

Notes

Preface

1. Notes on my visit to speak with RAW Material Company fellows in Dakar, Senegal, May 20, 2017. Here was this wonderful taxi brother, pointing out very exciting things outside, and I sat there in the back seat, so many questions on my lips, neither of us able to say anything to the other.
2. Peter Tosh, one of the pioneers of reggae music, popularized this term in his protest song “Downpressor Man” (1977).
3. A glossary is included at the back of the book.

Introducing *Mhesvi* and *Ruzivo Rwemhesvi*

1. Interview, Fema Ngonda, Nembudziya, March 15, 2016. ZVI/G/N/6; Interview, Solomon Bvekenya, Makuleke, November 1, 2010. MOV04A, November 1, 2010. All archival sources are listed in endnotes, but not as references.
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3. “Report of the Director of Tsetse and Trypanosomiasis Control and Reclamation for the Year Ended 30th September 1960,” 233. SACEMA/TA.
4. R. W. Jack, “The Life Economy of a Tsetse Fly,” January–February 1944, 7. SACEMA/TA.
5. B. M. Leggate, “The Diurnal Feeding Activity, Resting Sites and Trypanosome Challenge of *G. Pallidipes* at Rekomitjie,” 1960, 250. SACEMA/TA.
6. Jack, “The Life Economy,” 3.

7. Jack, "The Life Economy."
8. R. W. Jack, "The Tsetse Fly Problem in Southern Rhodesia," May 1933, 1. SACEMA.
9. Annual Report, Chief Entomologist 1923, 1. SACEMA/TA.
10. J. A. Whellan, "Tsetse Fly in S. Rhodesia, 1949," 2. SACEMA/TA.
11. R. W. Jack, "Tsetse Fly: A Four Years' Experiment in Game Elimination," June 1923. SACEMA/TA; Jack, "The Tsetse Fly Problem"; R. W. Jack, "The Control of Tsetse Fly in Southern Rhodesia," March 13, 1935. SACEMA/TA.
12. E. Bursell, "Tsetse Control in Relation to Wild Life Conservation," University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, May 19–26, 1961, 4. SACEMA/TA.
13. E. Bursell, "Tsetse Control in Relation to Wild Life Conservation," Wild Life Conservation Course, University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, May 19–26, 1961, 4. SACEMA/TA.
14. Bursell, "Tsetse Control," 4–5. SACEMA/TA.

1 How *Vanhu* Managed Tsetse

1. The author wishes to thank Lerato Motshwarakgole for these nuanced translations. E-mail exchange, Cambridge, MA, September 19, 2017.
2. Interview, Willias Chabata.
3. The predominant names used in southeastern Zimbabwe and adjacent parts of Mozambique are in *xitsonga*; I shall use *xitsonga* concepts in all references to the southeast.
4. J. K. Chorley, Director Tsetse Fly Operations, "Destruction of Game in Native Reserves and Native Areas Situated on the Edge of a Fly Belt, or in Areas Covered by Game Elimination Operations" [n.d., likely January–March 1953], 2. SACEMA/TA.

2 Translation into Science and Policy

1. E. Bursell, "Tsetse Control in Relation to Wild Life Conservation," Wild Life Conservation Course, University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, May 19–26, 1961, 4–5. SACEMA/TA.

3 Knowing a Fly

1. E. Bursell, "Tsetse Control in Relation to Wild Life Conservation," Wild Life Conservation Course, University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, May 19–26, 1961, 4. SACEMA/TA.

