



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

Cattle and colonialism: an animal-centred history of southern Africa, 1652-1980s

Glover, M.J.

Citation

Glover, M. J. (2021, November 23). *Cattle and colonialism: an animal-centred history of southern Africa, 1652-1980s*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3243289>

Version: Publisher's Version

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3243289>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Bibliography

Primary sources

Archives consulted

Animal Welfare Society of South Africa papers.
Botswana National Archives (BNA).
Cambridge University Library, Rare Books Department.
Cape Town SPCA Archives.
Free State Archives Repository, Bloemfontein.
Lesotho National Archives.
Morija Museum and Archives, Lesotho.
Pretoria National Archives (PNA).
Swaziland National Archives (SNA).
The Graaf Trust Papers, South African National Library.
The National Archives of the United Kingdom in London (TNA).
Western Cape Archives and Records Service, Roeland Street (Cape Archives, CA).

Archival materials

Animal Welfare Society of South Africa., *Special Edition, 90 Years, 1929 to 2019* (Cape Town, 2019).
Botswana National Archives (hereafter BNA), 425/ S.4251/1. H. Price to Resident Magistrate, Kanye.
 ‘Bulls: Bulls and Bull Camp Kanye’, 17 January 1936.
BNA, BNB 969, Botswana Meat Commission, *Reports and Accounts*, 1966.
BNA, BNB 1378 (1) ARC 47.2.4, Ministry of Agriculture., *Artificial Insemination in Botswana*.
 Government Printer: Gaborone, 1969.
BNA, BNB 1914 (1) ARC 47.2. 12, Animal Production Research Unit., *Increased Production through Breeding. A Report on: Tswana Bull Performance Test Mantswabese Ranch*. Gaborone: Ministry of Agriculture, 1973.
BNA, BNB 3143/ ARC 20. 415, Animal Production Research Unit., ‘A Five Year Programme of Integrated Beef Cattle and Range Research in Botswana 1970-1975.’ Gaborone: Ministry of Agriculture, 1976.
BNA, BNB 4750 ARC 472.29, Price Waterhouse & Co, *The Livestock Industry of the Bechuanaland Protectorate, Report*. Price Waterhouse & Co, 1963.
Cape Archives (hereafter CA), 1 1/4/7/2/1/1, Joint Slaughterhouses Committee Minute Book (hereafter JSCMB), 1907 – 1913.
CA, 1 1/4/7/2/1/1. JSCMB 1907 – 1913. Annexure ‘A’ Agreement.
CA, 1 1/4/7/2/1/1. JSCMB 1907 – 1913. ‘Re Public Slaughterhouses meeting’, 19 May 1906.
CA, 1 1/4/7/2/1/1. JSCMB 1907 – 1913. Minutes, 9 October 1907.
CA, 1 1/4/7/2/1/1. JSCMB 1907 – 1913. Minutes, 12 June 1908.
CA, 1 1/4/7/2/1/1. JSCMB 1907 – 1913. Minutes, 21 September 1911.
CA, 1 1/4/7/2/1/1. JSCMB 1907 – 1913. Minutes, 31 August 1912.
CA, 1 1/4/7/2/1/1. JSCMB 1907 – 1913. Minutes, 24 December 1912.
CA, 1 1/4/7/2/1/1. JSCMB 1907 – 1913. Minutes, 6 January 1913.
CA, 1 1/4/7/2/1/1. JSCMB 1907 – 1913. Minutes 21 January 1913.
CA, 1/4/7/3/1/2. Markets and Slaughterhouses Committee (hereafter MSC) 1915 – 1916. Minutes, 16 August 1916.

CA, 1/4/7/3/1/10 MSC index 1926 – 1927: Meeting of 6 April 1926.

CA, 1/4/7/3/1/10 MSC index 1926 – 1927. Minutes, 14 December 1926.

CA, 1/4/7/3/1/12. MSC 1928 – 1931. Town clerk to chairman of Markets and Slaughterhouses Committee, 28 July 1928.

CA, 1/4/7/3/1/12. MSC 1928 – 1931. Minutes: slaughtering of animals, 12 February 1929.

CA, 1/4/7/3/1/12. MSC 1928 – 1931. Memorandum of interview between Mayor, Councillors and Mohammedan butchers, 5 June 1929.

CA, 1/4/7/3/1/12. MSC 1928 – 1931. Minutes, 11 March 1930.

CA, 1/4/7/3/1/12. MSC Comparative statement July 1931 & 1930.

CA, 1/4/7/3/1/12. MSC 1928 – 1931.

CA, 1/4/7/3/1/12. MSC 1928 – 1931. Minutes, 10 February 1931.

CA, 1/4/7/3/1/12. MSC 1928 – 1931. Slaughtering operations February 1931, 3 March 1931.

CA, 1/4/7/3/1/12. MSC 1928 – 1931. Chairman of slaughterhouse committee to slaughterhouse committee, 19 March 1931.

CA, 1/4/7/3/1/12. MSC 1928 – 1931. Minutes, 6 June 1931.

CA, 1/4/7/3/1/12. MSC 1928 – 1931. Minutes, 9 June 1931.

CA, 1/4/7/3/1/12. MSC 1928 – 1931. Manager and veterinary officer to town clerk, 'Report on Die Burger article', 8 August 1931.

CA, 1/4/7/3/1/12. MSC 1928 – 1931. Minutes, 11 August 1931.

CA, 3/CT vol. 4/1/3/6. SPCA secretary to town clerk, 'Secretary's report on municipal abattoirs', 8 February 1918.

CA, 3/CT vol. 4/1/3/6. SPCA chairman to town clerk, 17 November 1917.

CA, 3/CT vol. 4/1/3/6. SPCA Secretary of SPCA to town clerk, 8 February 1918.

CA, 3/CT vol. 4/1/3/6. Secretary for Agriculture to town clerk, 17 November 1917.

CA, 3/CT vol. 4/1/3/6. Maitland abattoir manager to town clerk, 'Letter from SPCA', 18 September 1917.

CA, 3/CT vol. 4/1/3/6. Maitland abattoir manager to town clerk, 'Alleged cruelty to animals', 3 December 1917.

CA, 3/CT vol. 4/1/3/6. Maitland abattoir manager to town clerk, 18 September 1917.

CA, 3/ELN. 259. Investigations at abattoir. SPCA inspector to SPCA secretary, 'Report re abattoir', 5 December, 1922.

CA, 3/ELN. 259. Investigations at abattoir. W.B Magennis to town clerk, 're Abattoir', 6 December 1922.

CA, 3/ELN. 259. Investigations at abattoir. East London butchers to Mayor. 14 February 1923.

CA, 3/UIT. 4/1/121. Chief sanitary inspector to town clerk, 'Proposed new abattoirs', 25 February 1935.

CA, 3/UIT. 4/1/121. Extract from Report of the Health Committee, 4 March 1935.

CA, CSC 2/1/1/213 Vol 4 Illiquid Causes. Colonel Crease vs. Town Council of Cape Town, 15 June, 1883.

CA, M1/1468.

CA, M1/3889.

CA, M2/1628.

CA, M2/1629.

CA, M2/2189.

CA, M2/2352.

CA, M2/2399-2400.

CA, M2/2402.

CA, M2/2436.

CA, M2/2549.

CA, M2/2566.

CA, M2/2675.

CA, M3/959.
 CA, M3/1577.
 CA, M3/3731.
 CA, M3/3733.
 CA, M3/4476.
 CA, M3/4561.
 CA, M3/4584.
 CA, M3/4842.
 CA, M3/4869.
 CA, PWD. 1/4/2 Rinderpest – Maitland Slaughterhouses 1897 December – 1898 August.
 CA, CVS, 1/77 Slaughter Houses. Maitland. 4 December 1908 to 18 November 1914.
 Cape Town SPCA Archives., 'Centenary Brochure, landmarks', 1972.
 Pretoria National Archives (hereafter PNA) A184/9 Stellenbosch Elsenburg College of Agriculture. Cattle Breeding Policies, 1940.
 PNA, A25/11, Glen College of Agriculture. Cattle Breeding Policies: Dairy and Beef Cattle Herds, 1940.
 PNA, A226/38. Colleges of Agricultural and Agricultural Research Stations - Cattle Breeding Policy, 17 August 1940.
 PNA, A39/10 Grootfontein College of Agriculture. Cattle Breeding Policies: Dairy and Beef Cattle Herds, 1941.
 PNA, A53/9, Potchefstroom College of Agriculture. Cattle Breeding Policies: Dairy and Beef Cattle Herds, 1941.
 PNA, CVS1/52, G. King and Sons, breeders of shorthorns to the Colonial Veterinary Surgeon, 17 June 1898.
 Swaziland National Archives (hereafter SNA), Acc. no 881. 630.2683, Swaziland Policy and Plans for the Immediate and Post-war Development of Animal Industry, Agriculture, and Forestry, 1945.
 SNA, RCS 408/32 Memorandum by Principal Veterinary Officer Swaziland W. Elder to Resident Commissioner's despatch, Swaziland, 8 March 1932.
 SNA, RES 665/38 *Annual Report 1937: Veterinary and Agricultural Department*.
 SNA, 793, 673/37, *Annual Report Veterinary and Agricultural Department 1942 and 1943, 1944*.
 SNA, 793, 673/37, *Director of Livestock and Agricultural Services Report 1939-1945, 1947*.
 The National Archives of the United Kingdom in London (hereafter TNA), CO 633/148, Union of South Africa. House of Assembly, Index of the Printed Annexures, First Session, Fourth Parliament, 1921.
 TNA, CO 633/148, Union of South Africa, *Report of the Registrar of Brands and Controller of Fencing, 1921*.
 TNA, CO 633/148, Union of South Africa, *Report of the Principal Veterinary Surgeon, 1921*.
 TNA, CO 633/148, Union of South Africa, *Statement of Meat Exported 1910-1918, 1921*.
 TNA, CO 633/148, Union of South Africa, *Statement of Pedigree Stock Imported 1910-1918, 1921*.
 TNA, CO 633/148, Union of South Africa, *Report on Agricultural Education, 1921*.
 TNA, DO35/919/11, R. Thornton, Agricultural Advisor to the High Commissioner, to the Government Secretary, Swaziland 'Swaziland Improvement Scheme', 6 May 1940.
 TNA, DO35/919/11, Swaziland High Commissioner, E. Harding to Viscount Cranborne, Dominions Office, 'Colonial Development Fund Cattle Improvement Scheme', 7 November 1940.
 The Animal Welfare Society of South Africa., *Humane Slaughter and Model Abattoirs: With Special Reference to the Slaughter of Animals Act, 1934* (Cape Town: Cape Times Limited, 1934).
 The Graaf Trust Papers, MC. 55. 5

