, *Guide to the Public Archives of Zambia, 1895-1940*, 2.

<sup>30</sup> Antoinette M. Burton, 'Introduction: Archive Fever, Archive Stories,' in Antoinette M. Burton (ed.) *Archives Stories, Facts, Fictions, and the Writing of History* (Durham, N.C: Duke University Press, 2005) 6.

<sup>31</sup> Permanent European settlement in N.E. Rhodesia was impossible without the maintenance of law and order as the slave trade in the neighbouring Nyasaland depended on N.E. Rhodesia as a supply centre for slaves, thereby creating a constant source of instability and security concerns. For further details see for example, Hall, *Zambia*, 34.

<sup>32</sup> Hanna, *The Beginnings of Nyasaland and North-Eastern Rhodesia*, 247-249.

Abercorn (Mbala) and the construction of Fort Rosebery (Mansa) at Lake Bangweulu.<sup>33</sup> Official correspondence was also generated through the administrative interaction between Nyasaland, the Colonial Office (Britain) and the BSAC board of directors in Britain.<sup>34</sup> This correspondence covered matters such as imperial policy and administration, financial difficulties and the challenges of eliminating the slave trade.<sup>35</sup>

While N.E. Rhodesia was under the administrative responsibility of Nyasaland, the British High Commissioner stationed in South Africa and the Colonial Office played a supervisory role. In the process, incoming correspondence on the administration of N.E. Rhodesia between the Colonial Office and the BSAC board of directors in Britain were generated. These were kept at the administration office in Nyasaland for reference purposes. At the same time, corresponding despatches were generated by the Nyasaland administration for the Colonial Office and the BSAC headquarters in London. These records (correspondence) were mainly a reflection of the colonial policies implemented in the administration of N.E. Rhodesia. They were preserved by the company's board of directors and the Colonial Office and deposited with the Public Records Office in Britain (later National Archives of the UK). As indicated by Mandy Banton, this collection came to form the CO3 collection at the National Archives of the UK, also containing the BSAC ordinances and reports.<sup>36</sup>

In 1894, a shift occurred in the administration of N.E. Rhodesia. As a result of the financial mismanagement by the Nyasaland authorities, a new agreement was reached between the Company and the Colonial Office. It provided for the transfer of administrative responsibilities to the BSAC by the imperial government.<sup>37</sup> This transformation entailed the Company's direct involvement in the creation, management and preservation of its records. However, the earliest records, on the administrative history of N.E. Rhodesia, created by the

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<sup>33</sup> Marshall Hugh Hole, *The Making of Rhodesia*, (London: Frank Cass and Company, 1967), 384.

<sup>34</sup> For details on records of correspondence generated by the Commissioner for Nyasaland on behalf of the BSAC, see for example, National Archives of Zambia, *Records of the British South Africa Company, 1895-1924* (Lusaka: National Archives of Zambia, 1972), 2-10; and National Archives of Zambia, *Records of the British South Africa Company, 1887-1924* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1980).

<sup>35</sup> For detailed correspondence records generated during this period, see Hanna, *The Beginnings of Nyasaland and North-Eastern Rhodesia*, 247-249.

<sup>36</sup> See Mandy Banton, *Administering the Empire 1801-1968: A Guide to the Records of the Colonial Office in the National Archives of the UK* (London: University of London, 2015), 202.

<sup>37</sup> Hanna, *The Beginnings of Nyasaland and North-Eastern Rhodesia*, 124.

Commissioner's office, remained under the custody and preservation of the Commissioner's office in Nyasaland.<sup>38</sup>

### **2.2.3 The British South Africa Company administration and the creation of records**

In 1895, the BSAC practically took over direct administration of N.E. Rhodesia. This saw the beginning of a more systematic phase in the creation and keeping of records. The office of a Deputy Administrator was created, which took over the responsibilities of the High Commissioner of Nyasaland. Patrick William Forbes was the first Deputy Administrator of N.E. Rhodesia, with his headquarters in Nyasaland. All records generated by the company's administrative activities were kept in Zomba, Nyasaland.<sup>39</sup> Thus, Forbes was the earliest keeper of administrative records in the formative years of company administration.

A series of records continued to be created from the Administrator's correspondence with the colonial administration of Nyasaland and the High Commissioner for South Africa, and the BSAC's board of directors in London.<sup>40</sup> Although the BSAC administered N.E. Rhodesia, the High Commissioner in South Africa continued to perform supervisory roles on behalf of the Colonial Office as before the company took over direct control. The responsibilities of the Commissioner included overseeing the implementation of imperial policy and approving laws and regulations formulated by the company Administrator. As Britain and South Africa were too far away from N.E. Rhodesia for on-site supervision, communication was conducted through government notices, in-letters, out-letters and reports.<sup>41</sup> The Administrator reported to the BSAC board of directors on the general administration of accounts, policy, commercial activities and so called native affairs in the territory.

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<sup>38</sup> The collection of the BSAC, now preserved at the National Archives of Zambia, prove that these records were maintained in Nyasaland because the company records only date from 1895, when the company assumed direct responsibility for N.E. Rhodesia. At the same time, it can only be assumed that records generated from 1891 by the Commissioner were amongst those destroyed in a fire at the Secretariat office. In 1919, the Secretariat office in Nyasaland was gutted by fire and most of the records created since the 1890s were destroyed.

<sup>39</sup> Pollock, *Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia: Corridor to the North*, 192.

<sup>40</sup> For the BSAC Administrator's and High Commissioner's collection, see National Archives of Zambia, *Records of the British South Africa Company 1895-1924*; and National Archives of Zambia, *Records of the British South Africa Company, 1887-1924*, 1-10.

<sup>41</sup> National Archives of Zambia, *Records of the British South Africa Company, 1887-1924*, 125.

This state of affairs are reflective of the matter of distance as a major contributing factor to the creation of archival records, as Joseph has noted in her study of the East India Company in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. She pointed out that due to the distance between the imperial metropole and the colonies, imperial governance came to depend on an immense archive of political, economic and historical records. The governance was carried out through the practice of archiving, a systematic circulation and recall of recorded texts that allowed rule by remote from Britain.<sup>42</sup> The circumstances under which the BSAC records were created also resonates with the work of Thomas Richards and Bernard Cohn, who conceptualised colonial archives as products of imperial administrative activities. Richards pointed out that the deliberate and comprehensive gathering and storing of information about the vast and far-flung Empire was the key to the success of British colonialism. He regarded the power of information (the archive) as both a shaping and a controlling force in the nineteenth-century imperialism. According to Richards, colonial records were a fantasy of knowledge collected and united in the service of state and Empire.<sup>43</sup> Cohn equally argued that colonial documentation was the result of an imperial project to obtain information about colonial subjects in order to establish imperial control.<sup>44</sup>

Besides the creation of records as a result of the relations between the imperial power and the company administration, broad-spectrum administrative activities conducted by the Administrator's office gave rise to the development of other forms of records, such as cablegrams, judicial and local administration records. In this regard, the first task of the Deputy Administrator under independent company administration was to construct a telegraph line. The BSAC initiated a project of building a telegraph line from South Africa to Egypt as a way of linking all African colonies in the British Empire with Britain. To this end, the African Trans-Continental Telegraph Company was created as a subsidiary of the BSAC.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Joseph, *Reading the East India Company, 1720-1840*, 5.

<sup>43</sup> Thomas Richards, *The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire* (New York: Verso, 1993), 11.

<sup>44</sup> See Bernard S. Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 3-15.

<sup>45</sup> G. Kayanda, 'Development of Postal Services in Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) During the Colonial Period 1893-1964' MA Dissertation (University of Zambia, Lusaka, 2016), 45. It should be noted that the signing of the General Act on 2 July 1890, at the Brussels Conference, by all European colonial powers, also hinged on matters of communication. They pledged, among other issues, to create a network of communication through the establishment of roads, railways, and telegraph lines, setting up of administrative stations, protecting commercial undertakings, and missionary interests to facilitate economic progress in the colonies.

Forbes was responsible for supervising telegraphic construction in N.E. Rhodesia. The line was constructed from Southern Rhodesia to Mozambique through Nyasaland to N.E. Rhodesia at Fort Jameson (Chipata). The telegram became a major mode of communication between administrative entities in N.E. Rhodesia and South Africa, as well as Britain.<sup>46</sup> This resulted in a rich collection of cablegram records. Cablegrams covered a wide range of subjects, including the appointments of Secretaries and High Commissioners, circulars on civil service administration, government notices on court sessions, land regulations, and statistical records of districts census.<sup>47</sup> While colonial advancement in communication technology made imperial administration much easier, it was also a channel through which past events were inscribed, formalised and hence could be documented.

The increase of administrative activities during Forbes's management allowed for a steady accumulation of local administrative records. Forbes preserved, with little change, the system of government that began under Johnston, in Nyasaland. Johnston had divided N.E. Rhodesia into district stations for administrative purposes. Abercorn and Fort Roseberry were the first to be established. Others soon followed such as Chambezi, Tanganyika, Mweru and Lwangwa administrative stations. Although there was no legislative provision for the appointment of additional officials, Forbes appointed J.M. Bell, H.C. Marshall, B. Watson and H. Worringham as resident collectors in charge of the centres.<sup>48</sup> Resident collectors were agents of records creation in the outpost stations of the company's administration. The duties of collectors demanded the writing of official reports on their administrative activities for the information of the Deputy Administrator stationed in Nyasaland. The officials reported on matters of justice, as well as the social and economic status of Africans. Rather than a standardised and formalised system, the culture and practice of record creation and -keeping depended on the competency and interest of the individual collectors who were in charge of the stations. Gann observed that, in the

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<sup>46</sup> Kayanda, 'Development of Postal Services in Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) During the Colonial Period 1893-1964,' 45. See also M. Gelfand, *Northern Rhodesia in the Days of the Charter* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell and Mott Ltd, 1961), 113.

<sup>47</sup> For more information on the subject matter covered by cablegrams, see National Archives of Zambia, *Records of the British South Africa Company, 1895-1924*, 10. See also National Archives of Zambia (hereafter NAZ) A Series (hereafter A) A3/15/1, Cablegram and letters on Estates, accounts and medical reports, 5 December 1895-17 September 1905; NAZ A/1, Memoranda on Appointments, 8 May 1895-11 May 1911.

<sup>48</sup> See, for example, Graham and Halwindi, *A Guide to the Public Archives of Zambia, 1895-1940*, 9-15.

formative years of company administration, the civil administration often suffered because of unsuitable appointments, from incompetence and because of personnel employed without the required administrative skills.<sup>49</sup> This explains the information gaps that exist in the resident collectors' collection preserved at the National Archives of Zambia. Of the five stations that existed at the time, the only available reports are those created by the resident collector of the Chambezi station, who reported on the Arab slave trade and African activities.<sup>50</sup>

The other duties of the resident collectors were to tour the districts, to learn the local languages and customs of the people, to record the number of villages, inhabitants, and areas of cultivated land, as well as mapping the country.<sup>51</sup> While these obligations were a source for the creation of records and served as a lens through which colonised societies could be understood by the BSAC, Cohn described them as investigative modalities of imperial control. He argued that the imperial state made its power visible through the gradual extension of officialising procedures that established information and extended their capacity in colonies.<sup>52</sup> This took the form of recording information on census, ethnicity and settlement.

The process of creating records through the administration of resident collectors was not without its challenges. The efficient and successful process of records creation at the administrative stations was often disrupted by the slave trade and raids by the Bemba and the Ngoni peoples. They resented company interference on their ways of life. Yet this hostile situation facilitated an important transformation in the sphere of record keeping. It hastened the colonial conquest of N.E. Rhodesia largely because local opposition hindered the BSAC administrative and commercial ventures. In 1898, the BSAC reinforced the Nyasaland Police force which stamped out slave trade. The 'pacification' of N.E. Rhodesia steadied its administration, which in turn stabilised record keeping and management

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<sup>49</sup> Gann, *The Birth of a Plural Society*, 105.

<sup>50</sup> For more details on the surviving collections of the Resident Collectors of the BSAC administration, 1895-1899, see Graham and Halwindi, *A Guide to the Public Archives of Zambia, 1895-1940*, 9; National Archives of Zambia, *Records of the British South Africa Company, 1895-1924*, 2.

<sup>51</sup> Wills, *An Introduction to the History of Central Africa*, 220.

<sup>52</sup> Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge*, 3.

practices.<sup>53</sup> The company's administrative office was transferred from Nyasaland to N.E. Rhodesia, where the Administrator took up permanent residence.<sup>54</sup> The documents that were kept at the Zomba office in Nyasaland were relocated to Fort Jameson, N.E. Rhodesia.<sup>55</sup> This was a starting point for a more centralised and organised record keeping system for N.E. Rhodesia.

#### **2.2.4 The North Eastern Rhodesia Order in Council and the creation of the BSAC records**

In 1900, the Colonial Office introduced a legal system similar to the Protectorate of Nyasaland. The aim was to maintain English common law and prevent the implementation of Cape law, as was desired by the BSAC. The North Eastern Rhodesia Order in Council was enacted, which gave the company statutory powers of administration.<sup>56</sup> The Order reorganised the company's administrative structure and system of operation. In place of a Deputy Administrator, it provided for the appointment of an Administrator. The Administrator was empowered to make laws, but subject to approval by the High Commissioner for South Africa and the Colonial Secretary. At the same time, the Administrator was mandated to appoint a civil service, a secretary to the administration, magistrates and native commissioners. The order also made a provision for the creation of the High Court.

The enactment of the Order in Council was a significant turning point in the system of creating and keeping of records in N.E. Rhodesia. The expansion of the administrative structures paved the way for the creation of different kinds of records. A clearer and well defined system of organising records was devised for easy access and retrieval by the administrators. Now that the company was operating on a more formalised basis after the passing of the Order in Council, there was an 'official dependence on the notion of

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<sup>53</sup> For the further positive implications of pacification, see for example, Gann, *A History of Northern Rhodesia*, 92-93; Barnes, *Politics in a Changing Society*, 64-96.

<sup>54</sup> Gann, *A History of Northern Rhodesia*, 95.

<sup>55</sup> National Archives of Zambia (hereafter NAZ), Secretariat Series (hereafter SEC) 1/145, The Provincial Commissioner to Chief Secretary, 22 July, 1940. This file provides evidence that records created in Nyasaland under Forbes's administration were transferred to N.E. Rhodesia.

<sup>56</sup> K. Bradley, 'Company Days, the Rule of the British South African Company in Northern Rhodesia,' *Northern Rhodesia Journal*, 4 (1961), 1. For the contents of the North Eastern Rhodesia Order in Council, see for example, North-Eastern Rhodesia, *The Statutory Law of North-Eastern Rhodesia, 1900*, 1-6.

precedent' to effect a more consolidated administration in N.E. Rhodesia.<sup>57</sup> Classes of records in the form of in-letters, out-letters, correspondence, circulars, case records and reports were now being classified according to the structures of their origin, such as the Administrator's office, specialised departments and the judicial system.<sup>58</sup> Commenting on similar trends Stoler notes that the kind of records classification exercised by the colonial administrations was an indication that statecraft was built on the foundation of written information. The power derived from colonial information obliged governments to ensure that records were properly catalogued and preserved.<sup>59</sup>

In 1901 the N.E. Rhodesia Government Notice No 1 was passed which established a civil service.<sup>60</sup> Accordingly, specialised departments responsible for post, land, agriculture and accounts and several others were established to meet the changing needs of the N.E. Rhodesian society. The introduction of these departments meant that the central administration became significantly more extensive, as did the generation of records. The heads of departments were compelled to produce departmental reports for the Administrator, who was accountable to the board of directors in Britain on all matters concerning the administration of N.E. Rhodesia.<sup>61</sup> Departmental reports were under the custody of the Administrator's office because they were the main sources of information on the specialised services in N.E. Rhodesia. These were the only records produced by the specialised departments to have survived.<sup>62</sup> The record keeping practices that were intended to preserve these departmental reports were inconsistently applied, especially in the period between 1900 and 1910, when they were established and still operated independently, before being merged with similar departments in N.W. Rhodesia. For example, the postal department was the oldest of the departments established, but the

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<sup>57</sup> Betty Joseph equally acknowledges the significance of the Dutch East India Company's dependence on previous communications for administration purposes. See for example, Joseph, *Reading the East India Company 1720-1840*, 6.

<sup>58</sup> For the classification of records created after the institution of the Order in Council, see for example, Graham and Halwindi, *A Guide to the Public Archives of Zambia, 1895-1940*, 9-15; National Archives of Zambia, *Records of the British South Africa Company, 1895-1924*, 1-14.

<sup>59</sup> Ann Laura Stoler, 'Colonial Archives and Arts of Government,' *Archival Science*, 2/1-2 (2002), 98.

<sup>60</sup> Graham and Halwindi, *A Guide to the Public Archives of Zambia, 1895-1940*, 124.

<sup>61</sup> NAZ District Notebook ( hereafter KDE) 5/1, Instructions to the North-Eastern Rhodesia Native Department, 1906.

<sup>62</sup> Graham and Halwindi, *A Guide to the Public Archives of Zambia, 1895-1940*, 134.

only surviving reports only cover the period between 1901 and 1902.<sup>63</sup> The lands and agriculture department was established in 1900, yet the only reports that were preserved were those for 1903 and 1904.<sup>64</sup> Similarly, the only medical department reports covered the years 1903 and 1904.

The Order in Council also regularised the administration of justice. By proclamation no. 6 of 1900, the high court of N.E. Rhodesia was established.<sup>65</sup> According to Clause (1) of the proclamation the high court was created to exercise jurisdiction on civil and criminal matters.<sup>66</sup> This saw the development of case records from court proceedings. The other records were generated from the legal duties of the high court judge. These included certificates and declarations, applications, appointments, and records of oaths. The high court judge was empowered by the proclamation to administer oaths to newly appointed justices of the peace and to individuals who provided evidence as witnesses in court. It was imperial policy that every justice of the peace (magistrates and native commissioners) subscribed to the customary oath of allegiance before they exercised any powers, duties or authority. The judge was authorised and required to swear any deponent to an affidavit and generally to administer oaths and take affirmations and solemn declarations in matters where statements on oaths or affirmations were required or permitted.<sup>67</sup>

The proceedings of the magistrates' courts made a significant contribution to the development of legal records. Magistrate's books were kept in which all criminal proceedings were recorded and signed by the magistrates. This facilitated the preservation of records relating to civil and criminal cases, and district inspections conducted by magistrates. Justice was also administered through so called native courts where native commissioners who were special Justices of Peace possessed a magistrate's jurisdiction. In

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<sup>63</sup> For the information gaps that exists in the BSAC Departmental Reports collection, see Graham and Halwindi, *A Guide to the Public Archives of Zambia, 1895-1940*, 12, 123-127.

<sup>64</sup> Graham and Halwindi, *A Guide to the Public Archives of Zambia, 1895-1940*, 12, 123-127.

<sup>65</sup> Graham and Halwindi, *A Guide to the Public Archives of Zambia, 1895-1940*, 126-127.

<sup>66</sup> See The High Commissioner Proclamation No 1 of 1900 in North-Eastern Rhodesia, *The Statutory Law of North-Eastern Rhodesia, 1900*, 70.

<sup>67</sup> The High Commissioner Proclamation No. 1 of 1900 in North-Eastern Rhodesia, *The Statutory Law of North-Eastern Rhodesia, 1900*, 70.

this way native commissioners contributed to the development of court records relating to cases between Africans.<sup>68</sup>

By design, the Administrator's office regularly corresponded with the company's board of directors. As an employee of the BSAC, the Administrator's reports kept the directors informed about the territory's administrative operations. Although the board of directors retained considerable powers, they were primarily occupied with their interests in South Africa and London.<sup>69</sup> They did not concern themselves with the day-to-day administration of N.E. Rhodesia. Indeed the departments in N.E. Rhodesia were only a small part of the company's administrative machine. More so, the vast distance between N.E Rhodesia, South Africa and Britain where the BSAC offices were situated, contributed to the volume of correspondence records. The journey from London and South Africa to N.E. Rhodesia was problematic. The railway only reached Livingstone, in Northern Rhodesia, by 1905.<sup>70</sup> The journey to N.E. Rhodesia was even more difficult, as it could only be effected by carrier caravan. Consequently, the main mode of communication was through correspondence. Letters, memoranda and reports were generated covering administrative, commercial, judicial and inter-territorial activities. While copies of these records were preserved by the Administrators' office, and are now in the custody of the National Archives of Zambia under the A series and BSA 1 series, those preserved in Britain were deposited with the Public Records Office (National Archives of the UK) and now form the CO 468 series.<sup>71</sup>

Correspondence was also maintained with the imperial government, but through its representatives in Nyasaland and South Africa. The Order in Council authorised the Administrator to legislate, but with the approval of the High Commissioner and the Colonial Secretary. This legal empowerment meant that the Administrator contributed to the creation of legal records. Such records were largely a reflection of the power relations that existed between the chartered company and the imperial system. This was because all the legislation or regulations formulated by the Administrator were subjected to imperial scrutiny. The Administrator formulated regulations for the administration of justice, the

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<sup>68</sup> See for example, NAZ INH series (hereafter INH) 3/1, Native Case Book, Tanganyika District, 13 January 1903.

<sup>69</sup> Gann, *The Birth of a Plural Society*, 65.

<sup>70</sup> Gann, *The Birth of a Plural Society*, 65.

<sup>71</sup> See for example, Banton, *Administering the Empire, 1801-1968*, 202.

raising of revenue, and peace and order on behalf of the company.<sup>72</sup> The process of formulating these regulations demanded that the Administrator make written applications to the High Commissioner in South Africa. Hence, records of correspondence related to the enforcement of regulations on matters such as the preservation of game, unlawful possession of ammunition and arms, prohibition of liquor and animal disease in N.E Rhodesia were created.<sup>73</sup> The correspondence relating to the company administrative dealings with the South Africa High Commissioner were entrusted with the Public Records Office for preservation under the CO 417 series.<sup>74</sup>

### **2.3. The British South Africa Company and the creation of records in North Western Rhodesia**

#### **2.3.1 Politics of treaty making and records creation**

In N.W. Rhodesia, as in N.E. Rhodesia, the process of records creation began in the 1890s. However, the history of its records creation took a different course. Although both regions were under the administration of the BSAC, they were established on separate constitutional lines, mainly influenced by the political circumstances that surrounded each region. While the imperial government granted autonomy for the administration of N.E. Rhodesia, it assumed greater powers in N.W. Rhodesia. Internationally, dispute existed between the British authorities and the Portuguese government regarding the territorial boundary between N.W. Rhodesia and Portuguese West Africa.<sup>75</sup> Locally, a power struggle existed between King Lewanika and the BSAC over the administration of N.W. Rhodesia. King Lewanika, the Lozi ruler of N.W. Rhodesia, maintained his authority over Barotseland even after the BSAC was granted full administrative rights by Britain. As a result, the process of records creation and preservation developed differently.

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<sup>72</sup> Gann, *A History of Northern Rhodesia*, 92.

<sup>73</sup> See for example, National Archives of Zambia, *Records of the British South Africa Company, 1895-1924*, 15.

<sup>74</sup> Banton, *Administering the Empire, 1801-1968*, 202.

<sup>75</sup> For details on the politics surrounding the territorial boundary between Portugal and Britain, see for example Macpherson, *Anatomy of a Conquest*, 36-49; Galbraith, *Crown and Charter*, 203-222; Gerald L. Caplan, *The Elites of Barotseland, 1878-1969: A Political History of Zambia's Western Province* (London: C. Hurst and Company, 1970), 74-118.

By comparison to N.E. Rhodesia, the initial process of creating records through treaty making involved a combination of conflict and contestation. Much of this was attributed to the reign of King Lewanika, a far seeing African ruler who grasped the advantages of seeking protection from the British government. Silverman and Mutumba noted that Lewanika's reign was able to establish itself as the most autonomous indigenous group in Central Africa as the colonial powers took over Africa at the turn of the century.<sup>76</sup> This status quo triggered a state of political upheaval which had an impact on the kinds of records that would form the archival collection of Barotseland.

The earliest documentation created by the BSAC in N.W. Rhodesia were concession and treaty documents. The genesis of records creation and the political dynamics this generated was connected to the Ware Concession document. It was the first official document created in N.W. Rhodesia and highlighted the earliest power relations between African rulers and European trade interests. In 1889, Lewanika granted a concession to Harry Ware, a hunter and trader.<sup>77</sup> The document granted Ware exclusive mining rights for a period of twenty years with an option of renewal. In return, Ware promised to pay two hundred pounds (£200) each year as royalties. Ware almost immediately ceded the concession to the BSAC.<sup>78</sup> However, the concession was too limited for the company's purposes, as it only provided for economic rights without administrative powers.

The limitations in the Ware concession had a profound influence on the history of records creation.<sup>79</sup> But even as the BSAC attempted to renegotiate its terms to include administrative rights, regional threats had led Lewanika to conclude that the best bet in the circumstances for Barotseland was to seek British protection. This, it was hoped would serve

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<sup>76</sup> P.S. Silverman, 'Local Elites and the Image of a Nation: The Incorporation of Barotseland within Zambia,' PhD Thesis (Cornell University, Michigan, 1968), 74; Mutumba M. Bull, 'Lewanika's Achievement,' *African History*, 13/3 (1972), 463-464. For further details on the history and nature of the Barotseland kingdom, see for example, M. Mainga, 'Bulozi under the Luyana Kings: Political Evolution and state formation in Pre-Colonial Zambia' PhD Thesis (University of Cambridge, 1973); M. Mainga, 'The Origin of the Lozi: Some Oral Traditions,' in E. Stokes and R. Brown (eds.), *The Zambezi Past: Studies in Central African History* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 1969), 238-247; and L.S. Muuka, 'The Colonization of Barotseland in the 17 Century,' in E. Stokes and R. Brown (eds.) *The Zambezi Past: Studies in Central African History*, (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 1969), 248-260.

<sup>77</sup> Eric Stokes, 'Barotseland: The Survival of an African State,' in E. Stokes and R. Brown (eds.) *The Zambezi Past: Studies in Central African History* (Manchester: University of Manchester press, 1969), 262-263.

<sup>78</sup> Galbraith, *Crown and Charter*, 212-213.

<sup>79</sup> See Stokes, 'Barotseland: The Survival of an African State,' 261-270.

to thwart both Ndebele aggression and Portuguese expansion. This led to the creation of the first official correspondence north of the Zambezi between an African ruler and the British government. On 8 January 1889, a first official letter, requesting British protection, was written by F. Coillard, a missionary of the Paris Evangelical Mission Society (PEMS). The correspondence was addressed to the British Government through Sir Sidney Shippard, Administrator of British Bechuanaland (Botswana).<sup>80</sup> Missionaries earned themselves an important place in N.W. Rhodesia because of their writing skills and their emphasis on literacy and education. The Lozi aristocracy largely relied on their help when corresponding with British officials. By contrast to N.E. Rhodesia missionaries were co-producers of official documents on behalf of the African aristocracy. But although missionaries made a significant contribution to the development of royal records, their role was not disinterested. They also had a religious agenda and political agenda to accomplish. The P.E.M.S was in particular interested in advancing European imperialism in order to Christianise Lozi society.

The perceived political vulnerability of N.W. Rhodesia provided an opportunity for the BSAC to push ahead with the Lochner Concession document. It sent Frank Lochner to Lewanika to negotiate for a new concession. Lochner was granted a concession in 1890 by King Lewanika thanks to the influence exerted by the missionaries. In the same way that he facilitated the request for British protection of N.W. Rhodesia, Coillard played an important role in negotiating and convincing King Lewanika to sign the renegotiated treaty document. The missionaries, for their part, encouraged European rule, as they believed it would facilitate the expansion of their work.<sup>81</sup> The concession provided for a monopoly of mining rights over N.W. Rhodesia in return for an annual subsidy, as well as British protection. However, Lewanika retained his internal authority. This would later have a bearing on the nature and process of records creation and -keeping in N.W. Rhodesia.<sup>82</sup>

The creation of the Lochner document was notably contested in Barotseland. The result was a collection of correspondence between the royal establishment and the imperial authorities. The resident European traders, led by George William Middleton, were sceptical

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<sup>80</sup> Caplan, *The Elites of Barotseland, 1878-1969*, 51.

<sup>81</sup>See Gerald L. Caplan, 'Barotseland's Scramble for Protection,' *African History*, 10/2(1969), 281-288.

<sup>82</sup> Pollock, *Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia*, 34.

about the prospect of chartered company rule which, it was thought, would interfere with their own interests, given that the BSAC had been granted a monopoly on all trade in the territory. Under Middleton's influence, Lewanika repudiated the document on the grounds that it was obtained by fraudulent means and that Lochner had misrepresented the company's constitutional position. On 27 October 1890, Middleton drafted a letter of protest on behalf of Lewanika to the British government.<sup>83</sup> A response letter was written by the British High Commissioner, Loch, explaining that the terms of the BSAC's charter did not provide for a monopoly of mining rights under any concessions. The letter further assured Lewanika of British protection.<sup>84</sup>

A delay on the part of the imperial government in appointing a British Resident in N.W. Rhodesia, as was stipulated in the Lochner Concession, was further held up by the Jameson Raid at the end of 1895. The chartered company was involved in a raid on the Transvaal (South African Republic) led by Rhodes's right hand man, Dr Leander Starr Jameson. The company intended to take over President Kruger's government, which they considered unsympathetic to their interests and hostile to the British residents in the Transvaal.<sup>85</sup> The Jameson Raid had far reaching implications for the progress of records creation in N.W. Rhodesia. This was in contrast to N.E. Rhodesia, where the process of records production and administration remained undisturbed. The Colonial Office lost its confidence in the company and more stringent control was exercised over its affairs. It temporised the formulation of legislation for administrative powers in N.W. Rhodesia. This delayed the development of formalised administrative records and record keeping practices, unlike in N.E. Rhodesia which, at this time, already had a stabilised administration, record production and a formal record keeping system.

Even after the British Resident was finally despatched to N.W. Rhodesia, the company's control over the creation of its administrative records remained restricted. In 1897, R.T. Coryndon was appointed as British Resident in N.W. Rhodesia. It should be noted that the British Resident was a BSAC official recommended by the company to represent the British government in N.W. Rhodesia. Coryndon was responsible to the Foreign Office, and his

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<sup>83</sup> Caplan, 'Barotseland's Scramble for Protection,' 288.

<sup>84</sup> Caplan, 'Barotseland's Scramble for Protection,' 288.

<sup>85</sup> Gann, *The Birth of a Plural Society*, 75.

administrative activities were placed under the charge of the High Commissioner for South Africa. The British Resident had to communicate all his minutes, orders and resolutions relating to the administration of the territory to the Colonial Office, while the Colonial Secretary was permitted access to the company's records.<sup>86</sup> These provisions went some way toward controlling the company's affairs. But they were easily circumvented consequently, many confidential materials now found their way into the private correspondence between the BSAC's board of directors and its Administrator.<sup>87</sup> The records created by the British Resident's office were censored for the consumption of the Colonial Office. As Michel Foucault remarked about colonial archives, 'the archive was not the sum total of all the records that an organisation preserves, it is rather a system of information shaped by the needs of its creators.'<sup>88</sup>

In 1899, a different landmark emerged in the sphere of records production. A document known as the Lawley Treaty was jointly created by the Barotseland royal establishment and the BSAC.<sup>89</sup> The Lawley Treaty replaced the contentious Lochner Concession. Lewanika granted the company wider powers of administration and jurisdiction, and exclusive privileges in respect of mining and commerce. The BSAC formally assumed administration in N.W. Rhodesia under Coryndon (British Resident). By this time, the indigenous aristocracy became prominent participants in the process of records creation in N.W. Rhodesia because they were now able to write, thanks to missionary education. The Lawley agreement was embodied in a formal document to which the King Lewanika appended his signature. He was distinguished from other African rulers by being able to write his name in English characters and which was attested by the signatures or marks of his prime minister, his son Litia, and five of his principal councillors.<sup>90</sup> In this treaty, the missionaries were excluded from the process of records creation. There were by now a number of people taught by the missionaries who could conduct correspondence on behalf of the royal establishment. This meant that the Barotse aristocracy was no longer dependent on the missionaries' secretarial

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<sup>86</sup> Gann, *A History of Northern Rhodesia*, 78.

<sup>87</sup> The National Archives of the UK does not hold the records of the BSA Company itself, but such records in the form of minutes, correspondence and accounts papers are among the papers of P.L. Gell, once a director of the BSAC, at the Derbyshire Records Office; see Banton, *Administering the Empire, 1801-1968*, 202.

<sup>88</sup> See Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (London: Routledge, 2002), 79.

<sup>89</sup> Pollock, *Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia*, 250.

<sup>90</sup> See for example, Caplan, *The Elites of Barotseland 1878-1969*, 78.

assistance. The African clerks became significant agents of records creation, a feature that never existed in N.E. Rhodesia.<sup>91</sup>

### **2.3.2 The creation of records under the statute law of North Western Rhodesia**

In 1899 an Order in Council was passed on N.W. Rhodesia, which gave legal administrative powers to the company. The imperial government retained administrative control of the territory because there was an unresolved border dispute between Britain and Portugal. The boundary between N.W. Rhodesia and Portuguese West Africa (Angola) was undefined. For this reason, the Order in Council placed N.W. Rhodesia under the charge of the High Commissioner of South Africa. The Administrator and principal officials, such as judges and magistrates, were appointed by the High Commissioner at the company's recommendation, instead of by the company itself, as was the case in N.E. Rhodesia. The passing of the Order in Council allowed for a more organised system of administration, which in turn led to a systematic process of records creation and keeping. As indicated in the *Guide to the British South Africa Company Records*, the records produced after the Order in Council were systematically organised and arranged.<sup>92</sup> In fact, the accession period for records pertaining to N.W. Rhodesia only commenced after the establishment of effective company administration in 1899. The records produced by the company administrative structures were preserved in separate divisions, according to provenance or offices of creation.<sup>93</sup> The Administrator's office initiated the system of keeping the collections under the divisions of the Administrator's Office, the High Commissioner for South Africa and the BSAC London offices. These were mostly in-letters, out-letters, correspondence, reports and accounts records exchanged between the Administrator and the Commissioner in South Africa, including the board of directors in London.<sup>94</sup> The records that were generated from the local administration were mostly arranged according to subject matters such as census, boundaries, cotton growing, arms and ammunition, education and hut tax among others.

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<sup>91</sup> Gann, *A History of Northern Rhodesia*, 82.

<sup>92</sup> See National Archives of Zambia, *Records of the British South Africa Company, 1895-1924*, 15-60.

<sup>93</sup> For the organisation, arrangement and classes of records generated in N.W. Rhodesia after the promulgation of the Order in Council, see especially National Archives of Zambia, *Records of the British South Africa Company, 1895-1924*, 15-60.

<sup>94</sup> National Archives of Zambia, *Records of the British South Africa Company, 1895-1924*, 15.

The Order in Council stipulated that the role of the High Commissioner for South Africa was to supervise and control the company's administrative activities in N.W. Rhodesia. The British Government was not willing to give the company complete freedom of administrative control, because of its involvement in the Jameson Raid. This state of affairs gave a base to the rise of official records. The Commissioner exercised his supervisory role by legislation and proclamation in consultation with the company directors. A similar situation existed with regards to the appointment of principal officers. The company's board of directors nominated high court judges, magistrates and native commissioners, but the appointment was done by the High Commissioner for South Africa. Appointments, legislation and proclamations by the Commissioner were published in the High Commissioners' Gazette in Cape Town.<sup>95</sup> The publication of proclamations and notices relating to appointments was preceded by consultation with the Colonial Secretary in Britain and the company's directors - similar to what existed in N.E. Rhodesia. Written correspondence formed the most important means of communication between the High Commissioner's office and the Administrator's office in N.W. Rhodesia.

Another change in the administration of N.W. Rhodesia was introduced by the Barotse Concession, which was signed between the British Government and King Lewanika in 1900. This concession split N.W. Rhodesia into Barotseland (Lozi nation) and N.W. Rhodesia. The region became known as Barotseland-North-Western Rhodesia [sic]. Barotseland remained under the leadership of King Lewanika, while the rest of N.W. Rhodesia was under company administration.<sup>96</sup> Lozi government and the sovereignty of Lewanika were restricted to Barotseland. Under this concession, the administrative role of the company in Barotseland was limited.<sup>97</sup> The company was not to interfere with the authority of the Lozi king over any of his subjects.<sup>98</sup> In relation to records creation and keeping, a dual system emerged. The BSAC generated records pertaining to the administration of N.W. Rhodesia and Barotseland. The company administration had no power to interfere with decisions of the courts and could not assist the tribal authorities to enforce orders or civil judgements, as opposed to

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<sup>95</sup> Graham and Halwindi, *A Guide to the Public Archives of Zambia, 1895-1940*, 132.

<sup>96</sup> The geographical area which covered Barotseland included the Barotse valley east of the upper Zambezi and the Sesheke District. The inhabitants of this area were of the Lozi tribe. See Caplan, *The Elites of Barotseland, 1878-1969*, 75.

<sup>97</sup> Roberts, *A History of Zambia*, 180.

<sup>98</sup> Pollock, *Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia*, 260.

N.E. Rhodesia. The company administration only performed an advisory role to the king and exercised general supervision over taxation. Under these circumstances, the records that were generated by the company administration with regard to Barotseland were mainly restricted to the subject of taxation.<sup>99</sup> This state of affairs saw a unique collection of records which were created and shaped by the administrative relationship between the African aristocracy and the colonising powers. In the collections of the High Commissioner for South Africa, preserved at the National Archives of Zambia, exists correspondence between the High Commissioner's Office and King Lewanika on issues of administrative appointments and magistrates' court cases, for example.<sup>100</sup> Other correspondence records were generated from communications on the collection of hut tax and jurisdictions of magistrates courts between Lewanika and the BSAC.<sup>101</sup>

However, by 1905, Joseph Chamberlain, then the Colonial Secretary, persuaded King Lewanika to give more administrative rights to the BSAC in Barotseland, beyond just the collection of hut tax.<sup>102</sup> Consequently, the administration of justice was entrusted to the BSAC through Proclamation 5 of 1905. It empowered the Administrator to establish courts and to settle civil and criminal disputes between indigenous Africans under the guidance of native law and custom. The proclamation saw the creation of court case records pertaining to civil and criminal disputes between local inhabitants and Europeans being created by the company Administrator. Further, in order to provide for effective administration of justice, so-called 'native courts' were established in the Balunda, Kasempa, Lupunda, Batoka, Lealui, Falls, Nkala and Barotse districts.<sup>103</sup> In 1908, native commissioners' courts and assistant native commissioners' courts were established.<sup>104</sup> As a result, case records created from

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<sup>99</sup> Pollock, *Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia*, 252.

<sup>100</sup> National Archives of Zambia (hereafter NAZ) A series (hereafter A) 1/1/1, Correspondence on Appointments and Magistrates cases, 29 November 1901-14 January, 1905.

<sup>101</sup> NAZ A3/17, Correspondence on collection of Hut Tax, Lewanika (N.W. Rhodesia) to BSAC Offices (London), 12 April 1902-24 April 1904. For the other records created by Lewanika during the Barotseland government, see files NAZ B series (hereafter B) 1/2/1 and NAZ B 1/12/2.

<sup>102</sup> Pollock, *Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia*, 255. Earlier, in 1902, Lewanika visited the Colonial Office in London. This was after attending the coronation of Edward VII of Britain. The Colonial Secretary and King Lewanika discussed matters of company administration in N.W. Rhodesia, after which the Colonial Office insisted on allocating more administrative rights to the company.

<sup>103</sup> North-Western Rhodesia, *Statute law of North-Western Rhodesia, 1989-1910*, 146.

<sup>104</sup> North-Western Rhodesia, *Statute law of North-Western Rhodesia, 1989-1910*, 121.

native court proceedings in N.W. Rhodesia were now preserved and kept by the respective courts in the districts.<sup>105</sup>

#### **2.4 The amalgamation and creation of records in Northern Rhodesia**

In 1911, the Northern Rhodesia Order in Council was passed. Through the High Commissioner's Proclamation no. 1 of 1911, the territories of N.E. Rhodesia and N.W. Rhodesia, including Barotseland, were united into one territory under the name of Northern Rhodesia.<sup>106</sup> The amalgamation was also linked to the increasing deficit in the administrative operation costs of the territories. The amalgamation of N.E. Rhodesia and N.W. Rhodesia in 1911 was the last phase of records creation and keeping under chartered rule.

The Order in Council's terms were mainly a duplication of the revoked orders in council of the former N.E. Rhodesia and N.W. Rhodesia. The only major transformation introduced by the Northern Rhodesia Order in Council was the provision for the position of an Imperial Resident Commissioner.<sup>107</sup> So far as record keeping and creation were concerned, this provision paved the way for another collection of official correspondence on Northern Rhodesia, classified as BSA 3, and preserved at the National Archives of Zambia.<sup>108</sup> Before the amalgamation, the only collection of official correspondence available was that generated by the offices of the British High Commissioners, the BSAC board of directors, as well as the Administrators in N.E. Rhodesia and N.W. Rhodesia. These were deposited with the National Archives of Zambia and form the BSA 1 and BSA 2 series respectively. It was the responsibility of the Resident Commissioner, as stated in Article eight of the Northern Rhodesia Order in Council, to compile reports for the High Commissioner on the proclamations and appointments that were made by the company Administrator.<sup>109</sup> The Resident Commissioner was mainly appointed to provide the High Commissioner with independent information relating to the administration of Northern Rhodesia, as was the case in Southern Rhodesia. The Resident Commissioner acted as a watchdog for the imperial government, as he was expected to provide information on the BSAC's administrative

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<sup>105</sup> Graham and Halwindi, *A Guide to the Public Archives of Zambia, 1895-1940*, 130.

<sup>106</sup> Northern Rhodesia, High Commissioner's Proclamation, No. 3 of 1911, 14 February 1912.

<sup>107</sup> See Northern Rhodesia, *Northern Rhodesia Order in Council, 1911* (Section 11), (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1912).

<sup>108</sup> National Archives of Zambia, *Records of the British South Africa Company, 1895-1924*, 15-60.

<sup>109</sup> See Northern Rhodesia, *Northern Rhodesia Order in Council, 1911*.

activities. The summary of class records preserved under the Administrator's office at the National Archives of Zambia indicates that the Resident Commissioner generated both correspondence and reports.<sup>110</sup> Further, there exists a collection of secret despatches bearing chiefly on questions of security in Northern Rhodesia. These despatches were in the form of 'in' and 'out' letters and contained press reports, cipher telegrams, police cipher works, as well as the BSAC's extraordinary expenditure during World War One.<sup>111</sup>

The standardised and formalised arrangements provided under the jurisdiction of the Resident Commissioner gave rise to a more balanced and representative preservation of documents that might also indicate a rise in the proliferation not only of record keeping practices, but also archival record generation. Gann notes that the appointment of Col. Burns-Begg as Resident Commissioner contributed to an increase in records generated after the amalgamation, because he was on site in Northern Rhodesia to observe and record information on the administrative activities of the BSAC.<sup>112</sup> On the contrary, in the previous era, the High Commissioner relied on the Administrator's reports for information on the company's activities in the territories. The new Resident Commissioner was on the ground in Rhodesia, and had no other duties outside the country. The Resident Commissioner gave his immediate attention to the difficult challenges that arose in Northern Rhodesia. The Resident Commissioner enquired into allegations made by the Aborigines Protection Society as to the ill treatment of the indigenous population.<sup>113</sup> He investigated questions of taxes and taxation, African wages and European settlement.<sup>114</sup> Inquiries were made as to punishments imposed on Africans.<sup>115</sup> The Resident Commissioner also dealt with the challenges of Africans who had been displaced from farms.<sup>116</sup> Much time had to be devoted to writing reports and to corresponding on these matters. The questions that the Resident Commissioner gave his attention to were largely a reflection of the transformation that had

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<sup>110</sup> The Resident Commissioner records held at the National Archives of Zambia cover various subjects such as African's employments, murder cases and labour recruitment are in files NAZ A4/1/1 –A4/1/2 from 8 May 1911 to 17 March 1924.

<sup>111</sup> See, National Archives of Zambia, *Records of the British South Africa Company, 1885-1924*, 14.

<sup>112</sup> Gann, *The Birth of a Plural Society*, 102.

<sup>113</sup> NAZ B Series (hereafter BS), 3 /1/2/1, Correspondence, Resident Commissioner to Wallace, 31 October, 1911.

<sup>114</sup> NAZ BS 3/1/2/1, Correspondence from Resident Commissioner to Wallace, 9 December 1913.

<sup>115</sup> NAZ BS, 3/1/2/1, Correspondence from Resident Commissioner to Wallace, 30 July 1914.

<sup>116</sup> NAZ BS, 3/1/2/1. Correspondence from Resident Commissioner to Wallace, 25 Sept 1914.

taken place in Northern Rhodesia society, which in turn shaped the nature of records in the form of reports that were created. For example, on the question of taxation, Roberts noted that in the period between 1913 and 1917 the mines in Katanga heavily drew on labour from Northern Rhodesia.<sup>117</sup> Waged labour during this period became central in raising funds for tax payment to the BSAC administration.

The amalgamation of N.E. Rhodesia and N.W. Rhodesia in 1911 required the merging of administrative structures, judicial institutions, and specialised civil service departments into single entities. While administrative entities that created records were maintained even after the amalgamation, the classification and organisation of records underwent a transformation. In the case of the judicial institutions, for example, the order stated that, 'all proclamations, regulations and rules in force in relation to magistrate, Native Commissioners' Courts and Justices of the Peace were to apply in the same manner as before the commencement of the Order.'<sup>118</sup> There were also minimal changes in the process of records creation and classes of records generated. This was because the records were still being generated by the offices of the Administrator, the BSAC board of directors, judicial institutions such as the High Court, magistrate's and native commissioner's courts, as well as the specialised civil service departments. However, the system of record keeping changed. All records generated after the amalgamation were now classified under the Northern Rhodesia collection and were arranged by provenance. A new series, under the Northern Rhodesian administration, was established, and contained documents dating from 1911 and after. The records that predated the amalgamation retained their previous classification.

By the early 1920s, the administrative unification of Northern Rhodesia increased the administrative responsibilities imposed on the BSAC.<sup>119</sup> There was an accumulation of new kinds of records because of the introduction of completely new departments under the civil service. In 1920, the European Education Department was established. Others that were established were the departments of auditing, commerce, defence, stores and transport, public works, as well as mines. With these departments came completely new divisions. Records relating to the review of financial expenditure, security, commerce and

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<sup>117</sup> Roberts, *A History of Zambia*, 178.

<sup>118</sup> Northern Rhodesia, *Northern Rhodesia Order in Council, 1911*, 116.

<sup>119</sup> Gann, *The Birth of a Plural Society*, 111.

communication were added to the extant collection and formed part of the BSA 3 series held at the National Archives of Zambia. There was also a complete shift in the collection of records with the formation of the advisory council. It made a significant contribution with the addition of the first political records. In Northern Rhodesia, the administration was entirely undertaken by the company, until an advisory council was introduced in 1918. This was as a result of increasing European immigration into Northern Rhodesia, leading to settler demands for political representation. As noted by Roberts, the European population in Northern Rhodesia rose from 1500 in 1911 to 3500 by 1921.<sup>120</sup> The European settlers received support from the Administrator, Lawrence Wallace, and the imperial government approved the establishment of an advisory council. This body was led by James Moore, and advised on any proposed legislation that affected European interests and important regulations and proclamations that were issued by the High Commissioner. Thus, the records that emanated from the advisory council reflected the local grievances of the European settlers, such as high land prices, restrictions on the export of breeding cattle and more general issues regarding the company's mining policy, which, it was argued, locked away the country's mineral wealth.<sup>121</sup> Since the focus of the advisory council was largely on the implication of legislation on the white settlers, its records were preserved under the High Commissioner's collections held at the National Archives of Zambia.<sup>122</sup>

By the time chartered rule was ending in 1923, the BSAC had created and preserved an archive which reflected its administrative structure and activities in Northern Rhodesia since the mid-1890s. The records remained preserved according to the three phases of company administration in Northern Rhodesia, which were N.E. Rhodesia, N.W. Rhodesia and the amalgamated Northern Rhodesia classified as BSA 1, BSA 2 and BSA 3 respectively as already mentioned. As the BSAC did not arrange for the centralisation of all the components of its archive in a common repository, the documents were preserved dispersedly in their offices of creation, such as the Administrators office, the courts and specialised departmental offices. However, the Administrator's office, in all three phase of company administration,

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<sup>120</sup> Roberts, *History of Zambia*, 182.

<sup>121</sup> *Livingstone Mail*, 2 March 1907.

<sup>122</sup> The records that emanated from the activities of the advisory council were preserved under the High Commissioner for South Africa collection, covering the period 12 October 1918 to 7 January 1923. See for example the following files, NAZ High Commissioner (hereafter HC) 1/1/39 and HC 1/1/87.

did centralise the official records generated by its office, the High Commissioner for South Africa, the BSAC board of directors, as well as reports that were received from the specialised departments. It is worth noting that a replica archive of these collections also existed in Britain. Duplicates of despatches that were sent to Northern Rhodesia were also retained by both the High Commissioner's office and the board of directors, while those received from the territory were also preserved. In this case for example, Banton noted that the CO 468 records series (1889-1902) at the National Archives of the UK consists of the BSAC reports on the administration of Northern Rhodesia.<sup>123</sup>

## 2.5 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the development of records production and record keeping in Northern Rhodesia and for its predecessors, N.E. and N.W. Rhodesia. It demonstrated that the introduction of written records to Northern Rhodesia had links with British colonial expansion into Africa. Colonialism paved the way for records creation in Northern Rhodesia through the BSAC. The starting point for the creating official records in Northern Rhodesia was through the acquisition of concessions and treaties from the traditional authorities, as was stipulated in the charter. Thus, the earliest documentation on Northern Rhodesia was the concession and treaty documents drafted by the BSAC for the purpose of meeting the requirements of a chartered company, as was recommended by the imperial government. Initially, Northern Rhodesia was administered as two separate entities – N.E. Rhodesia and N.W. Rhodesia – for reasons of geography and differing interests. The administrative organisation in place at the time dictated the system of record keeping that was followed. Record keeping was patterned after the three phases of company administration of N.E. Rhodesia, N.W. Rhodesia and Northern Rhodesia. The nature of the records generated by the three administrative entities was largely influenced by different political, economic and social environments. In N.E. Rhodesia, the culture of records creation and keeping was much more organised, because the region was not as entangled in local and international politics as compared to N.W. Rhodesia. The territory was also able to adopt a culture of record keeping at the earliest stage of its establishment because it was initially placed under the administration of the Nyasaland Protectorate. In N.W. Rhodesia, the culture and practice of

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<sup>123</sup> Banton, *Administering the Empire, 1801-1968*, 271.

records creation and keeping lagged far behind, because of the influence of the Barotseland leadership over the region that restricted the extent of company administration. However, after the amalgamation of the two territories, record creating institutions from both regions were also combined, and there was a more systematic process of producing and keeping records.

## CHAPTER THREE

### The Historical Development of Records Management in Northern Rhodesia, 1924-1944

#### 3.1 Introduction

The British South Africa Company's (BSAC) administration was terminated in 1923. The expenditure on governing Northern Rhodesia proved excessive and unprofitable for the BSAC.<sup>1</sup> Its administrative costs outweighed its commercial income. As a result, the British colonial government took control of records management in Northern Rhodesia. Like the BSAC administration, the British colonial government generated records through its administrative activities. Records created during the company's administration, including those generated by the British colonial government itself, provided important and useful information, which formed an indispensable foundation for greasing the proverbial wheels of a colonial administration.<sup>2</sup> Past colonial records created a sense of stability and continuity and were important for reference and precedents in the administrative process. In this context, the safeguarding of past records was a matter of urgency for Northern Rhodesia's colonial government. It was prompted by the absence of standardised and proper record keeping systems. This chapter argues that the information contained in past colonial records was crucial for continuity and effective administration. As a result, both the British government and the colonial administration in Northern Rhodesia earnestly sought to devise and promote record keeping practices and to establish archives that would safeguard colonial information. While the BSAC administration preserved its official records, it was not interested in devising specialised and standardised systems of record keeping. Those records management systems that existed were at best haphazardly employed, and

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<sup>1</sup> Norman H. Pollock, *Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia: Corridor to the North* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1971), 490-491.

<sup>2</sup> For further discussion on the value of past colonial records to colonial administrations, see especially Bernard S. Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 3-15; B. Joseph, *Reading the East India Company 1720 -1840: Colonial Currencies of Gender* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2004), 5; Ann Laura Stoler, 'Colonial Archives and Arts of Government,' *Archival Science*, 2/1-2 (2002), 87; and Thomas Richards, *The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire* (London: Verso, 1993), 11.

depended on unskilled and disinterested administrative officials. Hence, records management was mostly governed by expediency.

This chapter focuses on the steps taken by the British colonial government and the Colonial Office to develop well-defined systems of record keeping and preservation of records. The chapter begins by explaining how the colonial government centralised the BSAC's essentially 'private' records, into a centralised, public and permanent collection. It discusses the transfer of the BSAC records to the British colonial administration through the implicitly enabling provisions of the Memorandum of Agreement signed between the British imperial government and the company's board of directors. It then demonstrates how the record keeping practices initiated during the company's administration, were maintained until the colonial administration devised new records management systems through central registries during the mid-1920s. Furthermore, the chapter demonstrates how the Colonial Office's involvement in the preservation of past official documents, by providing instructions and guidelines through circular despatches to the colonial administration, gave impetus to the development of centralised systems of records preservation; thereby moving from a functionalist approach to a more professional approach.

## **3.2 The British colonial government and the management of records in Northern Rhodesia**

### **3.2.1 The British colonial administration takes over the British South Africa Company records**

On 1 April 1923, a Memorandum of Agreement was signed between the Colonial Secretary on behalf of the British Government and the British South Africa Company (BSAC) for the termination of chartered rule. The memorandum was also concerned with the settlement of outstanding questions pertaining to ownership of land and mineral rights by the BSAC.<sup>3</sup> This signalled the end of the Order in Council (1911), which had given the BSAC the power to administer Northern Rhodesia.<sup>4</sup> New legislation, in the form of the Northern Rhodesia Order

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<sup>3</sup> National Archives of Zambia (hereafter NAZ), Records of the Crown Colony (hereafter RC) /473, Memorandum of Agreement between His Majesty's Secretary of State for Colonies on Behalf of His Majesty and the British South Africa Company, 29 September 1923.

<sup>4</sup> NAZ/RC 473, Correspondence from Colonial Office (London) to British South Africa Company (London), 10 July 1923. For a detailed discussion, see Lewis H. Gann, *A History of Northern Rhodesia, Early Days to 1953*

in Council of 1924, was passed. Implicitly, the terms of termination outlined in the Memorandum of Agreement provided a basis for the British colonial administration to assume control of the company's archives. The terms of agreement in the memorandum also fostered the development of a standardised system of records management, as determined by the Secretariat, in place of the earlier functionalist record keeping approach adopted under the company administration, which had no overarching directive.

While the provisions of the Memorandum of Agreement dwelt mostly on issues of ownership and the maintenance of mineral and land rights, including the outstanding financial responsibilities of the British government to the company, the fourth clause of the Memorandum of Agreement indirectly permitted the British colonial administration to take over the control and management of the company's archives.<sup>5</sup> All premises formerly used by the BSAC for administrative operations were transferred to the colonial government. This was based on an earlier agreement, stipulated in the 1891 charter granted to the BSAC for the administration of Northern Rhodesia. The British Government reserved the power to take over the infrastructure established by the company at the termination of its contract.<sup>6</sup> What is notable is that the memorandum did not include any provision for the takeover of its information resources by the British colonial administration. There was no precise instruction relating to the custody and care of records after the termination of the company's administration. As V.W. Hiller noted, '... at no stage was it recognised by the British South Africa Company that administrative archives in its custody were anything but its own property.'<sup>7</sup> The historian, J.P.R. Wallis, explained that the sticking point was that the BSAC's board of directors treated its records as private property, while they were of prime

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(New York: Humanities Press, 1969); Peter Slinn, 'Commercial Concessions and Politics during the Colonial Period: The Role of the British South African Company in Northern Rhodesia, 1890-1964,' *African Affairs*, 70/281 (1971), 365-384.

<sup>5</sup> This memorandum was drawn up following doubts and disputes that arose between the British government and the company concerning the extraordinary expenditure incurred by the company in the First World War, among other reasons. For details on the contents or terms of the 1923 Memorandum of Agreement between the British government and the British South Africa Company, see for example, Northern Rhodesia, *Correspondence Regarding a Proposed Settlement of Various Outstanding Questions Relating to the British South Africa Company's Position in Southern and Northern Rhodesia* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1923).

<sup>6</sup> North-Western Rhodesia, *The Statute Law of North-Western Rhodesia, 1899-1909* (Livingstone: Government Printer, 1910), 4.

<sup>7</sup> Central African Archives, *Annual Report, 1935 -1947* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1947), 29.

public interest to the government.<sup>8</sup> Although company archives were no longer immediately relevant to the BSAC for the administration of Northern Rhodesia, they served as a collective institutional memory of the company's administration activities, as well as its business transactions. The company did not officially surrender its archives to the succeeding colonial government because of their evidential value. The documentary evidence underpinned essential accountability processes needed as proof to the British government of the company's administrative decisions. At the termination of its charter, there were still outstanding settlement questions that related to a surplus of debtors over creditors. For example, there were claims related to the reimbursement of administrative deficits incurred by the company during its administration of Northern Rhodesia that required reference to its archives by the company's board of directors.<sup>9</sup>

At the termination of the company's administration, records considered not of local administrative relevance, but of historical importance, were despatched to the company's headquarters in London.<sup>10</sup> Some of the despatched records were reports, minutes, and correspondence now held at the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford and the Derbyshire Records Office.<sup>11</sup> Others form part of the CO 468 and 417 series at the National Archives of the UK.<sup>12</sup> The departmental archives that were considered important to local administration were reports to the company Administrator and correspondence between the company Administrator's office, the High Commissioner to South Africa and the board of directors. These records were left, for the most part, in the offices where they had accrued. As a result, when the colonial government took over the administrative infrastructure formerly owned by the BSAC, which had been located in Livingstone, all the documentation left behind by the company administrators was inherited by the colonial administration. Local administration records, such as district notebooks left behind in the offices of the District

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<sup>8</sup> J.P.R. Wallis, 'The Story of the Central African Archives,' *African Affairs*, 47/189 (1948), 238.

<sup>9</sup> NAZ RC/473, Memorandum on settlement of various outstanding questions relating to the British South Africa Company's Position in Northern Rhodesia, 23, July 1923; NAZ RC/473, Correspondence from Colonial Office (London) to British South Africa Company (London), 10 July 1923.

<sup>10</sup> T.W. Baxter, *Guide to the Public Archives of Rhodesia, 1890-1923* (Salisbury: National Archives of Rhodesia, 1969), 28.

<sup>11</sup> Mandy Banton, *Administering the Empire, 1801-1968: A Guide to the Records of the Colonial Office in the National Archives of the UK* (London: Institute of Historical Research, 2015), 202.

<sup>12</sup> Banton, *Administering the Empire, 1801-1968*, 202.

and Native Commissioners, were among others taken over by the colonial administration.<sup>13</sup> For the colonial administration, the documentation created during the company administration was important in providing continuity, precedents and direction for the colonial government in Northern Rhodesia. Company records were of considerable importance on subjects such as international boundaries, mining and land concessions, the local administration of African affairs, as well as judicial proceedings conducted during the company's administration.<sup>14</sup>

Apart from taking over the company's infrastructure, the colonial government also assumed its administration, which was housed at the Secretariat offices (Government House) in the colonial capital. Departmental offices that previously functioned under the company's administration, such as agriculture, forestry, medical services, the treasury, public works, posts and telegraphs, continued to perform their duties at the Secretariat. This implied a continuation of the record keeping that had been introduced during the company's administration. During this formative stage of the British colonial administration, the rudimentary record keeping practices initiated by the BSAC administrators, as well as the district, provincial and judicial offices, were embraced. The archivists who compiled *A Guide to the Public Records of Northern Rhodesia* discovered that record files created during the BSAC's administration remained in use.<sup>15</sup> In particular, the Secretariat records, which date from the 1920s, demonstrate that there was no break in the filing system made at the end of the BSAC rule. A specific example involves the Secretariat 'A' file series, which contains records of correspondence created by the BSAC Administrator's office in 1920. The files also contain documents that run up to 1927.<sup>16</sup> These records were thus created during the BSAC administration, at the transition and into the British colonial government's administration.