2. Bursell, "Tsetse Control," 4–5. SACEMA/TA.
3. Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Cold Storage Commission of Southern Rhodesia, CSR 29-1952; CSC, 7th Annual Report and Accounts, 1954; Director of Agriculture to Treasurer, December 20, 1921. NAZ S1193/M5.
4. CSC, Expropriation of the Rhodesian Export and Cold Storage Company, 1937–1951. NAZ S2704/3/1.
5. Memo from the Minister of Agriculture and Lands. NAZ S2704/3/1; Cold Storage Commission, General, 1948–1950, Minister of Agriculture to Cabinet. NAZ S2704/1/1340/2.
6. Cold Storage Commission, General, 1948–1950, Minister of Agriculture to Cabinet. NAZ S2704/1/1340/2.
7. Southern Rhodesia, *Legislative Assembly Debates* (1st Nov. 1937, 3rd Session, 4th Parliament), XVII, 2447.
8. Government Policy toward Assisting the Development of Industries in Southern Rhodesia. NAZ S482/134/17/48.
9. CSC, Annual Report and Accounts, 1938–1947.
10. Cold Storage Commission: Agreement for Supply of Meat to Britain, September 1939–November 1942. NAZ S1215/1342/1.
11. Southern Rhodesia, Committee to Enquire into the Costs of Distribution of Imported and Local Products in Southern Rhodesia, Interim Report on Livestock and Meat, with Special Reference to Cattle and Beef, 1936 (A. R. Burnett-Hurst—Chairman), 14.
12. Cattle Commission, Evidence 1962–1963 and Cattle Inquiry Commission, Evidence Received 1963, Janneck and Swart, "The Place of the Cold Storage Commission." NAZ F259/1131/1-2.
13. Southern Rhodesia, Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Certain Sales of Native Cattle in Areas Occupied by Natives, 1939 (R. J. Hudson—Chairman, hereafter Hudson Report, Presented to the Legislative Assembly, 1939); Southern Rhodesia, Report of the Commission Appointed to Inquire into the Marketing of Slaughtered Cattle and the Products Thereof, 1942 (W. E. Thomas—Chairman).
14. Cattle Commission, Evidence 1962–1963, S. R. Ministry of Internal Affairs, Evidence for Submission to the Commission of Enquiry into the Cattle Industry (June 1963), NAZ F259/1131.
15. Slaughter Cattle Prices Order—Government Notice No. 18 of 1942. NAZ F259/1131.
16. Hudson Report.

17. Phimister 1978, 397.
18. CSC, 19th Annual Report and Accounts, 1956.
19. Rupert Jack, "The Control of Tsetse Fly in Southern Rhodesia," Salisbury, 1935, 1. SACEMA/TA; G. Cockbill, "The Branch of Tsetse Fly Operations," Professional Officer's Conference, March 28–29, 1955, 1. SACEMA/TA1; Annual Report, Chief Entomologist, 1921. SACEMA/TA; Annual Report, 1923, 3; Annual Report, Chief Entomologist, 1925, 2. SACEMA/TA.
20. Cockbill, "The Branch," 1.
21. Report of the Chief Entomologist 1938, 18. SACEMA/TA.
22. Annual Report, Chief Entomologist, 1930, 7. SACEMA/TA.
23. Annual Report, Chief Entomologist 1931, 2. SACEMA/TA.; Report, Chief Entomologist, 1932, 6. SACEMA/TA.
24. Report 1932, 6.
25. J. K. Chorley, "Tsetse Fly Operations, 1942," 1. SACEMA/TA.
26. Annual Report: Director Tsetse Fly Operations, 1951, 5.
27. Ibid.; Annual Report: Director Tsetse Fly Operations, 1953, 4. SACEMA/TA.
28. "Retirement of Dr. Gerald F. Cockbill, 1972," 1. SACEMA/TA.
29. Annual Report 1955, 5.
30. Report, Acting Director, DTTCR, 1956, 137. SACEMA/TA.
31. "Retirement," 2.
32. Report 1956, 137; "Retirement," 2.
33. Report, Director: Tsetse and Trypanosomiasis Control and Reclamation (TTCR), 1958, 202. SACEMA/TA; John Ford, "A Programme for Tsetse and Trypanosomiasis Control in Southern Rhodesia" 1958, 1. SACEMA/TA.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid., 2.
36. Report, Director: DTTCR, 1959, 196. SACEMA/TA.
37. Report, Director: TTCR, 1960, 224. SACEMA/TA.
38. Report 1959, 196; "Retirement," 2.
39. Ibid., 3.
40. Ibid.