Official publications, and reports

- Cape Colony., *Act to Prevent the Spread of Contagious and Infectious Diseases amongst Cattle and other Animals. Act 27, 1893* (1893).
- Cape of Good Hope Government., 'Gazette, 17 November', Cape of Good Hope, 1853.
- ., 'Ordinance to prevent the spread of the Cattle Disease, commonly called 'Long Ziekte', Ordinance No. 1, 7 October', Cape of Good Hope, 1853.
- ., *Report of the Select Committee on Rinderpest Contracts* (Cape Town, 1897).
- ., *Reports by Professor R. Koch upon His Investigations into Rinderpest at Kimberley* (Cape Town, 1897).
- ., *Rinderpest Conference Held at Mafeking, April 1896* (Government Printers, 1896).
- ., *Rinderpest Conference Held at Vryburg, August 1896* (Government Printers, 1896).
- Cattle Commission, US Department of Agriculture., *Report of the Treasury Cattle Commission on the Lung Plague of Cattle, or Contagious Bovine Pleuro-Pneumonia, 1882*.
- Department of Agriculture., *Rinderpest Statistics for the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, 1896-1898* (Cape Town: Cape of Good Hope, 1898).
- Diaz, S., et al., *Summary for Policymakers of the Global Assessment Report on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services of the Intergovernmental Science-Policy Platform on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services* (Bonn: IPBES, 2019).
- Edington, A., *Report of the Director of the Colonial Bacteriological Institute* (Cape Town: Colonial Bacteriological Institute, 1897).
- Her Majesty's Stationery Office., 'Correspondence Relating to the Outbreak of Rinderpest in South Africa in March 1896' (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1896).
- Hutcheon, D., *Report of the Colonial Veterinary Surgeon for the Year 1902* (Cape Town: Cape of Good Hope Department of Agriculture, 1903).
- ., *Special Report on Rinderpest in South Africa, from March, 1896, to February, 1897* (Kimberley, 1897).
- ., *Report of the Colonial Veterinary Surgeon and the Assistant Veterinary Surgeons for the Year 1897* (Cape Town, 1897).
- ., *Report of the Colonial Veterinary Surgeon for the Year 1902* (Cape Town: Cape of Good Hope Department of Agriculture, 1903).
- Jackson, E., *Statutes of the Cape of Good Hope, 1894-1905 (Volume III)* (Cape Town: Cape Times Limited, Government Printers, 1906).
- Masilo, B. and O. Madibela., *Report on the State of the World Animal Genetic Resources, Botswana Country Report* (Gaborone: Botswana National Focal Point for the Management of AnGR, 2003).
- Meat Industries Control Board., *Annual Report Livestock and Meat Industries Control Board for the Period 1st September 1950 to 31 August 1951* (Pretoria, 1951).
- Roper, E., *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Certain Matters Related to the Botswana Meat Commission*. National Assembly of the Republic of Botswana, 1967.
- Royal Commission., *Report of His Majesty's Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into the Military Preparations and Other Matters Connected with the War in South Africa* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1903).
- Select Committee on Rinderpest Contracts., *Second and Final Report of the Select Committee on Rinderpest Contracts* (Cape Town, May 1897).
- Soga, J., *Report of the Colonial Veterinary Surgeon and the Assistant Veterinary Surgeons for the Year 1897* (Cape Town, 1897).
- Union of South Africa., *Act 20 of 1911 Dipping Tanks (Advances)* (1911).
- ., *Act 14 of 1911 Diseases of Stock* (1911).
- ., *Artificial Insemination of Animals Act, 1954* (1954).

- ., *Report of the Meat Trade Commission* (Pretoria: Cape Times Limited, Government Printers, 1920).
- ., *Board of Trade and Industries Report No. 54 Meat, Fish, and Other Foodstuffs: An Inquiry Into* (Pretoria: Government Printers, 1925).
- ., *Report of the Agricultural and Pastoral Production* (Pretoria: Government Printers, 1930).
- ., *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Abattoir and Allied Facilities* (Pretoria: Commission of Enquiry into Abattoir and Allied Facilities, 1964).
- ., *Slaughter of Animals Act, no. 26, 1934* (1934).
- van Biljon, F., C. van Heerden, J. Raath, and J. Schuss., *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the Cattle Industry of Swaziland* (Manzini, 1962).
- van Ryneveld, W., *Aanmerkingen over de Verbetering van Het Vee Aan de Kaap de Goede Hoop* (Kaap de Goede Hoop: A. Richert, 1804).
- WHO/FAO/OIE and Health Council of the Netherlands., *Report of the WHO/FAO/OIE Joint Consultation on Emerging Zoonotic Diseases* (Geneva: WHO/FAO/OIE, 2004).
- WWF., *Living Planet Report 2020 - Bending the Curve of Biodiversity Loss* (Gland: WWF, 2020).

Newspapers and periodicals

- 'An Electric "Prod" for Animals', *The Electrical Experimenter*, April 1917.
- Cape Argus*, 1 February 1872.
- Cape of Good Hope and Port Natal Shipping and Mercantile Gazette*, 9 September 1853.
- Cape Monitor*, 10 September, 1853.
- 'Drain to the Shambles', *Cape Argus*, 25 October 1877.
- Grahamstown Journal*, 7 October, 1854.
- Hauser, M., 'Temple Grandin', *Time*, 29 April, 2010.
- 'Horrors of the Abattoirs: Mr Harris addresses Uitenhage SPCA, humane shooting pens must be introduced', *Eastern Province Herald*, 18 April 1933.
- 'In the Desert', *Cape Monthly Magazine*, 1871.
- Malec, J., 'JM Coetzee Reads a New Story, "The Glass Abattoir", and Announces a New Book to Feature Elizabeth Costello', *The Johannesburg Review of Books*, 25 September 2017.
- 'My First Journey', *Cape Monthly Magazine*, 1870.
- Scully, W., 'The Prayer of Cattle Smitten by Rinderpest', *The Pall Mall Magazine*, 1899.
- Smith, H., 'Circular No. 81 - Beef Slaughtering, Cutting, and Curing.' *UAES Circulars* 69 (1929).
- Standard and Mail*, 11 March 1871.
- Standard and Mail*, 16 May 1871.
- Standard and Mail*, 21 Feb 1871.
- 'Stedelike slagpale'. *Die Burger*, 16 June 1931.
- 'Supreme Court, before Mr Justice Dreyer', *The Cape Argus*, 16 June 1883.
- The African Architect* 3,12 (1914).
- The Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 November 1935.
- 'Verskriklike wantoestand in Kaapstad se slagpale', *Die Burger*, 13 June 1931.

Secondary sources

Books

- Aaltola, E. *Varieties of Empathy: Moral Psychology and Animal Ethics* (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2018).

- Alberti, F., *A Biography of Loneliness: The History of an Emotion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019).
- Alexander, J., *An Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa, Vol. I* (Philadelphia: E. L Carey and A. Hart, 1838).
- , *An Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa, Vol. II* (London: Henry Colburn, 1838).
- Armonios, F. and E. Boğaç. *Halal Food: A History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018).
- Atkins, P. (ed.), *Animal Cities: Beastly Urban Histories* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2012).
- Ayling, S., *Public Abattoirs: Their Planning, Design, and Equipment* (London: E & F.N Spon, 1908).
- Bailey, N., *A Compleat English Dictionary Oder Vollständiges Englisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch* (Leipzig: Waysenhaus und Frommannische Buchhandlung, 1783).
- Baines, T., *Explorations in South-West Africa* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, & Green, 1864).
- Balcombe, J., *What a Fish Knows: The Inner Lives of Our Underwater Cousins* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2016).
- Baratay, É., *Le Point de Vue Animal: Une Autre Version de l'histoire [The Animal Perspective: Another Side of the Story]* (Paris: Seuil, 2012).
- Barnard, A., *South Africa a Century Ago (1797 - 1801)* (Cape Town: Maskew Miller Limited, n.d).
- Barnhart, R., *The Barnhart Dictionary of Etymology* (New York: The H.W Wilson Company, 1988).
- Barrow, J., *Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa* (London: T. Cadwell and W. Davies, 1806).
- Bashford, A. and P. Levine (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Eugenics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).
- Bates, A., *Anti-Vivisection and the Profession of Medicine in Britain, A Social History* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).
- Beinart, W., *The Rise of Conservation in South Africa: Settlers, Livestock, and the Environment 1770-1950* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).
- , *The Rise of Conservation in South Africa: Settlers, Livestock, and the Environment 1770-1950* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).
- Beinart, W. and K. Brown., *African Local Knowledge and Livestock Health: Diseases and Treatments in South Africa* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2013).
- Bekoff, M., *The Emotional Lives of Animals: A Leading Scientist Explores Animal Joy, Sorrow, and Empathy — and Why They Matter* (California: New World Library, 2007).
- Benatar, D., *The Human Predicament: A Candid Guide to Life's Biggest Questions* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017).
- Birkhead, T., *Bird Sense: What It's Like to Be a Bird* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2012).
- Blattner, C., K. Coulter, and W. Kymlicka (eds.), *Animal Labour: A New Frontier of Interspecies Justice?* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019).
- Boddice, R. (ed.), *Pain and Emotion in Modern History* (New York: Springer, 2014).
- , *The History of Emotions* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018)
- Boeseken, A., *Dagregister En Briewe van Zacharias Wagenaer, 1662 – 1666* (Pretoria: Staatsdrukker, 1973).
- Bond, J., *They Were South Africans - 1820 Settlers* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1956).
- Bonsma, J., *Jan Bonsma and the Bonsmara Cattle Breed* (Pretoria: Breeders' Society's 21st Anniversary Publication, 1987).
- , *Wortham Lectures in Animal Science* (Texas: B.R Cutrer, 2020).
- Boonzaier, E., C. Malherbe, P. Berens, and A. Smith., *The Cape Herders: A History of the Khoikhoi of Southern Africa* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1996).
- Bradshaw, G., *Elephants on the Edge: What Animals Teach Us about Humanity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).
- Brantz, D. (ed.), *Beastly Natures: Animals, Humans, and the Study of History* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2010).
- Brodie, A., *Directory of British Architects, 1834 – 1914, Volume 2* (London: Continuum, 2001).