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<sup>13</sup> District notebooks preserved at the National Archives of Zambia cover both the chartered company rule and British colonial periods. For further details, see Ivor M. Graham and B.C. Halwindi, *A Guide to the Public Archives of Zambia, 1895-1940* (Lusaka: National Archives of Zambia, 1971), 61 -116.

<sup>14</sup> For the kinds of records that were left by the BSAC officials at the termination of its charter, see for example, National Archives of Zambia, *Records of the British South Africa Company, 1895-1924* (Lusaka: National Archives of Zambia, 1972); National Archives of Zambia, *Records of the British South Africa Company, 1887-1924* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1980).

<sup>15</sup> In 1970, Ivor M. Graham, Archivist (1956-1965) and B.C. Halwindi, Assistant Archivist (1966 -1980) were assigned by the National Archives of Zambia to compile the first volume of *A Guide to the Public Archives of Zambia, 1895-1940*. For details on the format of records organisation during the BSAC administration, see Graham and Halwindi, *A Guide to the Public Archives of Zambia, 1895-1940*, 6-130.

<sup>16</sup> Graham and Halwindi, *A Guide to the Public Archives of Zambia, 1895-1940*, 33.

At the change of administration in 1924, the Secretariat records, which constituted the largest group in the public records of Northern Rhodesia, were incorporated into the Administrator's files, which had been created during the BSAC administration. The justification advanced for maintaining the existing filing system was that separating records from the two different phases of administration would have been purely artificial, since the local administrative machinery remained almost unchanged at the end of company rule and after transition.<sup>17</sup>

Record files containing circular despatches for the office of the Chief Secretary, the treasury and the law departments shed light on the continuity of the filing system from the BSAC administration period.<sup>18</sup> Similarly, battalion orders and personnel files of the Northern Rhodesia police department, among others, also demonstrated the continuity of the former administration's filing system.<sup>19</sup> At the level of local administration, correspondence files, district notebooks, registers and returns, case books, minutes, circulars, and reports also indicate that the district and Provincial Commissioners, as well as the magistrates, continued to use the filing and record keeping system created by the company administration.<sup>20</sup>

While there seems to have therefore been a smooth transfer of the company archives to the colonial administration in Northern Rhodesia, elsewhere, the process was contentious. Southern Rhodesia, like Northern Rhodesia, had also been under the BSAC administration. When its administration was terminated, an agreement of settlement was signed between the company and the Southern Rhodesia colonial government, on similar terms as those with Northern Rhodesia. This agreement was also silent on the question of transfer of company archives. The terms of agreement did not specify whether the archival documents would be inherited by the colonial government or retained by the BSAC. However, similar to

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<sup>17</sup> Graham and Halwindi, *A Guide to the Public Archives of Zambia, 1895-1940*, 5. See also National Archives of Zambia, *Records of the Crown Colony, 1924-1933* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1981), 1.

<sup>18</sup> For more on the continuity of record files from the BSAC to the British colonial period, see Graham and Halwindi, *A Guide to the Public Archives of Zambia, 1895-1940*, 43, 46 and 47. See also National Archives of Zambia, *Records of the British South Africa Company, 1895-1924*.

<sup>19</sup> For more details, see for example Graham and Halwindi, *A Guide to the Public Archives of Zambia 1895-1940*, 46; and National Archives of Zambia, *Records of the British South Africa Company, 1895-1924*.

<sup>20</sup> See for example, the records or files created in the districts by the commissioners in Graham and Halwindi, *A Guide to the Public Archives of Zambia, 1895-1940*, 49 -98.

the Northern Rhodesian experience, the terms of settlement, in as far as they referred to the BSAC premises, also had a bearing on record keeping. Correspondence relating to the question of settlement and the BSAC's position in Southern Rhodesia indicated that the company would cede to the Southern Rhodesia colonial government all public works and buildings that were exclusively used for administrative purposes.<sup>21</sup>

Like Northern Rhodesia, the terms of settlement turned out as an opportunity for the Southern Rhodesian government to take possession of parts of the company archives. Teddy Baxter explained that at the termination of the company's administration, departmental records were left in the offices of creation, while correspondence generated by the Administrator's office were distributed to various departments to keep the machinery of the colonial government working.<sup>22</sup> However, the Southern Rhodesian government made further efforts to acquire record collections not voluntarily left by the company for the local administration, such as the Administrator's letters.<sup>23</sup> Unlike the Northern Rhodesian colonial administration, Southern Rhodesia fought for the return of other archives that were important for local administration, but which the company had despatched to Britain. In Southern Rhodesia, a larger collection of administrative archives containing agendas of board meetings (1898-1923) and the board's administrative minutes (1899-1923) were despatched to Britain on the eve of the company administration's termination, on the insistence of the board of directors.<sup>24</sup>

As noted by Hiller, '... as a result early correspondence was so drastically reduced that it only occupied less than four cubic feet.'<sup>25</sup> Unlike Northern Rhodesia, most archives of importance to the company were despatched from Southern Rhodesia, because that is where the regional company headquarters archives were based. Initially, important matters relating to Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia were referred to the board of directors through Cape Town. When the Cape Town office ceased to exercise administrative functions, the archives that were in its custody were transferred to the Administrator's

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<sup>21</sup> Northern Rhodesia, *Correspondence Regarding a Proposed Settlement of Various Outstanding Questions Relating to the British South Africa Company's Position in South Africa and Northern Rhodesia*, 3.

<sup>22</sup> Baxter, *Guide to the Public Archives of Rhodesia, 1890-1923*, 28.

<sup>23</sup> Baxter, *Guide to the Public Archives of Rhodesia, 1890-1923*, 30.

<sup>24</sup> Central African Archives, *Annual Report, 1935-1947*, 28.

<sup>25</sup> Central African Archives, *Annual Report, 1935-1947*, 28

office in Southern Rhodesia.<sup>26</sup> In 1925, some doubts arose as to the validity of the transfer of company archives. The criterion on deciding which records were to be sent to Britain and which were to be retained within Southern Rhodesia appears to have been at the company's discretion. Hence, in 1925, the Southern Rhodesian colonial administration sought legal opinion on the ownership of administrative records. The opinion given by the Attorney General was that administrative archives were the property of Southern Rhodesia and not of the company. The company did not accept the legal opinion of 1925, and the vast majority of the administrative archives were never returned from Britain. Nevertheless, within the same year the company Secretary despatched to the High Commissioner of Southern Rhodesia in London a selection of letters that were generated from the office of the Company's Administrator.<sup>27</sup>

In Northern Rhodesia, the archives that emanated from the company administration consisted of three series that reflected the evolving administrative status of the region up to that point: N.E. Rhodesia, N.W. Rhodesia and Northern Rhodesia. There was no indication of any registry system responsible for the arrangement and organisation of the three series,<sup>28</sup> and the company administration seemed to have generated and maintained records, but without well-defined record keeping principles.<sup>29</sup> The archivists Graham and Halwindi described the organising principles (or absence thereof) as 'absurd'. Official company correspondence, for example, was indistinguishable from the personal records of the Administrator.<sup>30</sup> Nonetheless, retaining the status quo was important to the bureaucrats who transitioned into the colonial administration. Furthermore, the civil servants at grassroots level reinforced and maintained the rudimentary and often haphazard system of records management used previously under the company administration. After the Colonial administration took over, it was discovered that there were large quantities of files that contained documents bearing no relation to their apparent subject matter. Furthermore,

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<sup>26</sup> Baxter, *Guide to the Public Archives of Rhodesia, 1890-1923*, 30.

<sup>27</sup> Central African Archives, *Annual Report, 1935-1947*, 29.

<sup>28</sup> Central African Archives, *Annual Report, 1935-1947*, 29.

<sup>29</sup> This sentiment was also acknowledged by Teddy Baxter, one of the earliest archivists in Southern Rhodesia. The BSAC did not institute any legislative procedures or regulations which could have ensured the proper organisation of records. For more details, see T.W. Baxter, 'The Preservation of Archives with Particular Reference to Central Africa,' *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 8 (1956), 61.

<sup>30</sup> Timothy John Lovering, 'British Colonial Administration's Registry Systems: A Comparative study of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland,' *Archival Science*, 10/1 (2010), 16.

there was no provision for indexes showing details of the information contained in these files.<sup>31</sup>

### **3.2.2 The Northern Rhodesia Order in Council and the shaping of the Northern Rhodesian colonial records.**

Apart from taking over custody of the BSAC archives, from 1924 onwards, the British colonial government assumed the process of records production and preservation in Northern Rhodesia. Like the BSAC administration, the British colonial government generated records through its activities. A shift in the governing system of the British colonial administration gave rise to the creation of different kinds of archives, namely, provisions for redesigning the processes of archives creation in the territory through the Northern Rhodesia Order in Council of 1924. However, it is worth noting that, while the order was enacted in 1924, its provisions were only implemented after the mid-1920s. The order provided for the establishment of a new administrative structure, which had different priorities than that of the BSAC, namely, governance versus the narrow focus on profit of a private mining company. It made provision for the appointment of a Governor and Commander in Chief as head of the colonial government, and the establishment of the executive and a legislative council.<sup>32</sup> The order authorised the retention – and thereby recognised the need for continuity – of the administrative structures of the Secretariat, the provincial administrative offices, the district offices, and the specialised departments that were established under the company's administration. These structures would continue to contribute to the production of archival records and would produce the same kind of documents as before, but now with a different focus. The records from these structures formed a new collection at the National Archives of Zambia referred to as the Secretariat series.

Further, as was to be expected from an existing colonial enterprise, the structures responsible for the production of colonial archives were not peculiar to Northern Rhodesia. Similarities are to be found in other British colonies in Africa. Thus, the concomitant collections of archival material created by the Northern Rhodesia colonial administration

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<sup>31</sup> Lovering, 'British Colonial Administration's Registry Systems,' 16.

<sup>32</sup> J.W. Davidson, *The Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council* (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1948), 22-24.

after 1924, also started to align to that of other British colonies: uniform models of constitutions were implemented in the British colonies, which provided for the same governing structures of a Governor, executive and legislative councils, and for local administration at district and provincial levels.<sup>33</sup> Research conducted by Phillip Curtin in the British colonies of East and West Africa confirms this: records held in Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria and Uganda emanated from the same central government structures described here.<sup>34</sup>

From 1924 onwards, the Governor was a representative of the British government and assumed the official administrative responsibilities that were previously exercised by the High Commissioner for South Africa during the period of company administration. This shift in responsibility had a bearing on the nature of archives and their creation. The transformation in the role of the highest administrative office created a direct link of correspondence between the Northern Rhodesian Government and the Colonial Office.<sup>35</sup> While the Governor had jurisdiction over the approval of legislation in the colonial state, the Colonial Office had the final say.<sup>36</sup> The Colonial Secretary could either authorise or disapprove of certain recommended ordinances or laws. The Governor of Northern Rhodesia and the Colonial Secretary communicated directly through letters. This brought about a new archival collection from the Colonial Office, which did not exist during company administration, since the BSAC communicated with the imperial government through the High Commissioner of South Africa, resulting only in a High Commissioner's collection as a reflection of this particular period in Northern Rhodesia's history. The Governor of Northern Rhodesia's collection now forms the "P" series at the National Archives of Zambia, and exclusively comprises records created after the establishment of the colonial administration

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<sup>33</sup> See the contents of the Northern Rhodesia Order in Council of 1924 in G.D. Clough, 'The Constitutional Changes in Northern Rhodesia and Matters Incidental to the Transition,' *Journal of Comparative Legislation and International Law*, 6/4 (1924), 278-282. The legislative council was responsible for legislation in Northern Rhodesia. Its members consisted of executive council members and unofficial members who were appointed by the Governor. The executive council was made up of the Chief Secretary and heads of specialised colonial departments. The council was chaired by the Governor and it was charged with the responsibility of advising him.

<sup>33</sup> The executive council was made up of the Chief Secretary and heads of specialised colonial departments. The council was chaired by the Governor and was charged with advising him.

<sup>34</sup> Philip Curtin, 'The Archives of Tropical Africa: A Reconnaissance,' *Journal of African History*, 1/1 (1960), 129-130.

<sup>35</sup> Banton, *Administering the Empire, 1801-1968*, 16.

<sup>36</sup> Davidson, *The Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council*, 22-24. See also A. Kirk-Greene, *Britain's Imperial Administrators 1858-1966* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000).

between 1924 and 1963.<sup>37</sup> These archives are in the form of incoming dispatches, correspondence, circulars, minutes and memoranda from the Colonial Office, as well as correspondence and reports sent from Northern Rhodesia.<sup>38</sup> In fact, the two parties produced corresponding sets of records. The main difference is that those preserved in Britain at the National Archives of the UK carry the minutes and procedural notations of the colonial government, while those in Northern Rhodesia contain Imperial directives or orders.<sup>39</sup>

The Order in Council also established the executive and the legislative council under the authority of the Governor. As such, he headed the highest-level decision making bodies in the colonial state.<sup>40</sup> Hence, the archives generated by the Governor's office contained correspondence with the executive council, which was largely concerned with the implementation of colonial policies and programmes in Northern Rhodesia. At the same time, the role of the Governor in relation to the legislature was to approve laws recommended by the legislative council. This obligation saw the development of a new set of legal archives in the form of correspondence and memoranda between the Governor and the legislative council. The legal archives also consisted mostly of proclamations and minutes of the legislative debates.<sup>41</sup>

The structures of local administration and the judicial system, which were initiated under the company's administration, were incorporated into the British colonial administration. The District and Provincial Commissioners represented the central government at a local level. They implemented the policies and laws enacted by the legislative council. However, Provincial Commissioners also supervised the work of district commissioners, as well as the entire provincial administration, on behalf of the Governor. Provincial Commissioners communicated ideas from the district commissioners to the Secretariat, and endeavoured to ensure that the district commissioners put into practice the policies formulated at the

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<sup>37</sup> For further details on the Governor of Northern Rhodesia's collection, see Graham and Halwindi, *A Guide to the Public Archives of Zambia, 1895-1940*, 99-101.

<sup>38</sup> Graham and Halwindi, *A Guide to the Public Archives of Zambia, 1895-1940*, 99-101.

<sup>39</sup> Curtin, 'The Archives of Tropical Africa: A Reconnaissance,' 129.

<sup>40</sup> Davidson, *The Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council*, 22-24.

<sup>41</sup> See for example, NAZ RC/273, Northern Rhodesia Legislative council Sessions and Proclamations, 16 January 1925-25 July 1927; NAZ RC/1513, Proclamation by Governor on Legislative Sessions, 1928; and NAZ RC/1515, Proclamation by Governor on Legislative Council Sessions and Elections, 1928.

centre.<sup>42</sup> All these roles were performed through letters, memoranda and reports. As for district commissioners, they maintained order and security, headed the District Advisory Committees and co-ordinated the work of district officers and chiefs. District commissioners often recorded the activities of their official responsibilities in district notebooks.<sup>43</sup> The notebooks are probably the most valuable sources for studying the history of colonial Northern Rhodesia. They are a unique source which highlight the variety of historical experiences in Northern Rhodesia, and they are not duplicated in the British archives.

With regards to the courts of justice, as before, the high court of Northern Rhodesia exercised jurisdiction over civil and criminal cases, subject to certain provisions of customary law.<sup>44</sup> The Order in Council provided that all laws passed in relation to African affairs were to respect customary law as followed by local chiefs. Magistrates' courts exercised civil jurisdiction over all persons in Northern Rhodesia, while native commissioners' courts were assigned jurisdiction over Africans in specific districts. As with the archive created by the judicial system during company administration, the colonial courts thereafter generated correspondence and records that were related to civil and criminal court proceedings.<sup>45</sup>

In addition to the central and local administrative records, there was also a collection of civil service archives, which were created by government departments.<sup>46</sup> The key elements of the colonial civil service, which formed the basis of the colonial archive during the British administration of Northern Rhodesia, included the treasury, legal, customs, medical, education, agricultural, veterinary, forestry, public works, survey, postal and railway

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<sup>42</sup> Alistair Tough and Paul Lihoma, 'The Development of Recordkeeping Systems in the British Empire and Commonwealth, 1870s–1960s,' *Archives and Manuscripts*, 40/3 (2012), 196.

<sup>43</sup> Interview with Emmanuel Sianjani, 28 May 2017. The National Archives of Zambia is in custody of about 126 District notebooks created from the period of the BSAC administration until about the early 1960s, when the British colonial administration ended. Recorded therein are the administrative activities of the District Commissioners in all the districts that existed during the colonial period.

<sup>44</sup> For details on the provisions of the Order in Council, see Northern Rhodesia Government, *Northern Rhodesia Order in Council, 1924* (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1924).

<sup>45</sup> For the nature of archives generated by the colonial judicial system now preserved at the National Archives of Zambia, see for example NAZ RC/110, Rex Vs. Edward Charles Mackenzie: Manslaughter, 18 October 1923–15 December 1926; and NAZ RC/596, Law Report of Visiting Justices to Livingstone, 19 May 1924–27 October 1927.

<sup>46</sup> The archives generated by the colonial government departments are classified as the Secretariat series at the National Archives of Zambia. See the unpublished descriptive lists to the Secretariat files volumes 1–6 at the National Archives of Zambia.

departments.<sup>47</sup> Departmental archives consisted of correspondence, circulars, reports, minutes and memoranda developed through the administrative link between the heads of departments and the Chief Secretary to the Secretariat, which was the central governing entity of the colonial administration. All communication between the central government and subordinate bodies in the colonial state was channelled through the Chief Secretary.

Departmental archives were generally larger than those generated by central government organs. Gann argued that such a development was because the expansion of the civil service was influenced by the needs of the colonial society – more and more departments were established to meet its demands.<sup>48</sup> After the introduction of the British colonial administration, the collection of departmental archives accumulated at an increasing rate, causing challenges of proper organisation. The government departments had means of managing records, but were mostly concerned with the retention of all records generated. The implementation of records management measures, by way of standardised systems of organisation or appraising for either permanent preservation or destruction, was non-existent, resulting in a large accumulation of records in departmental offices.<sup>49</sup>

### **3.2.3 The introduction of records management systems in colonial government departments**

From the mid-1920s onwards, records in the custody of government offices and departments increased greatly in number, requiring well-defined systems of organisation (including mechanisms for deselection) in order to aid preservation and the successful retrieval of relevant information. This development was not peculiar to Northern Rhodesia. In the same period, the growing complexity of colonial government operations in most British colonies created a boom in the quantity of records generated,<sup>50</sup> and the officials responsible for records administration, such as the governors, colonial secretaries and

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<sup>47</sup> Charles Joseph Jeffries, *The Colonial Empire and Its Civil Service* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938), 98-99.

<sup>48</sup> Lewis H. Gann, *The Birth of a Plural Society: The Development of Northern Rhodesia Under the British South Africa Company, 1894-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1968), 112.

<sup>49</sup> NAZ SEC /1/145, Northern Rhodesia Chief Secretary's Report on Government Records, 25 November 1936.

<sup>50</sup> Philip Alexander and Elizabeth Pessek, 'Archives in Emerging Nations: The Anglophone Experience,' *American Archivist*, 51/1-2 (1988), 121.

departmental heads, failed to live up to their responsibilities in this regard.<sup>51</sup> In Northern Rhodesia, the Colonial Office had not provided any formalised guidelines or policy for managing records. The keeping of records was determined by expediency, rather than a systematic approach to the matter at hand. It was determined therefore less by regulation and institutional provision than by the responsible colonial government official's estimate of their and their department's current and future need for the information contained in particular records or sets of records.<sup>52</sup> These records, irrespective of how haphazardly they were managed, were nonetheless essential to the authority of the Northern Rhodesian government.<sup>53</sup>

The ever-increasing accumulation of records created by the centralised colonial government and specialised departments necessitated that it be organised in such a way that would make their retrieval possible. The need for the easy access and retrieval of records within the colonial administration provided a potent driver for the creation of registries.<sup>54</sup> Registries were central depositories for the accumulation and processing of colonial knowledge. They were also records management systems that enabled the maintenance of colonial regimes.<sup>55</sup> The idea of introducing registries in Northern Rhodesia was an initiative of the colonial administration in the absence of any formalised imperial guidance on records management. The colonial administration copied the concept of a registry office from the colonial power, without having been given any directives as to its unique implementation by the imperial government.<sup>56</sup> This expedient approach to initiating records management systems patterned after imperial practices was also common in other colonies within the

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<sup>51</sup> Alexander and Pessek, 'Archives in Emerging Nations,' 121.

<sup>52</sup> G.S. Georghallides, 'The Management of Public Records under the British Colonial Administration in Cyprus,' *The International History Review*, 7, 4 (1985), 622.

<sup>53</sup> For a discussion on the importance of archives to colonial administrations, see especially Stoler, 'Colonial Archives and the Arts of Government,' 87-206.

<sup>54</sup> Lovering, 'British Colonial Administrations' Registry systems,' 1. See also Tough and Lihoma, 'The development of record keeping systems in the British Empire and Commonwealth, 1870s-1960s,' 196-216.

<sup>55</sup> Stoler, 'Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance,' 87.

<sup>56</sup> The British imperial registry offices were depositories for the custody of government records. Their core functions included opening, indexing, and monitoring the movement of files, and providing for their security and retrieval upon request of government officials. For a discussion on the British registry office, see for example, E. Shepherd and G. Yeo, *Managing Records: A Handbook of Principles and Practice* (London: Facet Publishing, 2003). See also B.L. Craig, 'Rethinking formal knowledge and its practices in the organization: The British Treasury's Registry between 1900 and 1950' *Archival Science*, 2/1 (2002), 111-136.

British Empire. Lovering regarded the 'record keeping systems in the twentieth century colonial states a result of a "monolithic process" of migration of metropolitan practices.'<sup>57</sup>

Large portions of official correspondence were subsequently centralised at the Secretariat, which was situated in the colonial capital of Livingstone. The departmental offices housed at the Secretariat shared an integrated registry and records management system. These included agriculture, auditing, customs, European education, the government printers, health, income tax, posts and telegraphs, public works, stores and transport and the veterinary departments, as well as the office of the Chief Secretary, who was in charge of logistical and administrative support to the executive and the legislative council.<sup>58</sup> There were also registries in other locations. At Government House, a registry was established for the benefit of the Governor. Likewise, the African education department had its own registry in Mazabuka, where the teacher training institution and the Director of Education were both situated.<sup>59</sup>

Detailed insight into the registry process can be gained from a memorandum that was issued by G.N. Caillosse, the acting Chief Secretary, in August of 1926. It comprised instructions for the operation of records management at the Secretariat. The Chief Secretary's instructions reflected the principles that were outlined by the British government's treasury department in the *Notes for the Use of Registry Branches*.<sup>60</sup> It included guidance on aspects of receiving incoming mail, systems of filing and registering, jacketing, docketing, annexing previous papers, despatch and formal action on records. Within the British government, the Treasury pioneered the establishment of a model registry system, which provided an example for other branches of government. The First World War accelerated this development, with a hugely increased administrative workload underscoring the importance of efficient workflow for records.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> See Lovering, 'British Colonial Administrations' Registry systems,' 1-23.

<sup>58</sup> Tough and Lihoma, 'The development of record keeping systems in the British Empire and Commonwealth, 1870s–1960s,' 206.

<sup>59</sup> Tough and Lihoma, 'The development of record keeping systems in the British Empire and Commonwealth, 1870s–1960s,' 206.

<sup>60</sup> United Kingdom Treasury, *Notes for Use of the Registry Branches* (London: HMSO, 1919).

<sup>61</sup> Lovering, 'British Colonial Administrations' Registry systems,' 4.

The instructions issued by the Chief Secretary were very similar to those of the British Treasury's department manual. It required the filing, numbering and registration of all incoming records on the index sheet in the front of the file.<sup>62</sup> The incoming records also required identification by the placement of slips of distinct colour on them, and the use of blue print was advised.<sup>63</sup> The purpose of registering records through the index system was to provide formal acknowledgement of their existence – and to create conceptual and organisational hierarchies within the record system. This was achieved by using identifiers, in the form of numeric codes. These provided the means to identify and locate particular records within the record keeping system. The earliest identifying system that was used, was referred to as the 'A series.' It appeared in a single sequential numerical series. The treasury manual was also influential in the registry system of Nyasaland (Malawi). A similar instruction existed where all incoming correspondence opened by the chief clerk at the Secretariat registry was identified through a red tag.<sup>64</sup>

Although the Chief Secretary's registry instructions aimed at establishing a well-organised records management system in Northern Rhodesia, by 1927 the system was not working properly.<sup>65</sup> Failure to understand the instructions on the part of record keepers, and a degree of apathy or inertia among the colonial civil servants perhaps explains the unsatisfactory situation. D.M. Kennedy, an assistant secretary at the Secretariat office, for example, expressed the view that the instructions were not understood, resulting in the failure of proper organisation of records being carried out.<sup>66</sup> At the same, it was alleged that the executive officials responsible for creating records in government departments hindered the clerical officers in charge of the registries from implementing the instructions.<sup>67</sup>

In seeking to improve administration, which included records management systems, the Governor of Northern Rhodesia, in collaboration with the Secretariat, took a leading role. A

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<sup>62</sup> NAZ RC/180, Office Instructions from Acting Chief Secretary to Colonial Government Departments, 12 August 1926.

<sup>63</sup> NAZ RC/180, Office Instructions from Acting Chief Secretary to Colonial Government Departments, 12 August 1926.

<sup>64</sup> See George Smith, *Notes on the Secretariat Registry* (Zomba: Malawi National Archives, 1928).

<sup>65</sup> NAZ RC/180, Office Instructions from Acting Chief Secretary to Colonial Government Departments, 12 August 1926.

<sup>66</sup> NAZ RC /180, Minutes from Assistant Chief Secretary to Acting Chief Secretary, 16 December 1927.

<sup>67</sup> NAZ RC /180, Minutes from Assistant Chief Secretary to Acting Chief Secretary, 16 December 1927.

recommendation was passed that all records in registries had to be organised on subject lines. The aim was to organise the records in a way that all information on any given subject was available to avoid 'paper hunting.'<sup>68</sup> Accordingly, an arrangement was made with R.S.W. Dickson (acting Chief Secretary) to classify records along subject lines. A subject filing system was established, whereby different file titles were created to ensure that single files were not used for more than one subject. The newly created files still maintained references to old files, which made it easier to put the records together, should the need arise. The implementation of the subject filing system facilitated the purchase of about fifty new file boxes from the Northern Rhodesia Government Printers.<sup>69</sup> Other materials were also purchased, which included about two thousand new cards for card indexes, and loose-leaf ledgers. The latter was used for an index book of files, which listed subjects alphabetically.<sup>70</sup>

The principle of filing records according to subject matter was also used in the British civil service, as well as a number of British colonies. According to Tough and Lihoma, a key characteristic of record keeping regulations in the British civil service registries reflected the principle of one letter, one subject, and one reference.<sup>71</sup> The Colonial Office in London operated on a similar principle (one letter, one subject and one reference) from the eighteenth century until the 1920s. Other British colonies, such as Southern Rhodesia, also adopted these record keeping principles. Matangira also noted that British principles of record keeping were adopted which emphasised the use of an index system and the filing of documents on the basis of similar subjects.<sup>72</sup> The same system was used in the British mandate administration in Palestine.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> NAZ RC /180, Minutes from Assistant Chief Secretary to Acting Chief Secretary, 16 December 1927.

<sup>69</sup> NAZ RC /180, Acting Chief Secretary to Records Clerk, 27 December 1927.

<sup>70</sup> NAZ RC /180, Acting Chief Secretary to Records Clerk, 27 December 1927.

<sup>71</sup> Tough and Lihoma, 'The development of record keeping systems in the British Empire and Commonwealth, 1870s–1960s,' 194. The principle of one letter, one subject and one reference was a classification and filing system which required that each record's subject had to be allotted one file and reference number. For the details on the development of this principle see especially Trinidad Government, *Regulations for official correspondence and business* (Port-of-Spain: Government Printing Office, 1892). See also Anne Thurston and Bernard Pugh Ralph, *Records of the Colonial Office, Dominion Office and Commonwealth Relations Office* (London: HMSO, 1995), 3-4.

<sup>72</sup> Violet Matangira, 'Records and Archives Management in Postcolonial Zimbabwe's Public Service,' PhD Thesis, (University of Namibia, 2016).

<sup>73</sup> Zohar Aloufi, 'The Legacy: British Mandate Record Management System in Israel,' *Archival Science*, 7/3, (2007), 208.

January 1928 saw a new development in records management through the introduction of a jacket system.<sup>74</sup> A jacket was a double foolscap sheet of paper, inside which correspondence was placed on the right side, minutes on the front cover and, when necessary, attached inside the front cover on the left.<sup>75</sup> The system allowed for the arrangement of various items, such as correspondence and reports, in a single jacket. It was a way of keeping information secure, introducing an organizing principle and making it easily accessible to officials. At the same time, it served the purpose of minimising the damage of records from handling and use. The jacket system seemingly reduced the numbers of misplaced files. These jackets (coverings) were designed by the Northern Rhodesia Government Printers, with pre-printed names of particular government departments, as well as specifications such as file titles and file numbers. Index headings were included on the front cover of the cover-jacket.<sup>76</sup> Maintaining the order of documents within the file was a vital requirement, which established the context and sequence within which decisions and actions were taken.<sup>77</sup>

Another transformation was notable in 1929. It marked a departure from a numerical system of filing to an alphanumeric system. Filing codes and letter codes were added to the subject titles of records files. Therefore, each department was to have a distinctive letter preceding the number. In this case, for instance, the letter S was used for the classification of records generated by the Chief Secretary's office. The letter N was used for the native affairs office, T for the treasury, P for posts and telegraphs, M for the medical department,

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<sup>74</sup> A key figure in the introduction of the jacket system was Sir Fredrick Napier Broome (1842-96). Broome was Chief Secretary in Natal from 1875 until 1878. He also served as Governor of Mauritius and Western Australia between the period 1878 and 1883. In 1892, he issued regulations for official correspondence and business as Governor of Trinidad. Copies of these regulations were circulated to governors of other colonies and the Colonial Office for approval. These regulations required the heads of departments to use jacket systems when communicating with the Colonial Secretary. Although the Colonial Office declined to give approval, Broome's regulations were influential and adopted in most colonial states, including Northern Rhodesia. The Colonial Office did nothing to effectively prohibit local practice from diverging from that of the Home Civil Service. For detail on Broome's record keeping regulations, see Trinidad Government, *Regulations for Official Correspondence and Business*, (Port-of-Spain: Government Printing Office, 1892), 174-87.

<sup>75</sup> Tough and Lihoma, 'The development of record keeping systems in the British Empire and Commonwealth, 1870s-1960s,' 197. A jacket was a double foolscap sheet of paper cut to the size 216 × 343 mm and 330 × 200 mm. This was a traditional paper size used in late nineteenth and twentieth Europe and the British Commonwealth, before the adoption of the international standard A4 paper, the most common standard size in the world.

<sup>76</sup> NAZ RC/180, Memorandum, Assistant Chief Secretary to all heads of colonial departments, January 1928.

<sup>77</sup> NAZ RC/180, Correspondence from Acting Chief Secretary to Records Clerk, 27 December 1927.

W for the mines and works department, V for the veterinary department, while others were decided as necessary.<sup>78</sup>

### **3.3 The Colonial Office and the preservation of records in Northern Rhodesia**

#### **3. 3.1 The Colonial Office circular and the 1929 departmental records survey series**

In January 1929, the Colonial Office became directly involved in matters of record keeping in Northern Rhodesia. The Colonial Office, as a department of the British government, was created to deal with a varied range of affairs relating to the British colonies. Thus, the safeguarding and preservation of official records in the colonies was also its responsibility. The Colonial Secretary, L.S. Amery, despatched a circular to Sir James Maxwell, the then Governor of Northern Rhodesia, requesting information on the organisation and preservation of official documents.<sup>79</sup> The same circular was sent to other colonies in the British Empire. This was the first circular sent to Northern Rhodesia regarding the preservation of administrative information during the era of colonial administration.<sup>80</sup> The circular was prompted by the poor preservation of official records, in large measure because of the tropical climate. In the circular, the Colonial Secretary stated the following:

It has been represented to me that colonial official records of historical value are in some instances in a bad state of preservation and that, owing to climatic causes and other causes, their disintegration would appear to be simply a matter of time and preventable only by removal to a temperate climate. The proper depository for all such records is the territory to which they appertain, but at the

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<sup>78</sup> NAZ RC/180, Correspondence from Acting Chief Secretary to Records Clerk, 27 December 1927.

<sup>79</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Circular, from L.S. Amery, Secretary to State for Colonies to Governor, Northern Rhodesia, 29 January 1929.

<sup>80</sup> See J.M. Chuubi and R.J. Kukubo, 'Documents of Historical Value to ECARBICA Archives,' *ECARBICA Journal*, 6 (1983), 78-87. The initial circular from the Colonial Office to the British colonies on the preservation of official records was sent in 1914. This was the time when Northern Rhodesia was under chartered company rule. However, what is not clear is whether the initial circular was also sent to the BSAC administration, and from all indications, the company seemed not to have paid attention to devising standardised principles of record keeping. However, it was only in the mid-1920s, when there was a proliferation of archival material and the simple BSAC system became unmanageable, that the need to introduce proper systems arose.

same time it is most desirable that where the retention locally involves an unavoidable risk of serious deterioration they should be transferred to Britain with a view to their preservation....<sup>81</sup>

While the circular mainly specified climate as a challenge to record keeping, Alexander and Pessek have attributed the poor state of preservation in British colonies to apathy and inertia among colonial civil servants and to the large accumulation of records in government departments without the means to preserve them.<sup>82</sup> As for Northern Rhodesia, when it was under chartered rule, record keeping beyond the immediate needs of administration was of little interest. This also meant that implementing measures for proper permanent preservation was not a high priority. The circular required information on the '....general conditions of records, whether records were bound or unbound, whether the records were housed collectively or otherwise and in what type of building, whether registers or other summaries were kept, and whether the records offices were fireproof, weather-proof and insect-proof.'<sup>83</sup> Despite the fact that the circular did not indicate poor organisation as a problem in the management of records, its demands on what authorities were directed to streamline and address clearly indicates that it was an issue of concern. This was important because 'the power of the British Empire hinged upon the capacity for retrieving, storing and deploying a monopoly of information.'<sup>84</sup>

The circular from the Colonial Office was much more than just an inquiry. Georghallides observed that its scope was ambitious, warning colonial authorities not to neglect 'official records of historical value' and requesting information on the state of their records.<sup>85</sup> Indeed, the Colonial Secretary directed that the Master of the Rolls in the Public Record Office in London would have custody in exceptional cases of endangered colonial records

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<sup>81</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Circular from L.S. Amery, Secretary to State for Colonies to Governor, Northern Rhodesia, 29 January 1929.

<sup>82</sup> Alexander and Pessek, 'Archives in Emerging Nations,' 121.

<sup>83</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Circular from L.S. Amery, Secretary to State for Colonies to Governor, Northern Rhodesia, 29 January 1929.

<sup>84</sup> Richards, *The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and Fantasy of the Empire*, 145.

<sup>85</sup> Georghallides, 'The Management of Public Records Under the British Colonial Administration in Cyprus,' 623.

where there was a risk of serious deterioration.<sup>86</sup> This particular clause in the circular to Northern Rhodesia applied to the unsuitable climatic condition for records preservation experienced in Northern Rhodesia. The territory was hot and humid because of its location in the tropical climate zone. During the wet season, the humidity factor was very high, dropping considerably in the dry season. Thus for one part of the year, the documents absorbed moisture and even became damp to the touch. In the dry season, the humidity factor dropped to the extent that documents tended to become brittle.<sup>87</sup> As a result, documents tended to deteriorate and some of the earlier records, especially those created under the company's administration, showed signs of deterioration. The variations in humidity and temperature caused fibres in paper documents to break down.<sup>88</sup> It was apparent that if this state of affairs was permitted to continue indefinitely, it would have devastating consequences for administrative efficiency and historical records.

In 1929, in order to identify the records that needed special preservation at the Public Records Office, and to provide information on record keeping according to the request by the Colonial Office, the various Northern Rhodesian government departments conducted a series of records surveys. This round of records surveys illuminated disparities in the practices of record keeping. Although nearly all government departments in Northern Rhodesia, at this point, had some means of managing records through the registry systems, the organisation established was mainly concerned with the orderly keeping of records, without arrangements for their permanent preservation.<sup>89</sup> In the same year (1929), the Chief Secretary of Northern Rhodesia despatched a memorandum to all heads of colonial departments, as well as district and Provincial Commissioners. The memorandum requested that the colonial government authorities provide detailed information on the general condition, organisation and storage arrangements of the official records that were in their custody. The instructions in the memorandum drew on the directives from the Colonial

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<sup>86</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Circular from L.S. Amery, Secretary to State for Colonies to Governor, Northern Rhodesia, 29 January 1929. The Master of the Roll was in charge of past official records preserved at the Public Records Office.

<sup>87</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Report on the Southern Rhodesia Government Archivist's visit to Northern Rhodesia, 20 June 1945.

<sup>88</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Report on the Southern Rhodesia Government Archivist's visit to Northern Rhodesia, 20 June 1945.

<sup>89</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Memorandum from Chief Secretary (Livingstone) to Provincial Commissioners, Northern Rhodesia, 25 November 1936.

Office.<sup>90</sup> Considering the contents and instructions of the Colonial Office despatch, it would appear that the expected standards of keeping records in a colonial state required records to be kept in a bound form, registered and collectively stored in weather, water and insect resistant facilities.<sup>91</sup>

This series of records surveys offered the first comprehensive overview of the record keeping practices of the colonial government departments in Northern Rhodesia. In February 1929, the high court of Northern Rhodesia provided a detailed assessment of the condition and storage arrangements of its records. These records included birth, death and marriage certificates, case records generated from court proceedings, approved wills and letters of administration, patents, and title deeds. The report compiled by the court Registrar for the attention of the Chief Secretary indicated that record keeping principles were shaped by the value the department placed on particular records.<sup>92</sup> Records of births, deaths, marriages, patents, trademarks, and deeds were considered the most important of the collections, as they provided evidence of individual rights.<sup>93</sup> As a result, they were kept in a bound format and merited more permanent preservation. They were also the only records that were stored in steel filing cabinets that were considered safe from fire and unsuitable climatic conditions. Records that were deemed of lesser importance, such as the high court's case records, wills and letters of administration, were maintained in an unbound form. Nevertheless, there was special caution against deterioration, in that strong rooms were provided for their storage. These were made of bricks with a concrete floor, which were considered of a standard that safeguarded against fire and adverse weather, and which was insect resistant.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> For more details, see for example NAZ SEC 1/145, Circular from L.S. Amery, Secretary of State for the Colonies to Governor, Northern Rhodesia, 2 January 1929; NAZ SEC 1/145, Memorandum from Governor (Northern Rhodesia) to all Departmental Heads, 21 February 1929.

<sup>91</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Report on Official Records from Registrar, High Court of Northern Rhodesia (Livingstone) to Chief Secretary (Livingstone), 22 February 1929.

<sup>92</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Report on Official Records from Registrar, High Court of Northern Rhodesia (Livingstone) to Chief Secretary (Livingstone), 22 February 1929.

<sup>93</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Report on Official Records from Registrar, High Court of Northern Rhodesia (Livingstone) to Chief Secretary (Livingstone), 22 February 1929.

<sup>94</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Report on Official Records from J.C. Maxwell, Governor (Livingstone), to Secretary of State (London), 28 June 1929.

The department of lands also conducted a records survey, in April 1929. Comparing it to the report on court records, points to the discrepancies in records management and preservation. The lands department's survey was concluded by B.L. Eunt, the secretary to that department. It was fair to expect that the lands department, as the department that administered land policies in Northern Rhodesia, would have generated a wide range of records, such as correspondence, reports and minutes on questions of land use and land ownership. The report issued, however, did not reflect this. There was mention of only a few categories of records: registers, ledgers and books of accounts. Compared to the care taken with legal records, these records were kept in an unbound format, indicating that in the Northern Rhodesia of the period there was little uniformity or centralised control where departmental record keeping was concerned. However, regardless of the fact that the records were kept in an unbound form, it was noted that the general condition of all the records was good. This could be attributed to the use of safer storage facilities. Records were stored in suitable steel filing cabinets. Yet, the safety of the records was still threatened because of the absence of suitable accommodation. The office building that housed the land records was constructed without much consideration for the safety of the material it guarded. As noted in the report submitted to the Chief Secretary, '... ledgers and books of accounts are kept on racks in records offices built of brick with an iron roof.'<sup>95</sup>

It would appear that the use of steel filing cabinets for the storage of records was acceptable standard practice in most of the colonial government departments in Northern Rhodesia.<sup>96</sup> Most reports submitted to the Chief Secretary indicated the use of steel filing cabinets as storage for records. Steel cabinets were considered resistant to fire, as well as weather and insect proof.

The April 1929 report prepared on behalf of the native affairs department also indicated that steel filing cabinets were used for the storage of records. At this department, however, steel cabinets were strictly reserved for current correspondence and departmental reports.

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<sup>95</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Report on Official Records from Secretary, Lands Department (Livingstone) to Chief Secretary (Livingstone), 3 April 1929.

<sup>96</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Report on Official Records from Secretary, Lands Department (Livingstone) to Chief Secretary (Livingstone), 3 April 1929.

This placed all past records at risk of indiscriminate deterioration or destruction,<sup>97</sup> and may offer a glimpse into the vestiges of archives created for a private company, which only served a purpose as long as the records were part of a working archive or functional records office. Once the immediate functionality of the record passed, the value of the record slowly diminished. This situation was worsened because of the land department's decision not to transfer the endangered records to the Public Records Office in London as advised by the Colonial Office.<sup>98</sup> The native affairs department followed suit, deciding that all its records were to remain under the department's custody because they were theoretically required for reference purposes.<sup>99</sup> The collection of past records was mainly comprised of African staff files and those relating to the appointments of chiefs, as well as inspections, which were kept in box files.

In May 1929, the treasury department also presented the Chief Secretary with a report on the organisation of its records.<sup>100</sup> Record keeping was a fundamental activity of the treasury department: financial records were among the records that constituted the foundation of accountability, which in turn supported the edifice of colonial government.<sup>101</sup> Financial documents included, among others, general correspondence on financial accounts, as well as salaries and allowances of officers employed by Northern Rhodesia, cash books and ledgers, vouchers, and various returns and statements. These records were significant, as they permitted a review and audit of what had been transacted by the colonial government and enabled accountants to prepare financial reports that reflected the management of resources. This necessitated a much more sophisticated and well-conceived policy on record keeping. The treasury developed a records management system that ensured the permanent preservation of important financial records which were considered to be of historical, evidential and legal value, in contrast to the requirement of expediency and

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<sup>97</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Report on Official Records, Secretary, Native Affairs Department (Livingstone) to Chief Secretary (Livingstone), 9 April 1929.

<sup>98</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Circular from L.S. Amery, Secretary of State for Colonies to Governor, Northern Rhodesia, 29 January 1929.

<sup>99</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Circular from L.S. Amery, Secretary of State for Colonies to Governor, Northern Rhodesia, 29 January 1929.

<sup>100</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Report on Official Records from Secretary, Treasury (Livingstone) to Chief Secretary (Livingstone), 30 May 1929.

<sup>101</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Report on Official Records from Secretary, Treasury (Livingstone) to Chief Secretary (Livingstone), 30 May 1929.

immediate need attached to the preservation approaches observed in some of the other departments. This shows the significant place given to financial records in Northern Rhodesia. Nonetheless, the permanent retention policy only covered journals, cash books, ledgers and registers. Any other financial records were destroyed after a period of thirty-five years from the date of their creation, without exception.<sup>102</sup> More so, permanent records were kept separately from non-permanent records. Although permanent records were housed in strong rooms, they were still exposed to the threat of white ants.<sup>103</sup> It was practically impossible, in a tropical country, to keep records entirely free from insects, which tended to breed in the records. Therefore, there were frequent inspections of the records office for white ants.<sup>104</sup>

In June 1929, the mines department, like other colonial government sections, provided a report of its records organisation to the Chief Secretary. The department had registers of title and official correspondence records in its custody. Registers of title were more closely guarded than official correspondence and were kept in a steel cabinet safe. Registers were important, as they contained information regarding the ownership of land. These records were registered and filed, and then stored in cardboard and wooden boxes. The storage boxes were thought to provide greater protection for the documents against damage from dust and humidity, and made it easier to handle the records. The use of boxes as storage was considered economical, because they were able to contain a large number of files. It was also advisable that boxes were used for keeping records, because it was easier to trace files through this method, implying greater organizational structure to these archives. When it came to storage accommodation, the brick office building where the mines records were kept did not have the appropriate facilities that would protect the records against the threats of fire, adverse weather, white ants and other insects.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Report on Official Records from Secretary, Treasury (Livingstone) to Chief Secretary (Livingstone) 30 May 1929.

<sup>103</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Report on Official Records from Secretary, Treasury (Livingstone) to Chief Secretary (Livingstone), 30 May 1929.

<sup>104</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Report on Official Records from Secretary, Treasury (Livingstone) to Chief Secretary (Livingstone), 30 May 1929.

<sup>105</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Report on Official Records from Secretary, Mines Department (Livingstone) to Chief Secretary (Livingstone), 17 June 1929.

The high court, the treasury, the lands, native affairs, and mines departments, which have been discussed, were only some of the colonial government departments that created and managed records in Northern Rhodesia. There were a number of other departments, also located at the Secretariat, which shared integrated record keeping systems.<sup>106</sup> However, their records management practices and the conditions of their documents were not surveyed, as the colonial government did not attach as much value to the records created by these departments. This was evident from the views presented to the Colonial Office after its request for information regarding the arrangements for safeguarding official documents in Northern Rhodesia. In response to the Colonial Secretary, the Governor stated that information regarding record keeping in the departments in question was not important, since: 'The remaining official documents in other Departments are only of ephemeral value and as such would not appear to be comprised within the purview of your despatch.'<sup>107</sup> This offers a glimpse of where the fulcrum of archival control was essentially located, as perceived by the colonial government.

In late June 1929, J.C. Maxwell, the Governor of Northern Rhodesia, sent a comprehensive report to the Colonial Office regarding the conditions and organisation of records maintained at his own office. The keeping and management of official records at government headquarters was managed by the Governor's office, the Secretariat and the Administrator General's office. The nature of record keeping that emerged at the colonial administration's headquarters reflected the nature of responsibilities assumed by the Governor's office, but also the shifting emphasis on archives as centrum of control for the colony. The Governor's office was the highest representative of the British government in the colonial state and it reported to the Colonial Secretary in Britain on all matters concerned with colonial administration. The records maintained in the Governor's office contained original despatches from the Colonial Secretary dating from 1 April 1924, as well as copies of despatches addressed to the Colonial Secretary, starting from the same date. These were transferred from the office of the High Commissioner for South Africa in 1924, and date back to 1901. Included in this archive were also bound copies of letters from the

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<sup>106</sup> Lovering, 'British Colonial Administrations' Registry systems,' 20.

<sup>107</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Report on Official Records from J.C. Maxwell, Governor (Livingstone) to Secretary of State (London), 28 June 1929.

office of the High Commissioner to the Northern Rhodesian administration from the period between 1909 and 1923.<sup>108</sup> In addition, files of correspondence on Northern Rhodesian affairs were transferred from the office of the Resident Commissioner in Salisbury at the time of the change of government in 1911. Another category of records in the Governor's office archive comprised of confidential papers and memoranda. The secret nature of these records required special precautions. Records were under lock and key in a steel safe, as well as in a wooden cupboard.<sup>109</sup>

The 1929 report served an important function in pointing towards the reconception of archives in terms of a designated space. It also pointed out the weaknesses in the existing system, which was overly reliant on people, rather than on systems. In short, the report prompted changes in how the Colonial Office thought about and handled documents, especially confidential documents: as a rule, individuals who were employed in clerical work in the Governor's office were assumed to be loyal to the colonial government. They were relied upon to uphold confidential information. This was not atypical. In other British colonies, for example, clerical staff were considered so loyal to the government that some official archives were kept in the sleeping quarters of senior personnel. Tough and Lihoma noted photographic evidence of Arthur Claud Hollis adopting this approach for the Kenyan government in Nairobi's Secretariat.<sup>110</sup> As for non-confidential records, these were kept in file boxes, which received sufficient attention to ensure that they were not subject to the ravages of insects. There were registers and card indexes of the correspondence between the High Commissioner and Resident Commissioner to make these working archives in the Governor's office fully functioning and easily accessible.<sup>111</sup>

Records that were in the custody of the Secretariat were comprised of seven different categories. These were original despatches from the High Commissioner for South Africa to the Northern Rhodesian colonial government dating from 1910 to 1924, and including

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<sup>108</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Report on Official Records from J.C. Maxwell, Governor (Livingstone) to Secretary of State (London), 28 June 1929.

<sup>109</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Report on Official Records from J.C. Maxwell, Governor (Livingstone) to Secretary of State (London), 28 June 1929.

<sup>110</sup> Tough and Lihoma, 'The development of record keeping systems in the British Empire and Commonwealth', 1870s–1960s, 198.

<sup>111</sup> See for example, NAZ SEC 1/145, Northern Rhodesia Chief Secretary's Report on Official Records 13 May 1929.

copies of correspondence sent to the High Commissioner for South Africa from the Northern Rhodesian administration for much the same time. Other records were copies of letters sent to the London office of the BSAC by the administration of Northern Rhodesia between 1902 and 1924. There were files of correspondence transferred from Fort Jameson (Chipata) upon the amalgamation of N.E. Rhodesia and N.W. Rhodesia in 1911. There was also a collection of files of correspondence transacted in the respective Secretariats of N.E. and N.W. Rhodesia and correspondence transacted by the Secretariat of Northern Rhodesia after the amalgamation of 1911. This collection therefore represented a comingling of a working archive in the office of the Governor, with a permanent collection of historical records no longer in active use, many of which were inherited from the BSAC years, but deemed worthy of permanent conservation.<sup>112</sup>

Records generated as a result of official relations between the colonial government, the High Commissioner for South Africa and the BSAC's London office were well preserved when compared to those created by the company administration in N.W. and N.E. Rhodesia. The reason for this state of affairs is that since the time of their creation, these records were kept at the Secretariat, where there was a better system of record keeping. This was attributed to the fact that it was a central government office, which operated as a clearing office for interdepartmental correspondence, as well as a channel of communication between the Governor and the various departments. It assisted the Governor in the conduct of his correspondence with the Colonial Secretary and therefore relied upon the immediate accessibility of documentation that would languish from neglect in other offices.<sup>113</sup> Since the Secretariat dealt with high profile records, well organised methods of record keeping had to be maintained. Crucially the Secretariat had access to designated personnel, whose responsibility was to maintain the working archives in the office. This was not the case for other departments and the geographical outposts.<sup>114</sup>

Kennedy Bradley, Administrator in Northern Rhodesia (1925- 1942), noted that 'proper and effective' record keeping was already in place at the Secretariat by the 1930s, which was

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<sup>112</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Northern Rhodesia Chief Secretary's Report on Official Records 13 May 1929

<sup>113</sup> Jeffries, *The Colonial Empire and its Civil Service*, 129.

<sup>114</sup> A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, 'The Thin White Line: The Size of the British Colonial Service in Africa,' *African Affairs*, 79/313 (1980), 30. See also A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, *On Crown Service: A History of HM Colonial and Overseas Civil Services, 1837 -1997* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1999), 85.

illustrated by the 1929 report. As a former section officer with experience of working at the Secretariat in Livingstone in the 1930s, Bradley described the institution as, 'very small, ... [it] had an executive staff of less than ten and perhaps twenty clerks'<sup>115</sup> He also described, 'highly efficient little file registries,' in each of the sections. According to Bradley, the section was responsible for 'about a thousand files', dealing with Agriculture (AG), Education (ED), and Police and Miscellaneous files (MISC). Bradley noted that a growing number of files which carried the label 'Miscellaneous', this seemed to have been inevitable in any filing system and was always guaranteed to grow larger, more amorphous and more disastrously confusing.<sup>116</sup> 'Every letter which came into the Secretariat and had no obvious home in any other section ended up in the MISC series.'<sup>117</sup>

While illuminating at departmental level, the records surveys of 1929 did not provide much insight on the record keeping practices of the local administration at the district and Provincial Commissioners' offices. The comprehensive report of the same year, compiled by the Governor's office to the Colonial Office, mentioned nothing about the state and preservation of records in districts and provinces.<sup>118</sup> Yet, from a historical point of view, correspondence files and district notebooks are of great value. The only insight given in the report with regards to local administration records was, 'that there could also have been certain records in some provincial offices and that enquiry was however, going to be made with regard to the offices of the Provincial Commissioners.'<sup>119</sup> Nonetheless, even though the writers of the report might have been speculating, we do find odd snippets offering information on the state of affairs in these offices. For example, the Provincial Commissioner for Fort Jameson provided much insight on local administration and record keeping on the colonial administration's periphery. The Commissioner, like the representatives of the colonial government departments, also compiled a report on the preservation of official documents.<sup>120</sup> The report indicated that official documents kept at

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<sup>115</sup> K.G.B. Bradley, *Once a District Officer* (London: Macmillan, 1966), 36.

<sup>116</sup> Bradley, *Once a District Officer*, 36.

<sup>117</sup> Bradley, *Once a District Officer*, 36.

<sup>118</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Report on Official Documents from Provincial Commissioner (Fort Jameson) to Chief Secretary (Livingstone), 2 July 1929.

<sup>119</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Report on Official Documents from Provincial Commissioner (Fort Jameson) to Chief Secretary (Livingstone), 2 July 1929.

<sup>120</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Report on Official Documents from Provincial Commissioner (Fort Jameson) to Chief Secretary (Livingstone), 2 July 1929.

Fort Jameson included mining registers and all books on mining, marriage registers, duplicates of birth and death certificates, and records of court cases. Similar to the record keeping principles adopted by other departments located at the colonial capital in Livingstone, the Provincial Commissioner's office also organized and bound mining registers, mining books and marriage registers. Records were kept in file covers and centralised at the commissioner's office building. However, despite the efforts made by the Commissioner to contribute to the imperial authorities' knowledge about the local administration of information, none of this information was included in the final report that was sent to the Colonial Office.<sup>121</sup> This could arguably be taken as an indication of the low status accorded to district and provincial records.

### **3.3.2 The Colonial Office and the formulation of an archives preservation policy in Northern Rhodesia**

The sheer growth of records and the expense of housing them resulted in the indiscriminate destruction of potentially valuable material in many British colonies.<sup>122</sup> This prompted the Colonial Office to attempt to regularise archives policy. In October 1936, the Northern Rhodesian government was asked about its policy concerning the destruction and preservation of official records. Through a circular despatch, Ormsby Gore, the Colonial Secretary, reminded the Governor of Northern Rhodesia of the importance of taking steps to ensure that outdated records were destroyed. Archives management was therefore framed in terms of the destruction imperative, rather than the preservation imperative. The argument was that in a world of limited resources, only by deliberate and deliberative destruction of records deemed obsolete (valueless or useless to the colonial power), could valuable records be effectively managed and preserved. This appeal to destruction was thus phrased with careful regard for those records of continuing official utility and those deemed of historical value by the Colonial Office. This also located the control of archives in the

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<sup>121</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Report on Official Documents from Provincial Commissioner (Fort Jameson) to Chief Secretary (Livingstone), 2 July 1929.

<sup>122</sup> For a discussion on the factors leading to increased quantities of colonial records, see for example Marilla Guptil, *Archival Appraisal of International Organisations: A RAMP Study with Guidelines* (Paris: UNESCO, 1985), 4-6.

destruction imperative inherent to all archives.<sup>123</sup> This was an important departure in the official policy on archives management. Before this, there was no clearly defined policy guiding the preservation or destruction of official records in Northern Rhodesia.<sup>124</sup> Even the general orders, which consisted of rules and regulations for the colonial civil service, did not contain anything about records destruction.<sup>125</sup> From this point onwards, the preoccupation with the destruction of records, either deliberate or because of neglect, and the associated implicit preoccupation with control over the archival record, would dominate the discourse on Northern Rhodesian archives management for the foreseeable future.

The 1936 circular emphasised that the destruction of any records now required the approval of a suitable authority within the colonial administration to whom the details of documents that were identified for destruction were to be first submitted. Pragmatically, the act of destroying valueless records was meant to control the wastage of space, storage equipment and man-power. The continued retention of records deemed without value disadvantaged the preservation of valuable official records, and was, hence, a waste of the colonial government's resources.<sup>126</sup> It was also envisaged that the destruction of records would engender greater efficiency and economy throughout the colonial government departments by bringing into service only those vital records which were often buried under a mass of material deemed of little value, but which made it difficult to efficiently access required information. As Derrida notes, the power of the archive lies in who determines what is preserved and what is destroyed.<sup>127</sup>

The Colonial Office did not bind the Northern Rhodesian government to any particular procedure or system, but it recommended that the procedures of records destruction and preservation that were devised by the colonial states of Ceylon and Mauritius, be considered as templates in Northern Rhodesia.<sup>128</sup> In Ceylon, the procedures for the destruction of valueless records were clearly laid down in a government manual. The

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<sup>123</sup> See especially, Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression* (Chicago: University Chicago Press, 1998), 120.

<sup>124</sup> NAZ SEC /1/145, Report from Chief Secretary, 25 November 1936.

<sup>125</sup> NAZ SEC /1/145, Report from Chief Secretary, 25 November 1936.

<sup>126</sup> Gann, 'Archives and the Study of Society,' 60.

<sup>127</sup> See Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 4.

<sup>128</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Circular from Secretary of State (Colonial Office) to Governor (Northern Rhodesia), 16 October 1936. See also Chuubi and Kukubo, 'Documents of Historical Value to ECARBICA Archives,' 81-82.

manual provided that every head of a department periodically prepare and revise a list of documents that would be destroyed. The lists of documents were submitted to the Governor of Ceylon for approval before their destruction. The manual also provided for a list of documents for permanent preservation. These included documents of historical or other interest, including those related to the history, constitution and administration of colonial departments, as well as the appointment of officers.<sup>129</sup> In Mauritius, there was a standing committee for the examination of records that were to be destroyed. Its decision required the approval of the Governor.<sup>130</sup> However, the Colonial Secretary noted that in most British territories the procedure did not appear so closely defined. Although in the majority of territories the destruction of records required the authority of the Governor or the Colonial Secretary, it appeared that in some cases, only a general approval was required, and the details of the documents to be destroyed were not always submitted to the authority in question. The Colonial Secretary pointedly noted a case reported to him where ‘an individual, specially employed by a colonial government for this purpose, was allowed to undertake the wholesale elimination of old colonial records, without adequate supervision on the part of a responsible authority. As a result, records of considerable historical interest were destroyed.’<sup>131</sup>

The Colonial Secretary stressed that keeping records in a satisfactory state had to be regarded as one of the first duties of Northern Rhodesia’s colonial government: the preservation and the saving of vulnerable records had to be an urgent priority, as any delay in the institution of protective measures would lead to the inevitable loss of valuable documents. The circular made it clear that, ‘... I consider it important that each colonial government should make immediate appropriate arrangements for the renovation of records in a bad state of repair and provide suitable housing for the preservation of these

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<sup>129</sup> Chuubi and Kukubo, ‘Documents of Historical Value to ECARBICA Archives,’ 82. For further details on archiving and appraisal procedures in Ceylon, see for example Ceylon Archives Department, *Report of the Director, National Archives* (Government Bureau, 1957); Department of National Archives, *The Sri Lanka Archives* (Michigan: University Michigan, 2007).