41. W. P. Boyt, "Trypanosomiasis Southern Rhodesia 1964: A Review," February 4, 1964, 2. SACEMA/TA.
42. Ibid.
43. Report: ADVS (TTC), 1964," 11. SACEMA/TA.
44. "Trypanosomiasis Southern Rhodesia 1964: A Review," 1. SACEMA/TA.
45. G. F. Cockbill, "Report: ADVS (TTC), 1965," 1. SACEMA/TA.
46. Ibid., 2.
47. Ibid.
48. Annual Report: Branch of Tsetse and Trypanosomiasis Control (BTTC), 1970, 21. SACEMA/TA.
49. Annual Report: BTTC, 1972, 1. SACEMA/TA.
50. Ibid., 1-2.
51. Annual Report: BTTC, 1973, 1. SACEMA/TA.
52. Ibid.
53. Annual Report: BTTC, 1982, 2. SACEMA/TA.
54. Annual Report: BTTC, 1984, 3. SACEMA/TA.
55. Interview, Chabata.
56. Interview, Fema Ngonda.
57. Report 1958, 206.
58. Ibid.
59. Interview, Reuben Mavenge.
60. Interview, Ngonda.
61. Report 1965, 25.
62. Ibid., 55.
63. Ibid., 55.
64. Report NPB 1968, 35.
65. Ibid., 34.
66. Report NPB 1969, 23.
67. NPB 1970, 26.
68. Annual Report 1969, 27.

4 How to Trap a Fly

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2. Annual Report 1931, 8.
3. Report 1932, 9.
4. "J. K. Chorley, "The Tsetse Fly Problem in Southern Rhodesia, 1937," 13. SACEMA/TA.
5. R. W. Jack, "The Tsetse Fly Problem in Southern Rhodesia," May 1933, 17. SACEMA/TA.
6. Annual Report 1970, 48. SACEMA/TA. The Manitoba trap was named after its origin, Manitoba, Canada, where the entomologist A. J. Thorsteinson used it to trap horseflies effectively.
7. Annual Report 1982, 14.
8. Report, Acting Director: DTTTCR 1957, 8. SACEMA/TA.
9. Annual Report 1982, 16; Report 1957, 8.
10. Annual Report 1967, 37.
11. Ibid., 38.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid., 39.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. Annual Report 1969, 57.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid.
20. Annual Report: BTTC, 1972, 7. SACEMA/TA.
21. Annual Report 1973, 10.
22. Interview, Chabata.
23. Annual Report 1973, 10.
24. Annual Report 1973, 10–12.
25. Annual Report 1972, 9.

26. Annual Report 1982, 16.
27. *Ibid.*, 17.
28. Annual Report: BTTC, 1985, 16–17.
29. *Ibid.*
30. Annual Report 1982, 19.
31. *Nhamo urimbo, inonamira.*
32. *Iri paurimbo ndeinoti tsvirtsviriri; iri muriva inoti denga rawa.*
33. C. Mossop, "Report: Acting Chief Entomologist, 1947," 16. SACEMA/TA.
34. Annual Report 1969, 56.
35. Report 1965, 26.
36. *Ibid.*
37. *Ibid.*, 27.
38. *Ibid.*
39. Annual Report: ADVS (TTC) 1968, 40. SACEMA.
40. *Ibid.*, 35.
41. Annual Report 1969, 37.
42. *Ibid.*
43. *Ibid.*
44. *Ibid.*
45. *Ibid.*, 58.
46. *Ibid.*, 60.
47. *Ibid.*
48. Annual Report 1970, 50.
49. Annual Report 1982, 17.
50. Annual Report 1985, 19.
51. Annual Report 1984, 18.
52. Annual Report 1982, 21.
53. Annual Report 1984, 18.
54. Annual Report 1985, 19.