- Broom, D., *Sentience and Animal Welfare* (Oxfordshire: CABI, 2014).
- Broom, D. and A. Fraser., *Domestic Animal Behaviour and Welfare* (Oxfordshire: CABI, 2007).
- Brown, K. and D. Gilfoyle (eds.), *Healing the Herds: Disease, Livestock Economies, and the Globalization of Veterinary Medicine* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2010).
- Buhs, J., *The Fire Ant Wars: Nature, Science, and Public Policy in Twentieth-Century America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).
- Bulpin, T., *Lost Trails of the Low Veld* (London: HB Timmins for Hodder & Stoughton, 1950).
- ., *Lost Trails of the Transvaal* (Cape Town: Books of Africa Party, 1983).
- Bundy, C., *The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1988).
- Burchell, W., *Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa, Vol. I* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1822).
- Burman, J., *Towards the Far Horizon: The Story of the Ox-Wagon in South Africa* (Cape Town: Human & Rousseau, 1988).
- Burrows, E., *Overberg Odyssey: People, Roads, and Early Days* (Swellendam: Swellendam Trust, 1994).
- Callinicos, L., *Gold and Workers* (Johannesburg: Raven Press, 1985).
- Cameron, C., *Report on the Establishment of Public Abattoirs* (Dublin: Joseph Dollard, 1867).
- Carlson, L., *Cattle: An Informal Social History* (Chicago: Ivan R Dee, 2001).
- Cash, C., *Our Slaughterhouse System: A Plea for Reform* (London: George Bell & Sons, 1907).
- Cavaleri, P., *The Animal Question: Why Nonhuman Animals Deserve Human Rights* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).
- Clemen, R., *The American Livestock and Meat Industry* (New York: Ronald Press, 1923).
- Clutton-Brock, J., *A Natural History of Domesticated Mammals* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
- Coetzee, J. M., *Elizabeth Costello* (London: Vintage Books, 2004).
- ., *The Lives of Animals* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).
- Coles, E., *An English Dictionary* (Menston: The Solar Press, 1971 [1676]).
- Colling, S., *Animal Resistance in the Global Capitalist Era* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2021).
- Costlow, J. and A. Nelson. (eds.), *Other Animals: Beyond the Human in Russian Culture and History* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2010).
- Coulter, K., *Animals, Work, and the Promise of Interspecies Solidarity* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).
- Cranefield, P., *Science and Empire: East Coast Fever in Rhodesia and the Transvaal* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
- Cresswell, J., *Oxford Dictionary of Word Origins* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).
- Cronon, W., *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1991).
- Delius, P., *A Lion Amongst the Cattle: Reconstruction and Resistance in the Northern Transvaal* (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 1996).
- Derry, M., *Bred for Perfection: Shorthorn Cattle, Collies, and Arabian Horses Since 1800* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003).
- Despret, V., translated by B. Buchanan., *What Would Animals Say If We Asked the Right Questions* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016).
- Direko, W., L. Changuion, and F. Jacobs., *Suffering of War: A Photographic Portrayal of the Suffering in the Anglo-Boer War Emphasising the Universal Elements of All Wars* (Bloemfontein: Kraal Publishers for War Museum of the Boer Republics, 2003).
- Dommissie, E., *Sir David de Villiers Graaff: First Baronet of De Grendel* (Cape Town: Tafelberg, 2011).
- Donaldson, S. and W. Kymlicka., *Zoopolis: A Political Theory of Animal Rights* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).
- Duckitt, H., *Hilda's 'Where Is It?' Of Recipes* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1892).

- Dubow, S., *A Commonwealth of Knowledge: Science, Sensibility, and White South Africa 1820-2000* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).
- Dunayer, J., *Animal Equality: Language and Liberation* (New York: Lantern, 2002).
- Editors of Merriam Webster (ed.), *Webster's Dictionary of Word Origins* (New York: Barnes and Noble Books, 2004).
- Elias, N., translated by E. Jephcott., *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations* (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2000).
- Elvin, M., *The Retreat of the Elephants: An Environmental History of China* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006).
- Few, M. and Z. Tortorici (eds.), *Centering Animals in Latin American History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013).
- Fischer, John R., *Cattle Colonialism: An Environmental History of the Conquest of California and Hawai'i* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015).
- Forbes, V., *Pioneer Travellers of South Africa; a Geographical Commentary upon Routes, Records, Observations and Opinions of Travellers at the Cape, 1750-1800* (Cape Town: A. A Balkema, 1965).
- Ford, H., *My Life and Work* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1923).
- Foster, C. *Being a Beast* (Suffolk: Profile Books, 2016).
- Fudge, E., *Quick Cattle and Dying Wishes: People and Their Animals in Early Modern England* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2018).
- Gewald, J-B., *Herero Heroes: A Socio-Political History of the Herero of Namibia, 1890 - 1923* (Oxford: James Currey, 1999).
- Grandin, T. and C. Johnson, *Animals in Translation: Using the Mysteries of Autism to Decode Animal Behaviour* (New York: Scribner, 2005).
- Grantham, R., *Description of the Abattoirs of Paris* (London: W. Clowes and Sons, 1849).
- , *A Treatise on the Public Slaughter-Houses* (London: J. Weale and Henry Renshaw, 1884).
- Green, L., *A Taste of the South-Easter* (Cape Town: Howard Timmins, 1971).
- Gunn, R., *Fertility in Sheep: Artificial Production of Seminal Ejaculation and the Characters of the Spermatozoa Contained Therein* (Melbourne: Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, 1936).
- Hall, M., *Archaeology and the Modern World: Colonial Transcripts in South Africa and Chesapeake* (London: Routledge, 2000).
- , *The Changing Past: Farmers, Kings and Traders in Southern Africa, 200-1860* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1987).
- Hamilton, L. and N. Taylor., *Animals at Work: Identity, Politics and Culture in Work with Animals* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).
- Hancock, W. (ed.), *Selections from the Smuts Papers, Volume 1* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966).
- Harari, Y., *Sapiens: A Brief History of Humankind* (London: Vintage Books, 2014).
- Haraway, D., *When Species Meet* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008).
- Healy, D., *The Creation of Psychopharmacology* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002).
- Heiss, H., *The German Abattoir System* (London: George Bell & Sons, 1907).
- Hevia, J., *Animal Labour and Colonial Warfare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018).
- Horowitz, R., *Putting Meat on the American Table: Taste, Technology, Transformation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006).
- Hribal, J., *Fear of the Animal Planet: The Hidden History of Animal Resistance* (Oakland: Counter Punch Press and AK Press, 2011).
- Huigen, S., *Knowledge and Colonialism: Eighteenth-Century Travellers in South Africa* (Leiden: Brill, 2009).
- Isenberg, A., *The Destruction of the Bison: An Environmental History, 1750-1920* (Cambridge:

- Cambridge University Press, 2001).
- Jacobs, N., *Birders of Africa: History of a Network* (London: Yale University Press, 2016).
- Jeffreys, M., *Kaapse Plakkaatboek. Deel I (1652-1707)* (Cape Town: Cape Times Limited, 1944).
- Johnson, S. and J. Walker., *A Dictionary of the English Language* (London: George Cowie and Co, 1828).
- Kean, H. and P. Howell (eds.), *The Routledge Companion to Animal-Human History* (New York: Routledge, 2019).
- Kinahan, J., *Pastoral Nomads of the Namib Desert: The People History Forgot* (Windhoek: Namibia Archaeological Trust, 2001).
- Kolben, P., translated by Mr Medley., *Present State of the Cape of Good-Hope* (London: W. Innys, 1731 [1719]).
- Kuper, A., *Wives for Cattle: Bridewealth and Marriage in Southern Africa* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Books, 1982).
- Laidler, P., *The Growth and Government of Cape Town* (Cape Town: Unie-Volkspers, 1939).
- Landau, P., *Popular Politics in the History of South Africa, 1400–1948* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
- Latour, B., *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).
- Latour, B., translated by C. Porter., *We Have Never Been Modern* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993).
- Le Vaillant, F., *Travels into the Interior Parts of Africa* (London: G. G. and J. Robinson, 1796).
- Leibbrandt, H., *Precis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope. Letters Despatched, 1696-1708* (Cape Town: W. A Richards & Sons, 1896).
- Lewis, J., *Empire of Sentiment: The Death of David Livingstone and the Myth of Victorian Imperialism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).
- Lichtenstein, H., translated by Anne Plumptre., *Travels in Southern Africa, in the Years 1803, 1804, 1805, and 1806* (London: Henry Colburn, 1812).
- Livingstone, D., *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* (London: John Murray, 1857).
- Lyons, D., *The Politics of Animal Experimentation* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).
- Loomba, A., *Colonialism/Postcolonialism* (London: Routledge, 1998).
- ., *Colonialism/Postcolonialism* (New York: Routledge, 2005).
- ., *Colonialism/Postcolonialism* (London: Routledge, 2015).
- Major, W., *Practical Butchering: How to Make It Pay* (Kent: William Henry Major, 1900).
- Martin, M., *Basutoland: Its Legends and Customs* (London: Nicols & Co, 1903).
- Marwewe, H. and G. Mamabolo., *Shall Labolo Live or Die? Two Opposing Viewpoints on the Passage of Cattle Gifts in Bantu Marriage* (Cape Town: The African Bookman, 1945).
- Masson, J. and S. McCarthy., *Weep, When Elephants. The Emotional Lives of Animals* (New York: Delacorte Press, 1995).
- McFarland, S. and R. Hediger (eds.), *Animals and Agency: An Interdisciplinary Exploration* (Leiden: Brill, 2009).
- McNeill, J., *Mosquito Empires: Ecology and War in the Greater Caribbean, 1620–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
- Meijer, E., translated by L. Watkinson., *Animal Languages* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2020).
- Meijer, E., *When Animals Speak, toward an Interspecies Democracy* (New York: New York University Press, 2019).
- Melville, E., *A Plague of Sheep: Environmental Consequences of the Conquest of Mexico* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
- Mentzel, O., *Vollständige Und Zuverlässige Geographische Und Topographische Beschreibung Des Berühmten Und in Aller Betrachtung So Merckwürdigen Afrikanischen* (Glogau: G. F Gunther, 1787).