<sup>130</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Circular from Secretary of State (Colonial Office) to Governor (Northern Rhodesia), 16 October 1936. For further discussion on the principles of appraisal in Mauritius, see especially British Colonial Office, *The Annual Report on Mauritius* (London: H.M Stationery Office, 1951); P.H. Sooprayen, *The Mauritius Archives* (Government Printers, 1991).

<sup>131</sup> A similar incident took place in Barbados in the nineteenth century, as reported by Richard Pares, ‘Public Records in British West India Islands,’ *Historical Research*, 7/21 (1930), 149-157. In one extreme case, a governor of Barbados was known to have routinely pitched great quantities of records into the ocean.

documents in future.<sup>132</sup> By way of priority, the Northern Rhodesian government decided to take immediate action to focus on records kept by district and Provincial Commissioners. This action was prompted by the emphasis raised in the 1936 circular on the preservation of official records. District and provincial records were generally in a poor state, and most vulnerable to deterioration. As was observed by the Chief Secretary to the colonial government, every year valuable historical documents, kept in ancient files at the district and provincial stations, were being lost because of inadequate accommodation. Furthermore, there was no defined procedure to sanction the destruction of outdated records.<sup>133</sup> The poor state of the records was also attributed to the nature of local administration. It was extremely scattered and largely decentralised, in contrast to the specialised departments at the colonial capital in Livingstone, which were small and centralised. Consequently, it was difficult to institute a centralised system to monitor record keeping in the outstations of the district and Provincial Commissioners.<sup>134</sup>

Nevertheless, the colonial government made several suggestions regarding the preservation of district and provincial records. The first suggestion was that files containing records that were no longer in active use be examined with a view of preserving information deemed of historical and political value, such as what was to be found in the files of the provincial administration. Thus, it was suggested that the District Commissioners appraise all the records in their offices and set aside correspondence they considered no longer of value. This implied that the colonial government believed that District Commissioners would be able to distinguish the significant from the worthless.<sup>135</sup> The Provincial Commissioners, when visiting district stations, were then expected to examine these documents and recommend their destruction, as they thought fit, for the Governor's approval. Thereafter, the remainder of the records were to be filed and indexed for archival preservation. In the absence of a central archives depository, it was expected that the resulting permanent collection would be kept in the district offices. The colonial government realised that a considerable amount of work would be involved in implementing this approach to records

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<sup>132</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Circular from Secretary of State (Colonial Office) to Governor (Northern Rhodesia), 16 October 1936.

<sup>133</sup> NAZ SEC 1/146, Report from Chief Secretary, 25 November 1936.

<sup>134</sup> NAZ SEC 1/146, Extract from Minutes of District Commissioners' Conference held in Ndola 22-25 March 1937.

<sup>135</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, A Note for Provincial Commissioners' Conference from Chief Secretary 20 November 1936.

management and the creation of a permanent district archives system.<sup>136</sup> Herbert Young, then Governor of Northern Rhodesia, directed that these suggestions were to be laid before the Provincial Commissioners' conference for consideration and advisement.<sup>137</sup>

Accordingly, in 1937, the preservation of district and provincial administration records were discussed at both the district and Provincial Commissioners' annual conferences.<sup>138</sup> These conferences were held to discuss the implementation of colonial policy and matters of general administration.<sup>139</sup> The discussions raised the concern of appropriate space for preservation, as well as the first fledgling suggestions, and recognition of the need for a professional dedicated to the archives. This was accompanied by some suggestions of a future centralised archive of records. The District Commissioners of the Southern Province pointed to the absence of suitable accommodation for the local preservation of permanent collections.<sup>140</sup> It was not possible, they suggested, to preserve records in outstations' offices owing to the depredations of white ants, unless suitable accommodation such as steel filing cabinets, were provided by the colonial government. To streamline the process, the District Commissioners further recommended that Provincial Commissioners had to be accorded the power to authorise the destruction of valueless records, referring only doubtful cases to the Governor for approval. At a District Commissioners' conference held in Central Province, it was suggested that a special archives officer had to be appointed from the Secretariat staff. This officer had to visit each district for the purpose of selecting documents deemed valuable, and destroying what was no longer considered of use.<sup>141</sup> The District Commissioners' conference held in Northern Province pointed out that the labour involved in the preservation of records was considerable. Hence, it discussed the possibility of a district officer being seconded for the service, with the duty of visiting each station in order to go through the files. The acting Provincial Commissioner expressed doubt as to the availability of a district officer for this work. The conference was of the opinion that all

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<sup>136</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, A Note for Provincial Commissioners' Conference from Chief Secretary 20 November 1936.

<sup>137</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, A Note for Provincial Commissioners' Conference from Chief Secretary 20 November 1936.

<sup>138</sup> See especially Northern Rhodesia, *Conferences of Provincial Commissioners, 1929-1937* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1938).

<sup>139</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Draft Agenda: Conference of Provincial Commissioners, 29 September 1937.

<sup>140</sup> NAZ SEC 1/146, Minutes of District Commissioners' Conference, Southern Province, 20 March 1937.

<sup>141</sup> NAZ SEC 1/146, Minutes of the District Commissioners' Conference, Central Province, Ndola, 22-23 April 1937.

valuable documents had already been forwarded to the Secretariat office in Livingstone. Certain case records and Government Gazettes before 1925 were to be destroyed, as well as correspondence. If records had to be kept in district offices, more accommodation for filing was required. A further suggestion was that a specially appointed officer should be responsible for overseeing the destruction of records – ‘District Commissioners might however be requested to examine files for documents of value or interest, make copies for their own files and forward the original to the Provincial Commissioner until a Central Records Office is established.’<sup>142</sup> While the District Commissioner’s conference held in Eastern Province fully appreciated the importance of this matter, it also noted that suitable accommodation for the preservation of valuable records was seriously lacking, and that the shortage of staff precluded the possibility of any satisfactory examination of records.<sup>143</sup>

By the late-1930s, not much had changed. The authorities were still concerned about the endangered position of local administrative records.<sup>144</sup> Since the suggestion of sending a designated officer to assess the regional collections and to decide which records could be destroyed, was found impractical, a move towards the central accommodation of records of value and the centralized destruction of records determined not of permanent value, was now seriously contemplated. In September 1937 the Provincial Commissioners, during their annual conference also discussed the criteria for selecting documents of actual or potential interest for permanent preservation. The conference recommended that District Commissioners were to be instructed to send all correspondence and documents to the Livingstone Memorial Museum. The museum was considered suitable for the preservation of records because it had already been curating cultural information since its establishment in the 1937.<sup>145</sup> Records of importance or special interest, as well as documents dated before

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<sup>142</sup> NAZ SEC 1/146, Minutes of the District Commissioners’ Conference, Northern Province, 20 March 1937.

<sup>143</sup> NAZ SEC 1/146, Minutes of the District Commissioners Conference, Eastern Province, 20 April 1937.

<sup>144</sup> NAZSEC 1/145, Herbert Young, A Note on the Preservation of official Records to the Provincial Commissioners Conference, 30 January 1936.

<sup>145</sup> By 1930, the Northern Rhodesian legislative council had endorsed the idea of establishing a museum for the collection of objects of material culture of various ethnic groups in the territory. The question of putting up a museum was discussed in the legislative council of 24 March 1930. See Northern Rhodesia Government, Legislative Debates, Second Session of the Third Council, 7 March- 1 April 1930 (Livingstone: Government Printer, 1930). See also Mufalo Liswaniso, ‘The Livingstone Museum: Storehouse of Zambian Culture,’ *Horizon*, 11/11 (1968), 15-25.

1910, were to be given priority.<sup>146</sup> The commissioners appreciated, however, that the curator could not undertake the accessioning and preservation of records until the museum's own exhibits had been classified and indexed. Even so, some officials were worried that the curator would not know which records to select for permanent preservation. By this time, W.V. Brelsford was the curator of the Livingstone Museum. He was an administrative official who had served in various parts of Northern Rhodesia, but in September 1937 he was appointed as the first curator of the Museum.<sup>147</sup> E.H. Poole, the Provincial Commissioner of Southern Province, wrote to the Chief Secretary, expressing the concern that the curator of the museum did not have much experience of local history. It was feared that interesting historical records sent to him from outside stations would be overlooked. As a way of overcoming this challenge, the Provincial Commissioner of Southern Province was charged with the responsibility of supervising the process of sorting records for preservation.<sup>148</sup> The curator further depended on authorisation from the creating department before any action of destruction or preservation could be taken.

From the above it is clear that there was no clear policy to guide the process of distinguishing records for permanent preservation at the museum. It was also clear that what one entity might deem of little value, another might consider worthy of preservation. In December 1937, for example, Poole, the Provincial Commissioner wrote to the Treasurer inquiring whether documents such as cashbooks and accounts books, if received by the museum, could be destroyed.<sup>149</sup> According to Poole, these records were of no value or interest from the point of view of the archives of the territory. For this reason, a ruling was requested from the treasury department as to the date up to which old district account books and treasury returns could be destroyed.<sup>150</sup>

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<sup>146</sup> Livingstone Museum Archives (hereafter LM) 1/1/1/1 Correspondence on transfer of historical documents, J. Keigwin, District Commissioner (Kapiri Mposhi) to Curator Livingstone Museum, 13 July 1938.

<sup>147</sup> Friday Mufuzi, 'The Livingstone Museum and its Contributions to Zambian History,' PhD Thesis (University of Zambia, Lusaka, 2010), 45. See also Desmond Clark, 'David Livingstone Museum: The Inception and aims of the David Livingstone Memorial Museum,' *Northern Rhodesia Journal*, 39/1 (1939), 15-30.

<sup>148</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Correspondence from E. H. Poole (Provincial Commissioner) to E.A.T. Dutton (Chief Secretary), 12 November 1937.

<sup>149</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Correspondence from E.H. Poole (Provincial Commissioner) to Treasury (Lusaka), 26 December 1937.

<sup>150</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Correspondence from E.H. Poole (Provincial Commissioner) to Treasury (Lusaka), 26 December 1937.

By 1938, the district and Provincial Commissioners started depositing records with the museum. J. Keigwin, District Commissioner for Fort Roseberry (Mbala) was one of the earliest to deposit records with the museum. On the 13 August 1938, he deposited notes and correspondence dating from the period 1902-1905.<sup>151</sup> However, the decision on the part of the Northern Rhodesia government to centralise records at the museum was faced with other challenges. The government overlooked the fact that an aspect of instituting effective measures to preserve the records was to ensure adequate finances for their transportation to the central depot. In January 1938, for example, the District Commissioner for Mpika despatched records to the Livingstone Museum in accordance with instructions issued by the Chief Secretary. In particular, three boxes of records from the Mpika District were sent by mail lorry. The two smaller boxes contained documents prior to 1910 and the larger box documents of a later date.<sup>152</sup> Instructions for financing the physical transfer of records to the museum were not effectively devised by the colonial government. The policy as to who would pay for the costs of transfer, was murky. In most cases, the District Commissioners transferred records to the museum assuming that the museum would settle transportation costs. Consequently, the Provincial Commissioner for Southern Province wrote to the Governor through the Chief Secretary, inquiring about the question of transportation costs.<sup>153</sup> Although the Provincial Commissioner expected the Northern Rhodesia Government to cater for transportation costs, the Governor did not address the challenge. The other problem was the state of the records that were received by the museum. In some cases, the institution received old documents already in a poor state. In July 1940, for example, records were discovered by the Provincial Commissioner at Fort Jameson:

.... We have found in our storeroom, which will shortly be demolished, a number of documents going back as far back as 1894 created under the administration of Major Forbes, then BSAC Administrator of North-Eastern Rhodesia, and a number of

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<sup>151</sup> LM 1/1/1/1, J. Keigwin, District Commissioner (Kapiri Mposhi) to Curator Livingstone Museum, 13 August 1938.

<sup>152</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Correspondence, from District Commissioner (Mpika) to Curator (Livingstone), 19 January 1938.

<sup>153</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Correspondence, E.H. Poole (Provincial Commissioner) to Chief Secretary (Lusaka), 14 February 1938.

other notable persons. The documents are damaged by fish moth but not to such an extent as to render them unreadable. As these must be some of the earliest documents written in this Territory perhaps you would like to have them sent in to headquarters for preservation.<sup>154</sup>

In response, the Chief Secretary ensured that the stated documents were transferred to the Livingstone Museum for proper custody and preservation.<sup>155</sup>

The centralisation of the archival collection in the Livingstone Museum was the first major step implemented by the colonial administration to establish a permanent archival depository in Northern Rhodesia. For the next seven years, the museum remained a place of deposit for archives related to the local history of Northern Rhodesia. The museum maintained its status as custodian until 1944, when another major transformation in the centralisation of archives occurred.<sup>156</sup> In the succeeding year, the Southern Rhodesian government drew Northern Rhodesia into a joint archival venture, and the archives collection was moved to Salisbury, as will be discussed in the next chapter.

### **3.4 Conclusion**

This chapter discussed the historical relationship between the establishment of British colonial administration and the introduction of records management systems in Northern Rhodesia. The chapter explained that the provisions of the Memorandum of Agreement signed between the British government and the BSAC in 1923 were key to the transfer of the company's archives to the colonial administration. With this, the holdings of a private enterprise became public record. The British government's right to take possession of

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<sup>154</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Correspondence, from Provincial Commissioner (Fort Jameson) to Chief Secretary (Lusaka), 22 July 1940.

<sup>155</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Correspondence, from Chief Secretary (Lusaka), to Curator, Rhodes-Livingstone Museum (Livingstone), 10 August 1940.

<sup>156</sup> It should be noted that, while the Livingstone Museum's official custodianship of government records ended in 1944, it however retained some of the archives mostly relating to its functions. Colonial archives classified as LM1 Internal Administration series continue to form part of the collection at the Livingstone Museum Archives. The LM1 series mostly comprise of correspondence, minutes, memoranda and reports generated by the Director General's office covering aspects such as institutional history, cultural material collections including Museum exhibitions. For further details on the nature of these archives see for example, LM1/1/1/1, Livingstone Museum Correspondence, 1934-1935; LM1/1/1/2, Livingstone Memorial Museum, 1936-1938 and LM1/1/1/1/3/1, Rhodes-Livingstone Reports, 1952.

existing movable assets under this agreement thus paved the way for the colonial administration to take control of the company archives, which were vital for the provision of administrative precedents and the smooth transition of governance. In the formative years of the colonial administration, the new government also inherited the company's work force, who transferred their record keeping practices to the new administration. As a result, the preservation and archives management was initially patterned much along the lines of the Company's administration, with an emphasis on documents in current use. This approach survived until the mid-1920s, when the colonial government adopted initiatives that incorporated principles from the British civil service without clear and formalised imperial direction. As the new administration's production of documentation rose incrementally, and the need for the preservation of records no longer in active use, but of historical value grew, Northern Rhodesia took the initiative and built an archives management system based on precedent and need, without any formal imperial directive. The Northern Rhodesian case was not peculiar – such as Nyasaland, took similar initiatives. Among the notable initiatives taken was the introduction of registries in the government departments in order to establish well-defined records organisation and records management systems. It entailed that all records not required for administrative purposes would be deposited at departmental registries for organisation and safekeeping. By the late-1920s, imperial engagement in the state of official records preservation in Northern Rhodesia changed the course of archival history in the region. The directive from the Colonial Office for Northern Rhodesia to make arrangements for storage accommodation provided insights into the culture of record keeping in the territory. Subsequently, a round of records surveys were conducted in Northern Rhodesia in order to gather information for the Colonial Office on the state of colonial records' preservation. This became a catalyst for the development of permanent archival preservation, whereafter improved means and ways of record keeping in the territory were discussed and initiated. The records survey revealed the vulnerability of official records. This knowledge of the threatened state of local administrative archives, in particular, facilitated the centralisation of such records at the Livingstone Memorial Museum.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### The Formation of the Central African Archives and Archival Legislation in Northern Rhodesia, 1945-1952

#### 4.1 Introduction

In 1945, the Southern Rhodesian Archives negotiated with the governments of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland for a joint archival service. The rationale was accessibility, but it was also driven by economic and security reasons.<sup>1</sup> Northern Rhodesia's archives were then transferred to Southern Rhodesia and centralised at the newly established Central African Archives. Accompanying this moment of transition from ad hoc record keeping to formal, institutional and centralised archives, was a change in the definition and perception of the archival profession. This moment represents the move from clerical, administrative staff (often suspected of incompetence or disinterest in the value and preservation of records), who were in charge of records as a by-product of other duties, to trained professional archivists.<sup>2</sup> They were appointed exclusively to manage and care for the archives. This marks an important shift in the colonial appreciation of the value and long-term significance of permanent archives that would accommodate records beyond their immediate usefulness to the office in which it was generated.

While the previous two chapters discussed aspects of records creation, preservation and management initiatives in the period before the introduction of institutionalised archival practice in Northern Rhodesia, this chapter discusses the significant role assumed by the Southern Rhodesian Archives in influencing the development of formal archival practices in Northern Rhodesia.<sup>3</sup> Southern Rhodesia's archival practices and policies largely informed

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<sup>1</sup> T.W. Baxter, 'The Preservation of Archives with Particular Reference to Central Africa,' *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 8 (1956), 62.

<sup>2</sup> Until 1946, Northern Rhodesian records were not under any professional care, due to the lack of trained archivists. For the consequences of a lack of professional archivists in the British colonies, see for example Philip Alexander and Elizabeth Pessek, 'Archives in Emerging Nations: The Anglophone Experience,' *The American Archivist*, 51/ 1-2 (1988), 121.

<sup>3</sup> Southern Rhodesia was the first territory with a professional archive in Southern-Central Africa. In 1935, the Southern Rhodesian Archives Act was passed and it provided for the establishment of the Southern Rhodesian Archives. It facilitated the preservation, control and care of all official records in Southern Rhodesia under a government archivist. For more details, see Baxter, 'The Preservation of Archives with Particular Reference to

the archives legislation, preservation and management strategies embraced by Northern Rhodesia in the later colonial period. It argues that colonial state power in Northern Rhodesia depended on its archives, whose contents formed the basis of its capacity to govern – hence the efforts towards their safekeeping through centralisation. This chapter traces the background to the establishment of the Central African Archives and examines the factors leading to its formation. This includes matters of access and records security. It then discusses the formulation of archives legislation and its role in shaping the procedures whereby archives in Northern Rhodesia were produced and preserved, all within the context of a collaborative archival scheme with Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Thereafter, it demonstrates how the Southern Rhodesian Archives pioneered and facilitated the formulation of a uniform set of archival legislation, and how it transformed the process of creating and preserving archives in Northern Rhodesia until 1953, when the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was formed.

## **4.2 The centralisation of the Central African Archives**

### **4. 2. 1 Historical background to the formation of the Central African Archives**

According to Teddy Baxter, one of the earliest archivists in charge of the Central African Archives, the main purpose for which archival documents were preserved was their potential value to government departments. They reflected policies and activities, justified precedents, showed the various procedures and changes in administration that had taken place, and assisted in the efficient functioning of departments.<sup>4</sup> Archives were the foundation upon which an efficient colonial administration was built. In Northern Rhodesia, the initial process whereby public archives were produced, preserved and centralised along professional lines, occurred in the context of broader Central African collaboration. Sir Donald Mackenzie-Kennedy, then Governor of Nyasaland, pioneered the process of centralising the Central African states' archives. In February 1941, he visited the Southern

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Central Africa,' 61; T.W. Baxter, *Guide to the Public Archives of Rhodesia, 1890-1923* (Salisbury: National Archives of Rhodesia, 1969), 28-32; Central African Archives, *Annual Report, 1935-1947* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1947), 6-11; I. Murambiwa et al., 'Archival Development in Zimbabwe 1935-2010: Setting the Scene,' in Patrick Ngulube (ed.), *National Archives 75@30: 75 Years of Archiving Excellence at the National Archives of Zimbabwe* (Harare: National Archives of Zimbabwe, 2012), 13-14.

<sup>4</sup> Baxter, 'The Preservation of Archives with Particular Reference to Central Africa,' 57-58.

Rhodesian Archives and mentioned the perilous state of the public records of Nyasaland.<sup>5</sup> Records were poorly stored and had been subjected to the ravages of insects, rats and mice, as well as dampness from Nyasaland's tropical climate.<sup>6</sup> Vyvian William Hiller, then archivist of the Southern Rhodesian Archives, advised Mackenzie-Kennedy to arrange for a joint archival service with the Southern Rhodesian government and to transfer Nyasaland's public records to the Southern Rhodesian Archives.<sup>7</sup> The government of Nyasaland would then cover the costs of the archival services provided by Southern Rhodesia. In return, presumably, a standardised and more rigorous and exacting approach to archive management would be adopted through centralisation. However, owing to Mackenzie-Kennedy's subsequent transfer, the matter was dropped.<sup>8</sup>

In 1945 Hiller revisited the proposal for a joint archival project and this time, he included Northern Rhodesia.<sup>9</sup> The archivist approached the Southern Rhodesian government with a scheme that would centralise the public records of Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland in the existing archival repositories of Southern Rhodesia, in Salisbury.<sup>10</sup> The main purpose for a joint archival scheme, among other reasons, was to pool the financial resources of the three territories into building one fit-for-purpose archival institution which would serve the combined preservation requirements of the states involved.<sup>11</sup> Although

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<sup>5</sup> National Archives of Zambia (hereafter: NAZ) Secretariat (hereafter: SEC) 1/143, Report on the Southern Rhodesia Archivist's Visit to Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, 20 June 1945. See also Central African Archives, *Annual Report, 1935-1947*, 12.

<sup>6</sup> NAZ SEC 1/143, Report on the Southern Rhodesia Archivist's Visit to Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, 20 June 1945.

<sup>7</sup> V.W. Hiller played a significant role in initiating and facilitating the establishment of the Southern Rhodesian Archives. During the celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the settler occupation of Matabeleland in 1933, Hiller displayed the archives of Southern Rhodesia to the public at a historical exhibition held at the National Museum of Bulawayo. The exhibition brought to public notice the wealth of historical materials existing in Southern Rhodesia. The outcome of this exhibition was that a committee was formed in 1934 to bring to the attention of the public the importance and necessity of establishing a permanent national historical collection and permanent, national archives. In April 1935, the archives came into being. For details, see Murambiwa et al., 'Archival Development in Zimbabwe 1935-2010,' 13-14.

<sup>8</sup> NAZ SEC/1/143, Correspondence from V.W. Hiller, Southern Rhodesia Government Archivist (Salisbury) to Secretary, Department of Internal Affairs (Salisbury) 15 February 1945. Sir Henry Charles Donald Cleaveland Mackenzie-Kennedy was Governor of Nyasaland between 1939 and 1942, and then Governor of Mauritius from 1942 to 1948, see [www.worldstatesmen.org/Mauritius.htm](http://www.worldstatesmen.org/Mauritius.htm), accession date 12 February 2018.

<sup>9</sup> NAZ SEC/1/143, Memorandum on Extension of Archival Services from V.W. Hiller, Government Archivist (Salisbury) to Minister of Internal Affairs (Salisbury), 9 February 1945.

<sup>10</sup> NAZ SEC/1/143, Memorandum on Extension of Archival Services from V.W. Hiller, Government Archivist (Salisbury) to Minister of Internal Affairs (Salisbury), 9 February 1945.

<sup>11</sup> NAZ SEC/1/143, Memorandum on Extension of Archival Services from V.W. Hiller, Government Archivist (Salisbury) to Minister of Internal Affairs (Salisbury), 9 February 1945.

Southern Rhodesia had an established system of centralised archives by this time, the archives were housed in temporary premises not really suitable or adequate to house the archives, and the Southern Rhodesian government did not have the finances to address this. The temporary accommodation consisted of two rooms in a converted dwelling at the corner of Central Avenue and Fifth Street, in Salisbury.<sup>12</sup> Since the establishment of the central archives in April 1935, the government archivist (Hiller) and the Southern Rhodesia Archives Commission lobbied for the construction of a specially-designed building for the safe preservation of records - but to no avail. Southern Rhodesia hoped that cooperation with Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland would accelerate the construction of a designated archives building with air-conditioning that would safeguard records against extreme temperatures and humidity, atmospheric gases and dust.<sup>13</sup> The proposed building would have enough space to accommodate the increased number of records, and suitable storage equipment, such as steel shelves, which were not vulnerable to termite damage.

It is clear that, from the outset, Southern Rhodesia's offer to centralise the records of its neighbouring territories served their own agenda, but believed that it was justified in the light of what all would gain as a collective. A February 1945 letter written by Hiller to the Secretary of the Internal Affairs department, demonstrates this:

I feel that if the Government were to accept this proposal it would put us in a very strong position with regards to our application for a building grant from the Beit Trust, as the Minister himself told me that the Trust is anxious to do more for Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. We should undoubtedly be giving both these Territories a service which they could not undertake themselves, and there is much to be said for centralisation, especially as a prelude to a joint research centre for Central Africa.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> See, for example, the Central African Archives, *Annual Report, 1935-1947*, 16-17.

<sup>13</sup> Central African Archives, *Annual Report, 1935-1947*, 16-17.

<sup>14</sup> NAZ SEC 1/143, Correspondence from V.W. Hiller, Government Archivist (Salisbury) to E.E. Philip, Secretary, Department of Internal Affairs (Salisbury), 15 February, 1945. See also NAZ SEC 1/ 144, Minutes of the Royal Commission for Central African Archives, 21-22 July 1948. Earlier, in 1944, the Southern Rhodesian Archives had made an application to the Beit Trust for financial assistance towards the construction of the archives building in Salisbury. This was after Sir Alfred Beit, one of its trustees, went to Salisbury on a parliamentary

Despite the stated advantages for Southern Rhodesia, there were also clear benefits for the Northern Rhodesian and Nyasaland governments. The centralisation of the archives in a shared archives building was a significant cost-saving measure. And, as Chapter three has illustrated, there was grave concern in these territories regarding the long-term preservation of archival records. According to the Southern Rhodesian government, this venture would signal the formalisation of the permanent preservation of their archives for Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.<sup>15</sup>

Apart from these pragmatic reasons, there was also a conceptual shift in the identity of archives as permanent collections. Institutional thinking shifted from the idea of records collections as mere functional, working archives that outlived their usefulness the moment the records were no longer in active use, to the development of the idea of a centralised, permanent collection for the preservation of records of value, established independently of active use and situated more precisely in their historical significance. This conceptual shift was a further key factor that prompted the move to centralise the archives. Thus it created a permanent, centralised repository alongside regional working archives. Baxter noted this shift as follows: 'as the value of records as tools to the government declined, they acquired a broader historical value and became the foundation of the territory's documentary history.'<sup>16</sup> The shift was also evident in the views of the Southern Rhodesian archivists. Hiller predicted to the Minister of Internal Affairs that the collaboration brought about by centralisation would strengthen the existing bonds between the neighbouring states, besides the service to the community in general. He noted that it would lead to the development of an important research centre for the study of Central African affairs.<sup>17</sup>

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mission, and visited the Southern Rhodesia Archives, where the government archivist requested financial assistance. Accordingly, on 28 October 1944, he submitted a memorandum on the subject to the Southern Rhodesia Archives Commission. It was approved and forwarded to the Beit Trust. Although the Southern Rhodesian government believed the trustees would approve the archives scheme, it still believed that collaboration with Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland would increase the chances of obtaining the grant.

<sup>15</sup> Baxter, 'The Preservation of Archives with Particular Reference to Central Africa,' 62.

<sup>16</sup> Baxter, 'The Preservation of Archives with Particular Reference to Central Africa,' 58.

<sup>17</sup> NAZ SEC 1/143, Memorandum on Extension of Archival Services from V.W. Hiller (Government Archivist) to Minister of Internal Affairs (Salisbury), 9 February 1945.

Thus the archives were now considered of both administrative and reference (research) value to all three colonial states.<sup>18</sup> The establishment of a joint archival service would facilitate the building of a Central African Archives collection, which would reflect their common administrative background. All three states shared similar administrative structures, first under the British South Africa Company (BSAC) at least for Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia, and then under British colonial administration. This generated related categories of archives.<sup>19</sup> A centralised archive, of overlapping administrative histories was an important way of building up a collection of records that would be comprised of corresponding and complementary information.<sup>20</sup>

The Southern Rhodesia Archives Commission of 1945 found it easy to justify the centralisation of the archives by emphasising the advantages of accessibility and security.<sup>21</sup> This included an important realisation that archives represented the memory of the colonial government administration, and reflected the histories of changing administrations and shifts in procedure.<sup>22</sup> The Southern Rhodesian government archivist, Hiller, considered official archives the 'life-blood' of colonial governments and believed that their care and preservation was essential for the conduct of sound administration.<sup>23</sup> Expressed another way, scholar Ann Laura Stoler, asserts that colonial government archives were monuments

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<sup>18</sup> It might be worth noting that at this stage the Historical Research Library of the Southern Rhodesia Archives already held some printed governmental material relating to all three territories.

<sup>19</sup> For more details, see, for example, Lewis H. Gann, *The Birth of a Plural Society: The Development of Northern Rhodesia Under the British South Africa Company, 1894-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1968); Lewis H. Gann, *A History of Northern Rhodesia: Early Days to 1953* (New York: Humanities Press, 1969).

<sup>20</sup> The constitutional history of Northern Rhodesia was in many respects parallel to that of Southern Rhodesia in that, from the 1890s, both territories were under the administration of the BSAC. Its administration was terminated on 31 March 1924. When the administration of Northern Rhodesia was taken over by the British government, Southern Rhodesia became a Responsible Government, authorised by the British imperial government. In Nyasaland, there was no constitutional break, because it was a British protectorate. It only experienced an administrative change from the foreign office to the Colonial office in 1904.

<sup>21</sup> The Southern Rhodesia Archives Commission was established under the Southern Rhodesia Archives Act of 1935 to provide advice to the Minister of Internal Affairs on matters of archives' custody, care and control. In particular, it was authorised to recommend to the minister the steps necessary for the custody and improvement of the collection of public archives. The Archives Department was under the direct responsibility of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. For more details on the functions of the Archives Commission, see Southern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia Archives Act (Chapter 54), (Salisbury: Government Printer, 1935).

<sup>22</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Report on the establishment of the Central African Archives, V.W. Hiller, Government Archivist (Salisbury), 20 June 1945.

<sup>23</sup> NAZ SEC 1/143, Memorandum on Extension of Archival Services from V.W. Hiller, Government Archivist (Salisbury) to Minister of Internal Affairs (Salisbury), 9 February 1945.

of states' power and sites of state ethnographies.<sup>24</sup> Hiller observed that when past records were no longer required for current use in government offices, they were frequently cast aside, only to become nobody's responsibility and more often than not these records were subjected to the ravages of termites, rodents and other destructive elements, such as extreme heat, damp and humidity. Archives could also be lost within the collections of records due to the lack of adequate cataloguing and classification. When these records were required, they could not be found: 'Much time was wasted in searching and the clues they might have supplied or questions they might have solved remained unanswered,' Hiller lamented.<sup>25</sup> Thus it came about that records selected for permanent preservation were placed under professional custody, so that they could be readily available for the purpose of administration and research.

#### **4.2.2 The centralisation of the Central African Archives: Official and unofficial reactions**

The proposal for a combined, centralised archive for the Central African states was not without opposition. As Renisa Mawani observed, every archive is the product of ongoing struggles over their creation, politicisation, and institutionalisation.<sup>26</sup> Opposition to centralisation originated in Southern Rhodesia: While the proposal for the joint centralisation of the three territories' archives was endorsed by the Southern Rhodesia Archives Commission and the government, questions of accommodation and personnel were largely ignored. Thus, as E.E. Philip, the secretary for the Department of Internal Affairs, pointed out at the time, the proposed plan for the extension of the archives did not provide for additional staffing. The matter was acute and partly attributable to the outbreak of the Second World War. The Southern Rhodesian Archives did not have sufficient staff to process its own archives, let alone those of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland and, as Hiller noted, government departments were too preoccupied to spare time for organizing their

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<sup>24</sup> Ann Laura Stoler, 'Colonial Archives and Arts of Governance: On the content in the Form,' in Carolyn Hamilton, et al (eds.) *Refiguring the Archive*, (Cape Town: David Phillip, 2002), 86. See also Ann Laura Stoler, 'Racial Histories and Their Regimes of Truth,' *Political Power and Social Theory* 11 (1997), 83-102; Thomas Richards, *The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and Fantasy of Empire* (New York: Verso, 1993); and Anjali R. Arondekar, *For the Record: On Sexuality and the Colonial Archive in India* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2009).

<sup>25</sup> NAZ SEC 1/143, Memorandum on Extension of Archival Services from V.W. Hiller (Government Archivist) to Minister, 9 February 1945.

<sup>26</sup> Renisa Mawani, 'Law's Archive,' *Annual Review of Law and Social Science*, 8/1 (2012), 340.

records. Moreover, it was well known that there was a backlog of records from various government offices in Southern Rhodesia that still had to be accessioned and classified.<sup>27</sup> This state of affairs, it was argued, made it problematic to warrant incorporating further collections from Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.<sup>28</sup> To compound matters, the Records Destruction Committee suspended its operations until 1944, and the staff of the archives shrunk to two, making it virtually impossible to manage accessioning, cataloguing and indexing the waiting collections alongside attending to the day to day management of the archives.<sup>29</sup> Records were deposited by government departments to the archives, where the contents of the boxes would be checked against the transmittal lists provided by the depositing departments. The records would be cleaned and fumigated, where necessary.<sup>30</sup> The records would then be compared to the lists submitted by the departments to verify if the details corresponded. It would often be discovered that the description furnished by the depositing department could not be relied upon, necessitating a new inventory. This also implied that the originating office could not always be relied upon to have deselected and removed records considered not to be of long-term value for permanent preservation ('weeding') before sending the collection to the permanent repository, thus necessitating additional work by archives personnel. The final stage was classification. This entailed sorting and arranging records along subject lines, which would facilitate easy access to information for researchers and users of the archives.<sup>31</sup>

As for storage, the current premises in Salisbury were not big enough to accommodate its own records, let alone those of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, until such time as new custom facilities (as envisaged) could be built. Since the establishment of the Southern Rhodesian Archives in 1935, insufficient space had been a constant concern. This resulted in the collections being moved a number of times within a short space of time. The aforementioned residence converted into an archives office at the corner of Central Avenue

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<sup>27</sup> For a detailed discussion see Central African Archives, *Annual Report, 1935 -1947*, 41-47.

<sup>28</sup> NAZ SEC/145, Correspondence from E.E. Philip, Secretary, Department of Internal Affairs (Salisbury) to V.W. Hiller, Secretary, Archives Commission (Salisbury), 14 February 1945.

<sup>29</sup> Central African Archives, *Annual Report, 1935 -1947*, 11.

<sup>30</sup> Central African Archives, *Annual Report, 1935 -1947*, 41-42.

<sup>31</sup> Central African Archives, *Annual Report, 1935 -1947*, 42.

and Fifth Street in Salisbury,<sup>32</sup> for instance, became inadequate within a year. Alternative accommodation was found in Bechuana House, where seven rooms were rented, three of which were converted into a repository with steel shelving. In 1945, when a joint archival service was proposed, the archives were again transferred to a part of the basement of the government offices at Milton Buildings.<sup>33</sup>

As a result of the constraints of staff and physical space, the proposed joint archives plan was re-examined by the Southern Rhodesian government, but not shelved. The plan provided for an annual grant of approximately £600 to £800, which would be paid to the Southern Rhodesian government by Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland to cover the archives' additional operating expenses.<sup>34</sup> In a letter to the Secretary of the Internal Affairs department, Hiller, the Southern Rhodesian archivist, was able to state that, 'with additional staff, Northern Rhodesian and Nyasaland records will not in any way inflict an additional burden on us, and in fact the acceptance of the scheme might help rather than hinder us.'<sup>35</sup> Although there was little hope of securing trained personnel in archives management until after the Second World War, it was nevertheless proposed that two additional archival assistants be recruited by the Southern Rhodesian government on behalf of Northern Rhodesia. The assistants' salaries would be drawn from the aforementioned annual charge.<sup>36</sup>

It was proposed to solve the problem of inadequate space by creating archival agencies or depots in both Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. This solution took cognisance of the fact that the process of archives production required a good amount of working space for the processing of material, such as assembling, sorting, fumigating and packaging archival documents. Therefore, Northern Rhodesia would establish a temporary depot in Lusaka, where the process of central archives appraisal would start. All preliminary work, including

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<sup>32</sup>Central African Archives, *Annual Report, 1935 -1947*, 17; Central African Archives, *Annual Report, 1949-1954* (Salisbury: Central African Archives, 1955), 5.

<sup>33</sup> Central African Archives, *Annual Report, 1935 -1947*, 18.

<sup>34</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Memorandum and Extension of Archival Services from V.W. Hiller (Government Archivist) to Minister, 9 February 1945.

<sup>35</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Correspondence from V.W. Hiller, Government Archivist (Salisbury) to E.E. Philip, Secretary, Department of Internal Affairs (Salisbury), 15 February 1945.

<sup>36</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Memorandum and Extension of Archival Services from V.W. Hiller (Government Archivist) to Minister, 9 February 1945.

cleaning, sorting and indexing the records, would be carried out at the Lusaka depot. The colonial government did not plan for the depot to be permanent, but a stopgap measure whilst they awaited the construction of a central repository in Salisbury.<sup>37</sup> Archival assistants would collect records from government departments, cross check their details, register them in index books, classify them according to subject lines, fumigate them, and then despatch the records to Salisbury for permanent preservation.<sup>38</sup> If this proposal was accepted by the governments of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, a central, purpose-built archives repository would be constructed within five years.<sup>39</sup> Thereafter, the legislative councils of each territory would formulate uniform archives legislation which would provide for access and consultation of centrally housed archival documents by the three territories. Acknowledging distance from the archives as inhibiting to consulting the archives, it was suggested that copies of inventories should be sent to all depositing departments in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, to enable accessibility. Should particular documents be needed, the details would be communicated to the archives in Salisbury through telephone or telegraph. Photocopies of the required documents could then be despatched to the respective territories, while the central archives department retained custody of the original record.<sup>40</sup>

In February 1945, A.J. Rome, then Secretary to the Nyasaland, Northern and Southern Rhodesia inter-territorial conference, sent copies of the proposal for a joint archival service to the Northern Rhodesian government.<sup>41</sup> The move was intended to solicit Northern Rhodesia's views on the extension of centralised archival services to its territory. Judging from the initial reactions of the Northern Rhodesian government, the joint archives scheme met with reservations. It was argued that there was already a provision for a central repository at the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, where district and provincial records were

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<sup>37</sup> For details on the stages of archives creation that were carried out in the three territories of Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, see for example Central African Archives, *Annual Report, 1935-1947*, 41-47; and Central African Archives, *Annual Report, 1947-1948* (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1949), 25-27.

<sup>38</sup> Baxter, 'The Preservation of Archives with Particular Reference to Central Africa,' 62.

<sup>39</sup> Baxter, 'The Preservation of Archives with Particular Reference to Central Africa,' 62.

<sup>40</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Memorandum on Extension of Archival Services from V.W. Hiller, Government Archivist (Salisbury) to Minister of Internal Affairs (Salisbury), 9 February 1945.

<sup>41</sup> NAZ SEC 145/1, Correspondence from A.J. Rome, Secretary, Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia Inter-territorial Conference (Lusaka) to Chief Secretary, Northern Rhodesia Government (Lusaka), 23 February 1945.

deposited. Therefore, records available in government departments for permanent preservation and centralisation in Southern Rhodesia were scanty.<sup>42</sup>

In spite of its reservations about the joint archival scheme, the Northern Rhodesian government nevertheless decided to investigate its feasibility. In March 1945, the Chief Secretary despatched a memorandum to all heads of departments in Northern Rhodesia and instructed them to evaluate the nature and amount of records considered suitable for permanent preservation in Southern Rhodesia, '[g]iven that a proposal for the extension of archival services to Southern Rhodesia had been submitted to the government for examination.'<sup>43</sup> The number of records identified, especially in provincial and district offices, was surprisingly scanty. This was partly because the officers in charge were neglectful of the records. This was something that Alexander and Pessek observed among government officers in many of the British colonies: 'There was from time to time a degree of apathy or inertia among colonial servants towards the care of official records, many of whom were posted to remote territories where they would rather not have been.'<sup>44</sup> Northern Rhodesia's haul of permanent records at the time were also scanty for a more pragmatic, yet tragic, reason: the need for economy in the use of paper during the War had led to the reuse of quantities of records as scrap paper.<sup>45</sup>

The dearth of archivable records available for permanent preservation was also pointed out in a report submitted by W.M. Adams, the Director of the Veterinary Services Department.<sup>46</sup> For his part, the Provincial Commissioner of the Northern Province pointed out that, 'nearly all the old records and reports in the province were sent to the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute

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<sup>42</sup> See NAZ SEC 145/1, Memorandum from A.T. Williams, Chief Secretary to Heads of Departments (Lusaka), 6 March 1945.

<sup>43</sup> NAZ SEC 145/1, Memorandum from A.T. Williams, Chief Secretary to Heads of Departments (Lusaka), 6 March 1945.

<sup>44</sup> Alexander and Pessek, 'Archives in Emerging Nations,' 121.

<sup>45</sup> Central African Archives, *Annual Report, 1947-1948*, 10. Ole Kolsrud also noted the practice in Britain where records preservation was threatened by the Second World War. See Ole Kolsrud, 'The Evolution of Basic Appraisal Principles: Some Comparative Observations,' *The American Archivist*, 55/1 (1992), 28.

<sup>46</sup> NAZ SEC 145/1, Report from W. M. Adams, Director of Veterinary Services (Mazabuka) to Chief Secretary (Lusaka), 13 March 1945.

and only a few documents considered valuable for inclusion at the Archives District stations of the Province were available.<sup>47</sup>

The other contributing factor to the scarcity of material for the proposed central archive was attributed the formation of the so-called Records Society. The Society was mainly formed for the purpose of preserving, collecting and rendering accessible some of the written records in district offices throughout Northern Rhodesia.<sup>48</sup> A report addressed to the Chief Secretary by the Northern Province commissioner, recorded that, '... E. Munday, who was then Provincial Commissioner of the Eastern Province, formed a Records Society, which collected some very interesting material which could have been suitable for permanent preservation.'<sup>49</sup> The Provincial Commissioner of Central Province, for his part, noted that all records worthy of preservation amounted to only five files.<sup>50</sup> These comprised case records from subordinate and urban native courts, minutes of *indabas* (traditional meetings), notes on tribal customs, inheritance and succession of chiefs, genealogical trees, maps, and district notebooks.<sup>51</sup>

In contrast to the scanty quantities of records reported in the above mentioned provinces, a different trend was noted in the Eastern Province of Northern Rhodesia. Its survey recorded a good quantity of records that were deemed appropriate for preservation at a central archive. There were 445 files, 30 boxes of case records and other documents, and 200 ledgers and other record books. Included in the survey was a thirty feet high pile of green

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<sup>47</sup> NAZ SEC 145/1, Report from Provincial Commissioner, Northern Province (Kasama) to Chief Secretary, (Lusaka), 15 May 1945. According to the report, the few documents considered worth preserving were annual departmental reports, memoranda on the economics of the cattle industry in Northern Rhodesia compiled by the Department of Animal Health, reports on breeding and the management of livestock, and experiments with cultured viruses of pleuro-pneumonia in Northern Rhodesia. At the Department of African Education, records that were considered suitable for retention included annual reports, minutes of the African Education Advisory Board, and Beit Trust and Carnegie Corporation grants' records. Others were records of early training at the Jeans School, the Munali Training Centre and the Barotse National School. According to the director of African Education, these only amounted to six files.

<sup>48</sup> See NAZ SEC 1/15/1, Minutes of the First Records Society Meeting, 13 November 1932.

<sup>49</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Report from Provincial Commissioner, Northern Province (Kasama) to Chief Secretary, (Lusaka), 15 May 1945.

<sup>50</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Report from Provincial Commissioner, (Broken Hill) to Chief Secretary, (Lusaka), 11 April 1945.

<sup>51</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Report from Provincial Commissioner, (Broken Hill) to Chief Secretary, (Lusaka), 11 April 1945.

covered files and loose papers.<sup>52</sup> From these records, those deemed worthy of preservation included records related to land, surveys, mining and indigenous rights, financial records, education and tour reports.<sup>53</sup> There were also quarterly and annual reports on indigenous affairs, some health and veterinary reports, as well as a selection of letters on indigenous affairs, indigenous authorities, courts and staff. Furthermore, there were sundry bound volumes of reports on the administration of North-Eastern Rhodesia, sleeping sickness records and district notebooks. The most probable reason for this large quantity of records being kept in the department, was the long distance between the Eastern Province and the Livingstone Museum, where all the other departments had periodically deposited their non-current records. It is possible that because of long-distance challenges for relocation, most records could not be deposited with the museum, but were retained in their offices of creation. Furthermore, since the assessment of the records' suitability for permanent preservation was determined by the heads of departments, it is probable that the Eastern Province had more conscientious officials, with a greater sense of the long term value of records.

Apart from its reluctance to centralise its records, given the generally low volumes of records deemed important for permanent preservation, the Northern Rhodesian government had reservations about the proposed scale of the archives building. The Southern Rhodesian government wanted a purpose built central archives repository, which would preserve documentary resources for all three territories according to the professional standards of the time. The Northern Rhodesian government thought that the proposed design of the archives building was over-ambitious and financially wasteful, especially as it was expected to make a contribution to the building.<sup>54</sup> The suggested design of the archives building included an air-conditioned lecture hall and a historical research library with 80,000

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<sup>52</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Report from Provincial Commissioner, Eastern Province (Fort Jameson) to Chief Secretary, (Lusaka), 24 April 1945.

<sup>53</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Report from Provincial Commissioner, Eastern Province (Fort Jameson) to Chief Secretary, (Lusaka), 24 April 1945.

<sup>54</sup> Northern Rhodesia was wary about committing itself to the capital cost of the envisaged building. This is evident from the statements issued much later to the Central African Executive Council meeting in 1945 by Sir John Waddington and Sir Edmund Richards, the governors of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. They stated that neither government had any liking for joint ownership of the buildings, nor had they so far committed themselves as regards to the capital costs. The Southern Rhodesian government hoped to obtain assistance towards the capital cost of the buildings. See NAZ SEC 1/143, Minutes of the Executive Council Meeting, 11 September 1945.

volumes, all readily available to researchers. Additionally, there were to be map, print and historical manuscript galleries.<sup>55</sup> The building was also designed to have a special feature: a Department of Dioramas, reinforced by epidiascopes where, for example, 'by pressing a button beautiful scenic representations of historical episodes were expected to flood-lit for viewers, such as African flora and physiognomy accurately modelled by expert historians, botanists and anthropologists.'<sup>56</sup>

According to Wallis the design of the archives building incorporated the best knowledge and experience in Britain and America, and would have no rival in the southern hemisphere.<sup>57</sup> Opposing what it thought was a wasteful scheme, the Chief Secretary to Northern Rhodesia sneered that:

The Government of Southern Rhodesia is putting up an institution of a type which as far as it is known exists nowhere else. It is something more than a Records Office. It has been designed largely by the American Society of Archivists and plan to contain under one roof the different sorts of institutions one requires visiting so as to find out all about the national historical and cultural background. It is much the same as if in the United Kingdom we had the Public Record Office, a large part of the British Museum, and half a dozen other Institutions all combined in one building. This is the ultra-modern idea which gives full Scope for the American talent for technical apparatus of the most up-to date description such as micro-photography and Photostats [sic].<sup>58</sup>

Northern Rhodesia did not believe that Southern Rhodesia had a population large enough to fully utilise the facilities of archives on the scale proposed. Even the Cape Town Archives, which were very well designed, but nothing as elaborate as the Southern Rhodesian plans, was underutilised. All too often the Cape Town Archives were mostly deserted, and the staff

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<sup>55</sup> NAZ SEC 145/1, Memorandum from Chief Secretary, Northern Rhodesia, 23 May 1945.

<sup>56</sup> NAZ SEC 145/1, Memorandum from Chief Secretary, Northern Rhodesia, 23 May 1945.

<sup>57</sup> J.P.R. Wallis, 'The story of the Central African Archives,' *African Affairs*, 47/189 (1948), 239-240. For further details of the design of the proposed Southern Rhodesian Archives, see also Central African Archives, *Annual Report 1947-1948*, 8-9.

<sup>58</sup> NAZ SEC 1/43, Report on the Chief Secretary's Meeting with Government Archivist of Southern Rhodesia, 23 May 1945.

seemed glad to see somebody, or so the Chief Secretary contended.<sup>59</sup> As the Chief Secretary further quipped, 'even in London, with a larger population, there were no difficulties in finding a seat in such institutions.'<sup>60</sup> Overall, the position taken by Northern Rhodesia revealed that it conceived of a permanent collection of archives differently from Southern Rhodesia. While the power of archives lies in its content, for Northern Rhodesia, its utilisation was used as a marker of importance.

The Northern Rhodesian government believed that the finances intended for the envisaged archives building could be better spent on reproducing archival documents held in Britain. However thoroughly researchers used the intended archival institution, no-one would be able to write a history of Central Africa without also examining documents in the Public Records Office in London.<sup>61</sup> Colonial histories compiled only from local documents were seen to be of limited value because the principal documentation existed in the metropole. A memorandum from the Chief Secretary of Northern Rhodesia made this point bluntly: 'Hiller, the Southern Rhodesian archivist, did not grasp that if one wanted to write the history of say the Jameson Raid, the first thing was to access the files of public departments in London.'<sup>62</sup> The Northern Rhodesian authorities therefore suggested that Southern Rhodesia should spend money on indexing the relevant colonial files in the Public Records Office in London, rather than lavish funds on an elaborate institution.<sup>63</sup>

Furthermore, there was strong opposition to the transfer of archival documents from Northern Rhodesia. In spite of Southern Rhodesia's assurances, the distance between the archives and the governments of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, was believed to conceivably hamper accessibility. In a memorandum dated 23 May, 1945 the Chief Secretary pointed this out:

There is no reason why the Government of Northern Rhodesia should cripple itself by sending away its archives. It may well be that in future

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<sup>59</sup> NAZ SEC 1/43, Report on the Chief Secretary's Meeting with Government Archivist of Southern Rhodesia, 23 May 1945.

<sup>60</sup> NAZ SEC 1/43, Report on the Chief Secretary's Meeting with Government Archivist of Southern Rhodesia, 23 May 1945.

<sup>61</sup> NAZ SEC 1/43, Report on the Chief Secretary's Meeting with Government Archivist of Southern Rhodesia, 23 May 1945.

<sup>62</sup> NAZ SEC 145/1, Memorandum, A.T. Williams, Chief Secretary (Lusaka), 6 March 1945.

<sup>63</sup> NAZ SEC 145/1, Memorandum, A.T. Williams, Chief Secretary (Lusaka), 6 March 1945.

years it will want historical material to be prepared for its purposes much on the same lines as the most admirable description of the historical maps preserved in the Livingstone Museum and published in the Museum Handbook. If the records are moved, such works can only be done in Salisbury. Hiller's suggestion that the file could be sent up will not work, because in record searching one thing leads to another. It is an impossible handicap if one has to wait ten days before getting hold of the paper required and then probably it will be the wrong file. I do hope that Northern Rhodesia will not hand over its records but keep them and extend a warm collaboration.<sup>64</sup>

This memorandum provides some of the first inklings of recognition of the value of the constituted permanent archive not as individual documents, but in its constituted parts. Namely, that being in the archives, led by an internal organization structure, 'one thing leads to another' that would be 'handicapped' if copies of singular documents were produced and sent to a researcher in Northern Rhodesia without a sense of the archives as a whole.

Much of the preoccupation was now with the function of the archives as source of the writing of history. The understanding was that the histories of colonies were supposed to be written within the colonies and if the records were whisked away to Salisbury, the history of Northern Rhodesia would not be comprehensively written.<sup>65</sup> In Northern Rhodesia, the main contributors to the writing of colonial history, by this time, were government officials. Indeed the Colonial Secretary was sympathetic and helpful to officers who were interested in colonial history. As the Chief Secretary noted 'writing colonial history was good business, but also kept colonial officers content by making a contribution to the Imperial Government which employed them.'<sup>66</sup> The colonial historiography of Northern Rhodesia was beginning to emerge by the 1920s, after the British government took over the administration of Northern Rhodesia. Historical studies were much more professional, and were supported

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<sup>64</sup> NAZ SEC 145/1, Memorandum, A.T. Williams, Chief Secretary (Lusaka), 6 March 1945.

<sup>65</sup> NAZ SEC 1/143, Report on the Chief Secretary's Meeting with Government Archivist of Southern Rhodesia, 23 May 1945.

<sup>66</sup> NAZ SEC 1/143, Report on the Chief Secretary's Meeting with Government Archivist of Southern Rhodesia, 23 May 1945.

and mainly sponsored by the colonial government. It was clouded in misconceptions of African societies and compromised by colonial projects in whose services most of the writers operated. Thus, the focus was mainly on the interests of the Colonial Office or colonial activities in Africa. However, it should be noted that academic history was less influenced by the colonial government loyalties than through Eurocentric views that could not have been escaped in some instances.<sup>67</sup>

In contrast to the bureaucrats, others were more supportive of the centralisation of the regional archives. The Rhodes-Livingstone Institute was the first research organisation charged with the responsibility of conducting social research in British Central Africa. The institute had all along advised the Northern Rhodesian colonial government to centralise and preserve their archives where the records would receive professional care. For this reason, advocating for the centralisation of archives was in its interests, as much-needed and valuable information would then be easily accessible to its researchers.<sup>68</sup> In May 1945, Max Gluckman, the Director of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, wrote a letter to the Northern Rhodesian government recommending the transfer of the Northern Rhodesian archives to a central repository in Southern Rhodesia.<sup>69</sup>

By advocating for the transfer of documents to Salisbury, Gluckman was echoing an appeal by local scholars, who lobbied for the improved organisation of archives. In the Rhodes-Livingstone Research Plan of 1944, a group assigned to conduct research on the history of the colonial administration in Northern Rhodesia had stressed the need to access government documents. It was noted that a large number of relevant records were kept in government departments, but were inaccessible to the institute.<sup>70</sup> For the researchers at the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, the centralisation of the archives in Southern Rhodesia

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<sup>67</sup> For studies carried out during this period, see C. Doke. *The Lambas of Northern Rhodesia* (London: Harp, 1931); Audrey Richards, *Land, Labour and Diet in Northern Rhodesia: An Economic Study of the Bemba Tribe* (London: Oxford University Press, 1939); J. W. Davidson, *The Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council* (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1948).

<sup>68</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Correspondence from Max Gluckman, Director, Rhodes-Livingstone Institute (Livingstone) to Chief Secretary (Lusaka), 20 October 1944. For more contemporary perspectives on how official archives could complement anthropological studies, see Lewis H. Gann, 'Archives and the Study of Society,' *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 20 (1936), 63-65.

<sup>69</sup> NAZ SEC 1/143, Correspondence from Max Gluckman, Director, Rhodes-Livingstone Institute (Livingstone) to Chief Secretary (Lusaka), 28 May 1945.

<sup>70</sup> NAZ SEC 1/143, Memorandum from Rhodes-Livingstone Research Plan from Max Gluckman, Director (Livingstone) to Provincial Commissioners and Trustees of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, 20 October 1944.

promised better organisation of archival information and easy access to the records.<sup>71</sup> While the government of Northern Rhodesia's reservations about centralisation partly turned on the challenges of long distance access, for the institute, the preservation of the archives in Salisbury was considered the best option. It was cheaper, convenient and more affordable. As Gluckman wrote, 'It will be cheaper both for the Government officers and our own officers to consult records thus, or even to go to Salisbury, than for the Territory to build, equip and staff its own archive.'<sup>72</sup> The cost of access to archives suggested by the Southern Rhodesian Archives was considered reasonable by the institute. The proposed plan for a joint archival service suggested that 1,600 pages of documents would be photographed for about £4.<sup>73</sup> In this way, he argued, archives would be professionally handled and expeditiously made available.<sup>74</sup>

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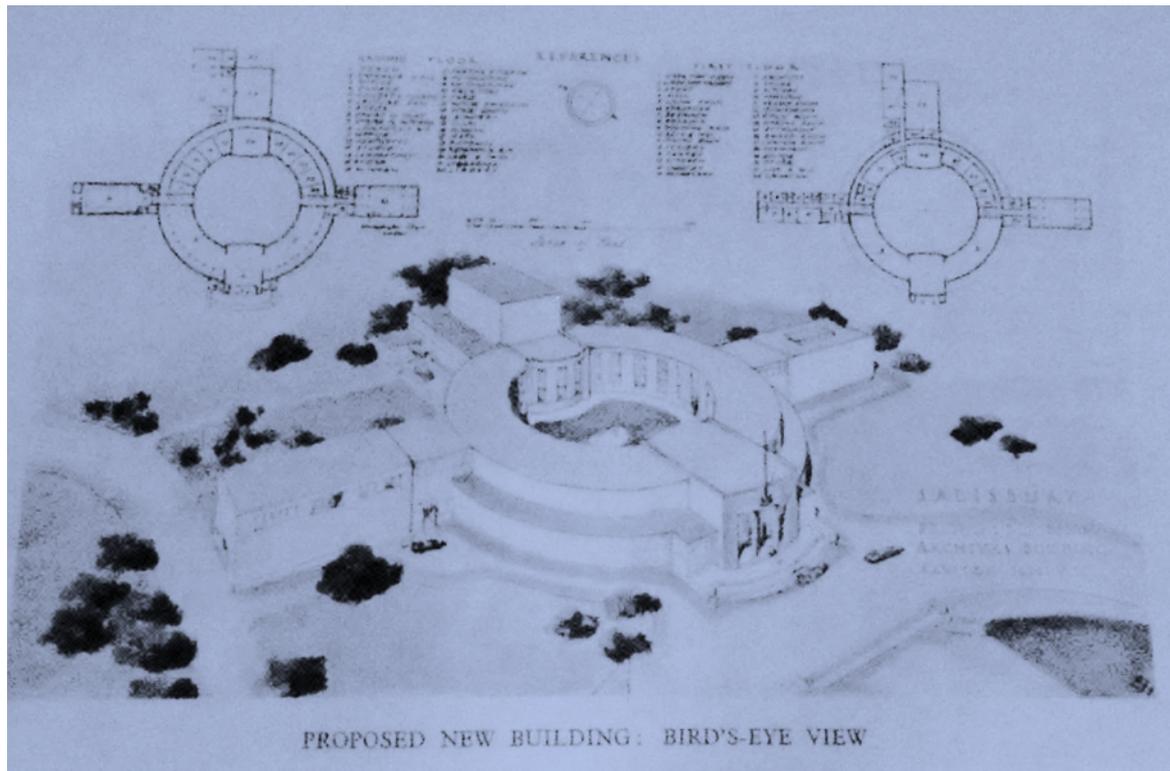
<sup>71</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Correspondence from Max Gluckman, Director, Rhodes-Livingstone Institute (Livingstone) to Chief Secretary (Lusaka), 20 October 1944.

<sup>72</sup> NAZ SEC 1/143, Correspondence from Max Gluckman, Director, Rhodes-Livingstone Institute (Livingstone) to Chief Secretary (Lusaka), 28 May 1945.

<sup>73</sup> NAZ SEC 1/143, Correspondence from Max Gluckman, Director, Rhodes-Livingstone Institute (Livingstone) to Chief Secretary (Lusaka), 28 May 1945.

<sup>74</sup> NAZ SEC 1/143, Correspondence from Max Gluckman, Director, Rhodes-Livingstone Institute (Livingstone) to Chief Secretary (Lusaka), 28 May 1945.

Figure 4.1: The Central African Archives proposed building in Salisbury 1945.



Source: Central African Archives, *Annual Report, 1935-1947*, 6.

#### 4.2.3 Sending the Northern Rhodesian archives south.

With the formation of the Central African Council in April 1945, common services between Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland were more systematically coordinated.<sup>75</sup> The council took a leading role in facilitating the central organisation and preservation of the region's archives. In the same month of its formation, the council facilitated a visit by Hiller, the Southern Rhodesian archivist, to Northern Rhodesia.<sup>76</sup> An inspection of government records was conducted and revealed that they were poorly and insecurely stored. The archivist noted that the climate was damaging records and that there was little hope of preserving many of the earliest ones, unless they were treated and stored

<sup>75</sup> Central African Archives, *Annual Report, 1949-1954*, 1.