55. Annual Report 1984, 19.
56. "Observations on the Application of Odour-Baited Targets in Large Scale Tsetse Control Operations," Technical Report of the Advisor, Zimbabwe Component of the RTTCP, June 7, 1995. SACEMA/TA.
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58. *Ibid.*, 2.
59. *Ibid.*, 11.
60. *Ibid.*, 11.
61. *Ibid.*, 11–12.
62. Annual Report 1973, 10.
63. Annual Report 1971, 35.
64. *Ibid.*, 36.
65. Annual Report 1971, 35.
66. *Ibid.*
67. *Ibid.*

5 Attacking the Fly from Within

1. Annual Report 1923, 1.
2. *Ibid.*, 2.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Annual Report 1982, 15.
5. No. 12-14-100-5453-(33), Cooperative Agreement between the Agricultural Research Council of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and the United States Department of Agriculture, Agricultural Research Service, Entomology Research Division, 1963, 5. Kenya Agricultural and Livestock Research Organization Tsetse Archives [hereafter KALRO/TA].
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8. Annual Report 1982, 18.

6 Exposing the Fly to Its Enemies

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3. Jack, “The Tsetse Fly Problem,” 14.
4. J. K. Chorley, “Tsetse Fly Operations, Short Survey 1943,” 3. SACEMA/TA.
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9. Chorley, “The Control,” 6.
10. Ibid.
11. Jack, “The Tsetse Fly Problem,” 7; “A Program for Tsetse and Trypanosomiasis Control in Southern Rhodesia,” 1958, 6. SACEMA/TA.
12. Ibid.
13. Annual Report, Chief Entomologist, 1933, 5. SACEMA/TA.
14. Bursell, “A Prospect,” 16.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. Jack, “The Control,” 18–19.
18. Annual Report, Chief Entomologist, 1935, 14. SACEMA/TA.
19. J. K. Chorley, “Tsetse Fly Operations 1940,” 7. SACEMA/TA.
20. J. K. Chorley, “Tsetse Fly Operations 1941,” 3. SACEMA/TA.
21. Ibid., 7.
22. J. K. Chorley, “Tsetse Fly Operations 1944,” 7. SACEMA/TA.
23. Chorley, “Tsetse Fly Operations 1943,” 3.
24. Annual Report 1952, 11.
25. Report 1956, 145.
26. Ibid., 137.

27. *Ibid.*, 159.
28. *Ibid.*, 14.
29. Gerald Cockbill, "The Control of Regenerating *Brachystegia Spiciformis* Benth By Means of Tordon 22K, February 1968," 1–2. SACEMA/TA.
30. Report 1959, 209.
31. Cockbill, "The Control," 1–2.
32. *Ibid.*, 1–2.
33. *Ibid.*
34. Chorley, "Tsetse Fly Operations 1943," 8.
35. Report 1956, 137.
36. *Ibid.*, 147.
37. Report 1958, 210–211.
38. Report 1959, 203.
39. *Ibid.*, 205.
40. Report 1958, 211.
41. *Ibid.*, 201.
42. *Ibid.*
43. *Ibid.*
44. *Ibid.*, 205.
45. Annual Report: Director BTTC, 1962, 208. SACEMA/TA.
46. *Ibid.*
47. Interview, Mugocha Julius Mavasa.
48. *Ibid.*, 201; "Trypanosomiasis Southern Rhodesia 1964: A Review," 5–6. SACEMA/TA.
49. Bursell, "A Prospect," 12.
50. "A Program," 6.
51. Bursell, "A Prospect," 13.
52. *Ibid.*, 14.
53. *Ibid.*, 14.
54. *Ibid.*, 15.

55. Ibid.

56. Ibid., 16.

57. Panning: Chipinda Pools Clips; Interview, Bvekenya, Makuleke.

58. Panning: Chipinda Pools Clips.

59. Interview, Watson Machiukele.

60. Ibid.

7 *Cordon Sanitaire*

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2. Ibid., 3.