- Mentzel, O., translated by G. Marais and J. Hoge., *A Geographical and Topographical Description of the Cape of Good Hope* (Cape Town: The Van Riebeeck Society, 1944 [1787]).
- Midgley, M., *Beast and Man* (London: Routledge, 2002).
- Miescher, G., *Namibia's Red Line: The History of a Veterinary Settlement Border* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).
- Miller, I., *The Nature of the Beasts: Empire and Exhibition at the Tokyo Imperial Zoo* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013).
- Miller, S., *Lord Methuen and the British Army: Failure and Redemption in South Africa* (London: Frank Cass, 2008).
- Mitchell, L., *Reading the Animal Text in the Landscape of the Damned* (Grahamstown: NISC, 2019).
- Mitchell, P., *The Archaeology of Southern Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
- Mitchell, T., *Rule of Experts: Techno-Politics, Modernity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).
- Moffat, R., *Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa* (London: John Snow, 1846).
- Morgan, C., *Introduction to Comparative Psychology* (London: Walter Scott Ltd., 1914).
- Morris, D., *The Washing of the Spears* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1966).
- Moss, A., *Valiant Crusade: The history of the RSPCA* (Cassell: London, 1961).
- Murray, R., *South African Reminiscences* (Cape Town: J.C Juta & Co, 1894).
- Nance, S. (ed.), *The Historical Animal* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2015).
- Napier, E., *Excursions in Southern Africa, Vol. II* (London: William Shoberl, 1850).
- Newton, I. et al., *Glossographia Anglicana Nova: Or, a Dictionary* (London: Printed for Dan Brown et al., 1707).
- Noble, J., *History, Productions and Resources of the Cape of Good Hope* (Cape Town: W. A Richards & Sons, 1886).
- Norval, R., B. Perry, and A. Young, *The Epidemiology of Theileriosis in Africa* (London: Academic Press, 1992).
- Nussbaum, M., *Frontiers of Justice: Disability, Nationality, Species Membership* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006).
- Owens, M. and D. Owens, *Cry of the Kalahari* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 1984).
- Pachirat, T., *Every Twelve Seconds: Industrialized Slaughter and the Politics of Sight* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011).
- Paddle, R., *The Last Tasmanian Tiger: The History and Extinction of the Thylacine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
- Panksepp, J., *Affective Neuroscience: The Foundations of Human and Animal Emotions* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).
- Patterson, C., *Eternal Treblinka: Our Treatment of Animals and the Holocaust* (New York: Lantern Books, 2002).
- Peires, J., *The Dead Will Arise: Nongqawuse and the Great Xhosa Cattle-Killing Movement of 1856-7* (Cape Town: Jonathan Ball, 1981).
- Percival, R., *An Account of the Cape of Good Hope* (London: C. and R. Baldwin, 1804).
- Perry, E. (ed.), *The Artificial Insemination of Farm Animals* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1968).
- Phillips, C., *Cattle Behaviour and Welfare* (Malden: Blackwell Science, 2002).
- , *The Welfare of Animals: The Silent Majority* (Netherlands: Springer, 2009).
- Phimister, I., *An Economic and Social History of Zimbabwe, 1890–1948: Capital Accumulation and Class Struggle* (London: Longman, 1988).
- Pickover, M., *Animal Rights in South Africa* (Cape Town: Double Storey Books, 2005).
- Plamper, J., translated by K. Tribe., *The History of Emotions: An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).
- Porcher, J., *The Ethics of Animal Labor: A Collaborative Utopia* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).

- Raper, P., *Dictionary of Southern African Place Names* (Johannesburg: Lowry, 1987).
- Räsänen, T. and T. Syrjämaa (eds.), *Shared Lives of Humans and Animals: Animal Agency in the Global North* (New York: Routledge, 2017).
- Raven-Hart, R., *Before Van Riebeeck: Callers at South Africa 1488 to 1652* (Cape Town: C. Struik, 1967).
- Reddy, W., *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
- Ritvo, H., *The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987).
- Robertson, W., *Rhodesian Rancher* (London: Blackie & Son Limited, 1935).
- Roe, E., *Development of Livestock, Agriculture, and Water Supplies in Botswana before Independence* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1980).
- Romanes, G., *Animal Intelligence* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1883).
- Rookmaaker, L., *The Zoological Exploration of Southern Africa 1650-1790* (Rotterdam: A. A Balkema, 1989).
- Ross, G., *Mountain Passes, Roads, and Transportation in the Cape – a Guide to Research, 5th Edition* (Graham Ross, 2013).
- Rothfels, N., *Savages and Beasts: The Birth of the Modern Zoo* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002).
- Saraiva, T., *Fascist Pigs: Technoscientific Organisms and the History of Fascism* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2016).
- Schapera, I., *The Bantu-Speaking Tribes of South Africa; an Ethnographical Survey* (London: Routledge & Sons, Ltd, 1937).
- Schwarz, O., translated by G. Harrap and L. Douglas., *Public Abattoirs and Cattle Markets* (London: Ice Cold Storage Company, 1902).
- Sharpes, D., *Sacred Bull, Holy Cow: A Cultural Study of Civilization's Most Important Animal* (New York: Peter Lang, 2006).
- Silver and Co., S. W. S. *W Silver & Co's Handbook to South Africa* (London: S. W Silver & Co, 1880).
- Simons, P., *Ice Cold in Africa: The History of the Imperial Cold Storage & Supply Company Limited* (Cape Town: Fernwood Press, 2000).
- Singer, P., *Animal Liberation: A New Ethics for Our Treatment of Animals* (New York: Harper Collins, 2002 [1975]).
- Sinclair, U., *The Jungle, Webster's Thesaurus Edition* (San Diego: ICON Books, 2005).
- Skabelund, A., *Empire of Dogs: Canines, Japan, and the Making of the Modern Imperial World* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2011).
- Skaggs, J., *Prime Cut: Livestock Raising and Meatpacking in the United States, 1607-1983* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1986).
- Smalley, A., *Wild by Nature: North American Animals Confront Colonization* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2017).
- Smith, A., *African Herders: Emergence of Pastoral Traditions African Archaeology Series* (Walnut Creek: AltaMira Press, 2005).
- Smith, K., *Governing Animals: Animal Welfare and the Liberal State* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).
- Smith, R., *The Physiology of the Domestic Animals: A Text-Book for Veterinary and Medical Students and Practitioners* (London: F.A Davis, 1890).
- Sparman, A., *A Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope, Vol. I* (London: G. G. J and J. Robinson, 1785).
- Specht, J., *Red Meat Republic: A Hoof-to-Table History of How Beef Changed America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019).
- Spinage, C., *Cattle Plague: A History* (New York: Springer, 2003).
- Stibbe, A., *Animals Erased: Discourse, Ecology, and Reconnection with the Natural World* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2012).

- Swabe, J., *Animals, Disease, and Human Society* (London: Routledge, 2005).
- Swart, S., *Riding High: Horses, Humans and History in South Africa* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2010).
- Theal, G., *Abstract of the Debates and Resolutions of the Council of Policy at the Cape from 1651 to 1687* (Cape Town: Saul Solomon and Co, 1881).
- Thompson, G., *Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa* (London: Henry Colburn, 1827).
- , *History of South Africa since September 1795* (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co, 1908).
- Tinbergen, N., *The Study of Instinct* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969 [1951]).
- Tlou, T. and A. Campbell., *History of Botswana* (Gaborone: Macmillan, 1997).
- Turner, J., *Animal Breeding, Welfare and Society* (New York: Earthscan from Routledge, 2010).
- van Hengel, G., *Roedel: Een Alternatieve Geschiedenis van Yoegoslavië* (Amsterdam: GA Van Oorschot, 2021).
- van Riebeeck, J., translated by H. Thom., *Journal of Jan Van Riebeeck Volume 1, 1651-1655* (Cape Town: A. A Balkema, 1952)
- , H. Thom (ed.), *Journal of Jan Van Riebeeck. Vol. 2., 1656-1658* (Cape Town: A. A Balkema, 1954).
- , H. Thom (ed.), *Journal of Jan Van Riebeeck, 1659-62. Vol. 3* (Cape Town: A. A Balkema, 1958).
- van Sittert, L. and S. Swart. (eds.), *Canis Africanis: A Dog History of Southern Africa* (Leiden: Brill, 2008).
- Vedder H., *Das alte Südwestafrika [The Old South-West Africa]* (Berlin: M. Warneck Verlag, 1934).
- Walker, B., *The Lost Wolves of Japan* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009).
- Wallace-Wells, D., *The Uninhabitable Earth: A Story of the Future* (London: Penguin Books, 2019).
- Wolfe, C., *What Is Posthumanism?* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010).
- Wylie, D., *Death and Compassion: The Elephant in Southern African Literature* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2018).