<sup>76</sup> NAZ SEC 1/143, Minutes of the Inaugural Meeting of the Central African Council held at Government House, Salisbury, 24-26 April 1945.

in an air conditioned building.<sup>77</sup> Northern Rhodesia's predicament was not unique: in most African colonies potential archival documents were damaged by climate and insects or lost through inadequate accommodation, and a lack of professional care. This created gaps in the production of historical knowledge and the permanent record. Nyasaland, for example, was reported to have lost documents because of high humidity levels and termites.<sup>78</sup> A records survey conducted in Southern Rhodesia, at the time when its archives were established, revealed a similar situation.<sup>79</sup>

The poor state of records preservation underscored the urgency of centralising the archives in Southern Rhodesia. Following Hiller, the Southern Rhodesian archivist's recommendations, H.F. Cartmel-Robinson, the Chief Secretary of Northern Rhodesia, in May 1945 directed all government officers in charge of records not to extract minutes and other documents from old files.<sup>80</sup> The purpose of the instruction was to facilitate an audit of government records in preparation for their centralisation in Southern Rhodesia. After the audit, departmental officers would forward all past records files, registers and other documents to a central repository, where they would be examined and selected for permanent preservation or disposed of by trained archivists.<sup>81</sup>

The instruction from the Chief Secretary was informed by slowly shifting motivations for the preservation of government archives: from preservation in order to support administration and governance, to the preservation of the historical record. From the late 1930s, following the establishment of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, official archives were no longer preserved solely for administrative purposes, but now also for the compilation of anthropological studies and social history. Rhodes-Livingstone Institute scholars, who

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<sup>77</sup> NAZ SEC 1/143, Report of the Government Archivist's Visit to Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland and Recommendations for the Establishment of a Joint Archival Service, 30 June 1945.

<sup>78</sup> NAZ SEC 1/143, Report of the Government Archivist's Visit to Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland and Recommendations for the Establishment of a Joint Archival Service, 30 June 1945.

<sup>79</sup> Central African Archives, *Annual Report, 1935 -1947*, 31.

<sup>80</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Memorandum to Heads of Departments, from H.F. Cartmel-Robinson, Chief Secretary (Lusaka), 23 May 1945. It should also be noted that similar instructions were given in Southern Rhodesia when the Southern Rhodesian Archives were just established: a questionnaire was issued on 12 February 1936 by the Department of Internal Affairs (circular 2 of 1936), stating that 'no records of any description in government offices should be destroyed or otherwise disposed of until the Government Archivist had an opportunity of examining them. Thus the destruction of records was arrested. See Central African Archives, *Annual Report, 1935 -1947*, 31.

<sup>81</sup> NAZ SEC 145/1, Circular Minute from A.T. Williams, Chief Secretary (Lusaka) to Heads of Departments, 6 March 1945.

included Audrey Richards, Elizabeth Colson, Godfrey Wilson, and Max Gluckman, consulted government documents such as district and Provincial Commissioners' annual reports, for their work.<sup>82</sup> Besides bibliographical evidence which reflected the use of official archives during this period, the anthropologist Elizabeth Colson acknowledged in an interview that she made use of official documents when compiling her work on the Gwembe Tonga of Northern Rhodesia: 'Through the 1940s, I was able to consult various district records held in the District Offices, but it was with the understanding that I could not cite them. Anything written for publication would have to be submitted to the Colonial Office for official approval.'<sup>83</sup>

Further directives followed to all heads of departments, instructing them to estimate the linear feet of records kept in their offices to provide information on the volume of past records they held.<sup>84</sup> Ascertaining the approximate volume of records in each department would determine the likely extent of records to be deposited in the central archives.<sup>85</sup> Although not all departments were in a position to submit the required information, those that did so indicated that about 925 cubic feet would be deposited with the Central African Archives.<sup>86</sup> Table 4.1 indicates the distributions of records in government departments submitted to the Chief Secretary in 1945:

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<sup>82</sup> For examples of these scholars' work, see especially, Richards, *Land, Labour and Diet in Northern Rhodesia*; G Wilson, *An Essay on the Economics of Detribalisation in Northern Rhodesia* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 1940s); M. Gluckman, *Essays on Lozi Land and Royal Property* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 1943).

<sup>83</sup> Interview with Elizabeth Colson, 11 December, 2011, as cited in also Miyanda Simabwachi, 'Resource Depository and Knowledge Creation: The Role of the National Archives of Zambia, 1935-2006,' M.A. Dissertation, (University of Zambia, Lusaka, 2013), 80. Colson was among the earliest anthropologists sent to Northern Rhodesia in the 1930s to conduct social research under the University of Manchester. The Colonial Office took the initiative to promote social research. The Colonial Office had concerns with regards to the functioning of indirect rule in rural areas, and the perceived problem of detribalisation and administration in urban areas. These problems received sophisticated attention by anthropologists from Manchester University, who worked under the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute established in 1937. As elsewhere in Africa, social anthropologists pioneered research in Northern Rhodesia.

<sup>84</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Memorandum to Heads of Departments, from H.F. Cartmel-Robinson, Chief Secretary (Lusaka), 23 May 1945. A linear foot was a standard measure of the quantity of archival materials on the basis of the volume they occupied.

<sup>85</sup> NAZ SEC 1/143, Report of the Government Archivist's Visit to Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland and Recommendations for the Establishment of a Joint Archival Service, 30 June 1945.

<sup>86</sup> The estimated size in cubic feet was not representative of all the records that were available in Northern Rhodesia at the time, as some departments did not respond to the circular. It nevertheless provides a good sense of the general state of affairs. Among such departments that didn't respond was the district office of Mwinilunga, which did not submit in time before the information was forwarded to the Chief Secretary.

Table 4.1: Archives Identified for Centralisation at the Southern Rhodesia Archives, 1945

Province	Office of Creation	Quantity of Records in Linear Feet
Barotse	Mongu Provincial Office	100
	Mongu District Office	60
	Kalabo District Office	36
	Senaga District Office	27
Kasempa	Kasempa Provincial Office	Nil
	Kasempa District Office	6
	Balovale District Office	54
	Mwinilunga District Office	Nil
Northern	Kasama Provincial Office	9
	Kasama District Office	10
	Mporokoso District Office	10
	Fort Rosebery District Office	10
	Kawambwa District Office	15
	Luwingu District Office	6
	Isoka District Office	20
	Mpika District Office	20
	Chinsali District Office	9
Southern	Livingstone Provincial Office	204
	Livingstone District Office	100
	Kalomo District Office	50
	Mazabuka District Office	7
	Namwala District Office	90
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>925</b>

Note: Compiled from the district and commissioners reports to the Chief Secretary of Northern Rhodesia on Preservation of Official Records, 1945.<sup>87</sup>

Among the departments not in a position to provide the estimated quantities of records demanded by the office of the Chief Secretary was the Northern Rhodesian police. In Northern Rhodesia, except for district and provincial records, there was no precedent for the centralisation of records from government departments such as the police department. Although the department had Police Standing Order No. 196, which served as a guide to the

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Another example include the Northern Provincial Office, which could not submit due to the re-organisation of its offices that was taking place at the time the circular was despatched.

<sup>87</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Report on the Preservation of Official Archives, Southern Province, 14 August 1945; NAZ SEC 1/145, Report on the Preservation of Official Records, Northern Province, 7 August 1945; NAZ SEC 1/145 Report on the Preservation of Official Records, Barotse, 14 August 1945; NAZ SEC 1/145, Report on the Preservation of Official Records, Kasempa, 10 August 1945.

preservation and destruction of records, this was only at a departmental level.<sup>88</sup> The standing order stipulated that in January each year, the officers in charge of the respective stations were to examine records with a view to the retention or destruction of documents no longer in use. Records for destruction were burnt under their supervision.<sup>89</sup> The period for those records that were to be permanently preserved and the method of disposal were in accordance with prescribed instructions.<sup>90</sup> For example, murder dockets were held indefinitely and could only be destroyed on the authority of the Commissioner. Other important dockets were retained for as long as was deemed desirable by an officer in charge, after which they were destroyed. Financial records were retained or destroyed at the discretion of audit officers.<sup>91</sup>

While other government departments submitted estimates of their records to the Chief Secretary without any restraints, the Police department needed guidance on what information could be deposited with the archives. Unlike other government departments, the Northern Rhodesian police generated confidential and sensitive records that could not simply be handed to the archives. In June 1945, the Northern Rhodesian Commissioner of Police wrote to the former Commissioner of the British South Africa Police, inquiring about the type of police records that could be considered suitable for preservation in the Central African Archives.<sup>92</sup> As in Northern Rhodesia, in Southern Rhodesia, questions also arose over whether certain police records from headquarters should be handed to the government archivist at the time when the archives was established. These records consisted primarily of regimental orders, general circulars, standing orders and defaulter records.<sup>93</sup> It was

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<sup>88</sup> The other policy documents pertaining to colonial records in Northern Rhodesia that were drawn up before 1945 were the High Court Ordinance No. 3 of 1938, the Disposal of Judicial Records Rules of 1942, Financial Orders No. 203 and No 277. Others were the Administrator-General's Ordinance. Cap. 14. Sec 17(1), Post and Telegraph Department instructions to Postmasters and Staff. For further details see, NAZ SEC 1/145, Preservation of Government Records, 1929-1948.

<sup>89</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Police Standing Order No. 196.

<sup>90</sup> The Police Standing Order No. 196 provided guidance on the categories of records generated by the police and the period for which they were to be kept, as well as the methods for their disposal. For example, murder docket records were held indefinitely and were only destroyed on authority of the Commissioner. For more details on either the preservation or destruction of other kinds of police records in Northern Rhodesia, see NAZ SEC 1/145, Preservation of Government Records, 1929-1948.

<sup>91</sup> See Financial Order No. 277 in NAZ SEC 1/145, Preservation of Government Records, 1929-1948.

<sup>92</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Correspondence from Commissioner of Police (Lusaka) to Chief Secretary (Lusaka), 15 June 1945.

<sup>93</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Correspondence from Commissioner of Police (Lusaka) to Chief Secretary (Lusaka), 15 June 1945.

eventually decided that such records were to remain at the police headquarters, where they were needed for reference purposes. So as far as Northern Rhodesia was concerned, the former British South Africa Police Commissioner advised that the only records eligible for deposit with the central archives were the force orders, standing orders and records of service of deceased members.<sup>94</sup> The personal records of deceased members of the police were to be pruned of sensitive information before they were sent to the archives.<sup>95</sup>

### **4.3 The formation of the Central African Archives and archives legislation in Northern Rhodesia**

#### **4.3.1 The formation of the Central African Archives and the making of the Northern Rhodesia Archives Ordinance**

Following the recommendation of Hiller, the Southern Rhodesian government archivist, in October 1945, the Central African Council sanctioned the joint centralisation of the Central African territories' government archives.<sup>96</sup> However, each territory would retain its right to the ownership of its records. This right would be preserved in forthcoming legislation, which would authorise the creation of the joint archives. Furthermore, the archivist suggested the formation of an archives commission, with territorial representation and uniform archives legislation for all three territories.<sup>97</sup> By the time these recommendations were reviewed in Northern Rhodesia, the earlier scepticism had been replaced by a conviction of the importance and urgency of a centralised scheme for the preservation of its archives. The government of Northern Rhodesia came to terms with the idea that extending an already established archives service would be cheaper and more efficient than any attempt to build an independent archiving organisation. Preserving archives in the Central African tropical climate required thorough ventilation and the circulation of air to prevent stagnant spots, an even temperature and a percentage of relative humidity which would prevent dampness, but at the same time avoid the complete dryness of records. The recommended humidity

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<sup>94</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Correspondence from Commissioner of Police (Lusaka) to Chief Secretary (Lusaka), 15 June 1945.

<sup>95</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Correspondence from Commissioner of Police (Lusaka) to Chief Secretary (Lusaka), 15 June 1945.

<sup>96</sup> NAZ SEC 1/ 143, Minutes, Central African Council (Salisbury), 23 October 1945.

<sup>97</sup> NAZ SEC 1/143, Minutes of the Executive Council Meeting, 11 September 1945.

was between forty and sixty per cent. It was noted that humidity in tropical countries could rise as high as 70 per cent. As such, suitable records preservation conditions could only be ensured by a conditioned air supply system, which, in itself, was expensive.<sup>98</sup> The government therefore soon realised that collaborative centralisation would be a cost saving measure for all three territories.

The decision to formally initiate the joint archival scheme set in motion the process to draft and pass uniform archives legislation, as sanctioned by the Central African Council. It was common practice among the British colonies to seek statutory authority to transfer government documents to an archive. Fundamentally, the approval of the legislature was necessary for the conferment of responsibility for the records, powers and duties to the archival institution and its staff.<sup>99</sup> The process of seeking legal authority started with the amendment of the Southern Rhodesia Act (Chapter 54), originally enacted in 1935. This was the Act that had established the Southern Rhodesian Archives for the preservation of government documents. The amendment of the Southern Rhodesia Act was now intended to accommodate a provision for the formation of the Central African Archives under the stewardship of the Southern Rhodesian government.

Accordingly, the solicitor general of Southern Rhodesia drafted an amendment bill, presented during the October 1946 parliamentary session.<sup>100</sup> The provisions of the amendment bill became the means through which archival practice in Northern Rhodesia came to be shaped. The provisions of the Southern Rhodesian legislation were merely modified to meet the needs of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. As such, the initial provision of the bill authorised the government archivist of Southern Rhodesia to carry out archival services for the public archives of Northern Rhodesia, similar to those conferred upon him with regards to the public archives of Southern Rhodesia, under the Archives Act (Chapter 54). This ensured that the archives of Northern Rhodesia were placed in the archivist's custody. The archivist was further authorised to exercise such powers and duties as the territorial archives' laws of Northern Rhodesia would confer and impose upon an

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<sup>98</sup> Baxter, 'With Particular Reference to the Central African Archives,' 63.

<sup>99</sup> E. Burke, 'Some Archival Legislation of the British Commonwealth', *The American Archivist*, 22/3 (1959), 275.

<sup>100</sup> NAZ SEC 1/143, Correspondence from W.C. Robertson, Secretary to the Prime Minister (Salisbury) to Chief Secretary (Lusaka), 26 July 1946.

archives official. In addition, the amendment bill provided for the accommodation in the Salisbury archives repository of government archives pertaining to Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.<sup>101</sup>

To acknowledge the expansion and transformation of the archives, the bill changed the name of the Southern Rhodesian Archives to the Central African Archives. The title of government archivist of Southern Rhodesia was equally changed to chief archivist, signifying the extension of this officer's archival duties to Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. At the same time, Northern Rhodesia became a member of the Central African Archives commission. The amendment bill provided for the establishment of such a commission, to advise the three governments on matters concerning the management of public archives preserved at the central repository.<sup>102</sup> Through the amendment bill, the three governors, as well as the Minister of Internal Affairs in Southern Rhodesia, could appoint members to the commission. The chief archivist of the new central archives was an ex officio member of the commission.

The commission offered guidance and advice on collection, preservation and disposal of government documents originating in the three territories.<sup>103</sup> The archives commission was not a new body – it was only expanded. It was initially established under the Southern Rhodesia Archives Act.<sup>104</sup> The amendment of the Act transformed its membership to accommodate officials from Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. While membership of the commission enabled Northern Rhodesia to participate in the decision-making related to its archives and formalised its custodial oversight over the central collection, it was also a means to transfer and standardise developments in archival practice to Northern Rhodesia, especially as Southern Rhodesia was a pioneer on matters of archives management in Central Africa.

Apart from the amendment bill, corresponding legislation was required in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, authorising Southern Rhodesia as custodian of the three territorial governments' archives. The bill could not be approved by the Southern Rhodesian

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<sup>101</sup> NAZ SEC 1/143, Southern Rhodesia Archives Act Amendment Bill, 1946.

<sup>102</sup> NAZ SEC 1/143, Southern Rhodesia Archives Act Amendment Bill, 1946.

<sup>103</sup> NAZ SEC 1/143, Southern Rhodesia Archives Act Amendment Bill, 1946.

<sup>104</sup> See, for example, NAZ SEC 1/ 145, Southern Rhodesia Archives Act (Chapter 54), 1935.

legislature without the legal agreement of the appropriate authorities in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.<sup>105</sup> Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland passed legislation recognising the Southern Rhodesian Archives as the custodian of their archives and gave authority to the chief archivist to provide archival services to the respective territories.<sup>106</sup>

As Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland had little by way of a tradition of archival practice, the solicitor general of Southern Rhodesia prepared a draft Archives Ordinance Bill for consideration by the government authorities in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.<sup>107</sup> In 1946, Hiller, the appointed chief archivist, presented the proposed bill in draft format at the Conference of archivists held in Cape Town for the profession's input on the proposed legislation. As a result of this consultation, W. Clark (Secretary of the Central African Council) pointed out, Hiller was able to provide sample legislation for the three Central African territories in draft form.<sup>108</sup>

Guided by the draft legislation, A.G. Morgan (attorney general), formulated the Northern Rhodesia Archives Ordinances Bill for the consideration of the Legislative Council.<sup>109</sup> As may have been predicted, this bill, and that of Nyasaland, proved similar except for minor variations.<sup>110</sup> The purpose of both ordinances was to authorise the centralisation of their public archives at the Central African archives and to acknowledge Southern Rhodesia as the custodian without ceding territorial ownership of records.

The centralisation of the archives and concomitant collaboration on archives management and legislation, although transformational, was not uncommon for British colonies. Thus, in

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<sup>105</sup> A review of the amendment bill conducted by the solicitor general of Southern Rhodesia found that it would be illegal for the legislature of Southern Rhodesia to authorise the establishment a Central African Archives or to empower the chief archivist to perform archival functions in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland without the involvement of all three territories. See NAZ SEC 1/145, Notes on the Southern Rhodesia Archives Amendment Bill (1946) from the Solicitor General, 26 June 1946.

<sup>106</sup> See Archives Amendment Bill No.44, 1946 Appendix, in Central African Archives, *Annual Report, 1935 - 1947*, 99.

<sup>107</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Notes on the Southern Rhodesia Archives Amendment Bill (1946) from the Solicitor General, 26 June 1946.

<sup>108</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Correspondence from W. Clark, Secretary, Central African Council (Salisbury) to J.M. Wallace, Chief Secretary (Lusaka), 27 May 1946. See also NAZ SEC 1/145, Correspondence, V.W. Hiller, Government Archivist (Salisbury) to W. Clark, Secretary Central African Council, (Salisbury), 21 January 1946.

<sup>109</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Correspondence from V.W. Hiller, Government Archivist (Salisbury) to W. Clark, Secretary Central African Council, (Salisbury), 21 January 1946.

<sup>110</sup> NAZ SEC 1/143, Northern Rhodesia Archive Ordinance Bill, 1946. For more details on the Nyasaland Archives Ordinance, 1946, see Appendix, Central African Archives, *Annual Report, 1935 -1947*, 105-106.

writing legislation for their archives, Rhodesian civil servants looked to existing models. The Southern Rhodesian Archives Act of 1935 was based on the South African Public Archives Act of 1922, which was in turn based on the Canadian Public Archives Act of 1912.<sup>111</sup> The Public Archives Act of Canada was the first archival legislation in the British Commonwealth. As such, it became a model for most archives legislation in the British Empire. It provided the first definition of archives that emphasised historical significance over institutional importance – medium, form, and origin were of little consequence compared with the possession of information.<sup>112</sup> The provisions of the South African Archives Act largely followed those of Canada. In particular, its definition of public archives ‘as all such records, documents, and other historical material of every kind, nature and description as were in the custody of any government department’, followed the Canadian definition.<sup>113</sup> When the Union of South Africa was formed in 1910, the archives of the colonies of Transvaal, Natal and the Orange Free State became a responsibility of the central government. In 1919, the chief archivist for the Union was sent to Europe, the United States and Canada on a fact finding mission to consult counterparts before drafting its archives legislation.<sup>114</sup> The same definition of archives, as well as other selected provisions, was in turn adopted by Southern Rhodesia and then by Northern Rhodesia. The Northern Rhodesia Archives Ordinance stated that public archives were all documents and other historical material of every kind, nature and description, as were in the custody of any of the government departments or those that would be transferred to the archives office.<sup>115</sup>

Common to most British colonial states’ archival legislation, was a provision for the establishment of archival institutions, the appointment of a chief officer, and the designation of authority to the officer.<sup>116</sup> The duties and powers of the chief officer were

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<sup>111</sup> L. Dritsas and J. Haig, ‘An Archive of Identity: The Central African Archives and Southern Rhodesian History,’ *Archival Science*, 14/1 (2014), 40; See also Burke, ‘Some Archival Legislation of the British Commonwealth,’ 275-298.

<sup>112</sup> David Parker, *Guide to the Materials for United States History in Canadian Archives* (Washington: Carnegie Institution, 1913), 3.

<sup>113</sup> Burke, ‘Some Archival Legislation of the British Commonwealth,’ 275.

<sup>114</sup> Burke, ‘Some Archival Legislation of the British Commonwealth,’ 276.

<sup>115</sup> NAZ SEC 1/143, Northern Rhodesia Archives Ordinance No. 21 of 1946.

<sup>116</sup> For details of the similarities in British colonies’ archives legislation, see for example, Public Records Act, 1838, Canada Archives Act, 1912, South Archives Africa Act, 1922, Southern Rhodesia Archives Act, 1935 in Burke, ‘Some Archival Legislation of the British Commonwealth,’ 275-298. For the archives legislations for

clearly defined. Apart from the ordinary duties to the archival institution, the chief officer was also responsible for providing advice to government departments on the care, custody and control of their records.<sup>117</sup> Other notable characteristics of British colonial legislation included the authority of the official in charge of an archival institution to guide the processes of preservation and, most important in the context of this thesis, the destruction of records.<sup>118</sup>

The Archives Ordinance Bill of Northern Rhodesia was drafted on these principles but the significance should not be underestimated, as this provided broad ranging authority over public documents generated in one territory to an official situated in another. This will become a significant issue in the subsequent history of the archives of Northern Rhodesia, to be discussed in the chapters to follow: the Ordinance Bill gave the chief archivist of the Central African Archives in Salisbury legal status in Northern Rhodesia. The archivist was charged with facilitating the production of archives in Northern Rhodesia, hence the fifth clause of the Ordinance Bill stipulated that, 'the duty of the Chief Archivist shall be to cause production of any public archives to the Chief Secretary when required so to do.'<sup>119</sup> Furthermore, the chief archivist in Salisbury was given access to records in government departments in Northern Rhodesia. It was his responsibility to examine any records in the custody of government departments and to advise on their care, safe custody and ultimate authority over the selection for permanent preservation and de-selection (namely, the authorised destruction of records).<sup>120</sup> The examination of government records would be followed by a recommendation on their transfer to Southern Rhodesia for safe keeping and preservation. However, it should be noted that this did not imply that Northern Rhodesia intended to relinquish jurisdiction over its public archives. Hence, the archivist's examination of records and decisions on government documents for permanent

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Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and Southern Rhodesia, see also the Appendix in Central African Archives, *Annual Report, 1935-1947*, 105-106; and Central African Archives, *Annual Report, 1947-1948*, 89-98.

<sup>117</sup> Burke, 'Some Archival Legislation of the British Commonwealth,' 226.

<sup>118</sup> Burke, 'Some Archival Legislation of the British Commonwealth,' 226.

<sup>119</sup> See NAZ SEC 1/152, Northern Rhodesia Ordinance Bill 1946, Section (5).

<sup>120</sup> By 1945, a number of Northern Rhodesian government departments had accumulated a large amount of records in need of appraisal for permanent preservation or destruction. This included the Local Government Department, African Housing Department, Forestry Department and Judiciary Department. Others were the Departments of Agriculture, the Registrar of Co-operative Societies, the Customs Head Office and Post Stations, which included Income Tax. See NAZ SEC 1/146, Departments Standing Instructions on Preservation of Government Records.

preservation and centralisation remained under the supervision and direction of the Governor of Northern Rhodesia.<sup>121</sup>

The Archives Ordinance Bill left such matters as the transfer of records to Southern Rhodesia, the process for the selection of a permanent collection in the public archives, the disposal of de-selected records, and the rights of the public to access these records to subsidiary legislation.<sup>122</sup> The seventh provision of the Ordinance Bill stated that, 'the Governor could by order make regulations for carrying out the Archives Ordinance into effect.'<sup>123</sup> Therefore, the Governor of Northern Rhodesia remained the final authority. The Governor determined regulations pertaining to the procedures that had to be followed in the appraisal of records, as well as the disposal or destruction of public records that were deemed not of sufficient public value to justify their permanent preservation at the central archives. The archives regulations made by the Governor were in turn subject to approval and confirmation by the legislative council, thus situating final authority in the Northern Rhodesian legislature.<sup>124</sup>

In November 1946 T.H.W. Beadle, the Minister of Internal Affairs, presented the Southern Rhodesia Archives Amendment Bill to the Southern Rhodesian Legislative Council.<sup>125</sup> Its approval was followed by the introduction of the Archives Ordinance Bill to the legislative council of Northern Rhodesia in December 1946, where after the Governor gave his assent to the bill. It was signed into law by the Attorney General on 27 December 1946. The ordinance became known as the Northern Rhodesia Archives Ordinance, No 21 of 1946.<sup>126</sup>

#### **4.3.2 The formulation of the Archives Destruction and Disposal Regulation of 1947**

In order for the chief archivist to facilitate the creation and preservation of Northern Rhodesia's archives, as was stipulated by the Archives Ordinance, archival regulations had to be formulated. Under the Archives Ordinance (No. 21 of 1946), powers were conferred on

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<sup>121</sup> See, NAZ SEC 1/143, Northern Rhodesia Archives Ordinance No.21, 1946, Section 7 (2-3).

<sup>122</sup> NAZ SEC 1/ 143, Southern Rhodesia Amendment Archives Bill, 1946.

<sup>123</sup> See Section (7) of the Northern Rhodesia Ordinance Bill 1946 in NAZ SEC 1/143, Proposed Central African Archives in Southern Rhodesia.

<sup>124</sup> NAZ SEC 1/143, Extract from Northern Rhodesia Hansard No. 56 Columns 365 - 366, 12 December 1946.

<sup>125</sup> NAZ SEC 1/143, Extract from Bulawayo Chronicle, 2 November 1946.

<sup>126</sup> NAZ SEC 1/143, Government Notice from J. G. Philipps, Chief Secretary to the Government (Lusaka), 1 April 1947.

the Governor in council to make these regulations. Thus, in June 1947, the chief archivist wrote to the Northern Rhodesian executive council recommending that regulations for the destruction and disposal of archives were required.<sup>127</sup> The same letter indicated that the archivist had drafted the regulations, and that these had been examined by the law officers, who recommended them for issue.<sup>128</sup> The Council was requested to examine the regulations with a view to their recommendation for approval.<sup>129</sup> These were duly published in the Gazette of 25 July 1947 and cited as the Archives Destruction and Disposal Regulations of 1947.<sup>130</sup>

The archives destruction and disposal regulations entrenched the extent to which colonial government officials shaped the future of archives and, indirectly, knowledge production, in Northern Rhodesia. The heads of government departments, as well as District and Provincial Commissioners now had the legal right to decide which records were to acquire permanent archival status. The archives regulations clearly stipulated that whenever the head of a government department was of the opinion that certain records in their custody were not of sufficient public value to justify preservation in the Central African Archives, they had to recommend such records for destruction.<sup>131</sup>

As Schwartz and Cook argue, archives are social constructs since their origins lie in the information needs and social values of rulers, governments, associations and individuals who establish them.<sup>132</sup> Archives have been about the power of the present controlling what will be known about the past and about the power of remembering over forgetting.<sup>133</sup> In Northern Rhodesia, this took the form of who deemed certain records to be valueless having to list them on sheets of paper known as Form No. 1. The form provided detailed information on all documents recommended for destruction and distinguished those

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<sup>127</sup> NAZ SEC 1/149, Correspondence from Chief Archivist to Executive Council (Lusaka), 28 June 1947.

<sup>128</sup> NAZ SEC 1/149, Correspondence from Chief Archivist to Executive Council (Lusaka), 28 June 1947.

<sup>129</sup> NAZ SEC 1/149, Correspondence from Chief Archivist to Executive Council (Lusaka), 28 June 1947.

<sup>130</sup> NAZ SEC 1/ 149, Correspondence from C.A.R. Charnaud, Administrative Secretary (Lusaka) to Chief Archivist (Salisbury), 29 July 1929.

<sup>131</sup> See Section (3) Sub-regulation (1) of the Archives (Destruction and Disposal) Regulations of 1947 in NAZ SEC 1/149, Royal Central African Archives Destruction and Disposal of Records Regulations 1947-1948; and NAZ SEC 1/148, Destruction of Government Records 1937-1947.

<sup>132</sup> Joan M. Schwartz and Terry Cook, 'Archives, Records and Power: The Making of the Modern Memory,' *Archival Science*, 2/1-2 (2002), 3.

<sup>133</sup> Schwartz and Cook, 'Archives, Records and Power: The Making of the Modern Memory,' 3.

recommended for permanent preservation. This included serial numbers for reference purposes, official reference numbers in the filing system, the names of departments concerned, and the period covered by the records. The form indicated whether records were in the shape of correspondence, minutes or reports.<sup>134</sup>

Form No. 1 was very important for compiling classes of records not deemed important for long-term preservation, which were common in all government departments, and to propose them for destruction after a specified period of time. According to the Archives Destruction and Disposal Regulations, the chief archivist was at any time authorised to instruct the heads of government departments in Northern Rhodesia to prepare a list of public records in their custody intended for either destruction or preservation on the said Form No. 1.<sup>135</sup> This list of common classes of records determined not to be of long-term value, was to be submitted for the consideration of the destruction committee.<sup>136</sup>

The destruction committee (set up by the Archives Destruction and Disposal Regulations) was responsible for the assessment of the lists of records recommended for either destruction or permanent preservation which the respective departments submitted via Form No. 1. The committee consisted of the chief archivist, the attorney general and the auditor general, and a representative of the department concerned.<sup>137</sup> The archivist was the convenor, and the presence of those heads of departments whose records were being considered for either destruction or preservation, was required.<sup>138</sup> In cases of difference of opinion between members, the opinion of any two was to be a final opinion of the committee. Its recommendations were recorded on the pertinent Form No. 1 and submitted to the archives commission for final approval. The commission reviewed the decisions made

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<sup>134</sup> For more details, see Figure 4.2.

<sup>135</sup> NAZ SEC 1/ 149, Archives Destruction and Disposal Regulations, 1947, Section (3) sub-regulation (2).

<sup>136</sup> For specific classes of 'common records' recommended for destruction and preservation in the 1940s in Northern Rhodesia, see figure 4.3.

<sup>137</sup> Although it was argued that the regulations for the three territories were substantially the same, there is evidence that minor differences existed. In the case of Southern Rhodesia, the Minister of Internal Affairs had the final authority over the selection and appraisal process of records. Some difference was notable in the representation of the records destruction committee. In Southern Rhodesia its composition consisted of the Chief Archivist, the Auditor General, and the Director of Census and Statistics; in Northern Rhodesia the Deputy Archivist, the Attorney General, and the Financial Secretary; and in Nyasaland, the Deputy Archivist, the Attorney General, and the Financial Secretary. See for example the Central African Archives, *Annual Report 1935 -1947*, iv.

<sup>138</sup> NAZ SEC 1/149, Archives Destruction and Disposal Regulations, 1947, Section (4) Sub-regulation (2).

by the destruction committee and forwarded its recommendations to the Governor of Northern Rhodesia, who made a final decision on which records acquired permanent archival status and which ones were to be destroyed.<sup>139</sup>

Significantly, the archives regulations gave the general public of Northern Rhodesia the opportunity to participate in the creation of archives. Sub-regulation (1) of section (6) of the archives' regulations stipulated that if the Governor decided that specific archives, as recommended by the destruction committee, the archives commission or himself, qualified for destruction, the public had to be notified by Government Gazette. Government notices related to the destruction of records contained a summarised description of such records and a statement that the stated records were intended for destruction after the expiration of 90 days from the date of the publication of the notice.<sup>140</sup> Lists of records intended for permanent destruction were open for public inspection and scrutiny at the Central African Archives, as well as in the respective departments concerned. Any objections to the destruction of records had to be submitted in writing to the Chief Secretary within the 90 days period.<sup>141</sup>

On the other hand, in order to ensure the preservation of Northern Rhodesian records deemed of permanent value, the archives regulations permitted the chief archivist to order the heads of departments to transfer any public archives in their custody to the Central African Archives. These were in cases where the public documents were fifteen years or older and were no longer required for immediate administrative purposes. Included were also archives of government departments that ceased to exist and were not required by any other departments for official purposes.<sup>142</sup>

The Northern Rhodesian archives regulations highlighted destruction over preservation. This is analogous to archival practice in Britain. Korsrud points out that even before World War I,

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<sup>139</sup> Susan Pell, 'Radicalising the Politics of the Archive: An Ethnographic Reading of an Activist Archive,' *Archivaria*, 80 (2015), 33-58.

<sup>140</sup> See Section (6) Sub-regulation (1) of the Archives Destruction and Disposal Regulations, 1947. See also Section (4) Sub-regulation (2) of the Archives Destruction and Disposal Regulations, 1947 in NAZ SEC 1/149, Royal Central African Archives Destruction and Disposal of Records Regulations 1947-1948.

<sup>141</sup> NAZ SEC 1/149, Archives Destruction and Disposal Regulations, 1947, Section (4) Sub-regulation.

<sup>142</sup> See NAZ SEC 1/149, Archives Destruction and Disposal Regulations, 1947, Section (10).

there existed a tendency in Britain to stress the destruction of perceived worthless records more than to focus on the preservation of records considered of permanent value.<sup>143</sup>

Figure 4.2: Archives Form No. 1 which guided the process of archives creation in Northern Rhodesia

SCHEDULE.

Archives Destruction Committee's Reference No. ....  
(To be filled in by the Chief Archivist or his delegate.)

FORM No. 1.  
PUBLIC ARCHIVES DESIRED TO BE DESTROYED OR PRESERVED.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Item No.	Official Reference No.	Department(s) concerned	Period covered	Description	Physical form (bundles, flat files, box files, etc.)	Bulk (in cubic feet)	Particulars sufficient to facilitate decision on desirability of preservation or destruction and remarks	Recommendation as to destruction or other disposal (to be filled in by Chief Archivist or his delegate)

Dated this ..... day of ..... 19.....  
(Signature of compiling officer).....  
(Designation).....

FORM No. 2.  
CERTIFICATE OF DESTRUCTION.

I, ..... of ..... hereby certify that on the date below written I was present at the destruction of the public archives specified in List Archives Destruction Committee's Reference No. .... and ordered by the Governor to be destroyed under the Archives (Destruction and Disposal) Regulations, 1947, which said public archives were then and there completely destroyed by burning together with all stamps and seals thereto affixed.  
(Signature of certifying officer).....  
(Designation).....

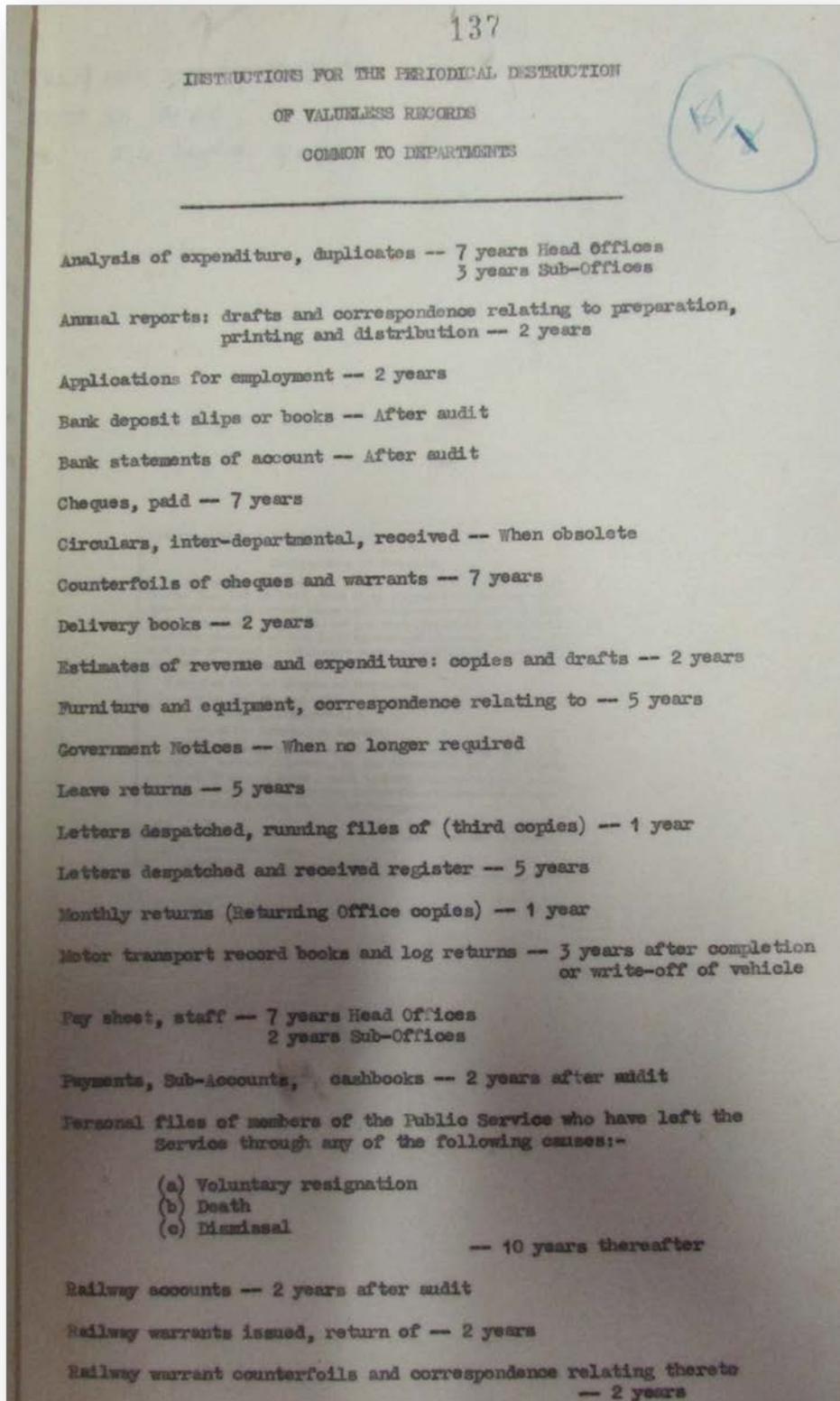
Dated this ..... day of ..... 19.....

36  
Government Notices  
25th July, 1947

Source: NAZ SEC 1/147, Instruction of the Destruction Order of Documents in Central Archives, 1947-1948.

<sup>143</sup> Kolsrud, 'The Evolution of Basic Appraisal Principles: Some Comparative Observations,' 27.

Figure 4.3: Below shows the instructions for the periodical destruction of valueless records common to all governments departments in Northern Rhodesian.



Source: NAZ SEC1/145 Preservation and Destruction of Government Records, 1929-1948.

### 4.3.3 The process and practice of archives preservation in Northern Rhodesia

In Northern Rhodesia, the question of appropriate archival storage and preservation of working archives, the feeder archives from which the Central African Archives were distilled, as well as an envisaged temporary depot, became more urgent after the formation of a centralised, permanent repository. The formulation of the Archives Ordinance, 1946 and the Archives Destruction and Disposal Regulations 1947 established the legal and formal practices of archiving in Northern Rhodesia. According to the terms of the Archives Ordinance Section (3) and sub-section (2), the chief archivist of the Central African Archives had legal authority to perform archival services in Northern Rhodesia. As such, V.W. Hiller, then chief archivist of the Central African Archives, facilitated the process for centralising all past government records in Northern Rhodesia. In July 1947 the archivist, as planned, established a temporary depot in Northern Rhodesia. It was only intended for the preliminary activities of fumigating, sorting and classifying the records before they were transferred to the Central African Archives repository in Salisbury for permanent preservation. Earlier that year, the archivist had suggested the idea of inspecting possible premises for a depot in Lusaka, as the capital of Northern Rhodesia.<sup>144</sup> However, this proved impossible because of the lack of official premises and available housing for archives staff.<sup>145</sup>

A depot was therefore temporarily opened in an annex of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, in Livingstone.<sup>146</sup> Ironically, however, it was later discovered that the building was so infested with white ants that the safety of the archival material stored there could not be guaranteed.<sup>147</sup> Even Max Gluckman, the Director of the institute, whose office was in the same building, had to move because of the ravages caused by these insects.<sup>148</sup> To remedy this, another repository was constructed within the premises of the Rhodes-Livingstone

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<sup>145</sup> NAZ SEC 1/143, Correspondence from Provincial Commissioner (Lusaka) to Administrative Secretary (Lusaka), 13 May 1947.

<sup>146</sup> As in Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland established a temporary depot at Zomba in July 1947.

<sup>147</sup> NAZ SEC 1/147, A Note from C.A.R. Charnaud, Administrative Secretary (Lusaka) to standing Finance Committee, Archives Department (Lusaka), August 1947.

<sup>148</sup> NAZ SEC 1/147, A Note from C.A.R. Charnaud, Administrative Secretary (Lusaka) to standing Finance Committee, Archives Department (Lusaka), August 1947.

Museum, exclusively for the storage of records.<sup>149</sup> It was a prefabricated asbestos building with steel shelves. The building was specially constructed for the purpose of temporarily accommodating archival material until the erection of the new building in Salisbury, where all the archives were to be transferred.<sup>150</sup> The depot was only meant to function for a transitional period of five years.<sup>151</sup> The building was supposed to be fireproof, damp proof and termite proof, but a proper preservation environment with air conditioning would only be possible once the archives building was constructed in Salisbury.

This created a need for trained personnel to manage the archival material at the Livingstone depot. These were recruited in Britain, where there were several facilities for the training of archivists. By the 1940s, the United Kingdom had institutions such as the English Library Association and the School of Librarianship at University College, London. These institutions offered courses with components on palaeography and archives, for example.<sup>152</sup> The first appointee was A.J. Saich, previously an assistant at the Reading Public Library. Prior to the commencement of his duties, the new assistant underwent a period of intensive training about archives management, as well as studying the history of Northern Rhodesia.<sup>153</sup> Archivists of colonial archival institutions were expected to be fully versed in the administrative history of the territory whose archives were in their custody, and to handle fragile documents – whether mouldy or water-sodden – and also to restore faded documents.<sup>154</sup>

Following the establishment of the Livingstone depot, the Central African Archives instituted a survey of public records. It was to assist the Central African Archives in determining its priorities, and in order to compile accurate inventories of records. Accordingly, in November

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<sup>149</sup> NAZ SEC 1/147, A Note from C.A.R. Charnaud, Administrative Secretary (Lusaka) to standing Finance Committee, Archives Department (Lusaka), August 1947.

<sup>150</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Report to the Colonial Office on Preservation of Official Archives in Northern Rhodesia, 1 June 1948.

<sup>151</sup> See NAZ SEC 1/144, Minutes of the Royal Commission for Central African Archives, 21-22 July 1948. A new repository which was ant-proof and water-proof was built adjacent to the main building of the Livingstone Museum, but not attached, thus obviating the chances of the migration of ants.

<sup>152</sup> By the 1950s, a graduate Archival diploma had been instituted at University College London. The programme consisted of courses in archives administration, administrative history, palaeography of English and archives transcription. Additionally, twelve months full-time paid service in an approved repository was to be completed before the diploma could be granted.

<sup>153</sup> Central African Archives, *Annual Report, 1947-1948*, 49.

<sup>154</sup> Baxter, 'The Preservation of Archives with Particular Reference to Central Africa,' 58.

1947, A.T. Williams, the administrative secretary to the Northern Rhodesian government despatched a circular with a questionnaire attached to all heads of departments, Provincial Commissioners and District Commissioners in Northern Rhodesia.<sup>155</sup> The questionnaire wanted to know the nature and bulk of the records held by the various government offices, their state of preservation, the way in which they were ordered and their conditions of custody and storage. The results of the survey revealed that the bulk of the most important records were located at the Secretariat, rather than in government departments or local district and provincial offices, and that storage everywhere, especially in local offices, was inadequate<sup>156</sup> The survey also revealed that the records that were deposited at the Livingstone Museum in the late 1930s, were in a poor state of preservation. Provincial and district offices seemed to have taken little advantage of the service as a first attempt at establishing a central archive for permanent preservation, and the museum itself had little resources to spare for any work on the records.<sup>157</sup>

The results of the survey certainly helped to determine priorities in the preservation of archives in Northern Rhodesia. The first priority was the older records. In view of the break caused by the end of the BSAC administration in 1923, it was decided that initially, only those records that were created before 30 March 1924, were to be transferred immediately to the Central African Archives.<sup>158</sup> These records were considered as important, as they represented the historical record of the period before 1924. Furthermore, the records created during the BSAC administration needed immediate archival care, because they were in a poor state of preservation. As noted in chapter three, the company administration had not instituted any system for the safekeeping and preservation of its records during its administration.

The initial transfer of the BSAC documents consisted of approximately 500 cubic feet. More than half were transferred from the Secretariat in Lusaka. It included the earliest records of the administrators of N.W. Rhodesia, N.E. Rhodesia and Northern Rhodesia. Others were from the offices of the Chief Secretary and also those of the High Commissioner for South

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<sup>155</sup> NAZ SEC 1/149, Circular from A.T. Williams, Administrative Secretary to Heads of Departments, Provincial Commissioners and District Commissioners, 2 November 1947.

<sup>156</sup> Central African Archives, *Annual Report, 1947-1948*, 10.

<sup>157</sup> Central African Archives, *Annual Report, 1947-1948*, 10.

<sup>158</sup> Central African Archives, *Annual Report, 1947-1948*, 10.

Africa, and of the resident commissioner. The remainder were mostly from provincial and District Commissioners. Notable records included correspondence with Lewanika, paramount chief of Barotseland, who had sought to place himself under British Protection in 1888, and upon whose concessions mining and other rights, which facilitated British penetration into Northern Rhodesia, were based, as discussed in chapter two. About twelve cubic feet of assorted government records were also transferred from the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, where they had been deposited under previous arrangements for the preservation of historical documents.<sup>159</sup> In Nyasaland, where there was no constitutional break after the transfer of the administration from the Foreign Office to the Colonial Office, all records that were fifteen years or older, were transferred to its depot immediately.<sup>160</sup>

The Central African Archives' acquisition of papers identified as valuable in Northern Rhodesia was not without problems. There was notable competition between the archives depot and the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum in the acquisition of documents of historical interest.<sup>161</sup> Instead of acting as clearinghouse, it seemed as if the museum wanted to retain the records on its premises. According to the chief archivist, official records of Northern Rhodesia had been extracted from files at various times and sent as curiosities to the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum. It was a challenge to recover these and also to avoid competition with the museum in the collection of private papers. The trustees of the museum were often unwilling to deposit records with the archives depot. Major difficulties were encountered in obtaining the consent of the donors and further difficulty was the Museum's wish to display originals, even though photocopies could in many ways have been more suitable for exhibition. This worked against the transmission of records.<sup>162</sup> Despite the Chief Secretary and the chief archivist's earnest intervention in the matter, the museum's trustees refused to cooperate.<sup>163</sup>

Overall, the Colonial Office monitored the state of the archives in Northern Rhodesia, in conjunction with the Public Records Office in London. In 1948, an important memorandum by the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records set out the basic principles of archive keeping,

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<sup>159</sup> Central African Archives, *Annual Report, 1947-1948*, 24.

<sup>160</sup> Central African Archives, *Annual Report, 1947-1948*, 51.

<sup>161</sup> NAZ SEC 1/144, Minutes of the Royal Commission for Central African Archives, 21-22 July 1948.

<sup>162</sup> NAZ SEC 1/144, Minutes of the Royal Commission for Central African Archives, 21-22 July 1948.

<sup>163</sup> NAZ SEC 1/144, Minutes of the Royal Commission for Central African Archives, 10-11 June 1947.

and the expected benefits of a complete survey of colonial archives.<sup>164</sup> The Colonial Secretary observed that in some colonies the arrangements for storing and preserving official documents had not kept pace with the accumulation of documents no longer required for current purposes, and that unless matters improved, documents and records of permanent historical value would be seriously damaged, destroyed or even lost. In 1948, the Colonial Office put in motion a survey of the state of archives preservation in each colonial territory. In the case of Northern Rhodesia, the preservation of archives were found to be in a satisfactory state, primarily because of the Central Africa Archives initiative.<sup>165</sup>

In August 1950, the process of archives creation in Northern Rhodesia was discontinued. The authorities closed the archives depot in Livingstone because of a shortage of staff. The assistant archivist in charge of the archives depot had resigned, and the deputy archivist was obliged to take leave for health reasons. No replacements were available within the department, as it then had a minimal staff compliment. Consequently, the destruction committee's archiving activities were discontinued in Northern Rhodesia. Records already in the custody of the depot were transferred to Salisbury. The appraisal of records by way of sorting, selecting, classifying and indexing was now carried out by the Central African Archives on behalf of Northern Rhodesia. The process of records preservation was only resumed within Northern Rhodesia when the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was formed in 1953.

### **4.3 Conclusion**

This chapter has shown that the history of the centralisation and creation of archives in Northern Rhodesia in the period 1945 to 1953, is closely linked to that of Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. In 1945, Southern Rhodesia negotiated for regional collaboration in centralising its archives and those of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, in Salisbury. The most pertinent reason given by Southern Rhodesia for its suggestion of joint centralisation was to secure the documentary resources of its neighbouring territories. It is evident that its

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<sup>164</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Memorandum from Hillary Jenkinson, Deputy Keeper Public Records Office (London) to Governor, Northern Rhodesia, 11 March 1948.

<sup>165</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Circular, Jones Creech, Secretary to the State (Colonial Office-London) to Governor, Northern Rhodesia, 11 March 1948.

reasons were also driven by economics, as the Southern Rhodesian government was in need of a grant from the Beit Trust for the construction of an archives building within its territory. Collaboration with the territories of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland was considered as a catalyst for acquiring the grant, as the Beit Trust was more sympathetic to the needs of these territories. Initially, the Northern Rhodesian government was reluctant to accept the proposal of a joint archives service, for several reasons. Among others, the suggested archives building by Southern Rhodesia was perceived as too elaborate and overambitious for Northern Rhodesia – a wasteful expenditure, since its envisioned scale exceeded Salisbury's small population and detracted from its primary function as a records repository. However, the poor state of records preservation in Northern Rhodesia was a notable turning point, which led the government to embrace the centralisation of its archives. At the same time, it signified a transformation in the conception of archives in Northern Rhodesia, from being solely the preserve of administrators to also encompassing a resource for the broader public. The joint archives service became a channel through which Northern Rhodesia was introduced, for the first time, to the professional archiving of its documentary resources. Southern Rhodesia provided mentorship by extending the services of its archives staff to Northern Rhodesia. This was facilitated through archives legislation that was passed in 1946, which empowered Southern Rhodesia to assume the role of custodian over the Central African Archives. Through the Archives Ordinance of 1946, Northern Rhodesia was able to establish an archives depot that acted as a clearinghouse and thus conducted the preliminary processes of permanent archives production, before their transfer to the central repository in Southern Rhodesia. At the same time, the Ordinance provided for the formulation of archives regulations, through the office of the Governor of Northern Rhodesia, which also guided the processes of collection, preservation and disposal of archival materials pertaining to Northern Rhodesia.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### The Federal Government and Records Management in Northern Rhodesia, 1953 – 1963

#### 5.1. Introduction

In the period between 1953 and 1963, the processes whereby archives in Northern Rhodesia were established and preserved were transformed by a new development in regional politics. In 1953, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was formed.<sup>1</sup> It encompassed the British protectorate of Northern Rhodesia (modern-day Zambia), the colony of Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and the protectorate of Nyasaland (Malawi). The newly established federal government assumed a number of public services formerly under the aegis of the territorial governments of Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland (hereafter: the three territories). One of these services was the Central African Archives (CAA), which became a department of the federal government.

This chapter considers the relationship between the transformation of the state and the formation and development of archives during the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The chapter highlights how political and economic shifts introduced by the federal government, influenced the processes whereby archives were created, preserved and managed in Northern Rhodesia. In particular, it examines the role played by the federal government in the amendment of archival legislation and how this transformed the systems whereby archival documents were processed and preserved in Northern Rhodesia. The chapter further considers the introduction of a records management system to manage semi-current records (records that were not in active use but still needed for reference) in the federal government's departments. In conclusion, the chapter refers to the dissolution of the federation in 1963, highlighting the collaborative processes that involved the sharing of federal records in a central system, the implications of fragmentation of a central archives

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<sup>1</sup> For the reasons, processes of formation, and the dissolution of the federation see, for example, Andrew Cohen, *The Politics and Economics of Decolonization in Africa: The Failed Experiment of the Central African Federation* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2017); Andrew Cohen, 'Business and Decolonisation in Central Africa Reconsidered,' *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 36/4 (2008), 641-658; and J.R.T. Wood, *The Welensky Papers: A History of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland* (Durban: Graham Publishing, 1983).

system to follow, and the management of the custodial dilemma of preservation of indivisible federal records. This administrative change from an individual territorial government system to a federal system provides a framework to highlight how the nature and politics of records management were influenced by changing political and economic forces during this period – and came to reflect it.

## **5. 2 The federal government and the provision of archives legislation**

### **5. 2. 1 The federal government and the challenges of financing archives**

The Federal Government of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was established on 1 August 1953, under the leadership of Godfrey Huggins as prime minister.<sup>2</sup> As far as Northern Rhodesia was concerned, government was transformed into a triangle of power based in Salisbury, London, and Lusaka. The federal government, its ministry headquarters, offices and departments, was situated in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia. The CAA, which previously operated as an agency for the three territories, was transformed into a fully-fledged archives department under the federal government.<sup>3</sup>

The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland shared some features with other federations in the British Empire, particularly with regards to its control of financial resources.<sup>4</sup> It was common practice in most federations for the central governments to have exclusive control

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<sup>2</sup> Lewis H. Gann, *A History of Northern Rhodesia: Early Days to 1953* (New York: Humanities Press, 1969), 435.

<sup>3</sup> Gann, *A History of Northern Rhodesia*, 435.

<sup>4</sup> The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland formed part of a wider movement, as the second half of the twentieth century also witnessed the formation of other federations in the British Empire. After the end of the Second World War, federalism in the British Commonwealth became a trend and a means of solving or softening the problems of government in countries that were about to attain independence. In 1954, for example, the federal system of Nigeria was formed to establish a common government and secure the sovereignty of Nigeria. Also, in 1956, the Caribbean Federation Act was passed, which formed the British West Indies Federation. It was intended to establish a political union among the Caribbean countries that would become independent from Britain. In July 1963, the Federation of Malaya, North Borneo, Sarawak and Singapore signed the Malaysia Agreement, and Britain relinquished sovereignty over the colonies of North Borneo, Sarawak and the state of Singapore. See, for example, K.C. Wheare, *Federal Government* (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), 26; Abdul Lateef, 'The Federal System of Nigeria,' *Pakistan Horizon*, 16/2 (1963), 133-140; Ronald L. Watts, *Comparing Federal Systems in the 1990s* (Kingston, Ontario: Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, 1996), 3; Mandy Banton, *Administering the Empire, 1801-1968: A Guide to the Records of the Colonial Office in the National Archives of the UK* (London: Institute of Historical Research, 2015), 240-241; and William Riker, 'The Origin and Purposes of Federalism,' in John Kincaid (ed.), *Federalism* (London: Sage Publications, 2011), 189-218.

over revenue from customs and excise as well as from taxes on income.<sup>5</sup> It oversaw the region's main economic activities and was responsible for customs, currency, company legislation, immigration and citizenship, and communication systems. The federal government did however, despite central responsibility for revenue, not assume immediate financial responsibility for Northern Rhodesia's preservation and management of archives.<sup>6</sup> Although the financial year for the federation and all the territorial governments commenced with the formation of the federation in 1953, the Northern Rhodesia government was concerned that the federal government had made no financial provision for its archives.<sup>7</sup> By September 1953, the federal government had still not made a decision about financing and assuming responsibility for the archives. Planning concentrated on the establishment of federal ministries, and on such matters as the up-coming federal elections.<sup>8</sup> The interim federal government was preoccupied with constitutional preparations. It perceived its primary task to be the framing of regulations under which the first general election could be held.<sup>9</sup> The new federal government paid little immediate attention to the administration and management of its archives.<sup>10</sup>

Overlooking the management and financing of archival resources at the outset of newly designed federal states, was not peculiar to Northern Rhodesia. In reference to the history of the federal archives of Malaysia, F.R.J. Verhoeven recognised that at the formation of many African and Asian federations in the twentieth century, care for archival records was

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<sup>5</sup> See for example, Wheare, *Federal Government*, 95 and Gann, *A History of Northern Rhodesia*, 434.

<sup>6</sup> National Archives of Zambia (hereafter NAZ) Ministry of Home Affairs (hereafter MHA) 1/5/1, Correspondence, from M. Evans, Chairman, Joint Preparatory Committee (Salisbury) to Chief Secretary, Northern Rhodesia (Lusaka), 15 September 1953.

<sup>7</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/1, Correspondence from C.A.R Charnaud, Secretary, Joint Preparatory Committee (Salisbury) to Chief Secretary, (Lusaka), 15 September 1953. See also NAZ MHA 1/5/1, Correspondence from D.M.S. Ebben, Chief Secretary, Northern Rhodesia Government (Lusaka) to Secretary, Joint Preparatory Committee (Salisbury), 4 September 1953. It was approved in principle that the financial responsibility of the Northern Rhodesia Archives would only be assumed effective 1 July 1954 by the Federal Government. The fiscal commission and the draft federal scheme (Command paper No. 875), indicated that the administration and all expenditure on archives would be a responsibility of the federal government.

<sup>8</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/1, Correspondence from M. Evans, Chairperson, Joint Preparatory Committee (Salisbury) to Chief Secretary, Northern Rhodesia (Lusaka), 15 September 1953.

<sup>9</sup> Wood, *The Welensky Papers*, 381.

<sup>10</sup> National Archives of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, *Annual Report, 1954-1962* (Salisbury: National Archives, 1963), 5.

not a priority.<sup>11</sup> However, it was a widely held principle that it was the duty of federal governments to preserve its archives for posterity.<sup>12</sup>

It is therefore not surprising that taking financial responsibility for the management of territorial archives was not an urgent matter for the Federal Government of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Financial and legislative planning for archives was well down the government agenda. In 1954, as the federal assembly prepared to debate legislation for the new federation, archives only appeared as item 70 on its list of matters for debate.<sup>13</sup> To compound this, by this time the Northern Rhodesian budget could already not cover the cost of maintaining the archives in the custody of the CAA Repository in Salisbury. Northern Rhodesia only obtained an assurance through a November 1953 memorandum from W.H. Dell, the secretary to the federal treasury, that any expenditure incurred, would be refunded by the federal government.<sup>14</sup>

Relegating the funding of archives to the bottom of the federal government's agenda retarded the progress of archives preservation and it had immediate consequences. In the first year of the federation, the Northern Rhodesian government, for example, found it difficult to finance record appraisal programmes. It was a government obligation to fund the systematic activities for the review and disposal of public records under the guidance of an archivist from the CAA. At specified intervals, the archives destruction committee was supposed to conduct appraisals of government records to prevent limitless accumulations while safeguarding information that required permanent preservation.<sup>15</sup> The Archives Destruction and Disposal Regulations (1947) discussed in the previous chapter, required

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<sup>11</sup> F.R.J. Verhoeven, 'National Archives of Malaysia,' *Journal of South-East Asian History*, 7/1 (1966), 122-123.

<sup>12</sup> Well preserved archival information was perceived as a basis for efficient administration, providing the foundation for historical research and the establishment of a 'national heritage'. Verhoeven a Dutch archivist, was appointed by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in the mid-1950s at the request of the Malaysian federal government to advise and assist in the organisation and preservation of the archives of the federal state. See for example, Frank B. Evans, *Malaysia: Development of the Archives and Records Management Programme* (Paris: UNESCO, 1982), 4.