3. Chorley, "Destruction," 2.

4. Interview, Evelyn Musengi.

5. Interview, Ngonda.

6. Report 1932, 13–15.

7. Ibid., 12–13.

8. Ibid.

9. Chorley, "Tsetse Fly Operations," 8.

10. Ibid., 8–9.

11. Chorley, "Tsetse Fly Operations," 7.

12. Report, Chief Entomologist, 1934," 10. SACEMA/TA.

13. Report 1959, 226.

14. Jack, "Annual Report," 10.

15. Annual Report 1935, 9.

16. Chorley, "Tsetse Fly Operations 1941," 3.

17. Interview, Musengi.

18. Report 1957, 18.

19. Ibid., 17.

20. Ibid.

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22. Ibid.
23. Ibid., 18.
24. Report 1958, 210.
25. Interview, Mavasa.
26. Interview, Solomon Bvekenya, Nthlaveni; Interview, Gazeni Komundela; Interview, Hanyani Chauke.
27. Report: Director Veterinary Services, 1963, 214. SACEMA/TA; Report 1965, 3.
28. Annual Report 1973, 7; "A Note on Tsetse and Trypanosomiasis Control in Rhodesia ... 1975," 3. SACEMA/TA.
29. Jack, "The Tsetse Fly Problem," 7.
30. Ibid., 18.
31. Ibid., 8.
32. Chorley, "Tsetse Fly Operations 1940," 3–6.
33. Annual Report 1953, 3–5.
34. Annual Report 1952, 6.
35. R. R. Gladdon (Land Development Officer), "Urungwe Native District: Outline Scheme for the Resettlement of Natives in a Tsetse Fly Area, 1956 Onwards," 4–5. SACEMA/TA.
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37. Annual Report 1952, 2–6.
38. 4629 Statement, Provincial Native Commissioner Hurungwe, August 10, 1952, 1–2. SACEMA/TA.
39. Ibid., 2.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid.
42. Chorley, "The Control of Tsetse," 2.
43. Interview, Mavenge.
44. Interview, Chabata.
45. Interview, Raymond Muzanenhamo.
46. Ibid.
47. Interview, Mavenge.

48. Ibid.
49. Ibid.
50. Ibid.
51. Interview, Musengi.
52. Interview, Ambuya Misi.
53. Interview, Ngonda.
54. Interview, Chabata; interview, Musengi; interview, Muzanenhamo.
55. Interview, Musengi.
56. Ibid.
57. Interview, Mavenge.
58. Interview, Ngonda.
59. Interview, Misi.
60. Interview, Mavenge.
61. Interview, Ambuya Misi.
62. Interview, Anonymous.
63. Interview, Ambuya Misi.
64. Ibid.
65. Interview, Musengi.
66. Interview, Ambuya Misi.
67. Interview, Ngonda.
68. Report 1964, 11; Report: ADVS (TTC), 1966, 24. SACEMA/TA; Annual Report: ADVS (TTC), 1967, 41. SACEMA/TA; Annual Report 1970, 2; Annual Report 1972, 10.
69. Ibid.
70. Interview, Musengi.
71. Ibid.
72. Interview, Ambuya Misi; interview, Mavenge.
73. Interview, Anonymous.
74. Interview, Ambuya Misi.

75. Interview, Ngonda.

76. Interview, Chabata.

77. Interview, Cleto Zharare.

8 Traffic Control

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3. Annual Report 1929, 6.

4. Annual Report, Chief Entomologist, 1936, 17. SACEMA/TA.

5. Annual Report 1930, 5–6; Report 1960, 232.

6. Annual Report 1936, 16; Chorley, "Tsetse Fly Operations 1941," 6–9. SACEMA/TA; J. K. Chorley, Report: Chief Entomologist, 1946," 12, 13. SACEMA/TA.

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9. Ibid.

10. John Ford, "The Advance of the *Glossina morsitans* and *Glossina pallidipes* into the Sabi and Runde River Basins, Southern Rhodesia" [n.d., likely 1958], 6. SACEMA/TA.

11. "Meeting," 3.

12. Ibid.

13. Jack, "Report," 8.

9 Starving the Fly

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2. Interview, Muzanenhamo.

3. Interview, Chabata.

4. Interview, Muzanenhamo.

5. Secretary, Salisbury to Mining Commissioner, Lomagundi, September 6, 1894. NAZ M 1/1/1; Resident magistrate, Umtali, to Public Prosecutor, Salisbury, October 23, 1894. NAZ J 1/1/1.