Book chapters and articles

- Adamczyk, K., A. Górecka-Bruzda, J. Nowicki, M. Gumułka, E. Molik, T. Schwarz, B. Earley, and C. Klocek., 'Perception of Environment in Farm Animals—A Review.' *Annals of Animal Science* 15, 3 (2015), 565–589.
- Adhikari, M., 'A Total Extinction Confidently Hoped for: The Destruction of Cape San Society under Dutch Colonial Rule, 1700-1795.' *Journal of Genocide Research* 12, 1/2 (2010), 19–44.
- Aitken, I., 'Bonsma Revisited.' *The Luig Journal* (January, 2021), 26–27.
- Albertus, R., 'Decolonisation of Institutional Structures in South African Universities: A Critical Perspective.' *Cogent Social Sciences* 5, 1 (2019), 1–14.
- Alexander, M., 'Military Use of Animals in South Africa (1400-1881).' *Scientia Militaria, South African Journal of Military Studies* 7, 4 (1977), 45–54.
- Alley, J. and L. Diamond., 'Oxytocin and Human Sexuality: Recent Developments.' *Current Sexual Health Reports* 12, 3 (2020), 182–185.
- Almquist, J., 'Dairy Cattle', in E. Perry (ed.), *The Artificial Insemination of Farm Animals* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1968), 94–141.
- Amanfu, W., 'Contagious Bovine Pleuropneumonia', in M. Kardjadj, A. Diallo, and R. Lancelot (eds.), *Transboundary Animal Diseases in Sahelian Africa and Connected Regions* (Cham: Springer, 2019), 423–437.
- , 'Contagious Bovine Pleuropneumonia (Lungsickness) in Africa.' *Onderstepoort Journal of Veterinary Research* 76, 1 (2009), 13–17.
- Anderson, D. and W. Muir., 'Pain Management in Cattle.' *Veterinary Clinics: Food Animal Practice* 21, 3 (2005), 623–635.

- Anderson, J., 'Artificial Insemination and Community Breeding of Cattle.' *The East African Agricultural Journal* 8, 1 (1942), 2–8.
- Andreas, C., 'The Discussion of the Nature and Prophylaxis of Lungsickness in the Cape Colony during the Epizootic of 1853–57', in J. Schäffer and P. Koolmees (eds.), *History of Veterinary Medicine and Agriculture: Proceedings of the 33rd International Congress on the History of Veterinary Medicine in Wittenberg 2002* (Giessen, 2003), 43–57.
- ., 'The Spread and Impact of the Lungsickness Epizootic of 1853–57 in the Cape Colony and the Xhosa Chiefdoms.' *South African Historical Journal* 53, 1 (2005), 50–72.
- ., 'Preventative Inoculation of Cattle against Lungsickness in the Cape: Informal Technology Transfer and Local Knowledge Production in the Nineteenth Century.' *South African Historical Journal* 71, 4 (2019), 536–559.
- Arbuckle, B., M. Price, H. Hongo, and B. Öksüz., 'Documenting the Initial Appearance of Domestic Cattle in the Eastern Fertile Crescent (Northern Iraq and Western Iran).' *Journal of Archaeological Science* 72 (2016), 1–9.
- Archer, S., 'Technology and Ecology in the Karoo: A Century of Windmills, Wire and Changing Farming Practice.' *Journal of Southern African Studies* 26, 4 (2000), 675–696.
- Ashforth, A., 'The Xhosa Cattle Killing and the Politics of Memory.' *Sociological Forum* 6, 3 (1991), 581–592.
- Baker, M., 'Military Writers and Their Readers: The Transnational Circulation of Campaign Narratives of the Eastern Cape Frontier Wars between 1834 and 1853.' *English in Africa* 44, 2 (2017), 9–39.
- Ballantyne, T., 'Mobility, Empire, Colonisation.' *History Australia* 11, 2 (2014), 7–37.
- Ban, T., 'Fifty Years Chlorpromazine: A Historical Perspective.' *Neuropsychiatric Disease and Treatment* 3, 4 (2007), 495–500.
- Baratay, É., translated by S. Posthumus., 'Building an Animal History', in L. Mackenzie and S. Posthumus (eds.), *French Thinking about Animals* (Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 2015), 3–14.
- Barbosa, J., D. Lima, A. Belo-Reis, C. Pinheiro, M. Sousa, J. Silva, F. Salvarani, and C. Oliveira., 'Degenerative Joint Disease in Cattle and Buffaloes in the Amazon Region: A Retrospective Study.' *Pesquisa Veterinária Brasileira* 34, 9 (2014), 845–50.
- Bayly, C., S. Beckert, W. Kozol, M. Connelly, I. Hofmeyr, and P. Seed., 'AHR Conversation: On Transnational History.' *American Historical Review* 111, 5 (2006), 1441–1464.
- Beinart, W., 'Men, Science, Travel and Nature in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth-century Cape.' *Journal of Southern African Studies* 24, 4 (1998), 775–99.
- ., 'Transhumance, Animal Diseases and Environment in the Cape, South Africa.' *South African Historical Journal* 58, 1 (2007), 17–41.
- Beinart, W., K. Brown, and D. Gilfoyle., 'Experts and Expertise in Colonial Africa Reconsidered: Science and the Interpenetration of Knowledge.' *African Affairs* 108, 432 (2009), 413–433.
- Beldo, L., 'Metabolic Labor: Broiler Chickens and the Exploitation of Vitality.' *Environmental Humanities* 9, 1 (2017), 108–128.
- W. Black, 'Sanitary State of Cape Town.' *Sanitary Record*, 17 August (1887).
- Bolt, J. and E. Hillbom., 'Long-Term Trends in Economic Inequality: Lessons from Colonial Botswana, 1921–74.' *The Economic History Review* 69, 4 (2016), 1255–1284.
- Bonsma, J., 'Breeding Cattle for Increased Adaptability to Tropical and Subtropical Environments Bonsma.' *The Journal of Agricultural Science* 39, 2 (1949), 204–221.
- Borkfelt, S., 'What's in a Name?—Consequences of Naming Non-Human Animals.' *Animals* 1, 1 (2011), 116–125.
- Bosch, S. L. Pretorius, and A. Fleisch., 'Experimental Bootstrapping of Morphological Analysers for Nguni Languages.' *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 17, 2 (2008), 66–88.
- Botha, C., 'The Emergence of Commercial Ranching under State Control and the Encapsulation of Pastoralism in African Reserves', in M. Bollig, M. Schnegg, and H-P. Wotzka (eds.),

- Pastoralism in Africa: Past, Present and Future* (New York: Berghahn, 2013), 230–256.
- Bouissou, M., A. Boissy, P. Le Neindre, and I. Veissier., 'The Social Behaviour of Cattle', in L. Keeling and H. Gonyou (eds.), *Social Behavior in Farm Animals* (Wallingford: CABI Publishing, 2001), 113–146.
- Bozzo, G., A. Di Pinto, E. Bonerba, E. Ceci, A. Mottola, R. Roma, P. Capozza, G. Samoilis, G. Tantillo, and G. Celano., 'Kosher Slaughter Paradigms: Evaluation of Slaughterhouse Inspection Procedures.' *Meat Science* 128 (2017), 30–33.
- Bradford, H., 'Women, Gender and Colonialism: Rethinking the History of the British Cape Colony and Its Frontier Zones, c. 1806–70.' *Journal of African History* 37, 3 (1996), 351–370.
- Bradshaw, G., Theodora Capaldo, and Gloria Grow., 'Building an Inner Sanctuary: Complex PTSD in Chimpanzees.' *Journal of Trauma & Dissociation* 9, 1 (2008), 9–34.
- Brass, M., 'Early North African Cattle Domestication and Its Ecological Setting: A Reassessment.' *Journal of World Prehistory* 31, 1 (2018), 81–115.
- Bristow, D. and D. Holmes., 'Cortisol Levels and Anxiety-Related Behaviors in Cattle.' *Physiology & Behavior* 90, 4 (2007), 626–628.
- Broom, D. and J. Leaver., 'Effects of Group-Rearing or Partial Isolation on Later Social Behaviour of Calves.' *Animal Behaviour* 26 (1978), 1255–1263.
- Brown, C., 'Fish Pain: An Inconvenient Truth.' *Animal Sentience: An Interdisciplinary Journal on Animal Feeling* 1, 3 (2016), 1–5.
- Brown, K., 'Tropical Medicine and Animal Diseases: Onderstepoort and the Development of Veterinary Science in South Africa 1908–1950.' *Journal of Southern African Studies* 31, 3 (2005), 513–529.
- Buck, N., L. Serema, and H. Staugaard., 'Artificial Insemination in Botswana.' *British Veterinary Journal* 131, 4 (1975), 385–391.
- Bundy, C., "'We Don't Want Your Rain, We Won't Dip": Popular Opposition, Collaboration and Social Control in the Anti-Dipping Movement, c.1908–16', in C. Bundy and W. Beinart (eds.), *Hidden Struggles in Rural South Africa* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1987), 191–221.
- Burdick, N., R. Randel, J. Carroll, and T. Welsh., 'Interactions between Temperament, Stress, and Immune Function in Cattle.' *International Journal of Zoology* (2011), 1–9.
- Campbell, G., 'Disease, Cattle, and Slaves: The Development of Trade between Natal and Madagascar, 1875–1904.' *African Economic History*, 19 (1990), 105–133.
- Cantrell, B., H. Lachance, B. Murdoch, J. Sjoquist, R. Funston, R. Weaber, and S. McKay., 'Global DNA Methylation in the Limbic System of Cattle.' *Epigenomes* 3, 8 (2019), 1–7.
- Carter, B. and N. Charles., 'Animals, Agency and Resistance.' *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour* 43, 3 (2013), 322–340.
- Castree, N., 'False Antitheses? Marxism, Nature and Actor-Networks.' *Antipode* 34, 1 (2002), 111–146.
- Chhabra, H., 'Animal Labourers and the Law in Colonial India.' *South Asia Research* 39, 2 (2019), 166–183.
- Clauss, M. and R. Hofmann., 'The Digestive System of Ruminants, and Peculiarities of (Wild) Cattle', in M. Melletti and J. Burton (eds.), *Ecology, Evolution and Behaviour of Wild Cattle: Implications for Conservation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 57–62.
- Clune, D., 'Anderson, Sir David Murray', in D. Clune and K. Turner (eds.), *The Governors of New South Wales, 1788–2010* (Sydney: The Federation Press, 2009), 506–512.
- Cobbing, J., 'Book Review: J. B. Peires, *The Dead Will Arise, Nongqawuse and the Great Xhosa Cattle-Killing Movement of 1856–57* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1989).' *Journal of Southern African Studies* 20, 2 (1994), 339–341.
- Coetzee, J.M., 'Idleness in South Africa.' *Social Dynamics* 8, 1 (1982), 1–13.
- 'Compulsory Dipping Ordinance.' *Rhodesian Agricultural Journal* 11, 6 (1914), 854–856.
- Cooke, C., 'Evidence of Human Migrations from the Rock Art of Southern Rhodesia.' *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 35, 3 (1965), 263–285.