<sup>13</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/1, Correspondence from F.J. Cliff, Secretary Home Affairs (Salisbury) to Chief Secretary Northern Rhodesia (Lusaka), 26 February 1954.

<sup>14</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/1, Memorandum on Joint Services from W.H. Dell, Secretary to the Treasury (Salisbury) to the Economic Secretary, Northern Rhodesia Government (Lusaka), 28 November 1953. The tendency of placing archives at the periphery of government agendas was also notable in the late 1940s, when the Central African Archives was established. See, for example, Central African Archives, *Annual Report, 1947-1948* (Salisbury: Central African Archives, 1949), 2.

<sup>15</sup> See Northern Rhodesia Archives Ordinance, No. 21. 1946, Appendix in Central African Archives, *Annual Report, 1935-1947*, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1947), 105-106.

government departments to prepare lists of public records in their custody for submission to the CAA with suggestions for their retention or destruction.<sup>16</sup> But, the financial challenges caused by the delayed provision of funds from the federal government made it impossible to enforce an effective system of appraisal.

Northern Rhodesia was also not in a position to finance records survey activities. It had been planned from the outset of the establishment of the CAA that archivists were to visit government departments and offices to advise on the compilation of 'standing instructions'.<sup>17</sup> The 1953 report on the examination of deposits made to the CAA, together with personal observations made by the chief archivist during inspection visits to Northern Rhodesia, confirmed that records surveys were not being conducted.<sup>18</sup> Some departments had not submitted any lists of recommendations for either destruction or preservation to the archives department. This was compounded by the fact that no efforts were being made to keep the standing instructions updated with newly created classes of records. Even where the standing instructions had been issued, they were often mislaid, forgotten or ignored. Furthermore, inadequate funding resulted in most departments facing backlogs of records, many of which could not be scheduled for disposal.<sup>19</sup>

Arguably, however, despite the financial challenges noted above, the Federal Government of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was privileged to have an already established archiving system. For example, when the Federation of Malaysia was being set up the organisation and preservation of official records was only guided by a series of general memoranda. Although the circulars had no legal backing, they did prohibit the destruction of any 'files or other public records' without prior consultation with the keeper of public records. The circulars also provided advice to departments on the care and maintenance of their records.<sup>20</sup> In the case of Nigeria, the centralisation of archives and the formulation of archives ordinances only began at the formation of the federation.<sup>21</sup> An administrative order for the

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<sup>16</sup> NAZ SEC 1/149, Circular from A.T. Williams, Administrative Secretary (Lusaka), to Heads of Departments, Provincial Commissioners, District Commissioners, 28 August 1947.

<sup>17</sup> Central African Archives, *Annual Report, 1947-1948*, 11.

<sup>18</sup> Central African Archives, *Annual Report, 1949-1954 (Salisbury: Central African Archives, 1955)*, 18.

<sup>19</sup> Central African Archives, *Annual Report, 1949-1954*, 17-18.

<sup>20</sup> Evans, *Malaysia: Development of the Archives and Records Management Programme*, 7.

<sup>21</sup> See Abiola Abioye, 'Fifty Years of Archives Administration in Nigeria: Lessons for the Future,' *Records Management Journal*, 17/1 (2007), 52-62.

centralisation of official archives was promulgated in April 1954. This followed on from the recommendations of Kenneth Dike, an eminent scholar whose primary concern was to find permanent solution to the problem of storage and the preservation of the bulk of government records. Prior to the legal formation of the Federation of Nigeria in 1951, Dike had been commissioned by the Nigerian colonial administration to survey colonial government records and to make recommendations for their proper custody, storage and preservation.<sup>22</sup> This eventually resulted in Public Archives Ordinance No. 43 of 1957, which established a public records office for the centralisation and preservation of public archives in the federal period.<sup>23</sup> This was very different from the situation in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, which already had archives legislation passed by the legislative councils of Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Consequently, in the initial five years of the formation of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (1953-1958) the processes of archives creation, preservation as well as management in all three territories, continued to be administered under the provisions of the respective territorial archives legislation.<sup>24</sup>

### **5.2.2 The federal government and the interim archives legislation for Northern Rhodesia**

The immediate focus of the federal government was the passage of legislation to enable the government to assume control of its most basic functions. This did not include emphasis on the control and preservation of archival records. A turning point came with the review of archives legislation in March 1954, when a different chapter in the history of archives creation and preservation in Northern Rhodesia began. The office of the federal prime minister directed that procedures for appraising documents and their preservation were to follow the terms in Section (7) of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (Constitution) Order in Council of 1954.<sup>25</sup> The section emphasised the continuation and adaptation of territorial laws. This was subject to amendment or repeal by the federal government. Additionally, the Order in Council authorised the federal governor-general to create orders

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<sup>22</sup> C.O. Onyeneke, 'Accessibility of Records in the National Archives of South East Nigeria,' PhD Thesis, (Imo State University, 2016), 1-10.

<sup>23</sup> Onyeneke, 'Accessibility of Records in the National Archives of South East Nigeria,' 1-10.

<sup>24</sup> National Archives of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, *Annual Report 1954-1962*, 5.

<sup>25</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/1, Correspondence from Secretary, Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet Office (Salisbury) to Chief Secretary, Northern Rhodesia Government (Lusaka), 15 March 1954.

on the modifications or adaptation of archives legislation made by the territorial governments before the federation was formed.<sup>26</sup>

In the same year, the Territorial Amendment Act (hereafter: Amendment Act) was passed through the Federal Government Notice No 168. It stipulated that the creation and preservation of federal archives were to be administered in terms of the Amendment Act. The Federal Governor-General accordingly ordered the passing of the Archives and Judicial Records (Northern Rhodesia) Order of 1954 (hereafter Northern Rhodesia Archives Order). It replaced the Archives and Judicial Records Ordinance (Chapter 24) of Northern Rhodesia. The Governor-General however, ordered that all its provisions should be followed by the government in administering the creation and preservation of federal archives and records.<sup>27</sup> The principles of the preceding archives legislation of Northern Rhodesia, were adopted to shape the federal archives but with amendments and in ways that suited the realities of the federal framework.

Through the Northern Rhodesia Archives Order, a federal government archivist was appointed to replace the chief archivist, the legal administrator of all territorial archives. The office of the chief archivist had previously been responsible for archives creation procedures and custody. Now, the federal archivist was specifically appointed to facilitate the production and preservation of the archives of the federal government. The federal archivist had to facilitate the creation of two distinct categories of archives: judicial and public archives. The judicial archives were processed from the records generated through federal court proceedings, as well as court offices; while public archives were produced from records of every kind, nature and description which were deemed historically significant, created by federal government departments.<sup>28</sup> This distinction was due to the fact that prior to federation, the control and preservation of judicial records had been the responsibility of the High Court, while public records, generated by government, were administered by the Central African Archives. In 1947, the Disposal of Judicial Records Ordinance was passed and

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<sup>26</sup> See Federal Government of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, *The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (Constitution) Order in Council* (Salisbury: Government Printer, 1955).

<sup>27</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/1, Federal Government Notice, 3 May, 1954. See also Federal Government of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, *Archives and Judicial Records (Northern Rhodesia) Order, 1954* (Salisbury: Government Printer, 1955).

<sup>28</sup> Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, *Archives and Judicial Records (Northern Rhodesia) Order, 1954*, 2.

gave power to the High Court to make rules authorising the disposal of court records.<sup>29</sup> As a result, the chief archivist was blocked from access to court records in Northern Rhodesia for their control, care and custody. This meant that court records were not eligible for preservation under the professional care of archivists at the Central African Archives, according to the stipulations of the Archives Ordinance No. 21 of 1946. However, in the lead up to federation, in the early 1950s, the two sets of archives legislation were combined so as to place all the documentary resources of the Northern Rhodesian government under the overall authority of the federation's archives department.<sup>30</sup> Integrating the two sets of legislation now allowed the federal archivist to be responsible for both judicial and public records.

Furthermore, the Northern Rhodesia Archives Order provided for a system of checks and balances over the processes of archives management. The federal minister of home affairs supervised the administration of government archives and records in Northern Rhodesia and the other territorial governments, as well as the activities of the federal archivist with regard to appraisal, custody and control of public records and archives. In cases where the management of archives needed immediate attention, the minister of home affairs could direct the federal archivist to examine any records in the custody of any federal government department, court or court offices and to provide advice on their care, custody and control.<sup>31</sup> The minister therefore became the final authority on the permanent destruction or retention of records and archives. While the creators of government records (government departments) determined which records no longer had any administrative, legal, research, or historical value, none of the records could be destroyed or disposed of unless approved by the minister. The Archives Order also authorised the federal archivist to

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<sup>29</sup> NAZ SEC 1/149, Correspondence from E. Waddington, Governor, Northern Rhodesia (Lusaka) to Chief Justice, High Court, Northern Rhodesia (Livingstone), 26 November 1947.

<sup>30</sup> In 1947, the Governor of Northern Rhodesia had suggested that the Disposal of Judicial Records Ordinance, 1938 and the Judicial Records Disposal Regulations of 1947 be repealed. It was agreed that a set of regulations to cover judicial records would be made under the Archives Ordinance (1946), but distinct from the Archives (Destruction and Disposal) Regulations, 1947. This meant that, now Magistrates were to sort court records and transfer them to the Central African Archives, unlike before, when records were sorted and destroyed by the courts. See, NAZ SEC 1/147, Correspondence from Chief Justice, High Court (Livingstone) to Governor Northern Rhodesia (Lusaka), 18 November 1947.

<sup>31</sup> See Section (4), Federal Government of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, *Archives and Judicial Records (Northern Rhodesia) Order, 1954*. See also Appendix, National Archives of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, *Annual Report 1954-1962*, 69.

initiate the production of any archives in his custody, provided this was done with the approval of the Chief Secretary to the federal government and the consent of the Registrar of the High Court. The reason for this was that the Chief Secretary was in charge of facilitating the creation of all government documentation, while the Registrar was the legal administrator of judicial records in Northern Rhodesia.

The placement of archival management under the authority of a supreme government authority, such as a government minister, was important for enhancing and foregrounding archival processes and preventing the destruction of potentially valuable public information. Ministerial oversight of processes of archives management was typical of federal archives legislations in the British Empire and most British Commonwealth governments assigned particular bodies vested with the responsibility of executing archives legislation and supervising archiving procedures.<sup>32</sup> However, the governmental authority under which archives were placed differed from country to country and may or may not have been an indication of the associative value each placed on its archival collections. In Ghana, for example, from the 1950s to 1983, either the Minister of Defence or Minister of External Affairs administered public archives at different times. In 1954 Nigeria, by contrast, public archives were placed under the control of the Ministry of Education.<sup>33</sup> A basic consideration in its placement was that archival functions would be more effectively performed under an official with inter-ministerial or supra-ministerial authority. This practice was thought to have resulted in better and more effective archiving services in several Commonwealth states.<sup>34</sup>

The Northern Rhodesia Archives Order furthermore retained the archives commission as an advisory entity. Correspondingly, the territorial archives' legislative amendments in Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland also maintained the archives commission for the provision of archival advice to the minister. In the federal period, the archives commission became a common authority that defined the character of the federal archives. Although

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<sup>32</sup> E. Burke, 'Some Archival Legislation of the British Commonwealth,' *The American Archivist* 22/3 (1959), 275-296.

<sup>33</sup> S.A Olunlade and A. Adebayo, 'An Historical Outline of Archival Legislation and Records Management in the West African Subregion,' *IFE Psychologia* 4/2 (1996), 168-197.

<sup>34</sup> See Eric Ketelaar, *Archival and Records Management, Legislation and Regulations: A RAMP Study with Guidelines* (Paris: UNESCO, 1985), 34-36.

the commission had existed previously, it had been for the specific purpose of providing advice to the respective governors on the preservation and destruction of archives and records. In the federal era, the role of the archives commission was transformed and expanded to provide advice on all matters concerning public archives to a common authority in the form of the Minister of Home Affairs, the legal administrator of all federal records. Final authority in the management of archives was thus placed under a common authority, as the federal government co-ordinated common services for the three territories and generated records of common interest to all governments involved.

Initially, the CAA repository had been the strict preserve of the three territorial governments. But with the passing of the Archives Orders in all three territories, the repository henceforth included the preservation of federal records. In July 1954, the federal government formally assumed the responsibility of financing and controlling the process of archives management and preservation.<sup>35</sup> This coincided with the first archives legislation under the federal government, which instructed that all federal records were to be transferred to the CAA repository in Salisbury.<sup>36</sup> The previous financial arrangement whereby the cost of the maintenance of the archives was shared by contributions from the three territorial governments thus came to an end. The CAA ceased to be a Southern Rhodesia agency that simply extended its operations into Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.<sup>37</sup> Thus complete unification in the preservation of documents of common interest and value was accomplished.<sup>38</sup>

The interim archives' legislation of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland shared many features with that of the Union of South Africa (1910). As mentioned earlier, the first archives legislation of Southern Rhodesia (1935), which also informed that of Northern Rhodesia (1946), was modelled on that of the Union of South Africa (1922). It now transpired that federal legislation followed a similar trend. Following South African practices, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland made archives a matter of central

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<sup>35</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/1, Correspondence from the Chairperson, Joint Preparatory Committee, (Salisbury) to Chief Secretary, Northern Rhodesia Government (Lusaka), 15 September 1953.

<sup>36</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/1, Correspondence from the Chairperson, Joint Preparatory Committee, (Salisbury) to Chief Secretary, Northern Rhodesia Government (Lusaka), 15 September 1953.

<sup>37</sup> Central African Archives, *Annual Report 1949-1954*, 9.

<sup>38</sup> NAZ MHA 1/ 5/1, Correspondence, from Secretary, Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet Office to Chief Secretary, Northern Rhodesia Government (Lusaka), 15 March 1954.

government.<sup>39</sup> Interim legislation stipulated that all territorial archives remain incorporated in a single entity and operated as a centralised service under the CAA. In South Africa, public archives, not required for administrative purpose, were transferred periodically to archival depots, of which there was one for the Union government and one for each province (Cape Colony, Transvaal, Natal and Orange Free State).<sup>40</sup> The service was thus decentralised geographically, with archive repositories maintained in each provincial capital under the centralised administrative control of a head office. Similarly, under the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, archives legislation permitted Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland to continue processing records in their respective territorial archives depots for preservation in the central repository in Southern Rhodesia. While Nyasaland utilised this provision, Northern Rhodesia did not because of the closure of its archives depot explained above.

### **5.2.3 The making and implementation of subsidiary archives legislation in Northern Rhodesia**

Parallel to the review of the principal archives' legislation discussed above, the records destruction and disposal regulations were also amended according to the requirements of the federal arrangement. In Northern Rhodesia, minor archives' legislation was subsumed under the Archives Order of 1954, which was the principal legislation. Records destruction and disposal regulations in Northern Rhodesia were not very different from those that existed before the federation. The most important change was the introduction of different terminology to suit the new federal government. Furthermore, the Federal Government Notice No 168 of 1954 stated that, 'the Records Destruction and Disposal Amendment Regulations of 1954 were to be read as one with the Records Destruction and Disposal Regulations of 1950 structured before the federation.'<sup>41</sup>

The main focus of records regulations in the federal period was that of limiting the retention period of records considered of no continued value while privileging the permanent

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<sup>39</sup> The Archival Platform, *State of the Archives: An Analysis of South Africa's National Archival System, 2014* (Rondebosch: The Archival Platform, 2015), 20.

<sup>40</sup> See The Archival Platform, *State of the Archives*, 20.

<sup>41</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/1, Federal Government Notice, 3 May, 1954. See also, Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, *Judicial Records Destruction and Disposal Amendment Regulation, 1954* (Salisbury: Government Printer, 1955).

preservation of those records considered of continuing value. In the federal period, the regulations which determined public records of importance for permanent preservation and those deemed no longer of value and therefore destined for destruction, were essentially made in the late 1940s by the colonial government. Although pre-federal archival legislation was redrafted and amended, as demonstrated in the previous section, the basic principles of defining records of permanent value for preservation remained unchanged. In August 1947, a circular with an example describing what important information was deemed valuable for preservation and what was therefore to be considered of value to be permanently preserved or otherwise destroyed, was despatched by A.T. Williams, the Administrative Secretary of Northern Rhodesia, to all heads of government departments.<sup>42</sup>

Records considered for preservation were those which contained policy, embodied precedents or contained information of historical, legal, fiscal, administrative or statistical value. This criterion of preservation meant that a document had to contain information that would cast light upon the functioning of the administrative entities, the history of the administrative body, and meet scholarly needs for information in general. On the other hand, the instruction stated that all records eligible for destruction were those that contained information that was more adequately or succinctly expressed in other documents. Where information in records that dealt with the details and routine execution of policies was adequately reflected in other records, these documents were also considered for destruction. Other documents to be destroyed were supporting documents, such as vouchers and receipts.<sup>43</sup> Arguably, these were guidelines. It only provided a broad indication of what had to be preserved and what had to be destroyed and it did not place a limitation on the discretion of the officers involved.

Based on these guidelines, federal government departments developed standing instructions to guide the CAA, the destruction committee, as well as the Royal Archives Commission, in the appraisal of federal records.<sup>44</sup> Standing instructions were essentially disposal schedules that indicated a list of records created by respective departments and an

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<sup>42</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Circular from A. T. Williams to Heads of Departments, 28 August 1947.

<sup>43</sup> NAZ SEC 1/ 149, Instructions for Compilation of Standing Instructions, Administrative Secretary to Heads of Departments, 28 August 1947.

<sup>44</sup> NAZ SEC 1/145, Circular from A.T. Williams to Heads of Departments, 28 August 1947.

indication of their specified period of retention by the CAA. Under subsidiary legislation, the offices of the federal archivist and the heads of government departments remained important agents in records processing. As previously, the heads of government departments were required to appraise records created by their respective offices for preservation or destruction.<sup>45</sup> The federal archivist ordered the heads of departments to conduct audits of records in their custody and to make recommendations for disposal. Based on the recommendations by the heads of departments, the archivist drew up a list of common classes of records that did not justify permanent preservation. The list of common classes of records provided guidance in the periodic destruction of records.<sup>46</sup> The actual destruction of records, however, was undertaken by the destruction committee, the composition of which continued to include the archivist, attorney-general and auditor-general as permanent members, and departmental representatives as occasional members.<sup>47</sup> The federal archivist continued to serve as chair and convenor of the destruction committee's meetings, and facilitated the process of archives creation.

The reality behind the existence of the federal destruction committee and the Records Destruction Regulations of Northern Rhodesia was that while they were specifically designed to influence the configuration of the federal records and archives, they did not function in the federal period. Since the process of records appraisal was conducted under the revoked Northern Rhodesia Archives Destruction and Disposal Regulations, as noted above, it meant that federal records could be processed for either permanent retention or for destruction only after a period of fifteen years from the date of their creation.<sup>48</sup> At this time, federal records were still in current use for administrative purposes and not yet available for records appraisal purposes. Section (10) and sub-section (1) of the Archives (Destruction and Disposal) Regulation of 1950 clearly stated that the Chief Archivist could order the heads of departments to transfer any public archives in their custody to the CAA, if such public archives were fifteen years or older and no longer required for immediate

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<sup>45</sup> See Northern Rhodesia Government, *Archives Destruction and Disposal Regulations, 1950* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1955).

<sup>46</sup> Northern Rhodesia Government, *Archives Destruction and Disposal Regulations, 1950*, Section 3 (1).

<sup>47</sup> For details on the composition of the Destruction Committee see, Section 3 (4) of the Northern Rhodesia Government, *Archives Destruction and Disposal Regulations, 1950*.

<sup>48</sup> See Section 10 (a) of the Northern Rhodesia Government, *Archives Destruction and Disposal Regulations, 1950*.

official purposes. The only records available for archival attention in Northern Rhodesia at this time were those created in the pre-federal period. As such, even though the Northern Rhodesia Archives Ordinance had been repealed through the passing of the Archives Order, in reality it still remained applicable to pre-federal records. This was the case not only in Northern Rhodesia, but also in Nyasaland, where the territorial archives depot continued to operate on repealed archives legislation when processing its pre-federal records. Thus, the amendment of the destruction and disposal regulation failed to alter the process of archives production and the legacy of preceding archives legislation continued to influence archives production and hence the nature of government archives into the federal era.

In Northern Rhodesia, one example among many is a letter dated, 8 June 1956, written by Ivor Graham, the Northern Rhodesian archivist, to the Chief Secretary of Northern Rhodesia, on the disposal of government records. The archivist insisted that federal archives policy should not be applied to archives that were not 'federal' in nature and therefore formal instruction was required from the Chief Secretary:

There is a list in connection with files dealing with other subjects not Federal, for example, Customs, Posts and Telegraphs, Prisons and Audit. These files are of course quite likely to contain important matters of policy, precedent and information of use to the present Administration.

It is a fundamental principle of archive administration that the policy and office which compiled the records and in whose custody they have always been should advise on the disposal of its own files and should retain them until they are taken over for safe custody and preservation, either permanently or for a limited period, by the Archives or are destroyed in accordance with the decisions of the Records Destruction Committee, confirmed by the Archives Committee for Central African Archives and the Federal Minister for Home Affairs. In view of the absence of any

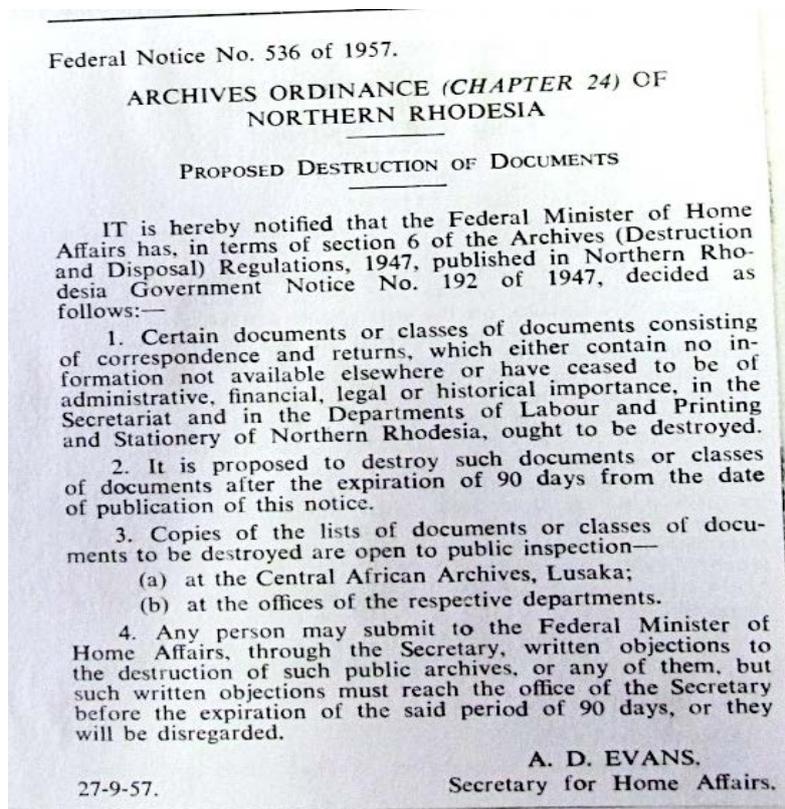
regulations under the Archives not covering this specific point, I would be glad to have your instructions to maintain the previous policy.<sup>49</sup>

The Federal Notice No 536 of 1957, is another illustrative example. It was created by the Secretary of Home Affairs, E.D. Evans, published in the *Government Gazette* but basing its authority on the 'cancelled' Archives Ordinance (Chapter 24) of Northern Rhodesia. The picture below of this particular notice provides details of documents selected for destruction, including the names of the creating departments.

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<sup>49</sup> NAZ SEC 1/146, Correspondence from I. Graham, Northern Rhodesia, Archivist (Lusaka) to Chief Secretary, Northern Rhodesia Government (Lusaka), 8 June 1956. See also NAZ SEC/146, Correspondence from I. Graham, Northern Rhodesia Archivist (Lusaka) to Chief Secretary, Northern Rhodesia Government (Lusaka), 27 July 1956; NAZ SEC 1/146, Correspondence from I. Graham, Northern Rhodesia, Archivist (Lusaka) to Chief Secretary, Northern Rhodesia Government (Lusaka), 10 May 1956; NAZ SEC 1/146, Correspondence from I. Graham, Northern Rhodesia, Archivist (Lusaka) to Chief Secretary, Northern Rhodesia Government (Lusaka), 4 June 1956; and NAZ SEC 1/146, Correspondence from I. Graham, Northern Rhodesia, Archivist (Lusaka) to Chief Secretary, Northern Rhodesia Government (Lusaka), 15 October 1956.

Figure 5.1: Federal Government Notice of 1957



Source: NAZ SEC 1/146, Preservation and Destruction of Government Records, 1948-1958. This Notice provides evidence that in the federal period, the Northern Rhodesia records destruction committee continued to be guided by the repealed archives legislation in processing pre-federal government archives.

The Northern Rhodesia Archives Order also covered regulations for judicial records in Northern Rhodesia. The provisions of these regulations were subsequently reviewed and endorsed by the federal government through the department of the Prime Minister and the cabinet office. The Northern Rhodesian government was required only to give its consent. A letter dated, 3 May 1954, written by the Secretary of the federal Prime Minister and the cabinet office, and addressed to the Chief Secretary of the Northern Rhodesian government, contained enclosed copies of draft judicial records regulations. The letter sought the

concurrence of the chief justice on the terms of the draft regulations.<sup>50</sup> According to the archives order, regulations pertaining to the production of judicial archives could not be enacted without the approval of the chief justice, who was the principal officer for the judicial system in Northern Rhodesia.<sup>51</sup> In a telegram dated 25 June of the same year, and addressed to the federal Prime Minister, the Chief Justice concurred with the draft regulations. Thereafter, the Judicial Records Regulation came into effect through Federal Government Notice No. 168 of 1954.<sup>52</sup>

The judicial regulations specifically set out the procedure for the creation of federal judicial archives. Distinct from the regulations relating to public records, the judicial regulations provided a clear description of which records were appropriate for permanent preservation and those that would be retained for a specified period of time. Court officers in custody of judicial records were to prescribe the manner in which records scheduled for permanent destruction would be discarded. In this view, it was clearly specified that all records in the custody of any courts, rendered illegible or useless by climate, insects, vermin, fire or water, were to be destroyed immediately by the courts or the officers in custody of those records.<sup>53</sup> Other categories of records recommended for destruction were those generated from the civil and criminal court proceedings of subordinate courts.<sup>54</sup> The subordinate courts recommended the preservation of such records for a period of twelve years from the date of their creation, before permanent destruction. A shorter preservation period of three years was also stipulated for records deemed ephemeral, or those useful for a limited period, such as judicial returns records, routine correspondence relating to dates of trial,

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<sup>50</sup> NAZ SEC MHA 1/5/1, Correspondence from Secretary, Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet Office (Salisbury) to Chief Secretary, Northern Rhodesia Government, 3 May 1954.

<sup>51</sup> See Section 7 (1), Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, *Archives and Judicial Records (Northern Rhodesia) Order, 1954*,

<sup>52</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/1, Telegram from Chief Secretary, Northern Rhodesia (Lusaka) to Prime Minister, Southern Rhodesia (Salisbury), 25 June 1954.

<sup>53</sup> NAZ Ministry of Legal Affairs (hereafter: MLA) 1/15/1, *Judicial Records Destruction and Disposal Regulations, 1954*.

<sup>54</sup> These were records generated from situations in which acquittals or discharges were ordered, in which penalties were imposed, orders for security made, sentences of imprisonment not exceeding one year passed, or those in which an accused person had been committed for trial and complaints were dismissed by a magistrate. See NAZ MLA 1/15/12, *Judicial Records (Destruction and Disposal) Regulations, 1954*.

services of summons and notices, and the execution of warrants, the transfer of proceedings, and the attendance to witnesses' records, among others.<sup>55</sup>

However, there were conditions that had to be met before judicial records could be destroyed. Judicial records could only be destroyed after an adequate backup of details were recorded in the civil and criminal review registers of respective courts. For records related to civil cases, details required were names of the parties involved in the cases, the nature of the claim, and the result of the trial. For criminal case records, details included the names of the accused individuals, the nature of the charge, and the sentence.<sup>56</sup>

The judicial destruction rules also provided for the preservation of records considered of enduring value. Principles similar to those of the pre-federal period continued to influence the preservation of important information. Records which qualified for permanent retention at the CAA were those generated by civil and criminal court proceedings covering, for example, individual ownership of immovable property, the administration of the estate of a minor or of a deceased person, and records associated with the right of inheritance.<sup>57</sup> The regulations also stipulated that all judicial records required for the trials of offenders, as well as the identification of stolen property, were to be permanently preserved.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> NAZ SEC 1/ 147, Judicial Records Destruction and Disposal Regulations, 1950.

<sup>56</sup> NAZ SEC 1/ 147, Judicial Records Destruction and Disposal Regulations, 1950.

<sup>57</sup> NAZ / MLA 1/15/12, Judicial Records Destruction and Disposal Regulations, 1954.

<sup>58</sup> NAZ / MLA 1/15/12, Judicial Records Destruction and Disposal Regulations, 1954.

### **5.3 The introduction of a records management scheme in the federal territories**

#### **5.3.1 The role of records management in the creation of archives in Northern Rhodesia**

The mid-1950s was a turning point for the federal archive department. By this point, the federal system was in place. With the constitution-making finalised, the government embarked on expanding public services. The introduction of a records management scheme (hereafter: records management) transformed the system of creating and keeping archives and records. As Erick Edward Burke observed for the British Commonwealth of the time, records management grappled starkly with the dividing line between the accumulation and destruction of records. The process of archives production was extended to include the management of records not in current use by government departments.<sup>59</sup> Whereas the federal archives' policy only approved the processing of those government records that were fifteen years old or more, the records management scheme included responsibility for records that, while not in everyday use, were still required occasionally for use by government departments. The CAA had no statutory responsibility over the whole range of records management functions, such as organising, conservation and access and other managerial activities involved with records maintenance. Records management formed an important new departure from archives policy to deal with the accumulating volume of semi-current records which was amassing in government offices throughout the federation.<sup>60</sup>

Teddy Baxter, federal archivist of the CAA, was responsible for the introduction of formal records management practices to the federal government. In early 1954, he became aware that government departments were overburdened by dormant records (that is, records no longer in active day-to-day use, but still required for referral). These records were taking up filing space and valuable office accommodation. The archivist proposed to the federal Ministry of Home Affairs that a records management service be introduced whereby semi-current records such as these, from all departments, would be systematically transferred to records centres in the capitals of all three territories. At these centres, records files were to

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<sup>59</sup>For detailed discussion, see Eric Edward Burke, 'Records Management in the Central African Archives,' *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 1/3(1956), 62-66.

<sup>60</sup> Central African Archives, *Annual Report, 1949-1954*, 4.

be scrutinised for records considered of no value, classified, indexed and kept on behalf of the depositing departments pending their subsequent destruction or transfer to the permanent repositories.<sup>61</sup> However, records files would still be issued to depositing departments whenever they were needed for reference. Where no destruction schedules existed, the records management officers were to draft schedules, which would then be passed to the destruction committees for consideration.<sup>62</sup> Thereafter, records would either be destroyed or transferred to the archives in Salisbury for permanent retention. For Northern Rhodesia, the authorities considered the reduction of bulk records effected by this programme as beneficial. It prevented the waste caused by the continued retention of records of no value, but even more importantly, this reduction engendered greater efficiency, heightened accessibility, along with economy throughout the archival service by making available those vital records which were so often lost within a mass of ephemeral material.<sup>63</sup>

In Northern Rhodesia, the motivation for the introduction of records management was influenced by a running example in Australia. Records management in the Federation of Australia (1901) was amongst the earliest archival models that informed later federal governments elsewhere in the British Empire.<sup>64</sup> Australia's archival legislation was also among the earliest to establish standards and procedures to assure the efficient and effective management of records. In Australia, the federal archives department had the task of promoting efficient and economical records management, including providing advice and assistance to government departments.<sup>65</sup> In a memorandum to the Chief Secretary of Northern Rhodesia in February 1954, the federal archivist referenced a successful operation of records management services in Australia: he mentioned that in 1952, after barely two years, Australia, reported savings of £60,000 by freeing up office accommodation, and they planned on saving a further £15,000 in the following year.<sup>66</sup> Within two years,

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<sup>61</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/1, Correspondence, F.J. Cliff, Secretary Home Affairs (Salisbury) to Chief Secretary 26 February, 1954.

<sup>62</sup> Central African Archives, *Annual Report, 1949-1954*, 60.

<sup>63</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/1, Correspondence, F.J. Cliff, Secretary Home Affairs (Salisbury) to Chief Secretary 26 February 1954.

<sup>64</sup> Watts, *Comparing Federal Systems*, 24.

<sup>65</sup> Ketelaar, *Archival and Records Management, Legislation and Regulations*, 48.

<sup>66</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/1, Correspondence from F.J. Cliff, Secretary Home Affairs (Salisbury) to Chief Secretary 26 February 1954.

approximately 450,000 cubic feet of records deemed without value were destroyed, while 27,400 cubic feet of archival records deemed of permanent value, and 43,785 cubic feet of records of temporary administrative, financial and legal value, were transferred to archival centres in Canberra, Melbourne, Sydney and Brisbane.<sup>67</sup> The Australian success story presented a good argument for economy and efficiency in the establishment of a similar scheme within the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. As Baxter pointed out, a major objective of records management was to promote and develop records procedures and techniques, efficiency (especially through accessibility) and the economic utilisation of space, equipment and supplies needed for the creation, maintenance, storage, and servicing of records.<sup>68</sup>

Advocating for the establishment of a records project in Northern Rhodesia, the federal archivist asked the government to re-open the archives depot in Lusaka so that both the new system of records management could be introduced and the processing of archives could resume.<sup>69</sup> Archival services in Northern Rhodesia had come to a near standstill after the closure of the archives depot at Livingstone earlier in 1950, owing to shortages of trained staff. The closure of the depot in Northern Rhodesia and delegating the processing of records to Southern Rhodesia, inevitably reduced the pace at which records could be processed and hence also archives preservation. As a result, potentially valuable records became threatened.<sup>70</sup> A case in point was the huge backlog of records held at the Secretariat's offices. A note written to the Chief Secretary by the confidential clerk, J. Summer, acknowledged this stash of endangered records. These were mostly third copies of despatches such as telegrams kept in the Secretariat offices' strongroom, and which overflowed into passage cupboards.<sup>71</sup> The collection included secret and confidential correspondence from the Colonial Secretary. These were held in locked cupboards in office

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<sup>67</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/1, Correspondence from F.J. Cliff, Secretary Home Affairs (Salisbury) to Chief Secretary 26 February 1954.

<sup>68</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/1, Correspondence from T. Baxter, Assistant Archivist (Salisbury) to Chief Secretary, (Salisbury), 30 September 1955.

<sup>69</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/1, Correspondence from T. Baxter Assistant Archivist (Salisbury) to Chief Secretary, Northern Rhodesia Government (Lusaka), 20 September 1955.

<sup>70</sup> Central African Archives, *Annual Report, 1949-1954*, 60.

<sup>71</sup> NAZ MHA 1 / 5 / 1, A Note from J. Summer, Confidential Secretary (Lusaka) to J. Coombes, Chief Secretary (Lusaka)), 7 December 1955.

corridors.<sup>72</sup> The need to re-establish archives services in Northern Rhodesia was underlined by the confidential clerk's remark that, 'the files have been set aside for so long. I do not know when I shall be able to find time to examine all the old records.'<sup>73</sup> It was indicative of the cumulative effect of the neglect of records management and the danger this poses for access to relevant information.

By 1955, the progress of archival appraisal and preservation in Northern Rhodesia was lagging behind when compared to the neighbouring Nyasaland and Southern Rhodesia. By this time, both Southern Rhodesian and Nyasaland had successfully introduced records management systems. Unlike Northern Rhodesia, however, which at this time was not operating an archival depot, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland extended the scope of their archival depots to include the management of records in current use and those still required for referral, (semi-current records).<sup>74</sup> This enabled archivists to safeguard territorial public records at a much earlier stage in the lifecycle of the archival record.<sup>75</sup> In Southern Rhodesia, a records management centre was established in Cranborne, Salisbury, one of the earliest of such schemes in Southern Africa.<sup>76</sup> The establishment of the records centre was largely influenced by the need to create space in departmental offices, due to additional collections of records generated by the federal government.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> NAZ MHA 1 /5 / 1, A Note from J. Summer, Confidential Secretary (Lusaka) to J. Coombes, Chief Secretary (Lusaka), 7 December 1955.

<sup>73</sup> NAZ MHA 1 /5 / 1, A Note from J. Summer, Confidential Secretary (Lusaka) to J. Coombes, Chief Secretary (Lusaka)), 7 December 1955.

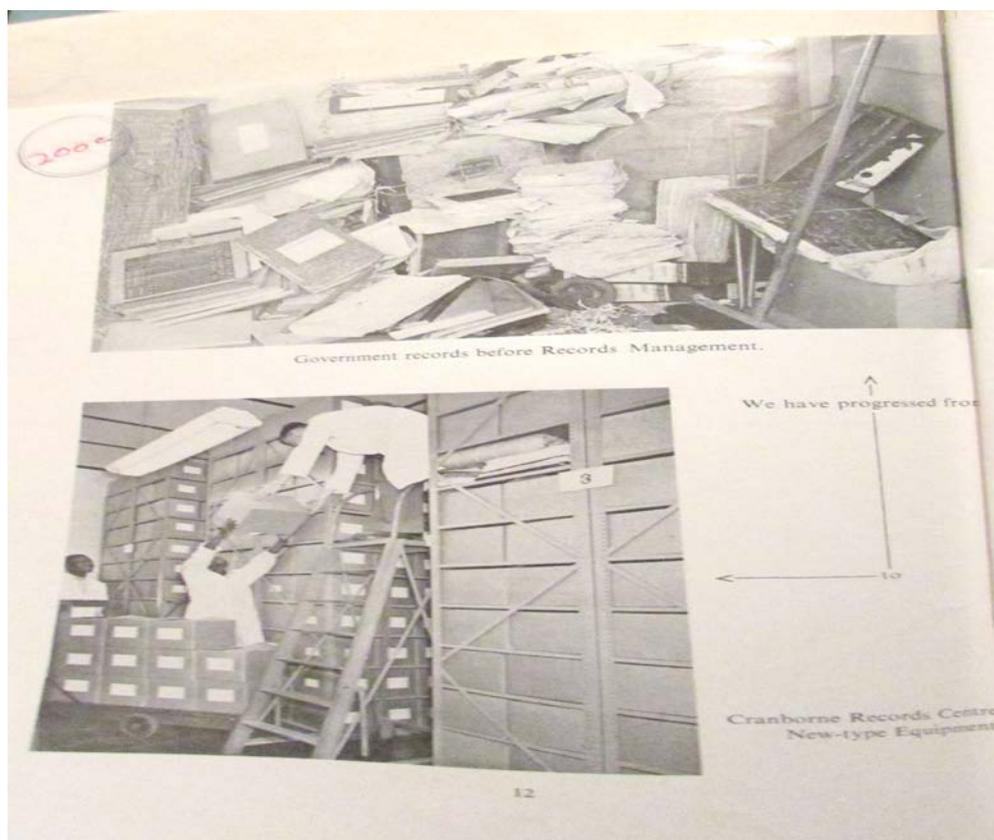
<sup>74</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/1, Correspondence from T. Baxter, Assistant Archivist (Salisbury) to Chief Secretary, Northern Rhodesia Government (Lusaka), 20 September 1955.

<sup>75</sup> Central African Archives, *Annual Report 1949-1954*, 61.

<sup>76</sup> Central African Archives, *Annual Report 1949-1954*, 61

<sup>77</sup> Burke, 'Records Management in the Central African Archives,' 63.

Figure 5.2: The organisation of records at Cranborne records management centre, Southern Rhodesia



Source: Teddy Baxter, *The National Archives and Your Records* (Salisbury: Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland National Archives, 1959), 12.

By September 1955, the Northern Rhodesia government agreed to re-open the archival depot in Lusaka. It needed to find storage accommodation and recruit staff. N.A.A. Barlow, the Chief Secretary to the Northern Rhodesian government, confirmed that, 'the Government of Northern Rhodesia was supportive of the Records Management scheme and would endeavour to provide storage facilities in Lusaka subject to the availability of office and staffing.'<sup>78</sup> Storage accommodation was in short supply, however. In December 1955, the administrative Secretary of Northern Rhodesia, wrote to the federal archives department, to explain that,

<sup>78</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/1, Correspondence from N.A. Barlow, Chief Secretary (Lusaka) to Secretary, Home Affairs (Salisbury), 13 March 1954.

... it is not possible at the moment to afford you any office accommodation, but further consideration will be given to your request in the succeeding year (1956). The Development Secretary has informed me that housing could be provided for two single officers, but that the provision would be on a purely temporary basis as he can give no guarantee that the occupation could be extended beyond three months, and you should therefore, obtain permanent entitlements from the Federal Government.<sup>79</sup>

At this time, the archivists faced difficulties in even meeting the demands of local departments for office accommodation in Lusaka. The shortage of office accommodation was caused by the federal government's staff postings to Northern Rhodesia to occupy positions in the newly-created departments.<sup>80</sup> The government was still new and the three territorial governments were heavily engaged in major functional reorganisation. The rapid expansion in governmental business put a severe strain on the federal government for extra office space.<sup>81</sup> As a result, it was impossible to embark immediately on the appraisal of the mass of records retained in government offices.<sup>82</sup>

In the meantime, the federal archives department began training the Northern Rhodesian government personnel in records management. The Secretariat office superintendent visited the records management centre in Southern Rhodesia to learn from trained personnel how to manage semi-current records.<sup>83</sup> The then chief records management officer, E.E. Burke, and R.W.S. Turner, a senior member of the CAA staff, had received American fellowships to study archives and records techniques in the United States. Burke and Turner were also exposed to the records management techniques practiced by a variety of private companies, such as the Ford Motor Company, various state governments, as well

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<sup>79</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/1, Correspondence from A.G. Jones, Administrative Secretary (Lusaka), Northern Rhodesia Government to Federal Government Archivist (Salisbury), 29 December 1955.

<sup>80</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/1, Report on Government Records, J. Combes, Acting Secretary (Lusaka), 17 November 1955.

<sup>81</sup> National Archives of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, *Annual Report, 1954-1962*, 9.

<sup>82</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/1, Correspondence from Baxter, Assistant Archivist (Salisbury) to Chief Secretary, (Salisbury), 30 September 1955.

<sup>83</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/1, Correspondence from T. Baxter, Federal Government Archivist (Salisbury) to Chief Secretary, 11 January 1956.

as the US federal government itself.<sup>84</sup> Railroads, banks and insurance companies in the United States were among the first to rationalise records programs. They accumulated a large number of records, many of which were required for several years for administrative needs and regulatory compliance. Eventually, the Interstate Commerce Commission issued regulations for the maintenance of these varied records. The procedural details of many of these organisations were examined, analysed and adopted into the Central African Archives conditions. Subsequently, the system employed in the Southern Rhodesia records centre owed much of its inspiration to the various methods employed by many different American organisations.

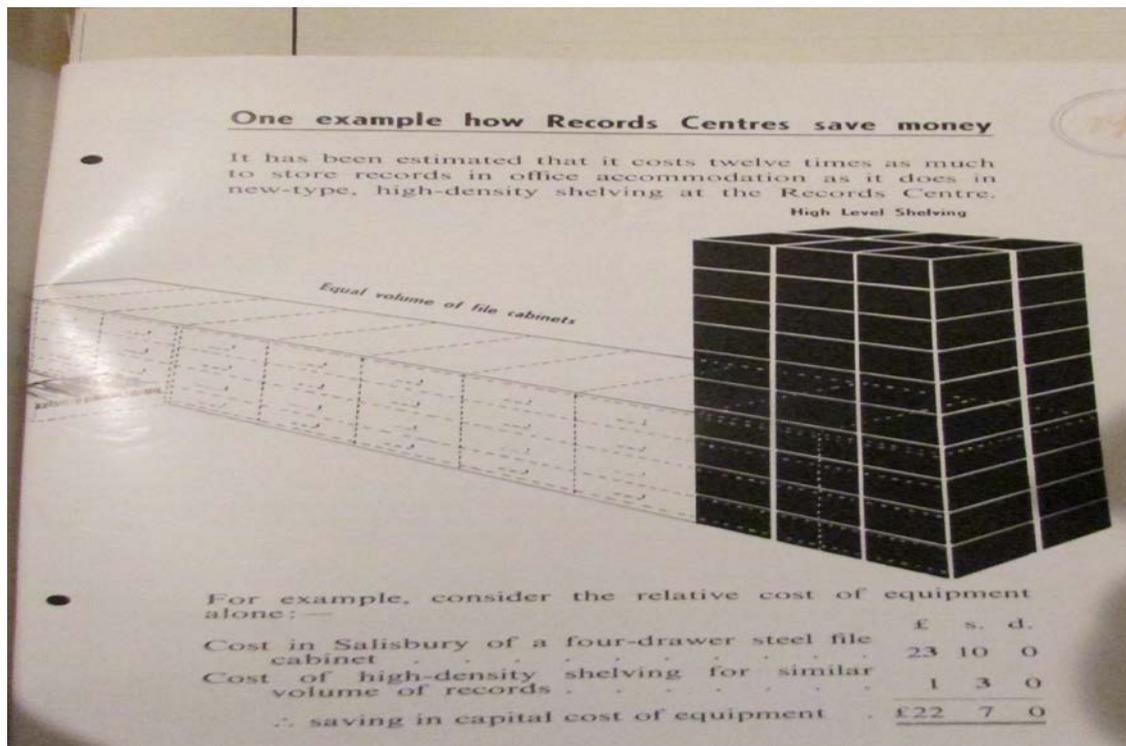
At Cranborne, the archives personnel of Northern Rhodesia were introduced to the new approaches of managing a records centre. Essentially, the orientation covered procedures on depositing, packing and the transfer of records to the centre. The initial emphasis was on establishing effective control over records at a records centre by classifying all records according to the due date of destruction or their date of transfer to the permanent repository, respectively. Classification in such a manner was easier for accessibility and future effective retrieval of information. Records deposited with the records centres remained the property of depositing departments. Departments could still request their records for administrative purposes. Since the intended purpose of establishing a records centre was to economise space in federal government departments, the personnel were inducted into economic storage systems so as to gain the skills to accommodate more records and to create space for current records in the offices of creation. This was doubly necessary because expanded federal administration's functions inevitably increased the number of records generated among the three territories. In 1955 alone, it was estimated that the printing and stationery departments in the federal territories had used approximately 887 tons of paper to facilitate the administrative functions of the government.<sup>85</sup> Archives personnel were introduced to a system of high-density shelving at the records centre, where boxes containing records were stacked in an upward position as shown in the figure below.

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<sup>84</sup> National Archives of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, *Annual Report, 1954-1962*, 10.

<sup>85</sup>Baxter, *The National Archives and Your Records*, 1.

Figure 5.3: A diagram demonstrating an economical approach to saving space at records centres in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland



Source: T. Baxter, *The National Archives and Your Records*, 3.

Furthermore, Northern Rhodesia was informed about the procedures for depositing records to the centre. Depositing records entailed packaging them in specified boxes and making a corresponding entry on a records transmittal list. The system was based on the proposition that all records transferred to the records centre were to be packed in cardboard boxes arranged in numerical, chronological or alphabetical sequence for easy identification. The contents of each box were restricted to records that could be classified under the same general description. The design of the boxes was based on certain clear-cut considerations: the boxes were to be made locally within the federation for easy access; and they had to be collapsible to allow for ease of transport to government departments, from where they were then sent to the records centres via the post office.<sup>86</sup> In Southern Rhodesia, two designs of collapsible boxes were used. A larger size of approximately one cubic foot was intended specifically for the departmental offices that were situated close to the railway

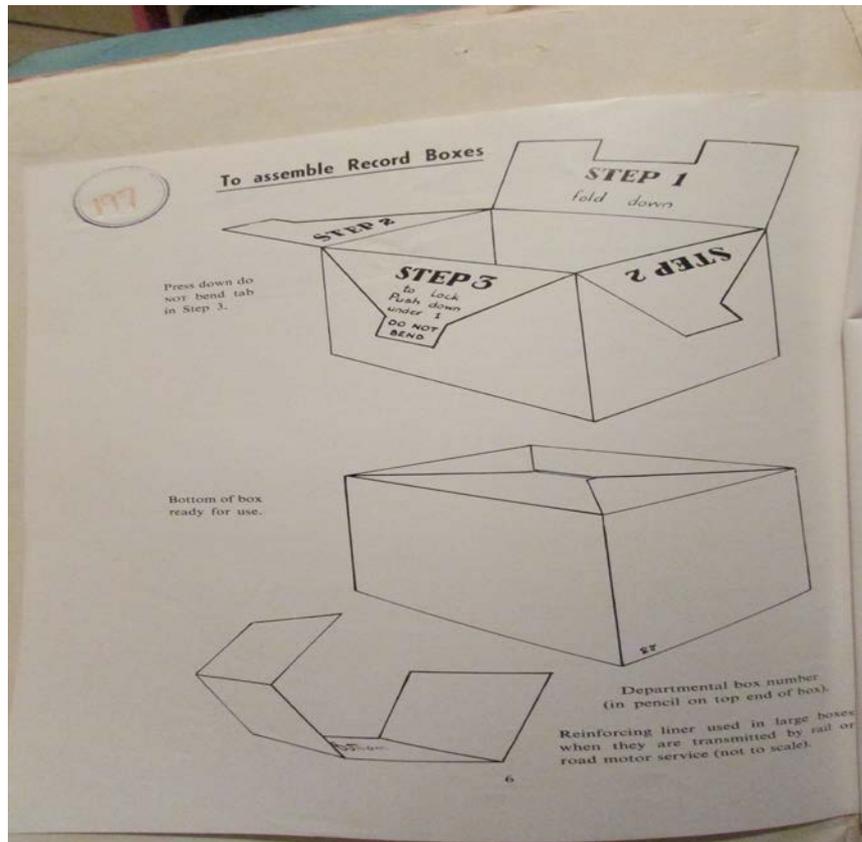
<sup>86</sup> National Archives of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, *Annual Report, 1954 -1962*, 12.

line. It was designed for personal collection or delivery, while the smaller size boxes of about half a cubic foot were designed to transmit records by registered post from more inaccessible departments in the federation, such as district offices.<sup>87</sup> The departments were required to prepare the records transmittal list in duplicate, for both the records centre and the creating department. The details on the transmittal list were vital for the depositing departments when requesting their records for reference. Accordingly, the numbering of the boxes and the transmittal list needed to match. Basic as the orientation on records management was, it helped Northern Rhodesia when preparing to set up its own records centre.

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<sup>87</sup> Baxter, *The National Archives and Your Records*, 1.

Figure 5.4: Boxes recommended for packaging at the records management centre in Northern Rhodesia.



Source: T. Baxter, *The National Archives and Your Records*, 6.

### 5.3.2 The resumption of archival activities in Northern Rhodesia

In March 1956, temporary accommodation was provided in Lusaka for records management operations. Two archivists from the CAA office in Salisbury, Ivor Graham and Anthony Ayliffe, were transferred to Lusaka.<sup>88</sup> Preference was accorded to records pending appraisal. The first department to receive archival attention was the Secretariat office where preliminary work commenced with the appraisal of all records and removing the ephemeral from the files. Ivor Graham, the assistant archivist in Northern Rhodesia, compiled lists of disposal schedules indicating records for permanent preservation or retention for a

<sup>88</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/1, Correspondence from T. Baxter, Federal Government Archivist (Salisbury) to Acting Chief Secretary, Northern Rhodesia, 4 February 1956.

delimited period.<sup>89</sup> Standing instructions were also prepared for all categories of records kept at the Secretariat offices. At the same time there were administrative disagreements over access to confidential files. Under the Archives and Judicial Records Order, the archivist was entitled to appraise any records in government departments of whatever nature and kind for their care, custody and control. Yet contrary to this provision, the archivist was directed not to transfer any confidential files from the Secretariat office to the archives repository, even if they were endangered and not in current use. The confidential clerk to the Secretariat specifically stated that, 'in connection with classified material which you may come across in the course of your work on the Secretariat Records, any files marked "confidential" or any similar warning are not to be passed outside the Secretariat but should be referred to me.'<sup>90</sup> It is noteworthy that while by statute the federal minister for home affairs was the final authority on the retention and accessibility of records, in reality the Chief Secretary issued these directives. Further directions were given that the only persons allowed access to the transferred Secretariat records would be the officials in the Secretariat division concerned.<sup>91</sup>

Northern Rhodesian archivists also appraised records from other government departments, with most of their available records being those created in the pre-federal period. A number of disposal schedules were sent to the administrative secretary by the departments of education, civil aviation, external affairs, population, military, police, labour, organisation and methods, the Central African Council and the Secretariat.<sup>92</sup> The schedules consisted of lists of records for proposed destruction. The purpose of submitting the disposal schedules to the administrative secretary was for further review in order to determine if there were administrative reasons for any records to be kept, either permanently or for a limited period.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/1, Report on the Disposal of Secretariat Records for the Administrative Secretary from the Secretariat Confidential Clerk, 20 June 1956.

<sup>90</sup> NAZ MHA 1/1/5, Memorandum from J.A. Summer, Confidential Clerk to I. Graham, Northern Rhodesia Assistant Archivist, 21 June 1956.

<sup>91</sup> NAZ MHA 1/1/5, Note from A.W. Summer, Confidential Clerk to Administrative Secretary, 20 June 1956.

<sup>92</sup> NAZ MHA 1/1/5, Correspondence from I. Graham, Archivist (Lusaka) to Confidential Clerk (Lusaka), 15 October 1956.

<sup>93</sup> NAZ MHA 1/1/5, Correspondence from I. Graham, Archivist (Lusaka) to Chief Secretary, 10 May 1956.

Although records management services were in principle introduced to Northern Rhodesia, the application thereof remained unsatisfactory. Baxter noted that while there were some achievements in Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, conditions in Northern Rhodesia prevented the introduction of a full programme.<sup>94</sup> The work of Graham and Ayliffe, transferred from the CAA, was severely handicapped. The premises of the archives depot, except for its central position in close proximity to the offices of the Secretariat, were wholly unsuitable and inadequate.<sup>95</sup> The building was not fireproof, secure to the requisite standard of an archival repository and had limited capacity. It was surrounded by thatched buildings, which constituted an extreme fire risk, and it was in proximity to the offices of the road traffic commissioner, where smoking was permitted. It was also not secure from unauthorised access or burglaries.<sup>96</sup> Security risks hindered the deposit of records by some departments and hence retarded the progress of archives production. To take one example, in 1957 the commissioner of lands removed microfilms of the deeds registry, a mere six months after they were deposited in the depot on the grounds of security.<sup>97</sup> To compound matters, the storage capacity of the archives depot was limited, with a provision of 1,300 cubic feet for both records and archives. By the beginning of 1957, the depot had already received 1,250 cubic feet of records and would continue to receive more in future.<sup>98</sup> Running out of space proved the reason why urgent deposits from the high court of Northern Rhodesia could not be accommodated.<sup>99</sup>

The problems of security and inadequate space for the management of records were caused by the federal government's failure to prioritise archives services in Northern Rhodesia. The treasury department repeatedly deleted the construction of an appropriate permanent building from its budget estimates, owing to financial austerity. According to the archivist of Northern Rhodesia, Ivor Graham, initially the estimated date for constructing a building was

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<sup>94</sup> National Archives of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, *Annual Report, 1954-1962*, 15.

<sup>95</sup> NAZ MHA 1/1/5, Correspondence from I. Graham, Archivist (Lusaka) to Confidential Clerk (Lusaka), 22 May 1956.

<sup>96</sup> NAZ MHA 1/1/5, Correspondence from I. Graham, Archivist (Lusaka) to Confidential Clerk (Lusaka), 22 May 1956.

<sup>97</sup> NAZ MHA 1/1/5, Correspondence from D. Talmage, Administrative Secretary, Northern Rhodesia (Lusaka) to Secretary Home Affairs (Salisbury), 14 March 1960.

<sup>98</sup> NAZ MHA 1/1/5, Correspondence from D. Talmage, Administrative Secretary, Northern Rhodesia (Lusaka) to Secretary Home Affairs (Salisbury), 14 March 1960.

<sup>99</sup> NAZ MHA 1/1/5, Correspondence from D. Talmage, Administrative Secretary, Northern Rhodesia (Lusaka) to Secretary Home Affairs (Salisbury), 14 March 1960.

1955. The project received provisional approval, but on reconsideration of the estimates, and owing to what were termed necessary and drastic cuts in building programmes, the project was expunged from the estimates.<sup>100</sup> In 1956 the matter was taken up again, and placed in the budget estimates, but was once again cut from the federal building programme.<sup>101</sup> Worse was to come. The federal treasury deleted the project from a four-year development plan for 1957 to 1961. All that survived was a non-committal indication that the scheme would be reconsidered for inclusion in capital expenditure plans for the next period.<sup>102</sup> The Northern Rhodesian government was unhappy with this scenario but could do nothing.<sup>103</sup> The Northern Rhodesian government was disadvantaged because it had no control over fiscal matters which were under the management the central federal government.

#### **5.4 The enactment of a National Archives Act in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland**

##### **5.4.1 The National Archives Act (1958) and the transformation of records management procedures in Northern Rhodesia**

As noted, while records and archives were processed and administered under the provisions of the respective territorial laws, these laws were suitably amended to provide for federal control. It is notable that the records of the federal government were in the interim handled without any statutory authority. Since the federal government had assumed responsibility for the provision of archival services, it was necessary to introduce legislation that would also cover federal government records. The authorities also saw this as an opportunity to replace the parallel legislation operating in the three territories with a single federal statute. At last, in 1958, the first major archives legislation in the federation found its way into the Statute Books. This was the National Archives Act of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (hereafter: National Archives Act). Although it was passed only six years after the formation of the

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<sup>100</sup> NAZ MHA 1/1/5, Correspondence from I.M. Graham, Archivist (Lusaka) to Confidential Clerk (Lusaka), 22 May 1956.

<sup>101</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/1, Correspondence from I.M. Graham, Archivist (Lusaka) to Confidential Clerk (Lusaka), 22 May 1956.

<sup>102</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/1, Memorandum from I.M. Graham to D.M. Talmage, Administrative Secretary, 7 March 1960.

<sup>103</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/ 1, correspondence from A.W. Gaminara, Chief Secretary to the Government of Northern Rhodesia to the Secretary for Home Affairs, 2 April 1957.

federation, the Act introduced some features that transformed the course of creating and preserving of archives in central Africa. The reason for its delay is that the establishment of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland encompassed divergent administrative functions that needed the approval of the federal government assembly. For this reason, it was not until August 1957, that the pressures of legislative business slowed down enough to permit a federal archives bill to be presented before parliament.

On 21 August 1957, the federal secretary to the Prime Minister and the cabinet submitted a draft copy of the proposed National Archives Bill for review. The Chief Justice, the Chief Secretary and Ivor Graham, the archivist, reviewed the terms of the bill.<sup>104</sup> Graham made an important contribution to the drafting of the National Archives Act on behalf of the Northern Rhodesian government. He noted that the records relating to Northern Rhodesia could not be inspected when they became thirty years old, as was stated in the Archives Bill, for example. As a British Colonial Protectorate, Northern Rhodesia had to adopt the public records policy of 50-years rule for the 'closed period' without public access: Indeed legislation had just been passed in the House of Lords extending 50 year rule to the Colonial Office records and those of colonial territories.<sup>105</sup> Although the chief justice of Northern Rhodesia was assigned to review the terms relating to judicial records, no special submissions were made to the federal government either in the form of comments, suggestions or amendments.<sup>106</sup> The Acting Chief Justice, by contrast, had nothing to add to the terms of the existing bill.<sup>107</sup> Northern Rhodesia's judiciary therefore played little active part in an important policy that shaped the nature of judicial archives in the federal period. In the same month, the draft copies of the National Archives Bill were sent also to the

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<sup>104</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/1, A Note from Northern Rhodesia, Chief Secretary, D. Talmage to the Administrative Secretary, Northern Rhodesia, 14 September 1957. See also NAZ MHA 1/5/1, Memorandum on a Draft National Archives Bill from I. Graham, Northern Rhodesia Archivist, 23 September 1957.