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11. Annual Report 1923, 2. SACEMA/TA.
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17. Jack to Director of Agriculture, March 18, 1919. NAZ G1/3/2/15.
18. "Tsetse Fly Experiment. Wankie, Draft Plan of Operations," April 17, 1919. NAZ G/3/2/14.
19. A. H. Holland to D. Souter Robertson Esq., January 5, 1911. NAZ T2/1/10.
20. Interview, Muzanenhamo.
21. Interview, Bvekenya, Makuleke.
22. Whellan, "Tsetse Fly," 3.
23. Interview, Muzanenhamo.
24. Ibid.
25. Interview, Ngonda.
26. Ibid.
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28. B. Du Plessis to Provincial Native Commissioner Umtali, November 30, 1945: "Tsetse Fly: Chipinga District." NAZ S3106/11/1/6-6.
29. Senior Entomologist to Game Officer, May 27, 1953: "Chiredzi ICA Committee." NAZ S3106/11/1/7.

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39. Ibid.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid.
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43. Ibid.
44. Ibid.
45. Ibid.
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48. Interview, Bvekenya, Makuleke.
49. Ibid.
50. Ibid.
51. Ibid.
52. Interview, Mavenge.
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54. Child and Riney, "An Examination," 15.
55. Ibid., 18.
56. Interview, Bvekenya, Makuleke.
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58. Interview, Anonymous.
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60. Ibid.
61. R. Heathcote to ADVS (TTC), January 26, 1972, 1. SACEMA/TA.
62. Davison, "Review," 2.
63. G. Davison, "Annual Review of Hunting Operations 1973," 4. SACEMA/TA.
64. Davison, "Review," 1.
65. Ibid.
66. Davison, "Annual Review," 9.
67. Ibid., 8.
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69. Ibid., 8.
70. J. K. Chorley to Secretary Agriculture, July 26, 1955. SACEMA/TA.
71. Child and Riney, "An Examination," 15–16.
72. Davison, "Review," 3.
73. Lovemore, "Report," 2.
74. Davison, "Review," 4–5.
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3. Ibid., 3.
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5. D. F. Lovemore, "The Use of DDT for the Control of Tsetse Flies in Rhodesia" [n.d., likely 1978–1979], 1. SACEMA/TA.

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8. Lovemore, "The Use of DDT," 3.
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11. Lovemore, "A Note," 3.
12. Lovemore, "The Use of DDT," 7–8.
13. Annual Report 1982, 12–13.
14. Ibid.
15. Lovemore, "A Note on Tsetse," 3.
16. Lovemore, "The Use of DDT," 6.
17. Ibid.

11 Bombing Flies

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3. Ibid., 9.
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8. Annual Report: Director Tsetse Fly Operations, 1955, 13. SACEMA/TA.
9. Annual Report 1954, 10.
10. Annual Report 1955, 13.
11. Report 1956, 153.
12. Report 1956, 153.

13. Report 1957, 9.
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19. Report 1956, 153.
20. Ibid.
21. Report 1957, 17.
22. R. Goodier, "The Tsetse Position in the Kariba Area Subsequent to the 1956 Aerial Spraying Campaign," 1–4. SACEMA/TA.
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25. N. G. Chapman, "Aerial Spraying of Tsetse Flies (*Glossina* spp.) in Rhodesia with Ultra Low Volumes of Endosulfan," 1976, 3. SACEMA/TA.
26. Ibid., 3.
27. Ibid., 8, 13.
28. Lovemore, "A Note," 7.
29. Annual Report 1982, 5.
30. Ibid., 6.
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32. Ibid., 6.
33. Annual Report 1984, 5.
34. Ibid., 6.
35. Annual Report 1985, 8.
36. "A History of Tsetse and Trypanosomiasis in Zimbabwe's Mid-Zambezi Valley North of 17° S and between 29° and 32°E for the Period 1980–1997," 32. SACEMA/TA.
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38. Ibid., 27.
39. Ibid., 28.

12 The Work of Ground Spraying

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2. J. A. Farrell, "A Preliminary Report on the Humani-Devuli Spraying Operation of August–September, 1960," 10. SACEMA/TA.
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9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*
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12. Report 1964, 7.
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