- Cooke, R., L. Mehrkam, R. Marques, K. Lippolis, and D. Bohnert., 'Effects of a Simulated Wolf Encounter on Brain and Blood Biomarkers of Stress-Related Psychological Disorders in Beef Cows with or without Previous Exposure to Wolves.' *Journal of Animal Science* 95, 3 (2017), 1154–1163.
- Cornips, L. and L. van der Henger., 'Place-Making by Cows in an Intensive Dairy Farm: A Sociolinguistic Approach to Nonhuman Animal Agency', in B. Bovenkerk and J. Keulartz (eds.), *Animals in Our Midst: The Challenges of Co-Existing with Animals in the Anthropocene* (Cham: Springer, 2021), 177–202.
- Costa, L., 'Short-Term Stress: The Case of Transport and Slaughter.' *Italian Journal of Animal Science* 8, 1 (2009), 241–252.
- Craig, A., 'A New View of Pain as a Homeostatic Emotion.' *Trends in Neurosciences* 26, 6 (2003), 303–307.
- Curson, H. and R. Thornton., 'A Contribution to the Study of African Native Cattle.' *Onderstepoort Journal of Veterinary Science and Animal Industry*, 7, 2 (1936), 613–739.
- Dande, I. and S. Swart., 'History, Politics and Dogs in Zimbabwean Literature, c. 1975–2015.' *Tydskrif Vir Letterkunde* 55, 3 (2018), 152–173.
- Darkoh, M., and J. Mbaiwa., 'Globalisation and the Livestock Industry in Botswana.' *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography* 23, 2 (2002), 149–166.
- Daston, L. 'Intelligences: Angelic, Animal, Human', in L. Daston and G. Mitman (eds.), *Thinking with Animals: New Perspectives on Anthropomorphism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 37–58.
- DeGrazia, D., 'Sentience and Consciousness as Bases for Attributing Interests and Moral Status: Considering the Evidence and Speculating Slightly Beyond', in L. Johnson, A. Fenton, and A. Shriver (eds.), *Neuroethics and Nonhuman Animals* (Cham: Springer, 2020), 17–31.
- Denbow, J., 'A New Look at the Later Prehistory of the Kalahari.' *The Journal of African History* 27, 1 (1986), 3–28.
- Denbow, J. and E. Wilmsen., 'Advent and Course of Pastoralism in the Kalahari.' *Science* 234, 4783 (1986), 1509–1515.
- di Lernia, S., 'The Emergence and Spread of Herding in Northern Africa: A Critical Reappraisal', in P. Mitchell and P. Lane (eds.), *Oxford Handbook of African Archaeology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 527–540.
- Diamond, J., 'Evolution, Consequences and Future of Plant and Animal Domestication.' *Nature* 418, 6898 (2002), 700–707.
- Dieckmann, U., 'Land, Boreholes and Fences: The Development of Commercial Livestock Farming in the Outjo District, Namibia', in M. Bollig, M. Schnegg, and H-P. Wotzka (eds.), *Pastoralism in Africa: Past, Present and Future* (New York: Berghahn, 2013), 257–288.
- Dietz, O., 'Modern Narcosis in Horses, Cattle and Swine.' *Journal of the South African Veterinary Association* 31, 2 (1960), 315–327.
- Diesel, A., 'The Campaign against East Coast Fever in South Africa.' *Onderstepoort Journal of Veterinary Science and Animal Industry* 23, 1–2 (1948), 19–31.
- Dlamini, A., C. Malima, and Z. Hlandze, 'Farmers' Perceptions of Socio-Economic Biosafety Considerations Regarding Adoption and Use of Biotechnology: A Case Study of Sithobeleni and Lesibovu Communities in Swaziland.' *Journal of Scientific Research & Reports* 8, 4 (2015), 1–15.
- Dolan, T., 'Dogmas and Misunderstandings in East Coast Fever.' *Tropical Medicine & International Health* 4, 9 (1999), 3–11.
- Domańska, E., 'Animal History.' *History & Theory* 56, 2 (2017), 267–287.
- Donaldson, S. and W. Kymlicka. 'Animals in Political Theory', in L. Kalof (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Animal Studies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 43–64.
- Dotson, K., 'On the Way to Decolonization in a Settler Colony: Re-Introducing Black Feminist Identity Politics.' *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples* 14, 3 (2018), 190–199.

- Driver, D., 'Lady Anne Barnard's Cape Journals and the Concept of Self-Othering.' *Pretexts* 5, 1–2 (1995), 46–65.
- Dziuk, P., E. Graham, G. Marion, and W. Petersen., 'Some Observations in Collection of Semen from Bulls, Goats, Boars and Rams by Electrical Stimulation.' *Veterinary Medicine* 49 (1954), 455–458.
- Dziuk, P., E. Graham, and W. Petersen., 'The Technique of Electroejaculation and Its Use in Dairy Bulls.' *Journal of Dairy Science* 37, 9 (1954), 1035–1041.
- Ehret, C., 'The Early Livestock-Raisers of Southern Africa.' *Southern African Humanities* 20 (2008), 7–35.
- Elliott-Cooper, A., "'Free, Decolonised Education"—A Lesson from the South African Student Struggle', in J. Arday and H. Mirza (eds.), *Dismantling Race in Higher Education: Racism, Whiteness and Decolonising the Academy* (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2018), 289–296.
- Elphick, R. and V. Malherbe, 'The Khoisan to 1828', in R. Elphick and H. Giliomee (eds.), *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652–1840* (Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1979), 3–50.
- Evans-Pritchard, E., 'The Sacrificial Role of Cattle Among the Nuer.' *Africa* 23, 3 (1953), 181–198.
- Falconer, J., 'History of the Botswana Veterinary Services – 1905-66.' *Botswana Notes and Records* 3 (1971), 74–78.
- Fauvelle-Aymar, F., K. Sadr, F. Bon, and D. Gronenborn., 'The Visibility and Invisibility of Herders' Kraals in South Africa, with Reference to a Possible Early Contact Period Khoekhoe Kraal at KFS 5 (Western Cape).' *Journal of African Archaeology* 4, 2 (2006), 253–271.
- Ferdowsian, H., 'Africa's Meat and Dairy Industry: A Threat to the Continent's Future?', in R. Ebert and A. Roba (eds.), *Africa and Her Animals: Philosophical and Practical Perspectives* (Pretoria: UNISA Press, 2018), 293–308.
- Ferguson, J., 'The Bovine Mystique: Power, Property and Livestock in Rural Lesotho.' *Man* 20, 4 (1985), 647–674.
- Fisher, J., 'Cedara School of Agriculture: Its History and Development.' *Farming in South Africa*, (May, 1929), 67–69.
- Fitzgerald, A., 'A Social History of the Slaughterhouse: From Inception to Contemporary Implications.' *Human Ecology Review* 17, 1 (2010), 58–69.
- Fitzpatrick, E., N. Chapinal, C. Petersson-Wolfe, T. DeVries, D. Kelton, T. Duffield, and K. Leslie., 'The Effect of Meloxicam on Pain Sensitivity, Rumination Time, and Clinical Signs in Dairy Cows with Endotoxin-Induced Clinical Mastitis.' *Journal of Dairy Science* 96, 5 (2013), 2847–2856.
- Fudge, E., 'What Was It Like to Be a Cow? History and Animal Studies', in L. Kalof (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Animal Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 258–278.
- Gaillard, C., R. Meagher, M. von Keyserlingk, and D. Weary., 'Social Housing Improves Dairy Calves' Performance in Two Cognitive Tests.' *PLOS ONE* 9, 2 (2014), 1–6.
- Goldenhuis, I., 'The Development of Agricultural Co-Operation in South Africa.' *Agrekon* 1, 3 (1962), 12–20.
- George, I., J. Alawa, P. Akpulu, and C. Alawa., 'Comparative Neuroanatomical Study of the Amygdala and Fear Conditioning in Nigerian Breeds of Artiodactyla: Sheep (Uda) and Goats (Red Sokoto).' *The Anatomical Record* 304, 4 (2021), 692–703.
- Gewald, J-B., 'Missionaries, Hereroes, and Motorcars: Mobility and the Impact of Motor Vehicles in Namibia before 1940.' *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 35, 2/3 (2002), 257–285.
- ., 'Brothers in Arms: Baboon-Human Interactions, a Southern African Perspective', in J-B. Gewald, M. Spierenburg, and H. Wels (eds.), *Nature Conservation in Southern Africa Morality and Marginality: Towards Sentient Conservation* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 48-66.
- Gewald, J-B, M. Spierenburg, and H. Wels., 'Introduction: People, Animals, and Marginality: Reconfiguring Wildlife Conservation in Southern Africa', in J-B Gewald, M. Spierenburg, and