<sup>105</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/1, Note from I. Graham, Archivist, Northern Rhodesia to Administrative Secretary, 6 December 1957.

<sup>106</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/1, A Note from Northern Rhodesia, Chief Secretary, D. Talmage to the Administrative Secretary, Northern Rhodesia, 14 September 1957. See also NAZ MHA 1/5/1, Memorandum on Draft National Archives Bill from I. Graham, Northern Rhodesia Archivist, 23 September 1957.

<sup>107</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/1, Correspondence from Registrar, High Court, Northern Rhodesia to Chief Secretary (Lusaka), 28 October 1957.

territorial governments of Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, both agreeing with its proposed provisions.<sup>108</sup>

In January 1958, the government enacted the National Archives Act of Rhodesia and Nyasaland to make provision for the preservation, custody, control and disposal of the federation and its territorial governments' public archives and records. The Act established the National Archives of Rhodesia and Nyasaland to replace the CAA.<sup>109</sup> In partnership with all three territories, it also repealed the previous territorial archives' legislation and regulations.

The National Archives Act was more comprehensive, compared to the territorial legislation, as it introduced new features which were advantageous to both the Northern Rhodesian government and to the archives administration.<sup>110</sup> In order to provide legal recognition to the introduction of records management, the National Archives Act distinguished between 'public records' and 'public archives'. Public records referred to any documents of the federal government, as well as those of the Northern Rhodesian, Southern Rhodesian and Nyasaland governments, which were in the custody of the stated government departments and which had been transferred to the National archives.<sup>111</sup> Public archives were connoted to age. 'Public records' may qualify for admission to 'public archives' when thirty years old or more. This would happen once recommended by the records committee as records being of enduring historical value.<sup>112</sup>

The National Archives Act provided for the appointment of a Director of National Archives of Rhodesia and Nyasaland by the Minister of Home Affairs. Accordingly, Teddy Baxter was appointed as the first Director. This position replaced that of chief archivist and the move affected the procedural authority related to the management of information during the federal era. The extent of legal authority previously in the hands of the chief officer in charge of official records and archives, was reduced. For Northern Rhodesia, for example,

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<sup>108</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/1, Correspondence from Secretary, Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet Office to Chief Secretary, Northern Rhodesia, 7 October 1957.

<sup>109</sup> See Section (4), Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland Government, *National Archives Act, 1958* (Salisbury: Government Printer, 1958).

<sup>110</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/1, Memorandum on Draft National Archives Bill, 23 September 1957.

<sup>111</sup> See Section (1), Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, *National Archives Act, 1958*.

<sup>112</sup> See Section (1), Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, *National Archives Act, 1958*.

whereas previously archives legislation provided for a chief archivist to facilitate the establishment and curation of archives, the Act stipulated that the Director of archives could only examine and care for records in the custody of government departments when requested by the federal or territorial departments. The primary role of the Director now became that of custodian and manager of the document collection of the federal and territorial governments, to direct, manage and control the national archives. The newly-introduced records management services assumed the role of middleman. It took over responsibility for examining records in government departments, and ensuring their proper care and custody. After the introduction of records management, the National Archives' headquarters only carried out the secondary function of preserving the archives. Receiving public records directly from departments was discontinued. Records were instead received through the records centres or archives depots, where they remained closed for a period of thirty years in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and fifteen years in Southern Rhodesia,<sup>113</sup> by which time they had taken on historical rather than administrative significance. These records were then transferred to the National Archives, where they remained permanently preserved and available for public access.

The Act established a representative records committee, known as the federal records committee. This was formed for the purpose of making recommendations on records related to the federal government with regards to their retention, destruction and transfer to the National Archives. A shared governing body oversaw federal records, which were of common interest to all three territories. The Minister of Home Affairs appointed two federal government officials as members of the records committee and the Director was also a member, mandated to appoint one other officer from the National Archives.

A review of the National Archives Act conducted by Northern Rhodesia made it clear that the re-vamped committee was discharging its duties in a most professional manner. As far as Northern Rhodesia was concerned,<sup>114</sup> the records committee issued its own archives general instructions on the preservation and destruction of official records. The instructions

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<sup>113</sup> The difference in retention period is associated with the protectorate status of Northern Rhodesia and of Nyasaland, which required the adoption of Colonial Office policy on official records preservation, while Southern Rhodesia, in contrast, was a Responsible Government, and it thus formed its own policy. See National Archives of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, *Annual Report, 1949-1954*, 60.

<sup>114</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/1, Memorandum on Draft National Archives Bill, 23 September 1957.

were inserted into the government general orders and were to be adhered to by all government departments.<sup>115</sup> The instructions prohibited any destruction, mutilation or damage to official records without permission from the Northern Rhodesian government, and therefore all government records had to be protected carefully. Destruction of any government records was only permitted when in compliance with instructions issued by the Governor. The transfer of records to the Northern Rhodesia regional archives in Lusaka (the central depot assuming records management services under the Act) became mandatory. Similar to previous regulations, it was emphasised that records not required for the current operation of government departments were to be transferred to this regional depot.<sup>116</sup> Also, the records of commissions, committees and boards of inquiry once they had completed their work, were to be transferred for preservation at the archives depot in Lusaka.<sup>117</sup> However, in cases where the chairperson, member of the executive council or heads of department concerned with such organisations specifically directed to the contrary, records would not be transferred but remained in departments of creation's holdings.<sup>118</sup>

The introduction of the federal act brought an end to the Archives Commission. In a tribute given in the federal assembly on the work of the Commission, the Minister of Home Affairs, Sir Malcolm Barrow, reminded the House how much the Commission had done to establish the archives of the three territories.<sup>119</sup> But now that the archives service had become a unified responsibility of respective territorial governments, the need for the Commission fell away. As a result of this change, the federal archiving institution became responsible for the provision of advice on archival matters to the Minister of Home Affairs, an obligation formerly conducted by the Commission.

Prior to the promulgation of National Archives Act, the appraisal and transfer of records and archives had been left to subsidiary legislation and the attention of the Governor. Now they

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<sup>115</sup> NAZ SEC 1/146, Archives General Instructions, 7 August 1958.

<sup>116</sup> NAZ SEC 1/146, Archives General Instructions, 7 August 1958.

<sup>117</sup> NAZ SEC 1/146, Archives General Instructions, 7 August 1958.

<sup>118</sup> NAZ MLA 2/15/12, Circular on Archives: General Instructions from Chief Secretary, Northern Rhodesia (Lusaka) to All Heads of Departments, 10 November 1958.

<sup>119</sup> National Archives of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, *Annual Report, 1954-1962*, 7.

were more specifically covered by the federal Act and subject to Parliamentary scrutiny.<sup>120</sup> The act was not only concerned with the procedures of records management, but also emphasised measures for the protection and preservation of archival documents. An awareness of the fragility of some of the records, for example, led to the inclusion of clauses prohibiting the reproduction of the public archives' content, except with the written authority from depositing parties. Leaving final permission in the hands of the depositors instead of the Director of National Archives emphasised the fact that the archives at the Salisbury repository remained the property of depositing governments. This included all access, which required written authority from the respective governments concerned. There were penalties imposed and specified for the infringement of any provision on these prohibitions: 'Any person who contravened the provision of the reproduction of public archives or failed to comply with any condition referred would be guilty of an offence and liable to a fine not exceeding two hundred pounds or in default of payment, to imprisonment for a period not exceeding twelve months or to such imprisonment without the option of a fine or to both such fine and such imprisonment.'<sup>121</sup> Overall, the penalties were another way of ensuring the safety of the records from damage that would be caused by the public users, at the same time encouraging a sense of responsibility towards public information. However, the implementation of the federal act was short-lived as the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was dissolved in 1963.

## **5.5 The dissolution of the federation and the apportioning of federal records and archives**

### **5.5.1 Mapping strategies for the preservation of federal records**

On 1 February 1963, it was announced that the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland would be dissolved. The leading cause of the federation's dissolution was a political disagreement between whites, who mostly supported federation, and Africans, of whom many claimed that it was a paternalistic institution to perpetuate white supremacy, and to

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<sup>120</sup> Burke, 'Some Archival Legislation of the British Commonwealth,' 279.

<sup>121</sup>See Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, *National Archives Act, 1958*, Section (7) as well as Appendix in National Archives of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, *Annual Report, 1954 - 1962*.

deny full African involvement in government.<sup>122</sup> In early July of 1963, a dissolution conference was held at Victoria Falls, Southern Rhodesia, for the purpose of negotiating an orderly disbanding. The report of the conference recorded that the delegates agreed on a speedy transfer of federal functions to territorial governments, but recognised that certain complexities could not be settled immediately. These included the federal civil service, the public debt, and difficulties ensuring inter-territorial collaboration, among others. The conference agreed on the appointment of two committees. 'Committee A' was a general committee drawn from the four governments (Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and the federal government) to plan the orderly transfer of federal functions and to devise solutions to the challenges of the dissolution.<sup>123</sup> It made recommendations concerning the handling of federal assets and liabilities, appointed sub-committees and sought to reach agreement with the respective governments. 'Committee B' dealt with inter-territorial questions such as railways and hydro-electric power. It comprised representatives of the three territories under a British chairman, assisted by federal officials.<sup>124</sup>

The National Archives of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was one of several entities (such as the Rhodesian Light Infantry and the Royal Rhodesian Air Force) that required the attention of Committee A. It was, in essence, an inter-territorial collaboration between the federal government and the territorial governments: the archives garnered departmental records from Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The federal government itself had generated records on a larger scale, because of the increased functions covering three territorial governments, and these were also within the future ambit of the National Archives. At the dissolution of the federation, a residual volume of about 20,000 cubic feet

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<sup>122</sup> Kenneth Janda, *Political Parties: A Cross-National Survey* (New York: Free Press, 1980), 281-282. See also, Cohen, *The Politics and Economics of Decolonization in Africa*. ; Cohen, 'Business and Decolonisation in Central Africa Reconsidered,' 641-58. Tensions within the federation increased, as African leaders demanded its dissolution. Kenneth Kaunda, one of the first Northern Rhodesian nationalists, demanded the immediate withdrawal of Northern Rhodesia from the federation. Kamuzu Banda of Nyasaland, after forming the Malawi Congress Party, made similar demands. White leaders favoured the federation for both its political potential and its economic value, which was especially attractive to its sponsor, Great Britain.

<sup>123</sup> Wood, *The Welensky Papers*, 1213.

<sup>124</sup> Wood, *The Welensky Papers*, 1213 -1214.

of records were still pending processing into the central archives.<sup>125</sup> At the same time, approximately 80,000 cubic feet of records were held in regional departmental offices and in the archives depots of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, while still more records were held in head offices of ministries and departments in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, where both the federal government and the ministerial headquarters were situated.

Unlike territorial archives the federal archives were of common interest to all three territories. The challenge was to find the fairest method of distribution taking into consideration the importance of the records for future reference and research needs of all three territories. Following the recommendation of the Victoria Falls Conference, an inter-territorial working party under the supervision of Committee A, was formed.<sup>126</sup> The working party on archives was set up under the chairmanship of T.W. Baxter, then Director of the National Archives. Its main responsibility was to make recommendations for the division of federal records and archives amongst the three governments. Members included P. Chetwynd-Palmer, K. White and J. MacDonald, all of whom were administrative secretaries representing the governments of Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, respectively. E.E. Burke, the assistant archivist of the National Archives in Southern Rhodesia and Ivor Graham, of the Northern Rhodesia depot both played an advisory role.

The first task of the working party was to devise a disposal policy for records at that time held in territorial departments. With the transfer of departments from the federal government to territorial governments, it was recommended that records in regional offices should be handed over to the appropriate governments. However, there were certain exceptions to this rule. They were usually personal files containing annual reports and other confidential documents relating to individual federal officers, held by the federal public service commission. The ministerial headquarters and departments were advised to examine their records and to prevent the transfer of such records to territorial governments.<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>125</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/2, Report of the Sub-Committee III on the Dissolution of the Federation and Transfer of Departmental Records, 9 August 1963.

<sup>126</sup> Wood, *The Welensky Papers*, 1210.

<sup>127</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/ 2, Report of the Working Party on Archives: Sub-Committee III, 9 August 1963.

In Northern Rhodesia, a review was conducted by the administrative secretary on the effects of the return of archives to the territory. According to the Northern Rhodesian Secretariat, the territory could now preserve its own archives. As a case in point, when the temporary archives depot was re-opened, the Secretariat's confidential secretary had emphasised enhancing security for records by fitting iron bars to the windows, as well as door locks.<sup>128</sup> This highlighted both the awareness and need for a designated repository facility. And, by this time, there was provision for a permanent archives building in Northern Rhodesia. It was included in the financial estimates for 1961-1962.<sup>129</sup> An amount of £28,000 was allocated towards the construction of an archives building.<sup>130</sup> Designed by M. Woods, the chief architect of the federal government, the archives depot was opened by the Governor of Northern Rhodesia, Sir Evelyn Hone.<sup>131</sup> It was a specialist building. It boasted a specially constructed air-conditioned and humidity-controlled central repository with access through strongroom doors, surrounded by administrative offices. These facilities quelled the doubts previously held by some government departments, who had shunned depositing their records with the regional archives before, due to the lack of secure facilities. After the construction of the new building, a number of important documents kept in the safe in the confidential clerk's office at the Secretariat were deposited with the archives, where they were included in the inventory and stored in the air-conditioned repository.<sup>132</sup>

The review noted that the transfer of archives back to Northern Rhodesia would inevitably lead to challenges of securing trained staff. The main problem was retaining the services of a trained archivist after the dissolution of the federation. The assistant archivists at the regional archives depot were employees of the federal government and there were uncertainties about employing federal employees on local conditions of service. As Wood pointed out, the federal government resisted strenuously the compulsory secondment of

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<sup>128</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/2, Correspondence from Administrative Secretary, Northern Rhodesia to I. Graham, Archivist, Northern Rhodesia 1 June 1956.

<sup>129</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/1, Correspondence from H. S. Clements, Secretary, Home Affairs (Salisbury) to Administrative Secretary, Northern Rhodesia (Lusaka), 21 September 1960.

<sup>130</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/1, Extract from a letter reference F. 10 addressed to the Administrative Secretary of Northern Rhodesia by the National Archives of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, (Salisbury), 31 July 1961.

<sup>131</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/1, Correspondence from P. Stewart-Bam, Secretary, Office of the Prime Minister and External Affairs to Administrative Secretary, Northern Rhodesia Government, 23 May 1963.

<sup>132</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/1, Correspondence from I. Graham, Archivist, Northern Rhodesia to Administrative Secretary, Northern Rhodesia, 1 July 1963.

federal civil servants, as had been suggested by the Northern Rhodesian government.<sup>133</sup> The concern was that failure to provide trained staff would result in the loss or damage of valuable and historical documents.<sup>134</sup> It was acknowledged that responsibility for archival services could not be assigned to anyone other than a trained archivist. The profession of an archivist demanded persons with knowledge of history and with exceptional aptitude for detail, combined with the specialised skills of records management. Not to employ a trained archivist would jeopardise the integrity of the archives.<sup>135</sup>

In conclusion, the working party found that records held by the federal ministries and departments' headquarters in Salisbury constituted the main disposal problem. Most series of records were indivisible because they related to two or all the three territories, but there were also selected records such as those generated by the Ministry of Education and Works that were divisible.<sup>136</sup> The former were those of a long-term nature such as correspondence and reports relating to federal policy matters and functions. Other records were those relating to obligations of the federal government and rights of individuals.<sup>137</sup> Overall, these records were the result of common policies pursued by the federal government. This applied to railways, civil aviation, meteorological services, health, agriculture and postal functions.<sup>138</sup> Records from this category represented a high proportion of information for permanent preservation. It was the main source from which archives were selected for permanent preservation.

By September 1963, the working party had reshaped the federal archive into a collection of divisible archives. Federal records that related to a particular territory were to become the property of that territory. Those records regarded as impracticable or inappropriate to surrender to the territorial governments, were to be transferred to a central repository. This central repository was to be set up to accommodate and administer this particular group of records. Thus, in early October 1963, the working party recommended that the question of a central repository, consisting of the indivisible federal records, be resolved by another

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<sup>133</sup> Wood, *The Welensky Papers*, 1213.

<sup>134</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/2, Archives Commentary, Secretariat (Lusaka) 4 March 1963.

<sup>135</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/2, Archives Commentary, Secretariat (Lusaka) 4 March 1963.

<sup>136</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/2, Report of the Working Party on Archives: Sub-Committee III, 9 August 1963.

<sup>137</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/2, Report of the Working Party on Archives: Sub-Committee III, 9 August 1963.

<sup>138</sup> Wood, *The Welensky Papers*, 1206-1207.

working group under Committee B, which was specifically formed to deal with inter-territorial questions.

### **5.5.2 The challenges and politics of the preservation of indivisible federal records and archives**

Later that same month, Committee B appointed a sub-committee called the federal records working party. F.T. Russel and P.J. Stanbridge were appointed from the Ministry of Economic Affairs, while T.W. Baxter and R.W.S. Turner were appointed from the National Archives. P. Chetywand-Palmer, K. White and J. Drew represented Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, respectively.<sup>139</sup> The terms of reference for the federal records working party were to assess the practical problems in the maintenance of a central repository consisting of the non-transferrable, indivisible remainder of the federal archives. It was also to make recommendations on the methods by which control could be exercised by the territorial governments in respect of access to federal records by the territorial governments.<sup>140</sup> It would also make recommendations as to whether any legislation by the territories was required in the preservation of indivisible federal records. In the case of any difficulties relating to the stated terms of reference, the working party was advised to consider a preferable alternative for the federal records to be managed by the government of Southern Rhodesia, accountable to trustees appointed by the three territorial governments.

Recommendations made by the first working party were implemented by the federal records working party under Committee B. The first pressing issue was how to preserve and maintain records of common interest in a central repository to ensure their permanent preservation. To this end, joint ownership of a central repository was adopted, and the necessary measures were implemented to calculate and estimate the amount of space that would be needed to accommodate these records. An examination of records in the federal government's ministries' headquarters and departments was conducted. The results of the

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<sup>139</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/2, Minutes of Federal Records Working Party held in Southern Rhodesia, Salisbury at Ministry of Economic Affairs, 30 October 1963.

<sup>140</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/2, Memoranda by Committee B on the Terms of Reference for a Federal Records Working Party, 17 October 1963.

survey estimated that there were about 10,000 cubic feet of records of common interest for preservation in a central repository.<sup>141</sup>

The survey also indicated that there were four different categories of indivisible records that would be housed in the central repository: administrative records, records containing personnel assessment, permanent policy, and temporary policy records. These categories were all present in the central offices of various federal ministries and departments. Administrative records were of a routine, statistical or semi-statistical nature, such as vouchers, accounts and routine correspondence on stores equipment, supplies, and contracts, as well as the personal administrative records of individual officers. Records falling into this category comprised about eighty percent of the approximately 10,000 cubic feet and had a limited preservation period of about ten years.<sup>142</sup> The public service commission held personnel assessment records and confidential annual reports on federal employees stored for a period of ten years. These represented about five percent of the estimated 10,000 cubic feet and were deemed 'useful' for a period of twenty years or longer.<sup>143</sup> Records related to matters of policy, formed about fifteen percent of the estimated total quantity of records. About two-thirds of these were considered of permanent historical value.<sup>144</sup> The distribution of quantities of records, according to the findings of the working party, was estimated as follows:<sup>145</sup>

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<sup>141</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/2, Report on the Central Preservation of certain Federal Records by the Federal Records Working Party, 27 September 1963.

<sup>142</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/2, Report on the Central Preservation of certain Federal Records by the Federal Records Working Party, 27 September 1963.

<sup>143</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/2, Report on the Central Preservation of certain Federal Records by the Federal Records Working Party, 27 September 1963.

<sup>144</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/2, Minutes of the Committee on Inter-territorial Questions, 4 December 1963.

<sup>145</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/2, Twelfth Report of the Committee B on Inter-territorial Questions: Records of the Federal Government, 4 December 1963.

Table 5.1: Estimates of volume of Federal Government Records which could not be conveniently divided amongst Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland in 1963

Category of Records	Quantity in Percentage	Quantity in Cubic Feet
Administrative records	80	8,000
Personnel assessment records	5	500
Temporary policy records	5	500
Permanent policy records	10	1,000
Total	100	10,000

Source: NAZ MHA 1/5/2, Federal Records Working Party (Committee B) Report on the Central Preservation of certain Federal Records, 30 November, 1963

These figures were estimates, because at the time of the survey ministries and departments were still in the process of examining their records. According to the working party, approximately three quarters of these records would be destroyed after a period of ten years. It was further estimated that after a period of 50 years, the remainder would have been destroyed, except for those that were to be processed into archives because of estimated permanent historical value. These anticipated archives were estimated to occupy roughly about 1000 cubic feet.<sup>146</sup>

Preserving 10,000 cubic feet of records would require approximately 5,000 square feet of space. Best archival practice required that they be stacked on shelves, 10 feet high, with floors capable of withstanding the weight involved. However, this severely limited the type of accommodation that could be secured. As far as ordinary buildings were concerned, a ground floor or basement was recommended, but these were scarce at the time. With commercial rates for such storage space quoted at £2,250 per year and the annual total cost inclusive of equipment, staff expenses and transport estimated at £10,640, costs had to

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<sup>146</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/2, Report on the Central Preservation of certain Federal Records by the Federal Records Working Party, 27 September 1963.

somehow be reduced.<sup>147</sup> The possibility of using the existing National Archives building in Salisbury as a central repository was investigated. Following on this, the findings indicated that if the federal records were entrusted to the custody of the National Archives of Southern Rhodesia, the total cost would be approximately £2,500 in the first year and falling steadily to about £500 after a nine-year period.<sup>148</sup>

The economic advantage of using the existing central repository in Southern Rhodesia, was reviewed by the individual territorial governments. The territorial representatives serving in the federal records working party were not authorised to enter into any commitments on behalf of their governments without official consultation. Accordingly, in November 1963, the three territorial representative members consulted with their respective governments. For Northern Rhodesia, the economic advantages of Southern Rhodesia preserving the residual federal records out-weighed the loss of control to information which this entailed. If an independent central repository was to be established in Lusaka, it would cost £3,750 annually. The alternative plan of involving Southern Rhodesia on an agency basis was estimated at less than £1,000 as it was already well established with the necessary infrastructure and human resources.<sup>149</sup> Mainly for this reason, the executive council endorsed Southern Rhodesia interests. This was also considered to be the best way of safeguarding the records especially given the difficulty of obtaining qualified personnel to supervise the central repository.<sup>150</sup> At the National Archives of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, itself no less than four archivists had accepted employment in the United States. Thus, even Southern Rhodesia was unlikely to obtain the services of enough trained archivists for their approved territorial permanent archives establishment.<sup>151</sup>

All three territories were agreed that Southern Rhodesia would keep the permanent collection of non-divisible federal records on behalf of all three. There was a demand from

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<sup>147</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/2, Minutes of Federal Records Working Party held in Southern Rhodesia, Salisbury at Ministry of Economic Affairs, 30 October 1963.

<sup>148</sup> NAZ MHA 1/1/5, Report of the Committee on Inter-Territorial Questions on Records of the Federal Records, 4 December 1963.

<sup>149</sup> NAZ MHA 1/1/5, Correspondence from Permanent Secretary (Lusaka) to Chief Secretary Northern Rhodesia Government, 25 October 1963.

<sup>150</sup> NAZ MHA 1/1/5, Correspondence, Permanent Secretary (Lusaka) to Chief Secretary Northern Rhodesia Government, 25 October 1963.

<sup>151</sup> NAZ MHA 1/1/5, Report of Northern Rhodesia Member of the Working Party on Archives of Committee A, 20 October 1963.

the territorial governments for the British government, on behalf of the federal government, to allocate sufficient funds to Southern Rhodesia to cover the costs for the maintenance and preservation of these records. However, the British government would not accept liability in this regard, and argued that the territories were gaining federal assets as well as debts.<sup>152</sup>

The question of the fair apportionment of financial responsibility among the territories thus became a challenge.<sup>153</sup> It was difficult to find a satisfactory formula for allocating the exact amount of funds as contribution towards the maintenance of records by each territory. Several bases of apportionment were considered. The initial suggestion was to apportion the allocations according to accessibility and need, but this was rejected as being impossible to express in suitable statistical terms.<sup>154</sup> There was a proposal to allocate costs according to the federal government's expenditure in each territory, since this would reflect the quantity of records still arising out of each. The other proposal was to allocate costs according to the proportion of federal government officers domiciled in each territory. This was objected to, on the grounds that the headquarter staff of all federal ministries were housed in Southern Rhodesia, casting an unfair burden on this territory.<sup>155</sup> In view of the difficulty of finding a satisfactory formula, it was agreed that the cost was to be allocated in a ratio accepted for other purposes: Southern Rhodesia would contribute sixty percent of the total cost, Northern Rhodesia thirty three percent and Nyasaland seven percent.<sup>156</sup> The government of Southern Rhodesia was given the responsibility of calculating the total cost for each of the territorial governments. The governments of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland were to pay the government of Southern Rhodesia their respective shares of the total cost at the end of

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<sup>152</sup> Wood, *The Welensky Papers*, 1213.

<sup>153</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/2, Report of the Federal Records Working Party on the Central Preservation of certain Federal Records, 30 November 1963.

<sup>154</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/2, Report of the Federal Records Working Party on the Central Preservation of certain Federal Records, 30 November 1963.

<sup>155</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/2, Report of the Federal Records Working Party on the Central Preservation of certain Federal Records, 30 November 1963.

<sup>156</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/2, Report on the Quadripartite Agreement between the Government of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and the Government of Southern Rhodesia, the Government of Southern Rhodesia and the Government of Nyasaland, 22 November 1963.

each year.<sup>157</sup> The challenges that the archives faced with the dissolution of the federation were clear, but for the most part, pragmatics won out with a relatively orderly transfer of responsibilities and financial obligations.

### **5.5.3 The quadripartite agreement, and the preservation and management of the federal archives**

The responsibility for preserving indivisible federal records assigned to Southern Rhodesia after the end of the federation was formalised by law. At a federal records working party meeting held in November 1963, there was a general consensus among the territorial representatives for a legal instrument providing equal access. A Northern Rhodesian representative, in particular, stated that he was agreeable to Southern Rhodesia acting as managing agent for all the territorial governments in archiving the federal records, provided his government was free to partake in any decision relating to access and destruction.<sup>158</sup> As a result, it was agreed that a quadripartite agreement between the federal government and the territorial governments be made which would determine how the indivisible records would be administered by the Director of the National Archives of Southern Rhodesia. The procedure was initiated by seeking legal authorisation for the agreement through the Order in Council of November 1963. The order stated that on the dissolution of the federal government, all public archives and records of the federation and the territories were to be set aside for central preservation under the Director of the National Archives of Southern Rhodesia, on behalf of the three territorial governments, in terms of the agreement between the three territorial governments and the federal government.<sup>159</sup>

Accordingly, in December 1963 an agreement was signed on behalf of the federal government by the federal Minister of Home Affairs, while the Minister of Internal Affairs signed on behalf of the Southern Rhodesian government. The Chief Secretary signed on

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<sup>157</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/2, Report on the Quadripartite Agreement between the Government of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and the Government of Southern Rhodesia, the Government of Southern Rhodesia and the Government of Nyasaland, 22 November 1963.

<sup>158</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/1, Minutes of the Federal Record Working Party, held at the Ministry of Economic Affairs, Salisbury, 12 November 1963.

<sup>159</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/2, Draft Insertion in Order in Council, 20 November 1963.

behalf of the government of Northern Rhodesia. As for Nyasaland, Kamuzu Banda, then Prime Minister was the signatory.<sup>160</sup>

The provisions of the quadripartite agreement followed the recommendations made by the federal records working party. The federal and territorial governments agreed to set up a joint committee, which would provide direction to the Southern Rhodesian archivist on matters of joint concern. The terms of the agreement provided for the establishment of an inter-government committee after the dissolution of the federation. The committee was to consist of a chairman, who would be the Director of the Southern Rhodesia Archive or his representative. Three other members were to be appointed by the three territorial governments of Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The joint committee would advise the Director of the Southern Rhodesia Archives on all matters of joint concern to the territorial governments, which affected the federal records, including the periods for which different categories of records would be preserved and accessed by the public. According to the agreement, the Director would preserve, store and arrange the records on behalf of the territorial governments. At the request of any of the three governments, the Director was to examine any of the records and advise on the contents. It was further stipulated that the Director would permit representatives of the territorial governments to consult and reproduce particular records for official use. The agreement stressed that the cost of reproducing records at the request of both the governments of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and any other postal or other transport charges incurred by the Director, would to be refunded by the respective governments.<sup>161</sup>

The agreement provided for the classification of federal records before their transfer to the custody of the Southern Rhodesia Director. Records were to be divided into three categories known as 'A', 'B' and 'C', and in cases where the federal government had not divided them, the Director was to categorise records according to the stipulations of the agreement. Although the reason for this categorisation was not clearly stated, presumably it was for accessibility: the records in category 'A' were those records to which the three governments would have unrestricted access. They consisted of administrative records of a routine,

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<sup>160</sup> See a copy of Quadripartite Agreement of 28 December 1963 in NAZ MHA 1/5/2, Take-Over of Federal Subjects.

<sup>161</sup> See, NAZ MHA 1/5/2, Quadripartite Agreement of 1963, Section (12).

statistical or semi-statistical nature, such as vouchers, accounts and routine correspondence. Included were also the personal administrative records of federal officials not transferred to the service of any of the three territorial governments. In category 'B', were all those records upon which an embargo had been placed by the federal government before transfer. These were mostly the personal assessment records of persons who were employed by the federal government. According to the agreement, the respective governments could access these documents with the written consent of the former employee to whom the documents related.<sup>162</sup>

There was a crucial debate between the federal government officials and the territorial representatives regarding the inclusion of the embargo clause in the agreement. The argument was that storing some records under embargo was not justifiable to the territorial governments, who nevertheless were expected to bear the cost of storage despite no access thereto.<sup>163</sup> This was a question of preservation of historical value overriding right to access. A representative from the Ministry of External Affairs, A.J. Siach, revealed, for example, that the ministry was in possession of records related to constitutional questions and correspondence between the federal Prime Minister and the British government. He pointed out that these documents were of no use administratively, and were embarrassing to the federal and territorial governments, as well as the United Kingdom government, yet they had historical value and could therefore not be destroyed.<sup>164</sup>

The final category, 'C', consisted of policy records that were generated by the federal government's ministries. They covered political, social, economic, defence, scientific, and technical matters, as well as the rights and obligations of the federal government.<sup>165</sup> The terms of the agreement stipulated that the Director and the three governments would have access to these records, but based on certain conditions. The Director was required to obtain the consent of the originator of the documents, addressed to the federal government

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<sup>162</sup> See NAZ MHA 1/5/2, Quadripartite Agreement of 1963, Section (8).

<sup>163</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/2, Minutes of a Federal Records Working Party in Southern Rhodesia, Salisbury at the Ministry of Economic Affairs, 30 October 1963.

<sup>164</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/2, Minutes of a Federal Records Working Party in Southern Rhodesia, Salisbury at the Ministry of Economic Affairs, 30 October 1963.

<sup>165</sup> See NAZ MHA 1/5/2, Section (6) of the Quadripartite Agreement of 1963.

by another government, before disclosing it to any of the three territorial governments.<sup>166</sup> In a situation where the originator of the documents or the federal government had imposed restrictive conditions concerning access to the documents, the three governments were instructed to respect such demands. Records falling into this category, which were designated as such by the federal government, or which in the opinion of the Director were of permanent historical interest, were to be preserved and opened to the public after a period of 30 years. Records of correspondence with other governments were not to be opened to the public until the dates on which the governments concerned also opened their copies of the correspondence.<sup>167</sup>

## **5.6 CONCLUSION**

This chapter has demonstrated the relationship between state transformation and archival records management and preservation in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The change in regional politics through the formation of the federation reshaped the manner in whereby archives were created and preserved under the British colonial administration. The control of the Central African Archives was transferred to the federal government, under its Ministry of Home Affairs as the custodial department. This move gave the federal government the upper hand in shaping the course of records management in the federal territory of Northern Rhodesia. Territorial archives' legislation was amended to accommodate the realities of the new federal order.

The passing of Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (Constitution) Order in Council in 1954 was a major shift in the procedures of making archives in the federal states. In Northern Rhodesia, the revision and annulment of the Northern Rhodesia Archives Ordinance paved the way for the Governor-General to regulate the archives management. The Judicial and Archives Order of 1954 permitted the Governor to give orders on the procedures of creating and keeping archival records. Notable is that the same principles for the management and preservation of records, which were practiced before the federation, was continued, especially in the interim years of the federation. Archives legislation was not given

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<sup>166</sup> See NAZ MHA 1/5/2, Section (9) of the Quadripartite Agreement of 1963.

<sup>167</sup> See NAZ MHA 1/5/2, Section (9) of the Quadripartite Agreement of 1963.

immediate legislative attention, as the subject of archives was considered less important when compared to economic and political matters.

There was a deviation from the federal archives policy in the production of archives through the introduction of a records management scheme in the mid-1950s. The procedure was extended to include the examination of semi-current records. It involved selection and deselection, classification and indexing of records before they were transferred to the central repository in Salisbury for permanent preservation. This meant that the central archives only dealt with the secondary function of preserving records, while active control over the shape of territorial records collections, remained in Northern Rhodesia's ambit. The federal archivist, as the entity responsible for central archives management and permanent preservation, was cut off from the early phases of appraisal and selection. In the case of Northern Rhodesia, the records management scheme did not become fully operational until the eve of the dissolution of the federation, due to inadequately trained staff and limited availability of storage accommodation. By 1958, major transformations in archives management and preservation were notable through the enactment of the National Archives Act. The final authority relating to the permanent and temporary preservation of records now rested with the federal Minister of Home Affairs. Processed archives were protected through the prohibition of reproducing archival records.

The status quo changed yet again with the dissolution of the federation in 1963. This led to a turnaround of process and challenges of dividing records and archives that were previously to be centralized as of common interest to all three territories. When the federation was formed, it introduced common economic and political policies that unified various services. The result of this union was the production of records, which represented a collection of common interest to all three territories. These records could not be divided among the three territories as they represented an indivisible unit. On the eve of the dissolution of the federation, the federal working parties on archives were therefore formed to look into the best approach to preserving these indivisible federal records, with equal access for all three governments. It resulted in a quadripartite agreement, which allowed for the centralisation of all federal records in Salisbury, under the custodianship of the Southern Rhodesian government.

## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **The Postcolonial Zambian State and Creation of Archives, 1964–1991**

#### **6. 1. Introduction**

1964 was an important turning point in the history of the archives in Zambia (former Northern Rhodesia). Zambia obtained political independence from the British government, as well as archival independence from a joint collaboration with Nyasaland (Malawi) and Southern Rhodesia (later Zimbabwe). As demonstrated in previous chapters, for nearly sixteen years the professional practice of archiving and records management was conducted in collaboration with Nyasaland and Southern Rhodesia. However, the attainment of political independence, and with it the formation of the new Zambian state, brought about complete state control of the creation, preservation and management of its public records. By 1969, the Zambian government had nationalised private enterprises and thus initiated state control over the economic sector. The United National Independence Party (UNIP) government introduced one-party-state rule in 1972. It lasted until 1991. Different from earlier regimes that often neglected the archives or took it for granted, this government considered control of the public archives important to preserving national identity and for developing mechanisms to facilitate social, political and economic development. The Zambian archives was presented as, and served, as the institutional memory of government and the country. It was a means of recording its obligations, commitments and evidence of the rights and entitlements of its citizens. Thus, the postcolonial archives became an essential part of the national domain over which the government wanted and needed to have legal custody.

In the light of the aforementioned importance of archives to the postcolonial Zambian government, this chapter addresses archiving and records management within the arena of the state bureaucracy in the period 1964 to 1991. It argues that the National Archives Act (1969) was the instrument of control through which the state exercised its authority in directing the processes of creating and preserving archives and hence defining the identity of the postcolonial archive of Zambia. The government of Zambia enacted the National

Archives Act and made the National Archives of Zambia a key executor of its provisions. The chapter explains how the state controlled and shaped the processes of archives creation, preservation and management through the provisions of postcolonial archives legislation. The chapter also considers the provisions for decentralisation in the National Archives Act as a major turning point in Zambia's archiving history, despite the already mentioned strong tendency towards central control of the archives. It shows how the processes of records management and archiving were decentralised to include parastatal corporate organisations. The chapter further demonstrates how the transformation of the Zambian system of rule, from a multiparty democracy to a one party state, reshaped archival legislation, and the identity of the archive, as it influenced the preservation and management of public archives.

## **6. 2. The making of archives in postcolonial Zambia**

### **6. 2. 1. Modifying federal legislation for the creation of archives**

Zambia achieved autonomy in the creation, preservation and management of its public records and archives in 1964. As discussed in the previous chapter, from 1946 until 1963, Zambia's archival documents were processed under the custody of Southern Rhodesia. The break-up of the Federation in 1963 facilitated the takeover of custody of its archives and records. The National Archives Act of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, which authorised Southern Rhodesia to act as custodian of Zambia's archival documents, was repealed. As a result, measures were taken by the Zambian government to formulate archives legislation that would authorise the proper establishment and management of archives within the country. An immediate arrangement was made for the formulation of the National Archives Laws (Modification and Adaptation) Regulations of 1964. These regulations were endorsed through Government Notice No. 46 of 1964. The National Archives Laws (hereafter: archives legislation) were a temporary measure meant to endorse the acquisition, preservation and management of archives in the transition period, while awaiting the enactment of new

legislation under the postcolonial Zambian government. However, the archives legislation facilitated the operation of autonomous archiving in Zambia.<sup>1</sup>

In contrast to the defunct federal government which, as discussed earlier, took a year to reformulate archives legislation after its formation, the postcolonial Zambian administration regarded control over the public archives as an urgent matter. The main reason was that public archives served as an essential tool for administration. Archives held the long-term institutional memory of previous governments. The archives therefore facilitated governance through the provision of precedents regarding the previous government's administrative decisions and transactions. The government would exercise control over the public archives through archives legislation and national archives institutions. As such, the archival legislation of the dissolved Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was immediately modified to pave the way for complete state control over the processes of collection, production and preservation of the archives. The modification mainly focused on the legal empowerment of the national archival institution in the administration of archives, as well as collection and custody.<sup>2</sup> The legislation provided an essential framework which enabled a national archives service to operate, and gave it authority in its dealings with government ministries and departments.<sup>3</sup> However, for the time being, only designated sections on the examination, destruction, preservation and transfer of records were modified. The modified archives legislation transformed the status of the Lusaka regional depot to that of a National Archive. Its main function was that of a transit records repository. Its primary responsibility now became the acquisition and collection government records, and processing them into archives.<sup>4</sup> The new archival legislation legally empowered it to supervise, control and manage all processes pertaining to records and archives in the entire country. In this regard, as a national institution it became responsible for the disposal of government documents considered valueless, while arranging for the permanent preservation of those identified as valuable.

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<sup>1</sup> National Archives of Zambia (hereafter NAZ), Ministry of Home Affairs (hereafter MHA) 1/5/1, Northern Rhodesia Government Notice No. 46 of 1964, 7 January 1964.

<sup>2</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/1, Northern Rhodesia Government Notice No. 46 of 1964, 7 January 1964.

<sup>3</sup> D. Parer, 'Archival Legislation for commonwealth Countries, 2000,' <http://www.acarm.org/publications/Legislation>. Pdf (Accessed 6 April 2018).

<sup>4</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/1, Northern Rhodesia Government Notice No. 46 of 1964, 7 January 1964.

While the repealed federal archival legislation had given more authority to the creators of records, namely government departments, to control the appraisal of records, the new modified archives legislation transferred that authority to the archival institution.<sup>5</sup> According to provisions of the repealed legislation, for instance, the archival institution could only process government records on request.<sup>6</sup> In the modified archives legislation, this section was transformed to provide more authority to the archival institution to control and supervise the processes of records evaluation. Archivists of the national archival institution were authorised to initiate the appraisal of government records, instead of being requested to do so. The new provision stipulated that the Director of a national archival institution could 'examine at any time records of any government ministry or department, or any judicial records in the custody of any court or officer of such a court, and advise on the care and preservation.'<sup>7</sup> This provision was supplemented by another provision on the transfer of records to an archival institution, which was not covered in the previous primary federal legislation. It required that public records in the custody of government departments and considered worthy for permanent preservation be transferred to the national archives institution no later than thirty years after their creation.<sup>8</sup> Thus, departments responsible for creating government records had ownership of their information for a period of thirty years. Thereafter, an archival institution took over custody and control of such records.<sup>9</sup> This would, however, be preceded by an appraisal exercise, whereby documents would be selected for conservation in a permanent archive.<sup>10</sup> While this requirement was meant to facilitate the systematic selection of records for preservation, and their regular transfer to the archival institution, the aim was mainly to ensure that the archival institution acquired all important government documents for safe custody.

Even though the focus of the provisional, modified archival legislation was on the control and acquisition of government documents by the archival institution, it also considered the

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<sup>5</sup> For details on the provisions of the National Archives Laws (Modification and Adaptation) Regulations of 1964, see NAZ MHA 1/5/1, Northern Rhodesia Government Notice No. 46 of 1964, 7 January 1964.

<sup>6</sup> Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, *National Archives Act, 1958* (Salisbury: Government Printers, 1958), 2.

<sup>7</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/1, The National Archives Laws (Modification and Adaptations) Regulations No. 2, 1964.

<sup>8</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/1, The National Archives Laws (Modification and Adaptations) Regulations No. 2, 1964.

<sup>9</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/1, Memorandum on the Repeal of Federal Archives Act 1958, 13 January 1964.

<sup>10</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/1, Memorandum on the Repeal of Federal Archives Act 1958, 13 January 1964.

impracticality of total archiving. The legislation included a provision for the disposal of records considered not worthy of preservation, but its approach to destruction was cautious. It empowered the Minister of Home Affairs, as the government representative responsible for supervising the creation of archives, as the final arbiter on the disposal of records.<sup>11</sup> To designate government records for disposal required recommendations and review by the departments responsible for creating the records in the first place, as well as an independent records committee, and the Minister of Home Affairs. The archives legislation categorically laid down that no government records could be destroyed, unless this was in accordance with standing instructions and schedules prepared by government departments and approved by the archival institution.<sup>12</sup> Public records deemed not worth preserving by the offices of creation were subjected to a further review by the Records Committee. It was also mandatory that the committee submit its recommendation to the Minister of Home Affairs for approval, whose decision was paramount.

Compared to the repealed federal archival legislation, the new legislation completely removed public participation and opinion from the process of archives creation. As stated in the previous chapter, the repealed federal legislation provided for the participation of general members of the public through the publication of lists of documents intended for destruction in the government gazette. The state now assumed total authority in shaping the postcolonial archive. Although the reason for the shift is not clear, it appears that the postcolonial administration avoided legal provision for an open system of public participation in archives creation to avoid accountability to the public.<sup>13</sup> This approach might have been a way of promoting certain narratives about its administrative history. This was not unique to Zambia. In many former African British colonies after the attainment of independence, the new governments adopted laws that encouraged secrecy of information and limited transparency of governance processes to avoid criticism of maladministration or

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<sup>11</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/1, Memorandum from I. Graham, Archivist (Lusaka) to the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of the Chief Secretary, (Lusaka), 17 January 1964.

<sup>12</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/1, Memorandum on the Repeal of Federal Archives Act 1958 and Enactment of N.R Archives Ordinance, January 1964.

<sup>13</sup> Chrispin Hamooya, 'Records and Good Governance: Running Away from Accountability: The Case of Zambia,' *ESARBICA Journal* 25 (2005), 101-102.

violations of the rule of law.<sup>14</sup> African governments, to avoid scrutiny, were empowered by this legislation to determine the appropriate information they thought citizens needed to access. Thus, the public were on the receiving end, waiting for access to some selected government archives.<sup>15</sup> In Zambia, one example among many, the politicians in the opposition parties, such as the African National Congress, needed access to government records to ensure that government accounted for its obligations to the country. Politicians in opposition parties acted as watchdogs for ordinary citizens and wanted to ensure that government was effective in its responsibilities.<sup>16</sup>

The modified legislation was significant in facilitating the first phase of autonomous archiving in Zambia. Its initial impact was on the transfer of the federal records of the former Northern Rhodesian government to the new state of Zambia. This largely facilitated the establishment of a collection of federal archives at the National Archives. As already discussed, the state's control over archival management in Zambia was vested in the National Archives, through the modified archives legislation. Thus, the National Archives used its newly acquired status as a legal archiving authority in the country to collect and preserve documentation from different phases of Zambia's administrative history. Apart from the government's need to control the public archives, there was an equally important need to fill a gap in the national archival resources so as to create a logical representation of Zambia's history. As a result, the national archiving authority was engaged in the appraisal and transfer of federal archives to Zambia. As already mentioned, part of the federal documentary resources relating to Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) were preserved at the Southern Rhodesia National Archives repository. At the dissolution of the federation, the Southern Rhodesian Archives were entrusted with custody of records already deposited with the institution. It was also assigned receipt of other records gradually handed over by the defunct federal departments.

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<sup>14</sup> Esther Ndenje-Sichalwe and Patrick Ngulube, 'Records Management and Access to Information: Key to Fostering Accountability, Good Governance and Protection of Human Rights in Tanzania,' *ESARBICA Journal*, 28 (2009), 9-10.

<sup>15</sup> Ndenje-Sichalwe and Ngulube, 'Records Management and Access to information,' 10.

<sup>16</sup> Hamooya, 'Records and Good Governance,' 101.

In June 1964, government of Northern Rhodesia had tasked the archival institution to safeguard the country's interests in federal records.<sup>17</sup> Davis Lewis, then Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Home Affairs, appointed Ivor Graham, an archivist from the National Archives, to serve as the territory's representative on the inter-government committee on federal records.<sup>18</sup> As indicated in the previous chapter, at the dissolution of the federation, a Quadripartite Agreement was made. It stipulated that a committee comprising of representatives from the former federal territories would be formed to assess the territorial relevance of the federal records. After the inter-governmental committee was formed, annual meetings were held at the Southern Rhodesia Archives. The meetings were attended by the archivists of the former federal territories. The members of the committee physically examined federal records and drew up schedules for their disposal. At periodic intervals, the records were repatriated to the respective former territorial governments from which they had originated.<sup>19</sup>

The Zambian government ensured that its archivist (Graham) attended the meetings and participated in the appraisal of the outstanding federal records. Their main interest was to identify all the archival records relating to the then Northern Rhodesia, and to repatriate them to the Zambian National Archives.<sup>20</sup> However, this intention was not fully realised, hindered as it was by the politics at play in the control over federal records. The Zambian archivist was not allowed access to all categories of federal records because of an existing embargo on selected information. The legacy of colonial power thus remained entrenched in the Quadripartite Agreement and shaped the federal archives according to imperial interests. Embargoed records were mostly those relating to political communications on such matters as territorial constitutions, security, and correspondence between the federal and the British governments. These records contained sensitive information that reflected the viewpoint of the British government, which it did not wish to be revealed to the former

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<sup>17</sup> Zambia became independent on 24 October 1964 and the country's name was changed from Northern Rhodesia to Zambia. After the dissolution of the federation in 1963, and until September 1964, Northern Rhodesia was under the control of the British government.

<sup>18</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/1, Correspondence from Davis Lewis, Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs to Office of the Governor (Lusaka), 11 May 1964.

<sup>19</sup> Steve S. Mwiyeriwa, 'The National Archives of Malawi: Research Opportunities for the Foreign Scholar,' *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 3/1-2, (1983), 222.

<sup>20</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/7, Correspondence from Administrative Secretary, (Ministry of Home Affairs) to Secretary of the Cabinet, 22 November 1966.

federal territories. The argument was that such information would cause embarrassment to the former territorial governments and the British government.<sup>21</sup> Philip Murphy noted that certain documents gave offence on account of their discussion of personalities. Reports to London by British officials and ministers resorted fairly freely to robust descriptions of the characters of African politicians.<sup>22</sup> The conditions of embargo were therefore meant to protect the British government's reputation and protect its colonial collaborators from retribution after independence.<sup>23</sup> However, the main agenda was to conceal imperial secrets that would later incriminate the imperial power after decolonisation. As a result, the federal archives that were collected and preserved in Zambia were mostly the residue of imperial decisions and interests.

It should be noted that the conditions of embargo that shaped the archives of federal Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) conformed to Britain's policy on the disposal of classified records in colonial administrations, which was developed in the late 1940s. The origin of this policy can be traced to 1948, when Ceylon attained its independence from Britain. The Deputy Under-Secretary of the Colonial Office ordered the Governor of Ceylon, to destroy or despatch all secret and personal colonial documents to Britain.<sup>24</sup> Throughout the British Empire, during decolonisation, the transfer of old records to new administrations was crucial to ensure an orderly transition to newly-independent administrations.<sup>25</sup> Ideally, defunct colonial administrations were required to transfer every document to a new government. However, some documents appeared too sensitive and incriminating on the part of imperial authorities to be passed on to succeeding governments. Eventually, the Colonial Office adopted standard principles that guided the secret destruction, relocation or retention of information under embargo in colonial states. For example, the memoranda despatched on the eve of independence in Tanzania, Uganda and Kenya in the 1960s

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<sup>21</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/7, Correspondence from Administrative Secretary, (Ministry of Home Affairs) to Secretary of the Cabinet, 22 November 1966.

<sup>22</sup> See P. Murphy, 'Censorship, Declassification and the History of the End of Empire in Central Africa,' *African Research and Documentation*, 92 (2003), 3-26. See also, Mandy Banton, 'Destroy? "Migrate"? Conceal? British Strategies for the Disposal of Sensitive Records of Colonial Administrations at Independence,' *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 40/2 (2012), 321-335.

<sup>23</sup> See Shohei Sato, "'Operation Legacy": Britain's Destruction and Concealment of Colonial Records Worldwide,' *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 45/4 (2017), 697-719.

<sup>24</sup> Sato, "'Operation Legacy"', 700.

<sup>25</sup> Sato, "'Operation Legacy"', 701.

stipulated that no documents could be transferred to independent governments that would embarrass the British government.<sup>26</sup> Other prohibited documents included those which would be used unethically by ministers in the successor governments to victimise members of the police, military forces, public servants, or police agents and informers, who had collaborated with the British.<sup>27</sup>

For Zambia, the embargo on federal information undermined the modified postcolonial archival legislation. It restricted the national archiving institution from acquiring a complete collection of archives exclusively related to the then Northern Rhodesia. However, Article (9) of the Quadripartite Agreement compelled the former federal territories of Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland to respect the embargo conditions imposed by the defunct federal government.<sup>28</sup> This provision meant that while the federation was long dissolved, it continued to influence the shape of the federal archive. Its archival legislation was upheld, while the modified archival legislation of the postcolonial era was undermined. That this was going to be the course taken, was clear from the first meeting of the inter-governmental committee, held in June 1964, when its members insisted on upholding federal policy to guide the appraisal of records.<sup>29</sup> This meant that the inter-governmental committee was prohibited from examining records of a confidential nature. These were mostly official records on international relations generated by the federal government. All records classified as confidential were declassified and could only be accessed fifty years after their date of creation.<sup>30</sup> An embargo of thirty years was also placed on personal records, especially those generated by the federal Immigration Department.<sup>31</sup> The only records that could be appraised by Zambia's archivist were those generated by federal commissions, departments and ministries. Thus, the federal archive established at the

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<sup>26</sup> Sato, "Operation Legacy", 704-712.

<sup>27</sup> See for example, Banton, 'Destroy? "Migrate"? Conceal?,' 321-335; Mandy Banton, "'Lost" and "Found": The Concealment and Release of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office "Migrated Archives",' *Comma*, 1 (2012), 33-46; and also Murphy, 'Censorship, Declassification and the History of the End of the Empire in Central Africa,' 3-26.

<sup>28</sup> See NAZ MHA 1/5/2, Section (9) of the Quadripartite Agreement of 1963.

<sup>29</sup> NAZ National Archives (hereafter NA) 22/1/2, Minutes of the First Inter-Governmental Committee Meeting on Federal Records held at the National Archives of Southern Rhodesia, Salisbury, 18 June 1964.

<sup>30</sup> NAZ NA 22/1/1, Minutes of the Tenth Inter-Governmental Committee Meeting on Federal Records held at the National Archives of Southern Rhodesia, Salisbury, 9 May 1974.

<sup>31</sup> NAZ NA 22/1/2, Minutes of the Second Inter-Governmental Committee Meeting on Federal Records held at the National Archives of Southern Rhodesia, Salisbury, 30 November 1964.

National Archives in Zambia comprised information on federal policy, politics, society, economics, defence, science, technology, and the rights and obligations of individuals.<sup>32</sup> Among the notable records repatriated to the Zambian archives institution were collections of correspondence and reports from the department of immigration and the department of registration. T. Burne, an archivist who represented Zambia on the committee, reported that approximately thirty boxes of alien registration files for Northern Rhodesia and fifty boxes of records of the High Commission for British South Africa were transferred to Lusaka.<sup>33</sup>

Apart from these records, another type of archive was created by the inter-governmental committee in the 1960s. It was a joint federal archive, created from records that were of common interest to all the former federal territories. As stated in the previous chapter, among other services, the federal government was also responsible for the administration of joint services covering all three former federal territories. Thus the joint archive was produced from the records created through the collective operations of ministries, departments, and commissions.<sup>34</sup> The joint federal archive mostly consisted of information related to administration, because the nature of the records it contained were selected based on the retention criteria adopted by the inter-governmental committee - the inter-governmental committee emphasised administrative value as the main criterion for permanent preservation. Since the joint archive was built on records created by the federal administration, it reflected the functions and policies of the federal system. The archive was comprised of correspondence, circulars, reports, minutes and memoranda of federal ministries, departments and commissions. Other archived material included was contracts,

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<sup>32</sup> NAZ NA 22/1/2, Minutes of the Second Inter-Governmental Committee Meeting on Federal Records held at the National Archives of Southern Rhodesia, Salisbury, 30 November 1964.

<sup>33</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/7, Report from T. Burne Archivist, National Archives of Zambia to Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs, 9 August 1967.

<sup>34</sup> For federal ministries from which a federal archive was created, see, for example, International Development Research Centre, *Public Archives of Rhodesia and Nyasaland 1953-1963* (Harare: IDRC, 1987). Ministries, departments and commissions that existed during the Federation include, Agriculture, Commerce and Industry, Education, Health, Home Affairs, Economic Affairs, Transport, Conservation and Extensions, Works and Federal Ministry of Law. Information from commissions relating to the public service, the beef industry, the dairy industry, the Dag Hammarskjöld air disaster, health and medical services, as well as Rhodesia Railway rates, formed part of the joint archive.

financial statements, policy documents as well as maps, plans and diagrams mainly generated by the Ministry of Transport.<sup>35</sup>

In order to speed up the work of appraising the records, the committee agreed that disposal schedules were as far as possible only to indicate papers of potential administrative value.<sup>36</sup> This bias could be attributed to the inclusion of heads of government departments of the former federal territories of Malawi, Zambia and Southern Rhodesia, contrary to the original terms of the inter-governmental committee. Their opinion on the selection of the types of archives for preservation seems to have been decisive. In April 1966, all disposal schedules for treasury records were sent to the Ministry of Economic Affairs and the Auditor General's office, for further review.<sup>37</sup> It seems likely that the inter-governmental committee was driven by the "official mind" in prioritising the interests of administrators above others. Unfortunately, similar to archives the world over, and as Achille Mbembe contends, 'archives are the product of a process which converts a certain number of documents into items judged to be worthy of preserving.'<sup>38</sup> Consequently, as Mbembe further notes, the collation of records within an archive reflects the tensions and biases of interest to the creating organisation, with the joint federal archive being no different. The federation was comprised of various ministries, including agriculture, commerce and industry, education, health, home affairs, economic affairs, transport, conservation and extensions, works, and the federal Ministry of Law, which also generated records of a legal and fiscal nature. The documents left behind by these departments had wide-ranging historical value and, as such, it would have been reasonable to expect that wider retention values ought to have been considered, which would have accommodated the interests of the wider public and of scholars.

Furthermore, the making of the federal archives was entangled with controversies and clashing viewpoints. Officials' and politicians' notions of a shared heritage, as well as their

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<sup>35</sup> NAZ NA22/1/2, Minutes of the Second Inter-Governmental Committee Meeting on Federal Records held at the National Archives of Southern Rhodesia, Salisbury, 30 November 1964.

<sup>36</sup> NAZ NA 22/1/2, Minutes of the Inter-Governmental Committee Meeting on Federal Records held at the National Archives, Salisbury, 14 April 1966.

<sup>37</sup> NAZ NA 22/1/2, Minutes of the Inter-Governmental Committee Meeting on Federal Records held at the National Archives, Salisbury, 14 April 1966.

<sup>38</sup> Achille Mbembe, 'The Power of the Archive and its Limits,' in Carolyn Hamilton et al (eds.) *Refiguring the Archive* (Cape Town: David Phillip, 2002), 19-20.

connection to multiple stakeholders, were the main causes of conflicts in the production of federal archives. Archivists from Zambia and Malawi protested the allocation of materials, by contending that there was an unfair distribution of federal archives that favoured Southern Rhodesia.<sup>39</sup> They claimed that representatives of the Southern Rhodesian Archives dominated decision-making on which archives deserved preservation by the respective former federal territories. At the same time, they alleged that Southern Rhodesia acquired a larger portion of the federal archives, taking advantage of its status as custodian of these archives on behalf of Zambia and Malawi. It was argued that Southern Rhodesia, as the custodian of the federal archives, kept itself updated with regards to their contents.<sup>40</sup> As such, its knowledge of the nature of federal archive was used as a tool in obtaining a larger proportion of future archival material. These claims are clearly evident in the correspondence from Burne, archivist and representative of Zambia on the inter-governmental committee, to the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Home Affairs in 1966: 'one disadvantage of the system is that to a large extent we have to take the advice of the custodian of records and the Rhodesian members, however, in those cases where we asked to see specific files, we usually had to follow their judgement.'<sup>41</sup>

In view of these sentiments, Zambia's concerns might have been realistic, bearing in mind that from the late 1940s until the early 1960s, the archival resources of Zambia and Malawi were held in the Southern Rhodesia Archives, as discussed in chapters four and five. More so, its archivists were responsible for their preservation, storage and arrangement thereby, in the process becoming acquainted with the archival content. Zambia and Malawi protested further about how the defunct federal government had prearranged and favoured the unfair distribution of federal archives. At the meeting of the working party, held on the eve of the dissolution of federation, it ordered that archives related to international bodies were to be transferred to the Southern Rhodesian government. The directive was issued on the grounds that Southern Rhodesia would be responsible for the

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<sup>39</sup> NAZ NA 22/1/2, Minutes of the Inter-Governmental Committee Meeting on Federal Records held at the National Archives, Salisbury, 8 December 1968.

<sup>40</sup> NAZ NA 22/1/2, Minutes of the Inter-Governmental Committee Meeting on Federal Records held at the National Archives, Salisbury, 8 December 1968.

<sup>41</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/7, Report on Inter-Governmental Committee Meeting on Federal Records from T. Burne, Director of National Archives of Zambia to Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs, 7 August 1966.

defunct federation's external affairs, and would therefore need these records for reference purposes. However, it was emphasised that the information in such records was to be made accessible to Zambia and Malawi.<sup>42</sup> Because they regarded the apportionment of federal information as unfair, Zambia and Malawi resisted paying storage costs for the archives in Southern Rhodesia.<sup>43</sup> A joint letter, written by archivists from Zambia and Malawi to the Southern Rhodesian Archives, stated that 'now that the total volume of federal records has been reduced considerably, the Zambian and Malawian archives institutions register a corresponding reduction in the maintenance cost to the two Governments.'<sup>44</sup>

### **6.2.2 Assembling an autonomous national archive**

Within the same period, apart from appraising records generated during the federal period, the national archiving institution also paid attention to the repatriation of the country's pre-federal colonial archives preserved in Southern Rhodesia. In 1965 and 1966, the national archiving institution facilitated the return of the country's colonial archive and its preservation in Zambia. It had been preserved in Southern Rhodesia, outside the control of the Northern Rhodesian state for nearly eighteen years (1946-1964). The colonial archive, which dated from the commencement of colonial administration in 1895, included the archival records of the British South Africa Company (BSAC), mostly those generated by its London head office.<sup>45</sup> Others were archives generated by the departments and courts that were in operation during the (BSAC) administration (1895-1923). These were in form of correspondence, minutes and reports. There was also a notable return of a collection of seventy-six boxes of early records on Rhodesian affairs generated by the office of the British

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<sup>42</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/2, Minutes of the Federal Records working Party held at Ministry of Economic Affairs, Southern Rhodesia, Salisbury, 30 October 1963.

<sup>43</sup> While Zambia and Malawi acquired minimal portions of the federal archives exclusively related to their respective territorial governments, Southern Rhodesia acquired a much a larger proportion. Those of common interest, but which could not be divided, remained in the custody Southern Rhodesia. It was resolved that these federal archives would be opened for public access after thirty years, according to the terms stipulated in the Quadripartite Agreement. For further discussion see for example, MHA 1/5/2, Take-Over of Federal Subjects; NAZ MHA 1/5/2, Minutes of the Federal Records working Party held at Ministry of Economic Affairs, Southern Rhodesia, Salisbury, 30 October 1963.

<sup>44</sup> NAZ NA 13/8/4, Correspondence from Steve Mwiyeriwa, Government Archivist of Malawi (Zomba) to National Archives of Southern Rhodesia, 2 September 1966.

<sup>45</sup> P.M. Mukula, *A More than Three-Decade Service of the Memory, Party and the Nation, 1947-1981* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1982), 4. For further details on sources of Zambian colonial archives see for example, P.M. Mukula, *Archives in the National Development* (Lusaka: Government printer, 1985).

High Commissioner, then stationed in South Africa.<sup>46</sup> Additional archives were those created by the British colonial authorities covering the period 1895 to 1964. The collection was comprised of official correspondence, memoranda and circulars from the British Colonial Office to administrative officials of the BSAC.

Other collections of the colonial archive transferred to Zambia were those generated between the Colonial Office and the Governor of Northern Rhodesia 1924-1963.<sup>47</sup> Such collections consisted mainly of circulars, memoranda, reports and correspondence on matters of colonial policy and the administration of Northern Rhodesia. Another group of collections were those created by various departments of the British colonial administration in Northern Rhodesia. These were mainly reports, minutes and correspondence exchanged between the heads of departments and the Secretariat, within the central administrative system.<sup>48</sup> These are referred to as Secretariat archives. The heads of the colonial government's specialised departments, as well as the Provincial and District Commissioners, were all under the direct authority of the Secretariat.

In 1966 more additions were made to the Northern Rhodesian colonial archive. After the colonial archive was finally transferred to Zambia, the Southern Rhodesian Archives continued to play an important role in assisting Zambia to build up its colonial archives' collection. Apart from the archives once under its custody, other collections of documents related to Northern Rhodesia were later discovered in government departments of Southern Rhodesia. The Southern Rhodesian Archives was very supportive, as it provided details of the unknown archival resources to Zambia. The Zambian archives were informed of a collection of papers consisting of census returns held by the Southern Rhodesian statistics office. These documents were generated in 1946, when the Southern Rhodesian statistics office organised a census of individual households for the Northern Rhodesian

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<sup>46</sup> National Archives of Zambia, *Annual Report, 1965-1966* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1967), 2.

<sup>47</sup> For the nature of Zambia's colonial archives, see National Archives of Zambia, *Records of the Crown, 1924-1933* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1981); National Archives of Zambia, *Records of the British South Africa Company, 1887-1924* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1980); Ivor M. Graham and B.C. Halwindi, *Guide to the Public Archives of Zambia, 1895-1940* (Lusaka: Government, 1970).

<sup>48</sup> See, for example, National Archives of Zambia, *Records of the Crown, 1924-1933* and Graham and Halwindi *Guide to the Public Archives of Zambia, 1895-1940*.

government.<sup>49</sup> The other discovered papers were held by the department of federal survey, and related to an aerial survey of Northern Rhodesia conducted in the late 1920s and early 1930s.<sup>50</sup> With the help of the Southern Rhodesian archives, all these and many other documents were repatriated to the National Archives in Zambia. In a way, Zambia came to understand that the southern Rhodesian gesture was a signal that collaboration in archiving, initiated in the 1940s, had not ended with the disintegration of Federation.

During this period, an important transformation took place in the making of, and collection policy to, Zambia's archives. There was a shift from a restricted system of only preserving government documents generated by government institutions, to a wider approach of incorporating non-governmental archives. The National Archives now collected historical manuscripts through requests, donations and purchase. These were essentially the private collections of private institutions, such as corporate bodies, societies, churches and of individuals such as colonial administrators and missionaries. The Zambian government, driven by a wave of post-independence nationalism, sought to preserve a comprehensive documentary record that reflected a consolidated national history. This purpose was clear from the earliest letter written by T. Burne, then Director of the National Archives, to the Salvation Army Church Headquarters, for example, requesting important church material for acquisition. The letter stated that, 'the Government of Zambia was anxious to hold in the National Archives a full documentation of all phases of the history of Zambia.'<sup>51</sup> The idea of a wider collection policy to include historical manuscripts, was no different from other postcolonial governments in the Commonwealth, such as Malawi and Botswana.<sup>52</sup> In these countries, the post-independence spirit of nationalism equally gave impetus to the collection of historical manuscripts through similar means. Similar to Zambia, the sources of historical manuscripts were mostly corporate bodies, churches, societies, individual

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<sup>49</sup> NAZ NA 13/4/8, Correspondence from E.E. Burke, Director National Archives of Southern Rhodesia (Salisbury) to T. Burne, Director, National Archives of Zambia (Lusaka) 16 June 1966.

<sup>50</sup> NAZ NA 13/4/8, Correspondence from R.S. Turner, Archivist, National Archives of Southern Rhodesia (Salisbury) to T. Burne, Director, National Archives of Zambia (Lusaka), 2 August 1966.

<sup>51</sup> NAZ NA 18/1/2, Correspondence from T. Burne, Director National Archives to David Ramsay, General Secretary, Salvation Army Headquarters, Lusaka, 5 June 1965.

<sup>52</sup> For further details on a broader collection policy of archives, see for example, Terry Cook, 'The Tyranny of the Medium: A Comment on "Total Archives",' *Archivaria*, 9 (1979), 141-149. For a detailed discussion of the history of total archives, see Laura Millar, 'Discharging our Debt: The Evolution of the Total Archives Concept in English Canada,' *Archivaria*, 46 (1998), 103-146.

missionaries, and colonial administrators.<sup>53</sup> In the 1960s, most independent Commonwealth African governments and their archiving institutions were tailored towards the preservation of a comprehensive national history.<sup>54</sup> Philip Curtin observed that the rise of African nationalism was generally beneficial to the archives. The new states were interested in preserving their history, and African government ministers took a more favourable view of historical research than colonial governors used to do.<sup>55</sup> However, it is worth noting that this national history that postcolonial governments advocated was artificial and anachronistic in the way they naturalised very recent borders and nation-states as possessing their own self-contained histories. Certain versions of the past that did not fit the national narrative were either silenced or excluded.

Although the immediate impetus for the acquisition of historical manuscripts was largely due to the political realities of recent independence and emergent nationalism, the concept of a wider collection had existed in the colonial period. The federal archives legislation provided for a wider collection policy, but challenges of storage space and trained staff in the then Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) restricted acquisition to only acquiring records from government departments. The legislation did allow the archivists to acquire any other documents of historical value through purchase, donation, or request, but subject to the approval of the Minister of Home Affairs, the legal administrator of government records.<sup>56</sup> However, in the postcolonial period, the archives' expanded status, from that of a transit records repository to a national archiving authority, also contributed to its acquisition efforts. By this time, as discussed in the previous chapter, the national archiving institution was operating from a purpose-built archives repository with trained staff. The earliest donations came from the Lusaka Chamber of Commerce, the Associated Chambers of Commerce and Industry of Northern Rhodesia, and the Associated Chambers of Commerce of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.<sup>57</sup> The documents donated included correspondence and

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<sup>53</sup> See for example, National Archives of Malawi, *A Manual of Activities and Operations of the National Archives of Malawi* (Zomba: National Archives of Malawi, 1986), 9.

<sup>54</sup> See for example L. Kenosi, 'Records Management in the Public Service and the Botswana's National Archives and Records Services,' *African Journal of Library, Archives & Information Science*, 9/2 (1999), 120.

<sup>55</sup> Philip Curtin, 'The Archives of Tropical Africa: A Reconnaissance,' *Journal of African History* 1/1 (1960), 130-131.

<sup>56</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/1, The National Archives Laws (Modification and Adaptations) Regulations No. 2, 1964.

<sup>57</sup> National Archives of Zambia, *Annual Report, 1964* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1964), 1.

minutes, mostly on labour relations. The United Church of Central Africa (UCCA) in Rhodesia likewise provided correspondence, reports and minutes covering the period 1939 to 1963. The UCCA was a religious organisation in Zambia's Copperbelt, a prominent mining province and the cradle of Zambian politics.<sup>58</sup> The institution also received from the Rev. Fergus MacPherson evidence of membership of the Presbyterian Church of Central Africa for the period 1901 to 1944. Furthermore, minutes and correspondence of the defunct Zambian National Council on Alcoholism and Addiction were deposited.<sup>59</sup> The National Council had been formed in the early 1960s to create public awareness on the harmful consequences of excessive consumption of alcohol. A further collection of correspondence dating from the 1950s was received from the papers of the Federation of Women's Institute of Zambia.<sup>60</sup> There were also personal papers, such as the diaries of Thomas Walter Savoury, an early settler in Northern Rhodesia since 1914, which were donated by his grandson, T.E.L. Savoury.<sup>61</sup>

While on one hand there was a successful acquisition of archives, on the other preservation was floundering. By 1968, after only a short period of functioning as a national repository, the national archiving institution experienced a shortage of storage space. Besides the consequences of adopting a wider collection policy of archives, the situation was also exacerbated by expanded government functions after independence. Immediately after independence, the Zambian government had several new other priorities, such as expanding medical, agricultural and educational facilities. It was meant to improve the wellbeing of most of the indigenous population, who had been deprived of such services under the colonial regime. The government's agenda led to the creation of new ministries and departments. With effect from Zambia's independence on 24 October 1964, there were twenty government ministries, compared to thirteen that existed in the federal period.<sup>62</sup> This rapid bureaucratisation entailed increased records creation. Consequently, an urgent need arose for extra storage accommodation. The original repository in Lusaka, originally designed as a regional transit repository for the federation, was inadequate to

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<sup>58</sup> National Archives of Zambia, *Annual Report, 1964*, 1.

<sup>59</sup> National Archives of Zambia, *Annual Report, 1970-1971* (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1972), 4.

<sup>60</sup> National Archives of Zambia, *Annual Report, 1968-1969* (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1970), 2.

<sup>61</sup> National Archives of Zambia, *Annual Report 1964*, 1.

<sup>62</sup> NAZ NA 2/2/5, Cabinet Circular No. 119 of 1964 from D. Joy, Secretary to the Cabinet, to all Permanent Secretaries, 28 October 1964.

accommodate all the archives generated. Its 18,000-cubic-foot central repository was already at capacity with archival materials,<sup>63</sup> since more archival records were deposited than ever anticipated during federation. Additionally, the archives repository, originally designed for the management of semi-current records, also became a storage space for permanent archives.

As a result, the authorities organised alternative accommodation within Lusaka. In November 1968, the Permanent Secretary of the Cabinet Office sent a memorandum to the Ministry of Works and Supply requesting a warehouse to accommodate public archives. According to the memorandum, the preservation of archival material required a space encompassing a minimum of 1000 square feet.<sup>64</sup> Thus, an improvised warehouse was secured at Impala House, situated in the centre of Lusaka town, on Chachacha Road.<sup>65</sup> Because of the shortage of storage facilities, archives were preserved in inappropriate environments, which not only endangered the documents, but also led to the loss of important historical material. The premises at Impala House were not suitable for archives preservation. Archivists noted that in the rainy season, water leaked into the storage room, soaking some documents. Humidity, high temperature, dust, rats and white ants also destroyed archival documents.<sup>66</sup> Worse still, the facility did not provide enough space for the appraisal of archival material. At this time, according to P.C. Muzikana, many other archival materials in Africa were subjected to similar conditions in inadequate, improvised buildings.<sup>67</sup> For instance, also in the 1960s, Botswana's major preservation challenge stemmed from the lack of suitable buildings to house archival materials.<sup>68</sup>

The most challenging part in the preservation of archives in the late 1960s, was the lack of adequate financial resources on the part of the Zambian government. In as much as archives

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<sup>63</sup> A.M. Banda, 'History of the National Archives of Zambia,' *ECARBICA Journal*, 1/1 (1973), 26.

<sup>64</sup> NAZ NA 1/1/6, Memorandum from Permanent Secretary, Cabinet Office to the Advisory Committee on Warehouse Accommodation, (Lusaka), 14 November 1968.

<sup>65</sup> NAZ NA 1/1/6, Correspondence from A. Ahmad, Acting Director, National Archives of Zambia (Lusaka) to Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Power, Transport and Works (Lusaka), 4 December 1969.

<sup>66</sup> NAZ NA 1/1/6, Report from D.E. Stiles, Director, National Archives of Zambia (Lusaka) to Secretary, Advisory Committee on Office Accommodation (Lusaka), 24 March 1970.

<sup>67</sup> P.C. Muzikana, 'Archives: Africa,' in A. Large, (ed.) *World Information Report* (Paris: UNESCO, 1997), 145.

<sup>68</sup> See for example, Jacob Kufa, 'Lengthening the Life of the Library, Archive and Museum Resources in Botswana,' *Libri*, 47/3 (1997), 159; Michel Duchein, *Archive Buildings and Equipment* (München: Verlag Dokumentation, 1977), 22; T.M. Lekaukau and J.A. Ritchie, 'Botswana: The National Archives at Gaborone,' *Archivum*, 31 (1986), 15-16.

were important to the government because the government saw archives as custodians of the nation's memory, immediate priority was placed on accelerating the pace of economic development. As a result, matters of archival preservation were relegated to what some would refer to as a 'waiting list' in national development programmes. In order to provide a suitable environment for the growing collection of archives, plans were submitted to the Ministry of Home Affairs for the extension of the archives repository. In a letter addressed to the Permanent Secretary of Home Affairs, T. Osburn, in September 1968, it was indicated that the existing storage facilities were inadequate for fulfilling the function of a national repository.<sup>69</sup> The archives repository, which should have served its proper function for at least 20 years, was estimated to reach capacity in a mere 18 months. The budget estimates submitted to the Ministry of Home Affairs for inclusion in the Four Year Development Plan were not successful. In protest T. Burne, then a Director of the National Archives, stated: 'if this institution is to survive and develop in this new nation, I submit the reinstatement of the National Archives in the Four Year Development Plan.'<sup>70</sup>

The shortage of skilled personnel also restricted projects of processing and the acquisition of archives. The National Archives Annual Report for 1968 indicates that many records more than twenty years old were not processed into the archives because there were not enough trained archivists.<sup>71</sup> Many early records transferred from various government agencies and held in archival custody remained uncatalogued, awaiting the recruitment of experienced and trained staff. The national institution claimed control of the government records, yet they remained inaccessible and thus unusable. In a way, this defeated the purpose of collecting and preserving archives. During this period, most other archival institutions in the developing countries of East and Central Africa were understaffed and therefore unable to keep pace with the expansion of the government activities characteristic of a modern administration especially since records accumulated faster than the number of

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<sup>69</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/3, Correspondence from T. Burne, Archivist, National Archives of Zambia (Lusaka), to Permanent Secretary, (Lusaka) 22 September 1968.

<sup>70</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/3, Correspondence from T. Burne, Archivist, National Archives of Zambia (Lusaka), to Permanent Secretary, (Lusaka) 22 September 1968.

<sup>71</sup> National Archives of Zambia, *Annual Report, 1968-1969*, 2.

administrators. Archivists had no means of curbing the documentary expansion, but were expected to cope with such challenging conditions.<sup>72</sup>

### **6. 3. The National Archives Act of Zambia and the creation of postcolonial archives**

#### **6. 3. 1 The making of the National Archives Act (1969) of Zambia**

Five years after independence, yet another major transformation within the sphere of archives creation and records management prompted the need for more relevant archives legislation to conform to the newly independent status of the Republic of Zambia. On 10 November 1969, the first Zambian president, Kenneth Kaunda, signed the National Archives Act, No. 44 of 1969 (hereafter: Archives Act), into law. This legislation changed the course of creating archives in postcolonial Zambia. The Act repealed and replaced the federally-focussed National Archives Laws (Modification and Adaptation) Regulations.<sup>73</sup> Even though the authorities had adapted the regulations to the post-independence realities of archiving, it still remained inadequate for the new needs of the country. After Zambia's political independence, politicians made several consequential changes to the country's constitution and administration, especially the creation and merging of different government ministries and departments.<sup>74</sup> They introduced a policy of nationalisation, which meant that a number of companies became parastatals.<sup>75</sup> This led to the creation of new types of information, such as semi-government business records, records of statutory boards and special commissions. This resulted in the need for different archives legislation that would incorporate new kinds of documents. Besides, the earlier colonial-based legislation lagged

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<sup>72</sup> M.J. Simons and P.M. Mukula, Report on the Third General Conference on the East and Central African Regional Branch of International Council on Archives (Lusaka: ECARBICA, 1974).

<sup>73</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/8, Speech by Minister of Home Affairs on the National Archives Bill, to the Zambian National Assembly 1969, 7 October 1969.

<sup>74</sup> Ministries included the office of the president, the office of the vice president, the ministries of presidential affairs, foreign affairs, finance, home affairs, youth and social development, commerce, industry and foreign trade, transport, power and communications, agriculture, education, local government and housing, lands and mines, works, legal affairs, natural resources and tourism, labour, and health.

<sup>75</sup> The Mulungushi and Matero reforms were pronounced in 1968 and 1969, introducing a 51% state interest in the manufacturing and mining sectors, respectively. Accordingly, leading manufacturing and mining companies such as RST and ZAMANGLO, were nationalised and brought under state control. Thus, a state-private joint venture was introduced to the Zambian economy. Subsequently, a number of parastatal corporate organisations were established.

far behind the later archives legislation of other Commonwealth countries.<sup>76</sup> Previous legislation lacked provision for state control over non-governmental archival resources of national importance. This is noticeable from the memorandum of November 1969 addressed by the Minister of Home Affairs to the Legislation Committee. It stated that archives legislation from the defunct federal government had to be replaced by a new law suitably amended in accordance with Zambia's requirements in the post-independence period.<sup>77</sup>

The making of the National Archives Act was preceded by the formulation of an archives policy statement, an important policy framework that Zambia did not have until 1966. An archives policy statement provided an important framework within which archival management needed to operate. It was a necessary prerequisite for the making of archives legislation, as it provided guiding principles. The absence of such a policy statement in Zambia was attributed to the country's unfortunate archival history. Zambia had never formulated its own archives policy before, because its archival operation was a joint service with Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, as made clear in this thesis.<sup>78</sup> The missing link and the need for such a policy was only brought to the attention of the Zambian government by T. Burne, an Australian archivist who introduced the provisions of the National Archives Act to replace that of the federation. He was recruited by the government of the Republic of Zambia through the Australian Overseas Services in 1966. The Zambian government had searched abroad for an archivist, because at this time there were no trained archivists within the country. Ivor Graham, the archivist who had served the Archives Department under the federal government, had retired and left the country. Burne's role was to adapt the country's archiving system to the changing needs of a developing nation. As a former member of the Commonwealth archives offices in Melbourne, he modelled the national archives' policy statement on the standard set by most Commonwealth archival legislation. The policy statement he formulated specified that the national archival institution was responsible for promoting the preservation of historical records in Zambia, and that the

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<sup>76</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/8, Speech by Minister of Home Affairs on the National Archives Bill, to the Zambian National Assembly, 7 October 1969.

<sup>77</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/8, Memorandum, Minister of Home Affairs to the Legislative Committee, 2 November 1969.

<sup>78</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/4, Correspondence, Administrative Secretary (Lusaka) to Permanent Secretary Ministry of Home Affairs (Lusaka), 17 May 1967.

institution would search diligently from all available sources.<sup>79</sup> In fact, it formalised the comprehensive collection of official and non-official archives adopted in the earlier years of independence. A further stipulation was that the national archival institution would be responsible for the physical preservation, arrangement and security of the country's records and archives.

The Zambian archives legislation was also later informed by that of Tanzania, framed earlier in 1962, which integrated the archiving of state information, parastatals and the private sector.<sup>80</sup> In September, 1966, Burne, then chief archivist of the National Archives of Zambia wrote a letter to the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Home Affairs, in which he mentioned adopting some principles from the Tanzanian Act into the draft National Archives Act of Zambia. He found the Tanzanian Archives Act to contain much of use to Zambia.<sup>81</sup> The Tanzanian policy was introduced to Zambia through Burne, who was exposed to the Tanzania Archives Act shortly after his recruitment to Zambia.<sup>82</sup> He was sent on a familiarisation tour of the Tanzanian national archives. As an archivist recruited from Australia, he needed to understand archiving in an African context. Thus, Burne's exposure to the Tanzanian legislation influenced both the nature of the National Archives Act and the system of records management in the country.

The features of the National Archives Act of Zambia were not much different from other African countries, in particular, Commonwealth countries such as Malawi and Botswana. Like other Commonwealth countries, the National Archives of Zambia incorporated principles that addressed the changing trends of archiving in a post-independence environment.<sup>83</sup> It covered definitions of public archives and records, the functions and powers of National Archives, selection and access to public archives, including prohibition of the exportation of archival material, and so forth.<sup>84</sup> Its definition of archives and records

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<sup>79</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/4, Correspondence, Archivist to Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs 9 May, 1967.

<sup>80</sup> J.R. Ede, *Tanganyika Development of National Archives* (Paris: UNESCO, 1964), 5.

<sup>81</sup> NAZ NA 6/6/3, Correspondence from B.T. Burne Archivist, National Archives of Zambia to Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs (Lusaka), 20 September 1966.

<sup>82</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/4, Memorandum, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs to Secretary to the Cabinet, 17 May 1966.

<sup>83</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/8, Speech by Minister of Home Affairs on the National Archives Bill, to the Zambian National Assembly 1969, 7 October 1969.

<sup>84</sup> NAZ NA 6/6/3, Ndiyoyi Mutiti, Report on Problems and Practices with Regard to Archives and Legislation Facing ESARBICA, 18 August 1995.

demonstrated the comprehensive scope of the postcolonial archive. The National Archives Act of Zambia defined public records and archives as the information generated by government departments including corporations, societies associations, institutions or organisations that were established through statutory instrument.<sup>85</sup> This broad definition of archives and records was also adopted in Botswana, Kenya and Tanzania.<sup>86</sup>

The broad definition of archives in the National Archives Act further transformed the processing of archival information. While the modified archives legislation that had guided the management of archives in the first five years after independence mainly provided for the acquisition and preservation of comprehensive collections of public archives, the National Archives Act emphasised records management and their control by the state. The collection policy under the National Archives Act was broadened to include records that were not previously covered by the colonial-era archival legislation. In the late 1960s, the Zambian government nationalised the key economic sectors of the country. This saw the creation of “semi-public” archives partly owned by the state and private entities. In April 1968, Zambia’s economic structure was transformed with the Mulungushi Reform. The government declared its intention to acquire equity holdings (at least 51 percent) in a number of foreign and private owned firms, which were controlled by a parastatal conglomerate named the Industrial Development Corporation (INDECO).<sup>87</sup> The National Archives Act authorised the national archiving institution to also control and monitor the preservation of records in such parastatal organisations. Nonetheless, the parastatal business organisations, corporations, societies, associations, and institutions whose records the archiving institution could control were those that were prescribed by statutory instruments.<sup>88</sup> In line with the archives’ policy statement, the National Archives Act made it the responsibility of the National Archives to diligently search for government records,

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<sup>85</sup> See Republic of Zambia, *National Archives Act of Zambia, 1969, section 1 (2)* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1969).

<sup>86</sup> NAZ NA 6/6/3, Ndiyoyi Mutiti, Report on Problems and Practices with Regard to Archives and Legislation Facing ESARBICA, 18 August, 1995.

<sup>87</sup> See for example, Hugh Macmillan, “‘The Devil You Know’: The Impact of The Mulungushi Economic Reforms On Retail Trade in Rural Zambia, with Special Reference To Susman Brothers and Wulfsohn, 1968-1980,” in Jan-Bart Gewald, Marja Hinfelaar and Giacomo Macola (eds.) *One Zambia, Many Histories: Towards a History of Post-Colonial Zambia* (Lusaka: Lembani Trust, 2009), 190.

<sup>88</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/5, Memorandum on National Archives Policy, from Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs to Archivist, National Archives of Zambia (Lusaka), 5 May 1967.

business records, records of organisations, personal papers and pictorial records from available sources.<sup>89</sup> According to section 5 (2), the chief officer of the National Archives was given the responsibility to facilitate the search for valuable records from all possible sources and to ensure their proper preservation and security.<sup>90</sup> This provision largely reflected the Tanzanian archiving principle, which embraced not only records created by departments of central government and regional government, but also all records of local authorities, public corporations and similar statutory bodies.<sup>91</sup>

In order to ensure that Zambia's public archives were safeguarded, regardless of their provenance or context of creation, the National Archives Act introduced the principle of decentralisation. It was also an attempt to intensify state control over all archives in both government and private entities. In contrast to previous legislation, the National Archives Act provided for the establishment of other places of deposit for public archives, apart from the national archival institution. The Minister of Home Affairs was authorised to declare by statutory instrument certain storage facilities of corporations, institutions or organisations as places of deposit for public records and archives. The provision stipulated that 'If it appeared to the Minister that facilities existed for the safekeeping and preservation of records at a particular place, he could declare by statutory instrument that place to be a place of deposit for public records of a specific category.'<sup>92</sup> This provision emphasised the principle of common provenance. It required that only the records generated by a specific corporation or organisation would be processed and preserved at such places. This provision was a milestone in archival practice. It paved the way for the development of non-governmental archiving, but under the supervision of the Minister of Home Affairs and the Director of the National Archives. Although the Act liberalised the management of archival information in Zambia, the National Archives still had control over the preservation and creation of public archives at places of deposit. The custodians of places of deposit were subjected to the supervision and instructions of the Minister of Home Affairs and the chief

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<sup>89</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/4, Correspondence from Archivist, National Archives of Zambia (Lusaka) to Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs (Lusaka), 9 May 1967.

<sup>90</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/4, Memorandum from Minister of Home Affairs on Archives: Policy to Cabinet, 2 June 1967.

<sup>91</sup> Ede, *Tanganyika Development of National Archives*, 5.

<sup>92</sup> Republic of Zambia, *National Archives Act, 1969*, 6.

officer of the national archiving institution.<sup>93</sup> It was meant to ensure that the records and archives of national importance and interest were well safeguarded according to archival standards.

Besides declaring certain facilities as places for deposit of public archives, the National Archives Act further prescribed state control over historical records that were not held by government institutions. The Act mandated the Director of the national archiving institution to declare any documentation considered of historical value as public archives.<sup>94</sup> Through this provision, a new approach was introduced in the classification of historical records for permanent retention. Specific records became exempted from the bureaucracy of appraisal before permanent preservation, with the retention value of particular historical records being determined by the archiving authority. However, the Act allowed for a right of appeal against such declarations. The custodians of such historical information could appeal to the Minister of Home Affairs, but his decision regarding the acquisition and preservation of such records was final.<sup>95</sup> However, declarations could be revoked in a situation where the Minister allowed an appeal. This provision would also be reflected in the postcolonial Zimbabwean archives legislation (after 1980), where the Minister was responsible for declaring any records to be protected historical records and to revoke such declaration.<sup>96</sup> It appears the Zambian Act influenced this provision, because it was formulated much earlier than the postcolonial Zimbabwean Act of the mid-1980s. In 1982, Ivan Jervis Johnstone, then Director of the Zimbabwe national archives, consulted the Zambian national archives Director regarding a review of their legislation. His letter stated that Zimbabwe was in the process of revising its archives legislation and it required copies of the National Archives Act and any other documentation for reference.<sup>97</sup>

Zambia's postcolonial legislation entrenched the idea of secrecy in archiving. Whereas the previous colonial archives legislation made no provision for secrecy, the postcolonial

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<sup>93</sup> See, Republic of Zambia, *National Archives Act, 1969*, Section 2(4), 6-7.

<sup>94</sup> Republic of Zambia, *National Archives Act, 1969*, 7.

<sup>95</sup> Republic of Zambia, *National Archives Act, 1969*, 14.

<sup>96</sup> I. Murambiwa et al., 'Archival Development in Zimbabwe 1935-2010: Setting the Scene,' in Patrick Ngulube (ed.), *National Archives 75@30: 75 Years of Archiving Excellence at the National Archives of Zimbabwe* (Harare: National Archives of Zimbabwe, 2012), 6.

<sup>97</sup> NAZ NA 13/4/8, Correspondence from I. Johnstone, for Director National Archives of Zimbabwe (Harare) to P. Mukula, Director National Archives of Zambia (Lusaka), 22 October 1982.

Zambian archives law clearly stipulated the prohibition of confidential information from the public domain. The Act demanded confidentiality of public records containing sensitive information. According to the terms of the Act, both the creators of such sensitive information and the archiving authorities in charge of appraising the records containing the said prohibited information were subject to an oath of secrecy.<sup>98</sup> The disclosure of any information recorded in the confidential archives was punishable by law.<sup>99</sup> Confidentiality provisions were based on personal and national security. It was influenced by the implications that the contents of confidential records could have on the reputation of particular individuals, including the state, and especially those generated by the judicial system, the defence forces and health institutions. In particular, those relating to health and convictions or court proceedings of a sensitive nature, were protected from public scrutiny. In reference to health records for example, the aim was to protect the reputation of individuals who did not wish the general public to be informed about their health conditions.<sup>100</sup> The nature of information generated by the ministry of defence and the foreign affairs department was prone to secrecy, as they concerned national security.<sup>101</sup> Arguably, by restricting access to confidential information, the Act prescribed what could be remembered about the past and how it could be remembered. The constraint to access the comprehensive collections of archives became problematic in meeting particular information needs. As Tim Cook argues, 'deny a citizenry its historical information, even parts of it and you deny them the chance to make informed choices, to understand themselves and to question the government, now and in the future.'<sup>102</sup>

The National Archives Act included a provision for the establishment of an Advisory Council to counsel the Minister of Home Affairs on the management and preservation of archival information. The Advisory Council was similar to the Archives Commission, which had been established through the Archives Ordinance of Northern Rhodesia in 1946 discussed in

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<sup>98</sup> For further details on the secrecy clause, see Section (3) and Sub-section (8) of the *National Archives Act, 1969*, 10.

<sup>99</sup> See Section (3) and Sub-section (8) of the *National Archives Act, 1969*, 10.

<sup>100</sup> Simons and Mukula, 'Report on the Third General Conference on The East and Central African Regional Branch of International Council on Archives,' 1.

<sup>101</sup> Simons and Mukula, 'Report on the Third General Conference on The East and Central African Regional Branch of International Council on Archives,' 1.

<sup>102</sup> Tim Cook, 'Archives and Privacy in a Wired World: The Impact of the Personal Information Act (Bill C-6) on Archives,' *Archivaria*, 53 (2002), 112.

chapters four and five of this thesis. It was abolished in the federal era due to the non-performance of its duties. The main difference in the provisions that created the two archival bodies was the stipulation relating to their composition. Whereas the formation of the Archives Commission required regional representation due to the joint archival services in existence at the time, the instructions on the formation of an Advisory Council required representation from various government institutions. The instructions stipulated that the council was to consist of the chief officer of the national archival institution as chairperson, and other members to be appointed by the minister. The functions of the Advisory Council were not different from that of the colonial archival body. This council was to provide guidance on all matters relating to the retention or destruction of public records, the transfer of public records to the National Archives, access by members of the public to the public archives, and the services of the National Archives.

### **6.3.2. Decentralisation of archiving to Provincial Centres**

Beginning in 1970, the history of archives in Zambia took a different turn, with the preservation of public records being decentralised to provincial centres within Zambia.<sup>103</sup> The provision in the National Archives Act that provided for alternative places of deposit, gave an impetus for the National Archives of Zambia to decentralise its archiving. However, the immediate impetus for the introduction of provincial archives was the lack of storage facilities at the central repository in Lusaka. Another reason was the failure on the part of rural government departments to transfer their records to the central repository due to distance. Since the mid-1940s, when professional archiving was introduced to Northern Rhodesia (Zambia), there only existed one central place for the processing and preservation of public records. As discussed in chapter three, in the late 1940s records were deposited and processed at a records centre in Livingstone and were later transferred to Lusaka in 1956. In 1964, W.D. Osburn, an assistant archivist at the National Archives observed that records of potential value from the rural districts were not being deposited with the central repository.<sup>104</sup> Long distances tended to discourage rural governments from sending

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<sup>103</sup> NAZ NA 6/5/2, Correspondence from N. Mutiti, Director National Archives of Zambia to P. Mazikana, National Archives of Zimbabwe, 17 February 1986.

<sup>104</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/3, Correspondence from W.D. Osburn, Assistant Archivist, National Archives of Zambia to Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs (Lusaka), 6 November 1964.

potential archives to the central repository in Lusaka.<sup>105</sup> As such, transferring these records became burdensome and led to the loss of valuable information. Officers of government departments in rural areas had little appreciation for non-current records, with a lot of records either destroyed prematurely or not cared for in the offices where they were created.<sup>106</sup>

Given this situation, the decentralisation of archiving to provincial centres was intended to encourage the systematic collection and archiving of government records. More so, it was envisaged that it would alleviate the challenge of storage space at the central repository. Even more importantly, the government intended to obtain total control of the national documentary resources, so as to maintain a comprehensive collection of archival information on the country. Surprisingly, the National Archives Act, which guided the procedure of creating archives in Zambia, did not specifically provide for the institution of provincial centres, yet the government authorised their establishment.<sup>107</sup> This confirms the need and importance of state power in controlling the country's documentary resources. It should be noted that a similar situation existed in Botswana and Southern Rhodesia, where their archives legislation did not authorise the setting up of intermediate storage repositories, yet state power ensured their establishment.<sup>108</sup>

Accordingly, by 1971 the first repository centre was created in the Copperbelt Province. Others were later established in the Southern, Eastern and Central Provinces. By this time, however, it was impossible to establish similar centres in other provinces such as Luapula, and the Northern and Western provinces, as the national archiving authority did not find any suitable storage facilities. Government institutions in the said provinces offered warehouses, but it was difficult to operate archiving services there, owing to technical problems. In Solwezi, North-Western Province, no staff accommodation, for example, was

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<sup>105</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/3, Correspondence from Administrative Secretary to Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs, 11 November 1964.

<sup>106</sup> NAZ NA 4/1/3, Memorandum on Extension of National Archives Headquarters (Lusaka) from Director-General to Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs, 10 November 1970.

<sup>107</sup> NAZ NA 6/6/3, Ndiyoyi Mutiti, Report on the Problems and Practices with Regard to Archives and Legislation Facing ESARBICA, 18 August 1995. See also Chrispin Hamooya, Felisia Mulauzi and Benson Njobvu, 'Archival Legislation and the Management of Public Sector Records in Zambia: A Critical Review,' *The Journal of the South Africa Society of Archivists*, 44 (2011), 119.

<sup>108</sup> NAZ NA 6/6/3, Ndiyoyi Mutiti, Report on the Problems and Practices with Regard to Archives and Legislation Facing ESARBICA, 18 August 1995.

available while in Mansa, Luapula Province, the warehouse that was offered was dilapidated beyond repair.<sup>109</sup> Furthermore, the government did not have enough funds available for capital projects; hence, it could not construct a repository in any of the provinces. The failure of governments in Central Africa to invest in archival buildings during this period was not peculiar to Zambia. In Southern Rhodesia, provincial records centres were preserved in non-customised buildings that lacked the requisite repository facilities of space, equipment and controlled environmental conditions for the optimum storage of public records.<sup>110</sup> The other reason that prevented the even distribution of repository centres in Zambia was limited trained personnel to facilitate the processing of archives in all the provinces. As a result, the provinces without repository centres were required to deposit their official records to the nearest repositories. As a result, records created in the Western Province were processed at the centre in Southern Province, while those from North-Western Province were sent to the Copperbelt centre, while the Central Province's records centre catered for records from the northern region.<sup>111</sup> Even though decentralisation could not be fully introduced to the entire country at this stage, its implementation brought about a positive change in the archival system. The appraisal of records began to take place at provincial centres, while the national repository became a place for the permanent preservation of archives. Pressure on storage facilities at the central repository in Lusaka was thus reduced.

Correspondingly, the decentralisation of records preservation improved the rate of archives production in Zambia. Places for deposit of non-current records were now within closer proximity of government institutions. Compared to the period before the establishment of provincial repository centres, records deposited to the national institution increased. For example, from the time the Copperbelt repository centre was established in 1970, the annual statistics of deposited records indicated an increase for consecutive years. At the end of 1971, about 202 linear meters of records were deposited. In the year that followed, there was an increase of 51 percent: about 210 meters were deposited, which brought the

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<sup>109</sup> National Archives of Zambia, *Annual Report, 1974* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1975), 2.

<sup>110</sup> Murambiwa et al., 'Archival Development in Zimbabwe 1935-2010,' 10.

<sup>111</sup> Chrispin Hamooya, 'Management of Public Sector Records and Archives in Zambia: The Past, Present and the Future,' *Zambia Library Association Journal*, 24/1-2 (2009), 69.

total figure of records in the Copperbelt repository to 412 linear meters.<sup>112</sup> Similarly, annual statistics of records deposits made to other repositories by various ministries and departments indicated a steady increase.<sup>113</sup> As the Director of the National Archives remarked, 'it is heartening to report that more records from ministries and departments are being received from all our centres.'<sup>114</sup>

While a steady-flow of records was deposited in all the centres, archivists could not keep up the same pace of appraising records that were twenty years old, and thus due for release for public consultation, because of a shortage of trained personnel. Quantities of records received from various government departments remained in provincial repositories awaiting trained personnel. Such a challenge was not peculiar to Zambia. In Central and East Africa, insufficient qualified archivists and the inability to cope with the backlog of records were common. Archival institutions and their auxiliaries were understaffed and therefore unable to keep pace with the expansion of activities that characterised modern administrations.<sup>115</sup> This prompted local and regional collaboration in the training of archivists. By 1971, the National Archives of Zambia had devised a syllabus on archives and an arrangement was made with the University of Zambia (UNZA), to implement it in training its personnel in the administration of archival information.<sup>116</sup> The syllabus was prepared by B.T. Burne, former Director of the National Archives of Zambia (1966-1969).<sup>117</sup> At the regional level, the East and Central Africa Regional Branch of the International Council on

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<sup>112</sup> National Archives of Zambia, *Annual Report, 1970-1971*, 3.

<sup>113</sup> See appendices of the National Archives of Zambia, Annual Reports covering the period 1970-1979.

<sup>114</sup> National Archives of Zambia, *Annual Report, 1974*, 3.

<sup>115</sup> For further discussion on challenges of archives preservation in the East and Central African region see for example Kago Romokate, 'Preserving the African Memory: Critical Challenges for ESARBICA Archival Organisations,' *ESARBICA Journal* 25 (2006), 84-94; M. Chida, 'Preservation Management in Tropical Countries: A Challenging Responsibility and Limited Resources: The Case of the Zimbabwe National Archives,' *ESARBICA Journal*, 14 (1994), 22-36; Steve S. Mwiyeriwa, 'Records Management: General Observation and the Case of Malawi,' *ECARBICA Journal* 2/2(1974), 1-6; Nathan Mnjama, 'Records and Information: The Neglected Resource,' *ESARBICA Journal* 23, (2004) 34-44; J.C. Kufa, 'Private Archives: Their Location, Collection and Accessibility with Reference to Zimbabwe,' *ECARBICA Journal*, 6 (1983), 27-38; and M. Manyeli, 'The Role of Archives in a Developing Country,' *ECARBICA Journal* 6 (1983), 63-70.

<sup>116</sup> National Archives of Zambia, *Annual Report, 1970-1971*, 2. See also NAZ NA 13/3/34, Minutes of the Second Meeting of the Executive Committee of ECARBICA held in Kenya, Nairobi, 7 March 1972.

<sup>117</sup> National Archives of Zambia, *Annual Report, 1968* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1971), 1.

Archives (ECARBICA) arranged with the University of Ghana for the establishment of a school of archives to train archivists from the region.<sup>118</sup>

In the midst of limited staffing, the policy of decentralisation still contributed to efficient records procedures and the controlled transfer of potential archives from various ministries and departments. Similar to the Western archival tradition, the role of repository centres was not confined to only receiving semi-current records; it was also concerned with the appraisal and inventory procedures. There was direct responsibility for assisting government departments with the management and organisation of their records. The archiving authorities inspected government records and advised on the appropriate periods and procedures for their transfer to the repository centres.<sup>119</sup> Officials realised that the way records were maintained in offices of creation largely determined the physical condition of records transferred to the repository centres for preservation. For this reason, tours of inspection were conducted in government institutions to ensure that recommended standards of maintaining potential archival documents were followed.<sup>120</sup> However, most of the tour reports indicated that the custodians of government records, especially those situated in the rural areas, lacked training in records management and thus did not maintain records properly. Although the government had established the National Institute for Public Administration in the country to train government officers in records and office management, by this time, not every officer had received training.<sup>121</sup> Archivists who conducted records surveys during this period discovered that some officials in isolated provincial and district offices only had a vague awareness of the role of the National Archives. They were also not cognisant of the rules contained in government office instructions and standing orders concerning the preservation of records.<sup>122</sup> Some government departments did not have proper storage accommodation for files, which were often kept in the same room as drums, kitchen utensils, agricultural equipment and other

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<sup>118</sup> NAZ NA 13/3/34, Report on the East and Central Regional Branch of International Council on Archives: Its Achievements and Problems, 1969-1982.

<sup>119</sup> Interview with Jason Mwambazi, National Archives of Zambia, Lusaka, 28 May 2017.

<sup>120</sup> Interview with Mwambazi, National Archives of Zambia, Lusaka, 28 May 2017.

<sup>121</sup> W. Sakala, 'Records Keeping in Zambia,' *Archives Association of Zambia Newsletter*, 1 (1985), 3.

<sup>122</sup> Sakala, 'Records Keeping in Zambia,' 3.

stores.<sup>123</sup> Valuable records housed in this way were exposed to termites and mice long before archivists were able to intervene.

The earlier system of archives and records centralisation was not efficient enough to cope with all the departments situated in the country's different districts and provinces. However, the decentralisation of archiving now ensured a constant vigilance and regular supervision by archivists.<sup>124</sup> In this regard, for instance, in the Serenje District of the Central Province, some departments such as Land and Natural Resources, Mechanical Services and Community Development were not aware of the requirement of depositing semi-current records in the National Archives. It was discovered that in the past many historical records were either destroyed or damaged out of ignorance about the existence of a national archiving authority. Yet, since archival practice was introduced to Zambia, the archives policy prohibited destruction of government records without the consent of the archiving institution.<sup>125</sup> For this reason, collaboration was established between government departments and provincial repository centres. Unlike in the colonial period, when standing instructions and disposal schedules were exclusively prepared by individual creating departments, in postcolonial Zambia it became a shared responsibility. Archivists now worked in constant liaison with government institutions.<sup>126</sup> Formulating standing instructions and disposal schedules became a shared responsibility between the archivists and the personnel in charge of records management in government departments.<sup>127</sup> In 1972, a memorandum was despatched to all the government ministries and departments by the Director of National Archives, urging the heads of departments to work together with archivists at records centres, 'as standing instructions for disposal of records in most ministries and departments are now out dated, I request your co-operation in preparation

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<sup>123</sup> Simons and Mukula, 'Third General Conference on the East and Central African Regional Branch of International Council on Archives,' 2.

<sup>124</sup> Simons and Mukula, 'Third General Conference on the East and Central African Regional Branch of International Council on Archives,' 2.

<sup>125</sup> Simons and Mukula, 'Third General Conference on the East and Central African Regional Branch of International Council on Archives,' 2.

<sup>126</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/4, Memorandum on National Archives Policy from Chief Archivist, National Archives of Zambia to Permanent Secretary, 9 May 1967.

<sup>127</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/4, Memorandum on National Archives Policy from Chief Archivist, National Archives of Zambia to Permanent Secretary, 9 May 1967.

of new schedules.<sup>128</sup> In fact, standing instructions were an agreement among the record creators and the custodians at the repository centres. They served as a guideline for determining the life span of each type of potential record held in storage at the repositories. The retention and destruction policy assisted in controlling the accumulation of records in offices of creation by providing appropriate storage for semi-current records.

### **6.3.3. Decentralisation to parastatal organisations and the Archives Advisory Council**

While there is little doubt that there was progress in the preservation and management of public records and archives, the provision in the National Archives Act towards quasi-government archives was passive rather than active: it depended more on quasi-government organisations to initiate the preservation of their records at the National Archives. Parastatal organisations were entities that performed various public services, but operated independent of government. Thus, the national archival institution was not legally responsible for the storage and preservation of their records and archives. However, through the provisions of Section 2 (4), the national archiving authority could be requested to inspect and give professional advice and guidelines on the management of such records.<sup>129</sup> As such, parastatal organisations were not necessarily compelled to deposit their records with the national institution. These organisations generated vitally unique records that defined Zambia's economic, social and political history. The postcolonial government's economic policies were centred on encouraging the nationalisation of economic activities and direct government participation in the economy. After independence, parastatal companies dominated about 80 percent of Zambia's economic activity, for a quarter century of the country's economic history.<sup>130</sup>

Most records of parastatal organisations were preserved in deplorable conditions. For instance, at the Zambia State Insurance Corporation, there were no attempts at organising the preservation and disposal of records. There was also no effort to organise storage facilities and most records were kept on the floor. At the Zambia National Provident Fund, a

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<sup>128</sup> NAZ NA 46/1/1, Memorandum on Disposal Schedules from Director of National Archives to Heads of Government Departments, 1 April 1972.

<sup>129</sup> Republic of Zambia, *National Archives Act, 1969*, Section 3 (2), 6.

<sup>130</sup> Cephas Banda and Joachim Gabriel, 'Business Archives in Zambia,' *Archives Association of Zambia Newsletter*, 2 (1987), 44.

similar situation existed. Some records were kept on wooden shelves; a storage arrangement which constituted a risk of loss by fire. Corporate institutions, such as the Zambia National Building Society and, Zambia Railway Limited, and the Post and Telecommunication Corporation, had begun initiatives of records organisation, but without success.<sup>131</sup> A notable concern was the inadequate training of staff entrusted to manage records in these parastatal institutions. Most of them lacked professional training and experience in records and archives management. Thus, they lacked understanding of the importance of preserving parastatal records and why archiving such records merited expenditure of time and funds for their indefinite preservation.<sup>132</sup> Archivists responsible for records management in parastatal organisations such as Cephas Banda and Joachim Gabriel observed that not much action was taken to ensure the preservation of information in quasi-government organisations.<sup>133</sup> They observed that public business organisations, with a few exceptions, showed a lack of interest towards their own history, and if such a situation was not addressed, valuable records relating to Zambia's corporate history would be lost.<sup>134</sup>

The deplorable conditions in quasi-government organisations were only addressed after the formation of the National Archives Advisory Council. In 1971, the Zambian government authorised the formation of the council through Government Gazette Notice No. 308 of 1971. Through the provisions of Section 19 of the National Archives Act, Aaron Milner, the Minister of Home Affairs, appointed members of the National Archives Advisory Council. The Advisory Council consisted of the Director of the National Archives of Zambia and other members representing the Cabinet Office, the University of Zambia, the Ministry of Finance and Development, and the Legal Affairs Division.<sup>135</sup> As already noted, the functions of the Council were to advise the Zambian government through the Minister of Home Affairs on all matters relating to the preservation of public records, the transfer of public records to the National Archives, access by members of the public to the public archives and such other

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<sup>131</sup> S.J. Nyirongo, 'Zambia National Building Society,' *Archives Association of Zambia Newsletter*, 3 (1994), 5-6. See also W. Sakala, 'Records Management with Reference to INDECO Archives,' *Archives Association of Zambia Newsletter*, 2 (1987), 25-29.

<sup>132</sup> Sakala, 'Records Keeping in Zambia,' 5.

<sup>133</sup> Banda and Gabriel, 'Business Archives in Zambia,' 44.

<sup>134</sup> Banda and Gabriel, 'Business Archives in Zambia,' 44.

<sup>135</sup> See NAZ MAH 1/5/9, Memorandum on National Archives Advisory Council from D.E. Stiles, Acting Director National Archives to Registrar, University of Zambia, 3 April 1970.

matters relating to the public archives and to historical records.<sup>136</sup> The Council played a significant role in ensuring that the archival documents of quasi-government or parastatal organisations came under the control of the national archiving authority. In August 1972, the council held its first meeting. It noted that several parastatal institutions generated records of national importance, but were not under the custody of a national institution. The council further noted that there was no security for such records, which also contained information on policy formulation and implementation in the country.<sup>137</sup> The government of Zambia exerted little control over records produced by parastatal organisations. These organisations considered their records as privately owned resources. Thus the initiative to seek advice and guidance on the preservation of their records remained voluntary.

Therefore, the Council treated the provision enshrined in the National Archives Act declaring certain institutions as places of deposit for public records, if they had suitable facilities, as a matter of urgency.<sup>138</sup> The Advisory Council took advantage of this provision to ensure that the government, through the National Archives of Zambia, obtained control over the documentary resources of parastatal organisations. Declaring certain institutions as places of public deposit entailed government control, as the national archiving institution would then supervise and control its preservation operations.<sup>139</sup> However, it should be noted that the declaration of certain institutions as alternative places of deposit only ensured safety and government control over records created in Zambia. It neither meant a change in the organisational system, nor did it entail a transfer of records to the National Archives of Zambia for preservation. The records still remained the property and the responsibility of the creating institutions, but no records were to be exported to other

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<sup>136</sup> NAZ MAH 1/5/9, Memorandum on National Archives Advisory Council from D.E. Stiles, Acting Director National Archives of Zambia to Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs, 9 January 1970. J. Loveday, a librarian from the University of Zambia, served on the council. The university was represented on the council because of its involvement in scholarly research. A.I. Chitulangoma, an Assistant Secretary in the cabinet office, was appointed as a member of the council. A representative from the attorney-general's office was appointed in view of the fact that the term "public records" included judicial records, as defined in the National Archives Act (No. 44) of 1969. Since the council's duty was to advise the minister on all matters relating to such records, it was believed that it would be advantageous to have the professional input of a member of the judiciary.

<sup>137</sup> NAZ MHA 1/5/9, Minutes of National Archives Advisory Council held in the Gallery of the National Archives of Zambia Headquarters, 1 November 1972.

<sup>138</sup> See the agenda of the first meeting of the archives advisory council in NAZ MHA 1/5/9, Minutes of National Archives Advisory Council held in the Gallery of the National Archives of Zambia Headquarters, 12 August 1971.

<sup>139</sup> Republic of Zambia, *National Archives Act, 1969*, Section 3 (6), 6.

countries or destroyed without the knowledge of the Minister of Home Affairs or the National Archives of Zambia.<sup>140</sup> The Advisory Council asserted that the indiscriminate destruction of records could only be averted if the national archival institution took control of the safety of the documents related to the country's history.<sup>141</sup>

Accordingly, the Council embarked on identifying parastatals that could be recommended to the Minister of Home Affairs as places of deposit for public records. Amongst the earliest identified institutions were the Roan Selection Trust Archives, the University of Zambia, and the Livingstone Museum.<sup>142</sup> These institutions' records contained valuable information on mining, as well as scholarly and cultural aspects of colonial and postcolonial Zambia. It was intended that the Roan Selection Trust Archives, University of Zambia, and Livingstone Museum would therefore be declared as places of legal deposit for records relating to their functions. At the same time, the institutions were required to provide information to the National Archives on the nature of the records in their custody, as the Ministry of Legal Affairs required details of these records for publication in the Government Gazette. The Gazette had to indicate all records kept in places the council recommended as places of deposit, according to section 14 of the National Archives Act, 1969.<sup>143</sup> While it was envisaged that this requirement would facilitate the intended purpose of safeguarding institutional archives under the supervision of the National Archives, it served instead as a deterrent. Whereas the Roan Selection Trust readily provided details of its records collection, the University of Zambia and the Livingstone Museum objected to the idea. It is worth noting that by this time, the Roan Selection Trust Mining Company was already operating an organised company archive, established in the 1962. The University opposed the idea of providing details of the records in its custody, claiming its records were

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<sup>140</sup> NAZ MHA 4/2/2, Correspondence from P.M. Mukula, Director of National Archives (Lusaka), to J. Moore, RST Group Archivist (Ndola), 23 November 1971.

<sup>141</sup> NAZ MHA 4/2/2, Minutes of National Archives Advisory Council held in the Gallery of the National Archives of Zambia Headquarters, 12 August 1971.

<sup>142</sup> These institutions generated unique records of importance to Zambia. They were pioneers in the mining, education and cultural sectors of Zambia. The Roan Selection Trust, established in the 1920s, was among the earliest copper mining companies in the Copperbelt Province, while the University of the Zambia was the first institution of higher learning, established in 1966. The Livingstone Museum, established in the 1930s, was the first cultural institution to preserve objects of material culture related to Zambia. See, for example, Friday Mufuzi, 'The Livingstone Museum and its Contributions to Zambian History,' PhD Thesis, (University of Zambia, Lusaka, 2010), 45.

<sup>143</sup> NAZ MHA 4/2/2, Minutes of the National Archives Advisory Council, 23 May 1972.

confidential.<sup>144</sup> The Livingstone Museum also resisted having its records gazetted, on the grounds that permission had to be sought from higher government authorities. It stressed that gazetting the records generated by the Museum could only be authorised by the Attorney General.<sup>145</sup>

Neither the council nor the government insisted that the respective institutions comply. Based on the postcolonial government's policy of maintaining a wide collection of archives, one might expect that the government should have exerted its authority over these institutions to comply. Compared to the government's urgency to repatriate its colonial archive and to collect historical manuscripts, as already demonstrated, it appears that the absence of records from Roan Selection Trust Archives, the University of Zambia, and the Livingstone Museum in the national collection was not equally worrisome. The importance attached to archives was dependent on the nature of its content and the value it held for the government. Arguably, the lack of pressure on these entities appears to indicate the different levels of significance attached to archival records in the postcolonial period.

The Advisory Council attempted to inspect the facilities of corporate organisations. The purpose was to survey their suitability as places of deposit for business records. Inspections were carried out at the Zambia Railways, the Zambia State Insurance Corporation, the Post and Telecommunications Corporation, the Zambia National Building Society, the Bank of Zambia, the Zambia Electricity and Supply Corporation, and Zambia Airways. This was done with a view to declare them as places of deposit for public business records, but none of these corporate institutions qualified as places of deposit. A lack of professional preservation standards limited the number of alternative places of deposit.<sup>146</sup> The Archives Act stipulated that places of deposit had to have suitable facilities for the protection of records and archives. However, the inspections revealed that these institutions' storage

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<sup>144</sup> NAZ NA 24/4/6, National Archives of Zambia Report on the Survey of Business Records, 1982.

<sup>145</sup> NAZ NA 24/4/6, National Archives of Zambia Report on the Survey of Business Records, 1982.

<sup>146</sup> NAZ NA 6/6/3, Ndiyoyi Mutiti, Report on the Problems and facilities with Regard to Archives and Legislations Facing ESARCBICA, 14 August 1995.

facilities were inadequate and unsuitable for the establishment of institutional archives.<sup>147</sup> Archival accommodation played a critical role in the management of records and archives. In fact, storage space was recognised as the first line of defence against a severe climate.<sup>148</sup> Although the efforts of the Advisory Council were not successful, its findings laid the basis for firm control over quasi-government organisations by the one-party state, which was introduced in 1972.

#### **6.4 Archiving under Zambia's one-party state**

##### **6. 4. 1 The decentralisation of archiving to corporate entities**

In 1972, the declaration of Zambia as a one-party state introduced an important phase in the country's archives history. The Constitution of the Republic of Zambia was amended to provide for the existence of only one legal political party, the United National Independence Party (UNIP). By law, no other political party or organisation could be formed. The supremacy of the ruling party over government organs such as the cabinet was institutionalised. The party's central committee, which was the highest executive organ of UNIP, was entrusted with the responsibility of operating the party's affairs, and exercised supreme power over the cabinet, with its decisions implemented by cabinet and parliament. More so, the president of the state was also the executive head of the party.<sup>149</sup> The structure of the one-party state reshaped the system of archiving in the country. The authorities in control of the archival system in Zambia now included the government and its party (UNIP), as well as the National Archives of Zambia. In the previous arrangement, the government had delegated complete control of the archiving system to the National Archives of Zambia. However, with the introduction of the one party state, the UNIP became

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<sup>147</sup> Patrick Ngulube, *Preservation and Access to Public Records and Archives in South Africa* (Saarbrücken: Lambert: Academic Publishing, 2009), 109. See also Thomas P. Wilsted, *Planning New and Remodelled Archival Facilities* (Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 2007), 11.

<sup>148</sup> See also Wilsted, *Planning New and Remodelled Archival Facilities*, 11.

<sup>149</sup> For further discussions, see B.J. Phiri, 'Colonial Legacy and the Role of the Society in the Creation and Demise of Autocracy in Zambia, 1964-1991,' *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, 10/2 (2001), 224-244; Jan Pettman, 'Zambia's Second Republic: The Establishment of a One-Party State,' *Journal of Modern African Studies* 12/2 (1974), 231-244; Chisepo J.J. Mphasha, 'Retreat from Democracy in Post One-Party State Zambia,' *The Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, 34/2 (1996), 65-84; Chiponde Mushingeh, 'The Evolution of One-Party rule in Zambia, 1964-1972,' *Transafrican Journal of History*, 22 (1993), 100-121.

an actor, and hence placed an overt political stamp on the acquisition and collection of record collections.

The one-party state's earliest regulation of the archiving system is evident in the Cabinet Office circular despatch No 18 of 1 April 1975, addressed to all directors, general managers and parastatal organisations. It urged government departments, including quasi-government organisations, to deposit their records with the National Archives. The Secretary to the Cabinet indicated the following:

It is Government policy to preserve the country's history for posterity. This can only be achieved if the valuable records in each and every office were channelled to the National Archive for permanent preservation. The purpose of this circular is to draw attention to the addressees to the fact that as from the date of this circular all valuable non-current records in their custody should be forwarded to the National Archives of Zambia for preservation.<sup>150</sup>

The most notable aspect of this circular was the inclusion of parastatal organisations amongst the addressees, which was peculiar in contrast to the previous government. The National Archives Act, which was not amended after the change of government, did not oblige parastatal organisations to deposit their records with the National Archives, as discussed in the previous section.

It is perhaps no coincidence that the circular despatch from the Cabinet Office coincided with the declaration of the Roan Selection Trust Archives (hereafter: RST Archives) as a place of deposit for mining records. In September 1975, A. Milner, the Minister of Home Affairs, exercised his authority under the National Archives Act (1969) and declared room 214 of Mpelembe House belonging to Roan Consolidated Mines (Roan Selection Trust) on Independence Way, Ndola, a place of deposit for public records relating to all mining companies in Zambia.<sup>151</sup> At the same time, all the private archival holdings under the

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<sup>150</sup> Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines (hereafter ZCCM), 2.7.1 B, Circular from Secretary to the Cabinet to all General Managers and Directors of Parastatal Companies, 1 April 1975.