- H. Wels (eds.), *Nature Conservation in Southern Africa Morality and Marginality: Towards Sentient Conservation* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 1–21.
- Gifford-Gonzalez, D., 'Animal Disease Challenges to the Emergence of Pastoralism in Sub-Saharan Africa.' *African Archaeological Review* 3, 17 (2000), 95–139.
- Gilfoyle, D., 'The Heartwater Mystery: Veterinary and Popular Ideas about Tick-Borne Animal Diseases at the Cape, c. 1877 - 1910.' *Kronos*, 29 (2003), 139–160.
- — —, 'Veterinary Research and the African Rinderpest Epizootic: The Cape Colony, 1896-1898.' *Journal of Southern African Studies* 29, 1 (2003), 133–154.
- Ginane, C., R. Baumont, and A. Favreau-Peigné., 'Perception and Hedonic Value of Basic Tastes in Domestic Ruminants.' *Physiology & Behavior* 104, 5 (2011), 666–674.
- Glenn, I., 'Levaillant's Bird Books and the Origins of a Genre.' *Alternation* 16 (2009), 91–101.
- Glock, H-J., 'Agency, Intelligence and Reasons in Animals.' *Philosophy* 94, 4 (2019), 1–27.
- Glover, M., 'A Cattle-Centred History of Southern Africa?', in J-B. Gewald, M. Spierenburg, and H. Wels (eds.), *Nature Conservation in Southern Africa Morality and Marginality: Towards Sentient Conservation* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 25–47.
- Gororo, E., S. Makuza, F. Chatiza, F. Chidzondo, and T. Sanyika., 'Genetic Diversity in Zimbabwean Sanga Cattle Breeds Using Microsatellite Markers.' *South African Journal of Animal Science* 48, 1 (2018), 128–141.
- Gray, L., 'Body, Mind and Madness: Pain in Animals in Nineteenth-Century Comparative Psychology', in R. Boddice (ed.), *Pain and Emotion in Modern History* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 148–163.
- Gross, B. and K. Olsen., 'Genetic Perspectives on Crop Domestication.' *Trends in Plant Science* 15, 9 (2010), 529–537.
- Grundy, J., 'The Hereford Bull: His Contribution to New World and Domestic Beef Supplies.' *The Agricultural History Review* 50, 1 (2002), 69–88.
- Gustafson, R., 'Use of Antibiotics in Livestock and Human Health Concerns.' *Journal of Dairy Science* 74, 4 (1991), 1428–1432.
- Gustafsson, L. and T. Haapoja., 'History According to Cattle', in L. Gustafsson and T. Haapoja (eds.), *History According to Cattle* (New York: Punctum books, 2015), 2–105.
- Hall, M., 'The Role of Cattle in Southern African Agropastoral Societies: More than Bones Alone Can Tell.' *Goodwin Series* 5 (1986), 83–87.
- Haraway, D., 'A Cyborg Manifesto', in D. Haraway (ed.), *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature* (New York: Routledge, 1991), 149–181.
- Hart, E., 'From Field to Plate: The Colonial Livestock Trade and the Development of an American Economic Culture.' *The William and Mary Quarterly* 73, 1 (2016), 107–140.
- Heffner, R. and H. Heffner., 'Hearing in Large Mammals: Horses (*Equus Caballus*) and Cattle (*Bos Taurus*).' *Behavioral Neuroscience* 97, 2 (1983), 299–309.
- Heinrich, A., 'Historical Zooarchaeology of Colonialism, Mercantilism, and Indigenous Dispossession: The Dutch East India Company's Meat Industry at the Cape of Good Hope, South Africa', in U. Albarella, M. Rizzetto, H. Russ, K. Vickers, and S. Viner-Daniels (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Zooarchaeology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 479–491.
- Heinrich, A. and C. Schrire., 'Faunal Analysis and the Development of the Meat Industry at the VOC Cape in the 17th and 18th Centuries', in C. Schrire (ed.), *Historical Archaeology in South Africa: Material Culture of the Dutch East India Company at the Cape* (California: Left Coast Press, 2014), 65–99.
- Heinrichs, M., I. Neumann, and U. Ehlert., 'Lactation and Stress: Protective Effects of Breast-Feeding in Humans.' *Stress* 5, 3 (2002), 195–203.
- Herskovits, M., 'The Cattle Complex in East Africa.' *American Anthropologist* 28, 1 (1926), 230–272.
- Heydenrych, D., "'A Colony of Carriers": Transport-Riding in Nineteenth-Century Natal.' *Kleio* 23, 1 (1991), 17–31.

- Hillbom, E., 'Cattle, Diamonds and Institutions: Main Drivers of Botswana's Economic Development, 1850 to Present.' *Journal of International Development* 26, 2 (2014), 155–176.
- Hribal, J., "'Animals Are Part of the Working Class": A Challenge to Labor History.' *Labor History* 44, 4 (2003), 435–453.
- ., 'Animals, Agency, and Class: Writing the History of Animals from Below.' *Human Ecology Review* 14, 1 (2007), 101–112.
- Hubbard, M., 'Botswana's Beef Cattle Exports: Establishment of a Reserve Industry c.1900-1924.' *Pula: Botswana Journal of African Studies* 3, 1 (1981), 47–57.
- ., 'Desperate Games: Bongola Smith, the Imperial Cold Storage Company and Bechuanaland's Beef, 1931.' *Botswana Notes and Records* 13 (1981), 19–24.
- Hutcheon, D., 'A Review of the Different Methods of Inoculation.' *Agricultural Journal of the Cape of Good Hope* 11, 9 (1897), 511–521.
- Inngs, J., 'Liverpool of the Cape: Port Elizabeth Trade 1820-70.' *South African Journal of Economic History* 1, 1 (1986), 77–98.
- 'Inoculation against Rinderpest.' *Agricultural Journal of the Cape of Good Hope* 11, 9 (1897), 490–501.
- Jacobs, N., 'The Great Bophuthatswana Donkey Massacre: Discourse on the Ass and the Politics of Class and Grass.' *American Historical Review* 106, 2 (2001), 485–507.
- Jimenez, R., "'Slow Revolution" in Southern Africa: Household Biosocial Reproduction and Regional Entanglements in the History of Cattle-Keeping among Nguni-Speakers, Ninth to Thirteenth Century CE.' *The Journal of African History* 61, 2 (2020), 155–178.
- Johnson, K. and D. Johnson., 'Methane Emissions from Cattle.' *Journal of Animal Science* 73, 8 (1995), 2483–2492.
- Joubert, B., 'An Historical Perspective on Animal Power Use in South Africa', in P. Starkey (ed.), *Animal Power in South Africa: Empowering Rural Communities* (Gauteng: Development of Southern Africa, 1995), 125–138.
- Kaarlenkaski, T., "'Machine Milking Is More Manly than Hand Milking": Multispecies Agencies and Gendered Practices in Finnish Cattle Tending from the 1950s to the 1970s.' *Animal Studies Journal* 7, 2 (2018), 76–102.
- Karlsson, F., 'Critical Anthropomorphism and Animal Ethics.' *Journal of Agricultural and Environmental Ethics* 25, 5 (2012), 707–720.
- Keegan, T., 'Trade, Accumulation and Impoverishment: Mercantile Capital and the Economic Transformation of Lesotho and the Conquered Territory, 1870-1920.' *Journal of Southern African Studies* 12, 2 (1986), 196–216.
- Kemmerer, L., 'Verbal Activism: "Anymal".' *Society & Animals* 14, 1 (2006), 9–14.
- Kinahan, J., 'A New Archaeological Perspective on Nomadic Pastoralist Expansion in South-Western Africa.' *Azania: Archaeological Research in Africa* 29–30, 1 (1994), 211–226.
- King, G. and J. Macpherson., 'Observations on Retraining of Artificial Insemination Technicians and its Importance in Maintaining Efficiency.' *The Canadian Veterinary Journal* 6, 4 (1965), 83–85.
- King, R., 'Cattle, Raiding and Disorder in Southern African History.' *Africa* 87,3 (2017), 607–630.
- Kosfeld, M., M. Heinrichs, P. Zak, U. Fischbacher, and E. Fehr., 'Oxytocin Increases Trust in Humans.' *Nature* 435, 7042 (2005), 673–676.
- Kreike, E., 'De-Globalisation and Deforestation in Colonial Africa: Closed Markets, the Cattle Complex, and Environmental Change in North-Central Namibia, 1890–1990.' *Journal of Southern African Studies* 35, 1 (2009), 81–98.
- Kuper, A., 'Traditions of Kinship, Marriage and Bridewealth in Southern Africa.' *Anthropology Southern Africa* 39, 4 (2016), 267–280.
- Lander, F. and T. Russell., 'The Archaeological Evidence for the Appearance of Pastoralism and Farming in Southern Africa.' *PLOS ONE* 13, 6 (2018), 1–21.
- Lazarus, O., S. McDermid, and J. Jacquet., 'The Climate Responsibilities of Industrial Meat and Dairy