<sup>151</sup> Government of Zambia, Government Gazette, Statutory Instrument No. 130 of 1975, 2 September, 1975.

custody of the Roan Selection Trust Archives were declared as public records. They were gazetted under the Statutory Instrument No. 130 of 1975. The circular may have been intended largely for government's control of the mining archives, which were under private ownership.

Copper mining was the mainstay of Zambia's economy, hence its records were important in providing precedents for national development. It should be noted that by this time, the Zambian government owned around 51% of shares in the mining industry through its nationalisation policy. President Kenneth Kaunda declared that all rights of ownership or partial ownership of minerals reverted to the state. Thus, for the one-party state, taking control of the mining documents was crucial. The most important documents were held by the Roan Consolidated Copper Mines (hereafter: RCM) in the privately owned Roan Selection Trust Archives (hereafter RST Archives). This archive held important business records created from Zambia's strategic copper mining industry from the 1920s until the 1970s, when partial and then complete nationalisation took place.<sup>152</sup> The mining records contained valuable information on economic development, urbanisation and labour relations in colonial and post-independence Zambia. Therefore, declaring the RST Archives as a place of deposit for all mining companies also meant that the government would have control of all the documents created by the country's mines. Government's control over the mining archives was exercised through the National Archives of Zambia. The National Archives Act gave it a mandate to supervise and regulate all the procedures concerned with the creation and management of mining archives.

The RST Archives helped significantly to move forward the government's aim of controlling the preservation of mining archives. Apart from owning suitable facilities for the preservation of mining archives, the RST Archives had a historically long experience in archiving. The principles of archives management devised by the RST Archives were used as a standard for the preservation of all other archives in the mining industry. The RST Archives acquired its archival experience from mentorship by the National Archives of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in the early 1960s. By this time, as demonstrated in chapter five, the National

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<sup>152</sup> Miles Larmer, "'If We are Still Here Next Year': Zambian Historical Research in the Context of Decline, 2002-2003," *History in Africa*, 31 (2004), 218.

Archives of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was well advanced in archives and records management. In essence, it was a cradle that nurtured and provided training for personnel in the Central African region. The initial preservation of RST archives was introduced through the Company's head offices, then situated in Salisbury (now Harare). In 1961, Bill Garlic, an American who worked as a consulting geologist for the company, suggested setting up an archives centre that would process and preserve important RST company documents for administrative purposes.<sup>153</sup> His idea was taken up by the Directors of the RST Group, and the company began to preserve its important archival information. A. Cole was appointed as company archivist. He was trained in archives and records management by the National Archives of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. His duties mainly consisted of appraising and preserving records generated by the RST mining company divisions, such as Chibuluma, Luanshya and Mufulira in the Copperbelt.<sup>154</sup>

In the initial years of its establishment, archives policy remained mostly informal.<sup>155</sup> In the mid-1960s, only administrative records generated by the RCM central administration in Ndola and the executive office were centralised in strong rooms. The other archives were decentralised and preserved in the respective RST mining company divisions. The management of these divisions were required to inform the company archivist when the destruction of records was contemplated. A procedure was devised whereby the Company archivist regularly reviewed files that had been closed.<sup>156</sup>

By the mid-1970s, the RST Mines archives had devised a more formalised archives policy. It adopted some of its principles from the archives legislation of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. An archives repository was established at Mpelembe House in Ndola, which centralised archives from all the mining divisions of the RCM. Similar to the archives principle of the National Archives of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the RST Archives formed an archives authority for the production of its archives. A records committee was formed, which constituted of the Company archivist, the RST Company Secretary and two managers

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<sup>153</sup> ZCCM 2.7.1 D, F.M. Shambweka, Report on the Mining Industry Archives 1962-2000, 27 December 2000.

<sup>154</sup> ZCCM 2.7.1 D, F.M. Shambweka, Report on the Mining Industry Archives 1962-2000, 27 December 2000.

<sup>155</sup> ZCCM 27.1.7.B, J. Dodd, Preliminary Report on Mining Records for the National Archives of Zambia, Management and Services Projects, October 1975.

<sup>156</sup> Jim Moore, 'Business Archives: Roan Consolidated Copper Mines,' *ECARBICA Journal*, 1, 1 (1973), 18.

from the mining divisions.<sup>157</sup> The records committee was responsible for appraising records that were generated from within and outside Zambia. The Company archivist collected records from the local mining companies and the RCM marketing offices situated in the United Kingdom and Johannesburg, South Africa.<sup>158</sup> The RST Archives' policy regulated the appraisal and transfer of records for permanent preservation. The archives policy promoted the preservation of records that provided a comprehensive view of the company's origin, financial structures, policies, and mining production methods, among others.<sup>159</sup> It promoted the retention of records that provided insights into the economic development, urbanisation and labour relations of colonial and postcolonial Zambia.<sup>160</sup> Its preservation criteria included permanent retention for records that contained information on the historical development of mining industry and the Copperbelt.

The national archiving institution took advantage of its archival experience to ensure effective administration of archives in the mining industry. In as much as Mpelembe House was declared a place of deposit for the mining industry, keeping all the mining records and archives at its repository was not practical due to limited space. As a result, the RST Archives mainly guided other mining companies, especially those under the Anglo-American Corporation, on the production, organisation and preservation of their own archives.<sup>161</sup> Accordingly, in 1975 J. Moore became the gazetted custodian for all the mining archives in the country.<sup>162</sup> This responsibility was enshrined in the National Archives Act, which stipulated that the Director of the National Archives had the discretion to delegate powers over the preservation of archives to the custodians at places of deposit.<sup>163</sup> Nonetheless, the national archiving institution still maintained overall authority on all matters of disposal related to mining documentation.

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<sup>157</sup> ZCCM 27.1.7.B, J. Dodd, Preliminary Report on Mining Records for the National Archives of Zambia, Management and Services Projects, October 1975.

<sup>158</sup> ZCCM 27.1.7.B, J. Dodd, Preliminary Report on Mining Records for the National Archives of Zambia, Management and Services Projects, October 1975.

<sup>159</sup> J. Chuubi, *Archives and Records Management in Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines Limited* (Ndola: ZCCM, 1984), 13-16.

<sup>160</sup> See for example, Jim Moore, 'Preserving the Past,' *Horizon*, 9/1 (1967), 33.

<sup>161</sup> ZCCM 27.1.7.B, A. Tough, NCCM Company Archivist, Report on the Development of the NCCM Company Archive, 9 September 1977.

<sup>162</sup> UNIP 2/7/8, Advisory Council Meeting Minutes, 11 May 1978.

<sup>163</sup> See, Republic of Zambia, *National Archives Act, 1969*, Section (3), 7.

The declaration of the RCM as a place of deposit was interpreted as imposing an obligation upon Nchanga Consolidated Copper Mines (NCCM) to account for its archives. The NCCM was another group of copper mining companies in the Copperbelt under the Anglo-American corporation.<sup>164</sup> The management of NCCM were required to compile annual reports for the RST Archives to demonstrate progress in preservation of their archives. More so, the RST Archives was to be constantly informed of the content and location of all the NCCM archives.<sup>165</sup> Indirectly, the management of the NCCM resisted the idea of placing their archives under the authority of the RST archivist. Hence, the management of the NCCM sought authority from the National Archives of Zambia to establish their own archives. In as much as the National Archives would have been interested to further decentralise the archiving of corporate archives, the archives legislation was limiting. Legal authority could only be granted upon availability of suitable preservation facilities as already stated. Section 2(4) of the National Archives stipulated that, ‘... statutory instruments would be issued to declare places for the deposit of public records if suitable facilities for safe keeping of archives existed.’<sup>166</sup> Hence, the NCCM was required to satisfy conditions such as the availability of suitable accommodation, and the recruitment of suitable archival staff.<sup>167</sup> While the NCCM managed to recruit Alistair Tough as Company archivist in August 1977, it failed to provide suitable facilities to qualify for legal authority over the preservation of public archives.<sup>168</sup> Its records were kept in two improvised rooms at Nchanga House,

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<sup>164</sup> Joseph Chuubi, ‘The Establishment and Growth of the Nchanga Consolidated Copper Mines Limited Archives, 1977-1981,’ *ECARBICA Journal* 4 (1979), 23. The Nchanga Consolidated Copper Mines were comprised of four mining divisions, Broken Hill (Kabwe), Rhokana, Nchanga and Konkola, under the Anglo-American Corporation.

<sup>165</sup> Chuubi, ‘The Establishment and Growth of the Nchanga Consolidated Copper Mines Limited Archives, 1977-1981,’ 23.

<sup>166</sup> See Republic of Zambia, *National Archives Act, 1969*, Section 2 (4), 6.

<sup>167</sup> Interview with S. Chabala, ZCCM Archives, Ndola, 20 March 2017.

<sup>168</sup> ZCCM 27.1.7.B, Correspondence from P. Mukula, Director, National Archives of Zambia to R.L. Bwalya, Director of Administration, NCCM, 17 August, 1978. In a bid to acquire legal status for the NCCM as a place of deposit for public mining records, the archivist Alistair Tough in 1978 submitted requirements to management for the development of a company archive. The establishment of a NCCM archive required a building with fairly large floor space of about 4,000 cubic feet, high enough to accommodate stacks of up to 12 shelves for storage purposes. This building needed to be structurally sound, weather proof, fire proof and capable of being securely closed. There was need for enough staff consisting of the company archivist, assistant archivist, senior archives and records clerk, archives clerk, records management clerk and a typist. The financial constraints of the company’s investments and operations did not permit meeting in full the development programme as was envisaged by the archivist.

without suitable storage facilities, such as steel shelves.<sup>169</sup> According to the law, the ability to preserve the records trumped the contextual “value” of the records for the national history of Zambia.

Although the NCCM Company was denied legal status as a place of deposit, the creation of its archive continued. Two rooms were improvised at its premises in Nchanga House, Kitwe, where company archives were centralised and preserved. The RST archives policy provided a template of sorts for the NCCM. Like that of the RST, the NCCM’s archives policy recognised the company archivist as an authority in the establishment and preservation archives. The policy prohibited the indiscriminate destruction of any mining records without the authorisation of the company archivist of the NCCM archives. Therefore, the archivist was notified of any intentions for the destruction or disposal of information, along with specifications of the nature of such records. The archivist had the right to inspect all records and provided advice for either permanent retention or destruction. The company archivist was authorised to collect non-current records from the mining divisions for centralisation.<sup>170</sup> A company archivist was a significant authority in coordinating the management and preservation of archives, which not only benefitted the NCCM, but also the government at large. The annual reports that were prepared by the archivists on the operation of the archives provided useful information on the conditions of preservation of mining archives to the National Archives of Zambia, given that, as already noted, the National Archives controlled the national documentary resources on behalf of the state.

The declaration of the RST Archives as a place of deposit fulfilled the government’s aim of safeguarding mining archives. It helped to professionalise the NCCM’s archives and led to the discovery of documents previously endangered because of poor storage. The creation of the NCCM archive was preceded by a survey of the records in the custody of its mining divisions. In a memorandum sent to the general managers of mines at Broken Hill (Kabwe), Chingola, Rhokana, and Konkola, as well as the manager and company secretary, all the mining divisions were urged to deposit past records in their offices with the central

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<sup>169</sup> ZCCM 27.1.7.B, Memorandum from the Company Secretary NCCM to the Director National Archives of Zambia on the Development of the NCCM Archive, 3 January 1978.

<sup>170</sup> Interview with Killion Kkhata, ZCCM Archives, Ndola, 20 March 2017.

repository in Kitwe.<sup>171</sup> At the same time, the company archivist carried out periodical reviews of closed files of all divisions of the company and the offices of the managing Director. The process of appraising past mining records led to the discovery of important information dating back to the 1930s, which related to the company's functions, its decisions, policies, procedures and operations. These were chiefly records of the predecessor companies, namely the Rhokana Corporation, the Rhodesian Broken Hill Development Company, the Bancroft and Kansanshi Mining Company and the Rhodesia Copper Refineries.<sup>172</sup> Some of these records were uncovered at the old mine offices, and were mostly in the form of minutes of board meetings and committees, and annual, departmental and project reports.<sup>173</sup> More archival sources were uncovered, which related to later years, mostly from the 1940s to 1960s. They covered plant extension, production and cost statistics, capital expenditure, survey plans, metal marketing analyses, industrial relations and land titles, contracts and agreements.

While the NCCM collected and centralised its archives located within Zambia, the other part of its archive remained dispersed. Amongst these dispersed records were those created by the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa at its Johannesburg office, which related to its consulting engineers and consulting geologists. Some of its archival collections were created and preserved abroad in the United Kingdom, and in Zimbabwe, where its marketing offices were situated.<sup>174</sup> Alistair Tough, the first company archivist, indicated that for the period 1923 to 1931, very few records survived, possibly because the company records were located in London. There were only about six files dealing with finance for the copper mines within the archive. Some of the records created at its head offices in London between 1931 and 1950 were incorporated within the NCCM archive located in Zambia. These included a substantial series of subject files, accounting and marketing records.

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<sup>171</sup> ZCCM 27.1.7.B, Memorandum from A. Zulu, General Manger, Centralised Services Division to General Managers, 26 August 1977.

<sup>172</sup> ZCCM 27.1.7.B, A. Tough, NCCM Company Archivist's Report on the Development of the NCCM Company Archive, 9 September 1977.

<sup>173</sup> See, ZCCM 27.1.7.B, A. Tough NCCM Company Archivist's Report on the Development of the NCCM Company Archive, 9 September 1977. See also, Alistair G. Tough, 'The Nchanga Consolidated Copper Mines Limited (NCCM) Company Archives,' *Zambia Library Association Journal*, 11/1 (1979), 5-6.

<sup>174</sup> Tough, 'The Nchanga Consolidated Copper Mines Limited (NCCM) Company Archives,' 5.

Unfortunately, the minutes of the board of directors, executive committee, and technical committee were not transferred to Zambia, but remained in London.

The NCCM had transferred its head offices from London to Kitwe, Northern Rhodesia, in 1951. The main reasons given for the move were lower taxation, greater ease of communication with government, and more efficient communication with mine management.<sup>175</sup> A large bulk of records was left behind in London, but the main series of board, marketing and accounting records were transferred to Kitwe. Later, in 1957, during the Federal period, the NCCM Company moved its head offices to Salisbury. A large number of closed records were left in Kitwe, while those that were still in use were transferred to the Salisbury offices. The material taken to Salisbury may have included the board records and minutes of the various committees, which had apparently been transferred to Kitwe from London.<sup>176</sup> After the dissolution of the Federation in 1963, the head offices of the Zambian mining companies relocated again, this time to Lusaka. Amongst the records transferred to Zambia were new records created in Salisbury, such as boards of directors' minutes, policy files, and a mass of general files. However, a number of other important company records, such as those relating to engineering and architectural activities, remained in Salisbury.

Due to the political instability of the armed struggle in Southern Rhodesia from the early 1970s, the Company was unable to claim its archives. Since the Zambian government did not recognise the rebel Rhodesian government, its border with Rhodesia was closed. This posed challenges for the recovery of records. The missing records in the NCCM that required immediate retrieval were the head office records of the Rhokana Corporation, Nchanga consolidated copper mines, Rhodesia Broken Hill Development Company, Bancroft Mines, Rhokana Copper Refineries, Kansanshi Copper Mines for the years 1957 to 1964, the operational mine records of Kansanshi Mine for 1920 to 1950, and various head office

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<sup>175</sup> Tough, 'The Nchanga Consolidated Copper Mines Limited (NCCM) Company Archives,' 5.

<sup>176</sup> Interview with Lembani Changona, ZCCM Archives, Ndola, 22 March 2017.

records and board of directors' minutes for the years for 1922 to 1950.<sup>177</sup> These records remained in custody in Southern Rhodesia, thereby creating a break in the NCCM archive.

#### **6.4.2. Freedom House and the collection of political archives**

In 1977, another milestone occurred in the history of archiving in postcolonial Zambia. The ruling political party became directly involved in the preservation of national archival records. Prompted by the dearth of political records at the National Archives of Zambia, the United National Independence Party (UNIP), which formed the one-party-state government, exerted influence over the acquisition of such records for the national collection. Through Statutory Instrument no. 61 of March 1977, A. Milner, the then Minister of Home Affairs, declared Freedom House in Cairo Road, Lusaka, a place of deposit for all political parties that had hitherto existed in Zambia.<sup>178</sup> Through this declaration, Freedom House, which was the headquarters of the ruling UNIP, obtained legal authority over the acquisition of political documents created within Zambia. The National Archives of Zambia and its advisory council considered Freedom House a strategic location for the collection of political archives because it housed the UNIP Research Bureau. In 1973, following the example of communist parties in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, UNIP's Central Committee established a Research Bureau at the party headquarters to provide research facilities for the Secretary General, the chairmen of its sub-committees and of the Central Committee, cabinet ministers and other government functionaries.<sup>179</sup> More importantly, Freedom House commanded substantial authority, because the party had become synonymous with the government. The National Archives capitalised on the influence of the ruling party and collaborated in collecting political archives for preservation under suitable conditions. This resulted in a very selective approach to what was included as important political records, and what was ignored if it did not fit the national narrative according to the UNIP. The collection of political archives largely consisted of minutiae of the UNIP's Research Bureau,

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<sup>177</sup> ZCCM 2.7.1 D, Correspondence from E.M. Hachipuka, General manager, NCCM to Managing Director, NCCM, 17 April 1980.

<sup>178</sup> Government of Zambia, Statutory Instrument No. 61 of 1977, National Archives (Place of Deposit Declaration) Order, 3 March 1977.

<sup>179</sup> M.C. Musambachime, 'The Archives of Zambia's United National Independence Party,' *History in Africa*, 18 (1991), 292. For the structure of the one party government. see also Republic of Zambia, *Zambia in Brief* (Lusaka: Zambia Information Services, 1980), 7.

party conferences, external relations, central committee, youth and women's league, while significant private papers of political figures such as Alex Shapi and Valentine Musakanya were not acquired.<sup>180</sup>

The national archiving institution found it difficult to collect political records for permanent preservation. As a result, there were gaps in the national archives relating to the political history of Zambia.<sup>181</sup> For example, the records of several political parties involved during the 1950s and early 1960s in the struggle for Zambia's independence – such as the Liberal Party, the United Federal Party, the Democratic Party and the Zambia African National Congress – were not in the National Archives. Other archives were those of the United Party, formed well after Zambia's independence by Nalumino Mundia in 1968. In particular, there was resistance from individuals involved in the independence struggle who held on to political records in their private possession and who were not willing to transfer ownership to the state. Archivists, especially, considered it necessary to preserve this important phase of Zambia's history. In May 1972, A. Mwewa, the Acting Director of the National Archives of Zambia, wrote to the Office of the President of the Republic of Zambia, requesting assistance to retrieve documentation on Zambia's independence struggle and political development. He wrote as follows:

I view with great concern that national collection regarding the political struggle has not been responding well. I would be very grateful for any assistance which you may offer in securing papers relating to it. One task we are facing in this matter is that prominent politicians are not prepared to release these documents for permanent preservation for this generation's reference and generations not yet born. Rumours have reached this office that Simon Zukas<sup>182</sup> has a lot of papers pertaining to the

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<sup>180</sup> Marja Hinfelaar and Giacomo Macola, *A First Guide to Non-Governmental Archives in Zambia* (Lusaka: National Archives of Zambia, 2004). See also Musambachime, 'The Archives of Zambia's United National Independence Party,' 291-296.

<sup>181</sup> NAZ NA 18/7/1, Correspondence from Archivist, National Archives of Zambia (Lusaka) to Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs (Lusaka), 11 April 1967.

<sup>182</sup> Simon Zukas was one of the few white men who stood up against the culture of white supremacy in the years before Zambia achieved statehood in 1964. In the late 1940s, he joined the African National Congress, the main nationalist movement in Northern Rhodesia. For further details see Hinfelaar and Macola, *A First Guide to Non-Governmental Archives in Zambia*, 44.

struggle. We have made efforts to see him but we understand he cannot let anybody have access to them. We are wondering as to whether you can help us so that he releases these for permanent keeping.<sup>183</sup>

From this point, the separate UNIP Archives played a significant role in collecting records relating to the political history of Zambia. In the initial years of the UNIP archives as a national legal repository for political records, the focus was on collecting and acquiring records from the general public. Disregarding the purpose of the declaration of Freedom House as a national repository for records of political parties of Zambia, the UNIP archives mainly concentrated on assembling a UNIP political archive. Through its collections, an image of UNIP as the main driving force behind the attainment of Zambia's independence was built. As the only officially-recognised party in Zambia, following the 1972 amendment to the Zambian constitution that established a one-party state, UNIP's supremacy was prioritised. UNIP's totalising power over the political landscape, coupled with the UNIP loyalists in charge of creating political archives, provided the party with formidable tools to promote its own history and to mute the wider importance of other political parties in the struggle for national independence.

In contrast to the procedure followed by the national and mining archival institutions, the UNIP Archives practiced indiscriminate archiving. This meant that no records committee was instituted for appraisal, whereby permanent preservation or destruction would be determined. As the only legal political party, UNIP continued to create records, while all collections acquired from the public were preserved. A number of strategies were used to retrieve political documents from members of the public. In order to achieve a quick response from the public, the influence of political party figures such as Grey Zulu, the Secretary General of UNIP, was used.<sup>184</sup> In September 1977, a circular bearing Grey Zulu's signature was despatched to all members of the Central Committee, cabinet ministers, ministers of state, provincial political secretaries, and district governors. The circular

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<sup>183</sup> NAZ NA 18/7/1, Correspondence from A. Mwewa, Acting Director National Archives of Zambia to the Special Assistant to the President of the Republic of Zambia, 24 May 1972.

<sup>184</sup> United National Independence Party (hereafter UNIP) 2/7/8, Correspondence from H. Meebelo, Director, Research Bureau (Lusaka), to the Secretary General, UNIP, 30 August 1977.

requested donations of documents related to Zambia's political history.<sup>185</sup> It was emphasised that most of these documents were owned by politicians and individuals who had long retired from politics. The government and party officials were thus urged to cooperate in locating any important political documents. Furthermore, advertisements requesting donations of political archives were made through the radio, television and print media. The Zambia Broadcasting and Information Services made weekly broadcasts on radio and television, and ran appeals in the print media, in English and in the local vernacular languages to capture a wider audience.<sup>186</sup> Publications were made in both English and local vernacular languages. In order to acquire as many records as possible, officials called for political documents in varied formats. Members of the public were invited to donate documents including files, sound records, films, photographs, pictures, maps and magnetic tapes, among others.

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<sup>185</sup> UNIP 2/7/8, Secretary General's Circular No. 11 of 1977 to Members of the Central Committee, Cabinet Ministers, Ministers of State, Provincial Political Secretaries and District Governors.

<sup>186</sup> UNIP 2/5/2, W. Sakala, Archivist, Research Bureau (Lusaka) to H. Mebeelo, Director of the Research Bureau (Lusaka), 27 September 1977.

Figure 6.1: An advert that was featured in the *Times of Zambia* Newspaper of 5 September 1977 to invite for donations of political related archival documents.

**UNITED NATIONAL  
INDEPENDENCE PARTY**

**AN INVITATION TO MEMBERS OF THE  
PUBLIC TO DONATE DOCUMENTS OF  
HISTORICAL VALUE TO THE PARTY  
AT FREEDOM HOUSE, LUSAKA.**

By Statutory Instrument No. 61 of 1977 issued under the National Archives Act, Cap. 268 of the Laws of the Republic of Zambia, the ground floor of Freedom House on Cairo Road, Lusaka, has been declared a place of deposit for public records relating to the United National Independence Party and all other political parties which have existed in the country.

Members of the public are earnestly and kindly invited to donate to the Party Archives any documents of historical value which include any medium of information for example, files, magazines, publications of any nature, sound records (discs), films, photographs, magnetic tapes, punched tapes or cards, maps etc.

Any donations should be addressed to the Director of the Research Bureau and Special Assistant to the Secretary-General of the Party, Freedom House, P.O. Box 302, Lusaka. All donations will be duly acknowledged.

**ISSUED BY THE OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY-  
GENERAL OF THE PARTY, FREEDOM HOUSE,  
LUSAKA.**

32306/c-5 Oct:

10TH SEPTEMBER 1977

Source: UNIP 2/7/8, Party Archives.

Publicising calls for donations saw a large collection of deposits from government officials, institutions, struggle veterans, and UNIP regional organisations. The donated records were of a varied nature. Some were purely personal information, but connected to Zambia's liberation struggle, while others were associated with nationalist history. Frank M. Chitambala, then chairman of the government's Youth and Sport Committee, was the first person to contribute documents. Among the donations were personal photographs and warrants of arrest and search served on him by the British colonial government because of

his militant stand in the fight against colonial rule.<sup>187</sup> There were also letters depicting his active roles during the struggle for independence covering the 1950s and 1960s. Chitambala's collection was unique in that it received recognition from Grey Zulu, the Secretary General of UNIP, and government. Based on the directive of the Secretary General, Chitambala's collection was publicised through the press to motivate members of the public with similar documents in their private possession.<sup>188</sup>

Figure 6.2: A press release about the public response to the call for the donation of political documents.



SOURCE: UNIP 2/7/8, Times of Zambia Newspaper cutting, 5 October 1977

While reasonable quantities of UNIP papers were acquired, the political environment of a one-party state hindered certain political party records from being deposited with the archive. Mukula alleged that some records belonging to banned political or defunct parties were destroyed by the ruling UNIP, while others were hidden for fear of harassment and imprisonment.<sup>189</sup> Notable political archives included those of the United Progressive Party (UPP), which represented a faction that split away from UNIP in 1971. The party's

<sup>187</sup> UNIP 2/7/8, Correspondence from F. Chitambala, Chairman of Youth and Sports Committee to Secretary General of the Party, 15 September 1977.

<sup>188</sup> UNIP 2/7/8, Press Statement issued by the Office of the Secretary General of UNIP to News Editor, Zambia Daily Mail, 30 September 1977.

<sup>189</sup> P.M. Mukula, 'Fate of political Records Archives,' Unpublished, 9 October 1992, 38.

opposition to the UNIP government's principles of financial management and the government's corruption led to the arrest of the UPP leadership. These arrests resulted in violent conflict between UPP and UNIP party supporters. In the process, documents, photographs and political party cards were allegedly destroyed.<sup>190</sup> It appears the politicians who were opposed to the one-party state and its government also opposed depositing their documents with the UNIP archives for preservation.

Mukula, the then Director of the National Archives, who facilitated the acquisition of African National Congress (hereafter, ANC) records by the UNIP's Research Bureau, stated that the 'ANC records were brought to UNIP's Freedom House by a trick, Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula, the former president of the banned opposition ANC party, then would not allow the party records to be deposited at UNIP's Freedom House. I was the Director of National Archives then, and I know how these records found their way to UNIP.'<sup>191</sup> It also appears that some of the political records, especially those from the colonial period, were destroyed or went missing, not because of the threatening political environment, but as a result of unsuitable storage conditions and a poor record keeping culture. In reference to the ANC records, for example, although the party was formed in 1948, available records only dated from 1951. According to President Kenneth Kaunda, who also became Secretary General of the ANC, this gap was attributed to the poor record keeping of the party executives at the time.<sup>192</sup> Prominent struggle veterans, such as Donald Siwale, the founder of the African Welfare Association, were unable to donate documents in their possession, because they had been eaten by white ants. Similarly, in the Mporokoso district, political files were held in a storeroom, together with waste paper baskets, basins, shovels, an old bicycle and many other articles.<sup>193</sup> Countrywide tours conducted in the late 1970s revealed that poor record keeping existed among individual struggle veterans, as well as the offices of provincial permanent secretaries, district governors, and district secretaries.<sup>194</sup> As such, it is important

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<sup>190</sup> Mukula, 'Fate of political Records Archives,' 38.

<sup>191</sup> Mukula, 'Fate of political Records Archives,' 38. P.M. Mukula was the first Zambian Director of the National Archives of Zambia after the introduction of Zambianisation in the 1970s.

<sup>192</sup> Musambachime, 'The Archives of Zambia's United National Independence Party,' 292.

<sup>193</sup> UNIP 2/7/8, Circular from W. Sakala for the Director, Research Bureau to All Provincial Permanent Secretaries and District Secretaries, 24 November 1977.

<sup>194</sup> UNIP 2/7/8, Circular from C.C. Sikumba, Provincial Political Secretary, Copperbelt to Member of Central Committee, Cabinet Minister, District Governors, Director Research Bureau, 6 February 1978.

to note that the creation of archives to establish a public record was not prioritised under particularly difficult political circumstances.

#### **6.4.3. Freedom House as a place of deposit for national archiving**

By the 1980s, the implications of declaring Freedom House a place of public deposit for Zambian political parties became clearer. This period became dominated by conflicts between two archiving authorities, institutionalised within the government of the one-party state. The legal empowerment granted to the UNIP's Research Bureau at Freedom House as an archiving authority caused conflicts in the acquisition and preservation of archival records between the National Archives and UNIP. As a result of the supreme status accorded to the ruling party, UNIP undermined the authority invested in the National Archives of Zambia through the National Archives Act of 1969.

After Freedom House became a place of preservation for political parties in 1977 all such records that were in the custody of the National Archives were transferred by UNIP to the party archives repository.<sup>195</sup> This step saw the reshaping of the national collection and loss of control over political archives of the ANC and UNIP by the National Archives.<sup>196</sup> The decision to relocate part of the national archive did not only undermine the authority of the national archiving institution, but also the National Archives Act. Musambachime suggests that the move was prompted by UNIP's 1979 Constitution, which stipulated that the activities of the Research Bureau were to collect, research or provide information necessary for the formulation of party policies.<sup>197</sup> Thus, the ANC political records once under the National Archives were required to support the research activities of the Research Bureau. The transfer of the ANC records from a permanent collection was contrary to Section 5(5) of the National Archives Act, which only permitted the removal of public archives from their places of custody through the authorisation of the Director of the National Archives, and only on a temporary basis. More so, the transfer of records defeated the purpose of preserving a unitary postcolonial archive. According to the National Archives Act, archival records were to be made accessible for public inspection or research, unless in cases of

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<sup>195</sup> Interview with Chrispin Haamoya, University of Zambia, Lusaka, 28 December 2018.

<sup>196</sup> Interview with Haamoya, University of Zambia, Lusaka, 28 December 2018.

<sup>197</sup> Musambachime, 'The Archives of Zambia's United National Independence Party,' 292.

exceptional restrictions. While access regulations of the UNIP Archives did indicate that political archives were to be made available to both UNIP members and scholars, access was challenge especially to non-political members.<sup>198</sup> In contrast to the National Archives, the procedure to access political archives was highly bureaucratic.<sup>199</sup> It is claimed that individuals who requested access to the archives were investigated, and archives were scrutinized for any sensitive information before they were released.<sup>200</sup>

Under the Act, the party archives were subject to the supervision and control of the Minister of Home Affairs and the Director of the national archives. When Freedom House was declared a place of deposit, the Director of national archives was automatically charged with supervisory responsibility over the management and preservation of the UNIP Archives, which contradicted the principle of party supremacy. As a result, legal counsel to the party, in collaboration with Henry Meebelo, the Director of the Research Bureau, arranged for the amendment of party policy guiding the operation of the Bureau.<sup>201</sup> A provision was inserted which made the UNIP Archives independent of the National Archives. It stated that the UNIP Archives would be controlled, directed and managed by the Director of Research Bureau, or any other person appointed by the Central Committee in accordance with the officer regulations issued by the Central Committee.<sup>202</sup> This intention was to establish an independent authority in the preservation of political party archives and to maintain the confidentiality of information held by the party. Officials noted that certain political documents contained sensitive political matters, not intended for release to the National Archives.<sup>203</sup> A further form of resistance was evident in the refusal by the Director

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<sup>198</sup> Interview with Bizeck Phiri, University of Zambia, Lusaka, 24 December, 2018.

<sup>199</sup> UNIP 2/5/2, Research Bureau Circular No. 5 of 1977 from Director, Research Bureau to all Members of the Central Committee, Cabinet Ministers, Ministers of State, Provincial Political Secretaries and District Governors, 16 September 1977. See also UNIP 2/5/2, W. Sakala, Acting Archivist, Memorandum on Party Archives Policy: Rules Governing Access to Party Documents, 20 September, 1977; and UNIP 2/7/3, Party Library Rules and Regulations, 17 September 1975.

<sup>200</sup> Interview with Phiri, University of Zambia, Lusaka 28 December 2018.

<sup>201</sup> UNIP 2/7/8, Correspondence from Henry Meebelo, Director Research Bureau (Lusaka) to A. M. Mtonga, Legal Counsel to the Party (Lusaka) 28 June 1978.

<sup>202</sup> UNIP 2/7/8, Correspondence from Henry Meebelo, Director Research Bureau (Lusaka) to A. M. Mtonga, Legal Counsel to the Party (Lusaka) 28 June 1978.

<sup>203</sup> UNIP 2/7/8, Correspondence from, W. Sakala to Henry Meebelo, Director Research Bureau (Lusaka), 15 May 1978.

of the Research Bureau to be appointed as a custodian of political records.<sup>204</sup> The archives legislation required the appointment of a custodian of all political party records by the Minister of Home Affairs.<sup>205</sup> It was a logical sequel to the declaration of the ground floor of Freedom House as a place of deposit. This, however, entailed subordination to the National Archives, because the appointee would be under the direction and supervision of the Director of National Archives, as stipulated under section 6(2) of the Act.

The institutionalisation of the party within the government structures caused further challenges of differentiating between public archives and political records. This situation saw a rise of conflicts over the acquisition of records between the National Archives and the party archives. The national archiving institution was mostly disadvantaged, as the party archives embarked on the collection of public records that should have been in the national collection. For example, in 1986, Grey Zulu, the Secretary General of UNIP ordered the national advisory council and the national archives to transfer records of the trials of freedom fighters generated during the struggle for independence in Northern Rhodesia to the party archives. The records had been deposited in the national archives by the High Court of Zambia.<sup>206</sup> These were records due for public access, but were instead restricted due to the confidential nature of the information they held. In as much as the party was supreme, the national archiving institution did in some circumstances assert its authority. Thus, on the basis that the trial files were created by a government department, the National Archives did not permit the transfer of archives.<sup>207</sup>

Correspondingly, in the same year, the UNIP Archives retrieved records that were already deposited and preserved at the provincial records centre in Kabwe.<sup>208</sup> In particular, documents generated by the Governor's office deposited with the Kabwe provincial records centre were retrieved by the UNIP Archives on the grounds that they contained political

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<sup>204</sup> See UNIP/2/7/8, Correspondence from P. Mukula, Director National Archives of Zambia to H. Meebelo, Director Research Bureau, 30 August 1978; UNIP/2/7/8, Correspondence from H. Meebelo, Director, Research Bureau, to P. Mukula, Director National Archives of Zambia, 4 September 1978.

<sup>205</sup> Republic of Zambia, *National Archives Act, 1969*, Section 6 (1), 6-7.

<sup>206</sup> UNIP 2/7/8, Correspondence from A.M.B. Banda, Principal Advisor to Secretary General of the Party, to Director National Archives of Zambia (Lusaka), 4 March 1986.

<sup>207</sup> UNIP 2/7/8, Correspondence from P.M. Mukula, Director, National Archives of Zambia to Principle Advisor, UNIP, 3 April 1986.

<sup>208</sup> UNIP 2/7/8, Correspondence from W. Sakala, Acting Director of Research Bureau to Director National Archives of Zambia, 20 April 1980.

information. In many other cases, the National Archives were subjected to inspection by the authorities of the party archives in search of party documents.<sup>209</sup> The frequent removal of documents from the permanent collection exposed the national collection to an erosion of its overall content.

## **6.5 Conclusion**

In conclusion, the discussion in this chapter focused on the role of the Zambian government in the preservation of public archives through the national archiving authority. Political independence in 1964, also entailed autonomy in the production and preservation of its archives. Colonial archives policy was repealed and replaced with the National Archives Act, which introduced different principles of archiving. The National Archives Act gave a prominent role to the National Archives. The provision in the National Archives Act for alternative places of deposit for public archives transformed record keeping and acquisition practices. This was the beginning of the decentralisation of archival services in independence era Zambia. The provision witnessed a mushrooming of archive repositories, apart from the National Archives of Zambia. By the mid-1970s, the Roan Selection Trust Archives, which was established in the early 1960s, was declared as a place of deposit for all mining records in the country. Although it was not in a position to accommodate all the mining-related archives generated in the country, due to limited space, it was able to ensure their safety. Based on its long experience in archival preservation, the Roan Selection Trust was able to recommend the establishment of another archives repository in the mining industry for the mine records generated by the Anglo-American mining divisions in the Copperbelt province of Zambia. Apart from promoting the preservation of business archives, there was also a development in the safe custody of political archives. Taking advantage of the Research Bureau of the United National Independence Party, situated at Freedom House, the National Archives recommended the creation of an archive designated for records of all political parties that ever existed in the country.

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<sup>209</sup> UNIP 2/7/8, Correspondence from P.M. Mukula, Director National Archives of Zambia to H. Meebelo, Director, Research Bureau, 4 March 1978.

While the declaration of Freedom House was meant to extend the national archives' reach to accommodate the acquisition of political records which otherwise would have been difficult for the National Archives to acquire, this turned out as a loss of the institution's control over the identity and nature of political archives in the country. The emergence of the one party state and institutionalisation of the UNIP within the government undermined the authority of the National Archives in acquisition and preservation of political archives. All political material that were in the custody of the National Archives were transferred to Freedom House where it became a challenge for the national archiving institution to monitor their preservation and for general members of the public to gain free access.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### Conclusion

This thesis is the first comprehensive account of the entire administrative history of the Zambian archives. It points to the absence of sustained emphasis of the important role of legislation, preservation and management practices, including appraisal processes, in the construction and description of the nature of the Zambian archives. Where this has received attention, these processes have essentially been projected through the lens of archival institutions without historical contextualisation, and largely restricted to the period after the Second World War with the rise of an emphasis on archival professionalisation. This did not take into account the pre-history of the national archives, and the implications of its embeddedness in a colonial administration for the evolving nature and character of the collections. Relevant legislation, its implementation, and preservation and management approaches have largely been reduced to the functional activities of colonial and postcolonial archival institutions in the organising of archives.

The dearth of literature that examines the historical processes behind the creation of Zambia's colonial and postcolonial archives makes this thesis an important contribution to the country's archival historiography. By documenting the historical processes of archival construction, it sheds light on the existing character of Zambian archives. As such, this study offers an important reference point to archivists and to future scholars on the nature, shape and organisation of archives in Zambia.

The purpose of this thesis is to rectify this historical lacuna. It outlined and examined the relationship between record keeping, archival legislation, preservation and management practices, and the consequent nature of archives in successive governments of the British South Africa Company (BSAC), the British colonial administration, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and postcolonial Zambia, from 1890 to 1991. It argued that over the course of this century, the different iterations of formal and informal records management endeavours, including archival legislation, resulting from changes in government and government structures, often transformed the processes of archives management, as well as the character of the archives. With the exception of the BSAC administration, which did not devise any formal archives policy, successive governments

formulated and reviewed archival legislation, which in turn led to several changes in the procedures relating to the creation and management of institutional archives. By examining the processes behind the construction and maintenance of these archives, this study offers a coherent and comprehensive perspective of the character and configuration of Zambia's national archives. The thesis points to the fact that, apart from being important primary sources of Zambia's history, these archives have their own invaluable history, tied inextricably to shifting government administrative structures, legislative frameworks, and the archival practices of appraisal, preservation and management.

When the BSAC was granted a charter in 1889 by the British imperial government for the administration of Southern-Central Africa, no one could foresee that a commercial enterprise would create the kernel of a national archive in what became Northern Rhodesia. The processes of signing treaties with precolonial leaders, that in turn facilitated the acquisition of the charter, as well as the administrative activities of the BSAC in North-Eastern Rhodesia, North-Western Rhodesia and later Northern Rhodesia, paved the way for the creation of the initial archival collection. It delineated the earliest administrative history of Zambia (formerly, Northern Rhodesia). The rapport that existed between the administrative structures of the administrator, the District Commissioners and the judicial system, generated the earliest public records in the form of correspondence, minutes, reports and memoranda. Similar records were produced through the supervisory activities of the BSAC board of directors and the British High Commissioner to South Africa, who was also responsible for Northern Rhodesia.

The termination of the chartered company's rule in April 1923, and the introduction of British colonial administration, marked a new phase in records management. The colonial administration introduced new administrative structures and systems of records management. The governor's office, the Secretariat, the executive and legislative councils, provincial and District Commissioners, and colonial civil service departments, replaced the defunct BSAC. A new collection of records, shaped by imperial perceptions and policies, were created in the process. Registries were created to centralise, organise and preserve colonial records.

By the mid-1940s, Southern Rhodesia (later Zimbabwe) introduced Northern Rhodesia to professional and standardised systems of record keeping. Southern Rhodesia spearheaded a program for Central African regional collaboration between itself and the colonial states of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. In so doing, it established a centralised archive for the three territories. The three territories passed similar archives ordinances, which ushered in uniform procedures for appraising records, and for their destruction and preservation. This collaboration continued until the dissolution of the federation in 1963. With the coming of Zambia's independence in 1964, a new dawn in archives management arrived. The newly independent government enacted archival legislation, which transformed the practices of processing, preserving and managing archival records. In sum, the practices of record keeping in prior decades shaped future archives management, but it was during the federal period and after Zambian independence, that formal legislated policy began to be implemented.

While none of the authors who wrote on the colonial archives of Northern Rhodesia, notably Edward Burke, Teddy Baxter, Lewis Gann, and W.V. Brelsford, considered political forces as factors that influenced the construction of archives, the second chapter of this thesis argued that the BSAC archival collection was the product of global and local political-economic events. The thesis links the genesis of archives creation in Northern Rhodesia to global politics and the partition of the African continent. The Berlin Conference's (1884) purpose was to resolve conflicts relating to the partition of Africa among European nations. It saw the enactment of the General Act of 1885. And it introduced the principle of effective occupation, which meant that a claim to colonial territories was insufficient for international recognition. Article 34 of the act required European powers to exercise authority in their particular regions of occupation. Some European powers, not least Britain, turned to chartered companies as proxies to ensure effective economic and political occupation. This dovetailed neatly with the BSAC's pursuit of commercial interests north of the Limpopo. This thesis argues that it was at this point that formal record keeping in Northern Rhodesia was first established. Before granting a charter to the BSAC, the British government required the company to obtain written consent from local rulers. The BSAC officials drafted treaty and concession documents on which the indigenous authorities appended their signatures.

The agenda behind the generation of these early administrative documents was of course primarily political and commercial. The records were needed for the extension of political authority, and to obtain land and mining rights. As regards indigenous authorities, the treaties and concessions were sometimes considered guarantees of British protection against rival rulers. Building on the work by Lewis Gann, A.J. Hanna, A.D. Roberts, J.A. Barnes and Richard Hall, which did not link the political environment in North-Eastern Rhodesia to records creation, this thesis showed that the hostile political environment, caused by, for example, the Bemba and Ngoni raids, prompted minor chiefs to sign written treaties as a means of security and protection. The same is true for economic motives as instigators of records creation: entering into a treaty agreement with the BSAC by powerful chiefs such as Kazembe, was considered an opportunity for trade.

As for North-Western Rhodesia, this thesis is the first to describe the creation of archival documents as inextricably linked to the geographical-political vulnerability of this area. Through analysis of Mutumba Mainga, Eric Stokes, Fergus Macpherson and Gerald Caplan's work on local political evolution, colonial and indigenous power relations in North-Western Rhodesia, this study suggests that the threatening political environment in North-Western Rhodesia was the impetus for the development of a collection of official correspondence initiated by the traditional aristocracy that would become the basis of an archival record. The region needed British protection because of political threats from Matabeleland (Southern Rhodesia) and Portuguese encroachment into the region. In 1889, the BSAC capitalised on the political vulnerability of North-Western Rhodesia. By fraudulent means, the BSAC entered into the Lochner Treaty on the basis of providing political security to the region in exchange for mineral and land rights. This thesis demonstrated that while the creation of the Lochner Treaty caused conflict in North-Western Rhodesia due to the BSAC's failure to fulfil its terms, it also facilitated the generation of a burgeoning record of correspondence and reports between the royal establishment and the imperial authorities.

Once a charter for the administration of Northern Rhodesia was granted to the BSAC in 1891, the conditions under which records were created, and their nature, changed. The thesis demonstrates that the establishment of the BSAC's formal administrative structure, and the nature of their operations, led inevitably to the creation of a varied range of records. The BSAC established its administration through the office of a deputy

Administrator (later administrator). The administrator's office facilitated the creation of records of correspondence and reports through its administrative link with the BSAC board of directors. The records reflected the general administration of accounts, commercial activities and native affairs in Northern Rhodesia. Also, even though the BSAC was granted a charter, the company's administrative activities were monitored by the British High Commissioner to British Central Africa (later Nyasaland and Malawi), on behalf of the British imperial government. This generated an additional collection of records related to imperial policy and colonial regulations.

The expansion of the general administrative activities in the administrator's office saw the introduction of a civil administration through the appointment of resident collectors. Reports of their local administration activities were compiled for the deputy administrator. Consequently, more categories of records related to local, cultural, social, economic and judicial affairs accumulated, but were poorly preserved. This thesis linked the poor preservation practices by the civil administration to the limited competence and record keeping skills of staff for whom this was not their primary responsibility. This explains in part the information gaps that exist in the resident collectors' archives collection, preserved at the National Archives of Zambia. The thesis notes that while the chartered company had preserved records, it never devised a deliberate means of organising them into a formalised permanent archival collection, which also in part explains why formal historiography took little notice of this period. This changed with the advent of colonial government.

As mentioned, Brelsford, Burke and Baxter, all of whom contributed to the archival historiography of Zambia, paid little heed to the impact that administrative changes had on the configuration of the archives. In chapter three, this thesis, however, established a direct connection between changes in government and government structures and the subsequent character of the archives. The chapter demonstrates that, after the termination of BSAC rule in 1923, the British colonial administration first started to generate different kinds of records in Northern Rhodesia due to the transformation of government structures. The colonial government introduced a new central government structure that consisted of the governor's office, the executive and the legislative council. It however maintained the existing local administrative structures of the provincial and District Commissioners, established earlier under company administration. This thesis argues that, as a result of the

administrative change from chartered company rule to a colonial administration, the activities of the local administration also led to the accumulation of new kinds of documents, which would form part of the colonial archive in Northern Rhodesia. The thesis also highlights the direct colonial administration link to the colonial office in Britain as a channel through which a series of incoming despatches in the form of correspondence, circulars and minutes from Britain, and reports sent from Northern Rhodesia to the colonial centrum, were generated. In the description of these archives, the thesis offers support for Phillip Curtin's argument that the archives of British colonies were similar due to the common constitutional models they followed. The nature of colonial archives created during the British colonial administration of Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria and Uganda, for example, was also shaped by the administrative activities of the Governor, the executive, and the legislature, and from the local administration of provincial and district offices.

In order to explain why the colonial government speedily established a system of records organisation, preservation and management, after the demise of the BSAC, this study turned to the work of Bernard Cohn and Thomas Richards. They argued that colonial archives were essential for the administrative authority of colonial governments. For Cohn, the establishment and maintenance of colonial states in the British Empire depended on organising and controlling records. Richards pointed to the use of colonial knowledge in the service of the colonial state and the Empire. Consequently, after the colonial government assumed the management of company records, it was considered a matter of urgency to establish a standardised system of organising these records. Based on these arguments, this thesis established that, unlike the BSAC administration, meticulous record keeping, and the concomitant institutional archives it generated, had an important place within British colonial administrations. It introduced professional guidelines and policies of organising and preserving archival documents in Northern Rhodesia. The colonial administration copied record keeping principles from that of the metropolitan civil service. The colonial government also introduced the system of permanent records collection, or permanent depositories. Registry offices were established as principal organs for clearing and preserving records. In 1926, the Chief Secretary to the Northern Rhodesia colonial administration issued instructions on the organisational systems of information in registries. Access through effective retrieval mechanisms (registries), had now become an important

focus of records management. This was largely due to the sudden rise in the volume of records produced by the administration.

The question of preservation, as a crucial component in the process of constructing an archive, was another constant preoccupation, this thesis shows. It has demonstrated the extent to which preservation strategies impacted on the nature of the archives produced, both in the colonial and postcolonial period. In contrast to colonial archival historiographies, which foregrounds preservation of archives in the context of archival institutions, this thesis unpacks significant background developments that influenced preservation prior to formal centralisation of permanent collection. The study thus also draws attention to the fact that serious imperial consideration for the preservation of colonial records in the region emerged fairly late, in late 1920s to the mid-1930s, with the colonial secretary, L.S. Amery's, circular to the Northern Rhodesian government requesting information on the preservation of official documents, the first official indicator. The thesis argues that this circular prompted a series of records surveys, which offer the earliest insight into the records collection and preservation practices of colonial government departments in the region. The survey reports described a lack of emphasis on preservation as lead to the destruction of important colonial records in Northern Rhodesia. No uniformity or centralised control in the keeping of records in colonial departments could be discerned. Consequently, by 1936, the colonial office responded with a policy that would guide the preservation and destruction of records. It emphasised that the destruction of any records, now required approval from the colonial authority. In response, the colonial government of Northern Rhodesia took immediate action to centralise the most endangered records, in this case, those generated by the District and Provincial Commissioners' offices. In describing this history from the archival record, the thesis explains that this process of centralisation was itself fraught with problems and was unevenly executed. Many records were not centralised but remained in the offices of creation.

The thesis also describes the intricate relationship between a legislative framework and the creation of archives. It demonstrates how archival legislation contributed to the preservation and character of the developing institutional archives. Building on the

important work on this topic by Edward Burke,<sup>1</sup> which explored the development of archival legislation in the British Commonwealth, this thesis demonstrates that the formulation of archival legislation in Northern Rhodesia transformed the processes of records management and preservation, and hence professionalised it. In 1945, Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, established a joint archival service to build a common, centralized collection, the Central African Archives (CAA). This saw the enactment of the Northern Rhodesia Archives Ordinance in 1946, which provided for the appointment of an archivist to appraise records generated by the Northern Rhodesian government for the purpose of permanent preservation. This thesis foregrounds this archives legislation as an important reflection of the extent to which colonial government officials spearheaded the construction of consequent national archives in Northern Rhodesia by mapping out the essential principles of professional archives management: Under the archives ordinance, destruction and disposal regulations were instituted; through these regulations, heads of government departments were given the right to decide which records warranted permanent preservation; the archives destruction committee was formed, whose role it was to assess the lists of records recommended for either destruction or preservation by the respective departments; and so forth. While the policy stipulated that records considered for preservation were those which covered policy, embodied precedents, and contained information of legal, administrative or statistical value, as well as basic financial records, this thesis found that the instructions offered much by way of agency to local officials. Instructions on the destruction and preservation of records only provided broad guidelines, not intended to limit the discretion of officers assembling the archives.

The thesis added another dimension to the historiography of the Northern Rhodesian archives. It drew attention to the creation and preservation of archives under the Federal government. The chapter examined the impact of regional politics' influence on the nature of archives formation and the historical processes whereby they were thus constructed. The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland reshaped the earlier processes of archives production and preservation established by the British colonial government. Uniting the

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<sup>1</sup> E. Burke, 'Some Archival Legislation of the British Commonwealth,' *The American Archivist* 22/3 (1959), 275-296.

three governments and their services entailed reconsidering administrative structures and enacting new archival legislation. The Federation introduced ministries, that resulted in centralised government services, with headquarters now situated in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia. This joint government generated new record collections, which subsequently would be managed into the existing archives, the product of the BSAC and the British colonial administrations, dating from the late 1890s to the early 1950s. A series of joint collections, relating to two, or to all three federal territories, were constituted by the joint government system. Consequently, in 1958, the National Archives Act of Rhodesia and Nyasaland provided new principles for the selection and preservation of records. The act provided for the formation of a representative records committee, the federal records committee, to make recommendations for the retention and destruction of documents.

The historical arch of this thesis allows insight into the politics involved in the construction of archives of a common interest, such as the federal archives, and the repercussions for such a collection when a common government disbands. The dissolution of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in 1963 resulted in the transfer of federal functions to the territorial governments and the division of assets. Federal records of common interest to the former federal states proved a challenge to the principle of fair distribution among the territories. This included records that had long-term and historical value. While the federal archives legislation had created a centralised archive for a permanent collection of records, the former territorial states now recommended the dissemination of these records, in direct opposition to the previous imperative for the creation of a centralised entity. Finding the most effective means of redistribution, and taking into consideration the importance of the future historical value, reference and research needs of all three territories, proved a challenge. The rise of conflicts among the former federal territories, mainly on practical questions related to central preservation, and an agreed upon policy of embargo, culminated in the formulation of the Quadripartite Agreement in 1963. The agreement created guidelines for central preservation and the formation of the inter-territorial body for the management of the archives. It provided for the central preservation of indivisible records at the National Archives of Southern Rhodesia on behalf of the three former territories. For a period of ten years, from 1964 to 1974, the inter-territorial committee appraised federal records and created a federal archive, which was reproduced through

microfilming and distributed to Zambia and Malawi, while the original archive was generated and maintained in Southern Rhodesia.

This thesis further examined the dissolution of the federation and the eventual attainment of Zambia's independence, a new chapter in the country's archival history. The processes of constructing, appraising and preserving archives, which were once conducted beyond the borders of Zambia, under federation rule, were now centralized within the country. More importantly, a wider collection policy was adopted, which was influenced by a postcolonial disposition in favour of preserving a consolidated nationalist history. In the mid-1960s, the national archiving institution was mandated to collect, through requests and donations, historical manuscripts to supplement the existing national collections.

The National Archives Act (1969) provided more state control over the archival resources generated within the country. The National Archives Act transformed the system of restricting appraisal processes to records created by government departments. It now also embraced records generated by parastatal bodies. In contrast to the narrow definition of public archives in the colonial period, the post-independence archival legislation thus broadened the nature of public archives by including those records generated by corporations, societies, associations, institutions or any organisations, as prescribed by the Minister of Home Affairs through a statutory instrument. The National Archives of Zambia hence became an agent of state control and, in its broad interpretation of archives, it acquired documentary resources of national and public interest from both government and parastatal organisations. However, in Zambia, like other countries in the Eastern and Southern African region, parastatal organisations were not necessarily compelled to deposit their records in the National Archives. The act only mandated the national archival institution to inspect records of parastatal organisations and to provide professional management guidelines, following a request.

As Kashweka, Haamoya, Mulauzi and Njobvu all suggest, this provision did indeed create a huge challenge for any comprehensive management of national records and archives in Zambia. The minimal authority awarded to the national archiving institution, and the lack of sufficient qualified personnel at these organisations to deal with an expansive definition of institutional collections, inevitably resulted in poor record keeping practices and a

subsequent loss to the archives. The government of Zambia exerted little control over records produced by parastatal organisations, but did strategically attempt to gain control through the declaration of alternative places of deposit, as provided in the Archives Act. Under the National Archives Act, storage facilities in corporate organisations, which complied with professional standards of preserving records, qualified as alternative places of deposit for public archives. Yet the reality was that by the mid-1970s, there was no security for records which defined and captured crucial economic, social and political changes in Zambia and were therefore of immense importance and public interest. Some attempts were made to address this. For example, in 1975, Mpelembe House (belonging to the Roan Selection Trust) was declared a place of deposit for records relating to all mining companies in Zambia. This was an attempt to preserve important records which were not within the legal jurisdiction of the National Archives, in accordance with section (3) and subsection (2) of the archival legislation.

This thesis demonstrates that correspondingly, in 1977, the National Archives Advisory Council recommended the declaration of United National Independence Party's (UNIP) Freedom House in Lusaka as a place for the preservation of all records pertaining to political parties in Zambia. I point out that M.C. Musambachime's work,<sup>2</sup> while seminal on UNIP's Freedom House as a custodian of political party archives, does not however attend to the power struggle that ensued between UNIP and the National Archives. This thesis established that the National Archives' authority over the control of political archives in the country was clearly undermined by UNIP: with the coming of the one party state in 1973, UNIP exerted influence over the acquisition of political archives for national collection. This resulted in the transfer of all political archives that were under the custody of the National Archives to Freedom House, ceding control of the archive to the party and, essentially this part of the Zambian historical narrative. This was compounded by the resultant selective approach to what was subsequently included in the collection as deemed important political archives: if it did not fit into the narrative desired by UNIP, records were not included. Thus, from the 1970s, until 1991, the national archiving authority only controlled and supervised the preservation and management of non-political party archives of national importance and

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<sup>2</sup> M.C. Musambachime, 'The Archives of Zambia's United National Independence Party,' *History in Africa*, 18 (1991), 291-296.

hence ceded its custodial role of the political archives of Zambia. Custody was further defragmented by the fact that, instead of accommodation in a central permanent collection, the core records remained the responsibility of the creating institutions. Records could however not be exported to other countries or destroyed without the knowledge of the minister of home affairs.

This thesis holds wider implications for the African historiography of archives creation, archives legislation, preservation and management. It demonstrates that the experiences of archives construction in Zambia were part of a larger administrative history in East, Central and Southern Africa. Colonial expansion and the establishment of administrative structures, legislative frameworks, archival practices of appraisal, preservation and management, were among the important factors that shaped the configuration of institutional archives in these regions. As in Zambia, colonial administrations in Botswana, Malawi, Zimbabwe, Kenya and Tanzania, were pioneers of formal record keeping and management practice. The administrative structures in these territories generated records and instituted legislation which influenced and formalised archival practices of preservation, management and appraisal practices. Thus, the observed varied manner by which archives were constructed buttress the conclusions of Alistair Tough and Yvonne Tough, as well as Musembi and Manyambula, who explored how the relationship between colonial power and archival practices shaped the 'character' of what became national collections. This study also extended the argument by demonstrating that the relationship between administrative power and archival practices was dynamic and progressively changed over time. The different iterations of archives legislation resulting from transformations in administrations and administrative systems also changed the processes of archives construction and their configuration. Thereby emphasizing the fact that archives are not fixed entities but reflective of and responsive to the environments in which they are generated and exist. The study thus demonstrates that the conceptual shift in the meaning of archives in different regimes, from a functionalist approach to permanent preservation, influenced the alterations of archival processes of appraisal, centralisation, preservation and management involved in their construction.

Similarly, African archival historiography has tied the process of archives creation to economic forces and at most, paradigms of marginalisation by postcolonial governments in

the regional studies. While K. Ramakote, M. Chida, Steve Mwiyeriwa, Jacob Kufa and M. Manyeli, among others, have explored in their respective studies budget limitations, inadequate or lack of appropriate policies, lack of detailed national preservation criteria, and limited trained personnel in archival institutions as resulting from the absence of archives preservation programmes as priority for postcolonial government agenda's, by contrast, this study showed that in Zambia, postcolonial archives preservation was considered of vital important. The government was more invested by its interest in state control over national documentary resources. The administrative shift from colonial to postcolonial government system gave impetus to the amendment of archives legislation to accommodate this agenda and for preserving a more comprehensive national history, albeit interpreted by selection policies. Innovatively and fairly uniquely, archiving practices of centralisation and preservation were decentralised beyond government agencies to include corporate and private archives.

The thesis thus also contributes in small part to the scholarship on transnational approaches to archives, which is invested in the dispersed nature of a postcolonial archive. However, by demonstrating the adoption of an expanded concept of the definition of a postcolonial Zambian archive, beyond the immediate domains of the central state, this study concurs, and has demonstrated, with Allman and White that the documentary resources representing African histories extend well beyond the repositories of National Archives.

Finally, based on numerous interviews and using extensive archival material, this thesis offers the first detailed account and continuous record of the formation of colonial and postcolonial archives in Zambia. It demonstrated how archival policies, as well as preservation and management practices, were influenced by ever-shifting government systems, which in turn shaped the creation and nature of archives in Zambia. It thereby contributes to broad historical debates of archival construction. The thesis also considered comparative contexts, by noting regional scholarship in Eastern, Central and Southern Africa, in its account of the historical processes involved in archives management.

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