- Producers.' *Climatic Change* 165, 30 (2021), 1–21.
- Lee, C., L. Cafe, S. Robinson, R. Doyle, J. Lea, A. Small, and I. Colditz., 'Anxiety Influences Attention Bias but Not Flight Speed and Crush Score in Beef Cattle.' *Applied Animal Behaviour Science* 205 (2018), 210–215.
- Lethola, L., N. Buck, and D. Light., 'Beef Cattle Breeding in Botswana.' *Botswana Notes and Records* 15 (1983), 39–47.
- Lewis, D., 'Against the Grain: Black Women and Sexuality.' *Agenda: Empowering Women for Gender Equality* 63, 2 (2005), 11–24.
- Lewis, J., 'Emotional Rescue: The Emotional Turn in the Study of History.' *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 51, 1 (2020), 121–129.
- Lewis, J., 'Materialism and Idealism in the Historiography of the Xhosa Cattle-Killing Movement 1856–7', *South African Historical Journal* 25, 1 (1991), 244–268.
- Lewis, S. and M. Maslin., 'Defining the Anthropocene.' *Nature* 519, 7542 (2015), 171–180.
- Lockwood, J., 'The Moral Standing of Insects and the Ethics of Extinction.' *Florida Entomologist* 70, 1 (1987), 70–89.
- Lundvall, R. and R. Campbell., 'Chlorpromazine Hydrochloride for the Examination of the Penis in Bulls.' *Journal of the American Veterinary Medical Association* 131, 2 (1957), 86–87.
- Lupoli, B., B. Johansson, K. Uvnäs-Moberg, and K. Svennersten-Sjaunja., 'Effect of Suckling on the Release of Oxytocin, Prolactin, Cortisol, Gastrin, Cholecystokinin, Somatostatin and Insulin in Dairy Cows and Their Calves.' *Journal of Dairy Research* 68, 2 (2001), 175–187.
- MacHugh, D., G. Larson, and L. Orlando., 'Taming the Past: Ancient DNA and the Study of Animal Domestication.' *Annual Review of Animal Biosciences* 5 (2017), 329–351.
- Mafela, L., 'Colonial Initiatives and African Response in the Establishment of the Dairy Industry in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, 1930-1966.' *Pula: Botswana Journal of African Studies* 13, 1 & 2 (1999), 77–92.
- Makgala, C., 'Provision of Local Services by Tribal Administrations in Bechuanaland Protectorate, 1900–1966.' *South African Historical Journal* 64, 4 (2012), 787–806.
- Mäki, H. and J. Harhoff, 'Municipal Engineers in Johannesburg and Pretoria before 1910.' *The Journal for Transdisciplinary Research in Southern Africa* 5, 2 (2009), 230–247.
- Makina, S., L. Whitacre, J. Decker, J. Taylor, M. MacNeil, M. Scholtz, E. van Marle-Köster, F. Muchadeyi, M. Makgahlela, and A. Maiwashe., 'Insight into the Genetic Composition of South African Sanga Cattle Using SNP Data from Cattle Breeds Worldwide.' *Genetics Selection Evolution* 48, 88 (2016), 1–7.
- Malherbe, V., 'The Life and Times of Cupido Kakkerlak.' *The Journal of African History* 20, 3 (1979), 365–378.
- Manning, K. and A. Timpson., 'The Demographic Response to Holocene Climate Change in the Sahara.' *Quaternary Science Reviews* 101 (2014), 28–35.
- Marino, L. and K. Allen., 'The Psychology of Cows.' *Animal Behavior and Cognition* 4, 4 (2017), 474–498.
- Marks, S., 'The Zulu Disturbances in Natal', in R. Rotberg and A. Mazrui (eds.), *Protest and Power in Black Africa* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 213–257.
- Marks, S. and S. Trapido., 'Lord Milner and the South African State', in P. Bonner (ed.), *Working Papers in Southern African Studies: Volume 2* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1981), 52–95.
- Marquardt, G., 'Building a Perfect Pest: Environment, People, Conflict and the Creation of a Rinderpest Epizootic in Southern Africa.' *Journal of Southern African Studies* 43, 2 (2017), 349–363.
- Martens, H., S. Leonhard-Marek, M. Röntgen, and F. Stumpff., 'Magnesium Homeostasis in Cattle: Absorption and Excretion.' *Nutrition Research Reviews* 31, 1 (2018), 114–130.
- Martin, A., 'Performing Scientific Knowledge Transfer: Anne Plumptre and the Translation of Martin Heinrich Lichtenstein's *Reisen Im Südlichen Afrika* (1811).' *Journal of Literature and Science* 8, 1 (2015), 9–26.

- Maxmen, A., 'WHO Report into COVID Pandemic Origins Zeroes in on Animal Markets, Not Labs.' *Nature* 592 (2021), 173–174.
- May, R., 'How Many Species Are There on Earth?' *Science* 241, 4872 (1988), 1441–1449.
- Mazarire, G., 'The Burrowed Earth: Rodents in Zimbabwe's Environmental History.' *Critical African Studies* 8, 2 (2016), 109–135.
- Mbembe, A., 'Future Knowledges and Their Implications for the Decolonisation Project', in J. Jansen (ed.), *Decolonisation in Universities: The Politics of Knowledge* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2019), 239–254.
- McDonald, J., "'We Do Not Know Who Painted Our Pictures": Child Transfers and Cultural Genocide in the Destruction of Cape San Societies along the Cape Colony's North-Eastern Frontier, c.1770–1830.' *Journal of Genocide Research* 18, 4 (2016), 519–538.
- Mitchell, G., J. Hattingh, and M. Ganhao., 'Stress in Cattle Assessed after Handling, after Transport and after Slaughter.' *The Veterinary Record* 123, 8 (1988), 201–205.
- Mitchell, M., 'Setting the Scene: A Brief History of Transport Infrastructure in South Africa up to the End of the 20th Century.' *Civil Engineering* 22, 1 (2014), 35–38.
- Mocheregwa, B., 'Artificial Insemination and the Cattle Industry in Botswana, 1960-2011.' *Botswana Notes and Records* 48 (2016), 109–120.
- Mohr, E., J. Langbein, and G. Nürnberg., 'Heart Rate Variability: A Noninvasive Approach to Measure Stress in Calves and Cows.' *Physiology & Behavior* 75, 1 (2002), 251–259.
- Moore, B., 'Smuggled Sheep, Smuggled Shepherds: Farm Labour Transformations in Namibia and the Question of Southern Angola, 1933–1975.' *Journal of Southern African Studies* 47, 1 (2021), 93–125.
- Mora, C., D. Tittensor, S. Adl, A. Simpson, and B. Worm., 'How Many Species Are There on Earth and in the Ocean?' *PLOS Biology* 9, 8 (2011), 1–9.
- Moreki, J., T. Pelaelo-Grand, and A. Ranko., 'Artificial Insemination in Botswana: Challenges and Opportunities – A Review.' *Journal of Animal Science and Veterinary Medicine* 4, 4 (2019), 122–128.
- Morgan, B., 'First International Congress of Physiology and Pathology of Animal Reproduction and of Artificial Insemination.' *Science* 108 (1948), 465–466.
- Morrell, R., 'Farmers, Randlords and the South African State: Confrontation in the Witwatersrand Beef Markets, c. 1920-1923.' *The Journal of African History* 27, 3 (1986), 513–532.
- Moyane, J., A. Jideani, and O. Aiyegoro., 'Antibiotics Usage in Food-Producing Animals in South Africa and Impact on Human: Antibiotic Resistance.' *African Journal of Microbiology Research* 7, 24 (2013), 2990–2997.
- Mtsetwa, R., 'Myth or Reality: The Cattle Complex in South East Africa, with Special Reference to Rhodesia.' *Zambezia* 6, 1 (1978), 23–35.
- Mucina, L. *et al.*, 'Grassland Biome', in L. Mucina and M. Rutherford (eds.), *The Vegetation of South Africa, Lesotho and Swaziland* (Pretoria: South African National Biodiversity Institute, 2006), 349–431.
- Müller-Hansen, F., J. Heitzig, J. Donges, M. Cardoso, E. Dalla-Nora, P. Andrade, J. Kurths, and K. Thonicke., 'Can Intensification of Cattle Ranching Reduce Deforestation in the Amazon? Insights from an Agent-Based Social-Ecological Model.' *Ecological Economics* 159 (2019), 198–211.
- Mutowo, M., 'Animal Diseases and Human Populations in Colonial Zimbabwe: The Rinderpest Epidemic of 1896–98.' *Zambezia* 28, 1 (2001), 1–22.
- Mwatwara, W., "'Even the Calves Must Dip": East Coast Fever, Africans and the Imposition of Dipping Tanks in Southern Rhodesia, c.1902–1930.' *South African Historical Journal* 66, 2 (2014), 320–348.
- Mwatwara, W. and S. Swart., "'Better Breeds?" The Colonial State, Africans and the Cattle Quality Clause in Southern Rhodesia, c.1912–1930.' *Journal of Southern African Studies* 42, 2 (2016), 333–350.

- ., ‘“If Our Cattle Die, We Eat Them but These White People Bury and Burn Them!” African Livestock Regimes, Veterinary Knowledge and the Emergence of a Colonial Order in Southern Rhodesia, c. 1860-1902.’ *Kronos* 41, 1 (2015), 112–141.
- Nagel, T., ‘What Is It Like to Be a Bat?’ *The Philosophical Review* 83, 4 (1974), 435–450.
- Nash, L., ‘The Agency of Nature or the Nature of Agency?’ *Environmental History* 10, 1 (2005), 67–69.
- Nepstad, D., ‘The End of Deforestation in the Brazilian Amazon.’ *Science* 326, 5958 (2009), 1350–1351.
- Ntombingwenya, B., ‘The Development of Transport Infrastructure in the Bechuanaland Protectorate 1885 -1966.’ *Botswana Notes and Records* 16 (1984), 73–84.
- Offenburger, A., ‘Millenarianism in Iowa and the Eastern Cape: Thinking through Field of Dreams and the Xhosa Cattle-Killing Movement.’ *English Studies in Africa* 61, 1 (2018), 27–39.
- Offringa, C., ‘Ars Veterinaria: Ambacht, Professie, Beroep. Sociologische Theorie En Historische Praktijk.’ *Tijdschrift Voor Geschiedenis* 96 (1983), 407–432.
- Orland, B., ‘The Invention of Artificial Fertilization in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century.’ *History and Philosophy of the Life Sciences* 39, 2 (2017), 1–24.
- Otter, C., ‘Civilizing Slaughter: The Development of the British Public Abattoir, 1850-1910.’ *Food and History* 3, 2 (2005), 29–51.
- Packard, R., ‘Maize, Cattle and Mosquitoes: The Political Economy of Malaria Epidemics in Colonial Swaziland.’ *The Journal of African History* 25, 2 (1984), 189–212.
- Panksepp, J., ‘Affective Consciousness: Core Emotional Feelings in Animals and Humans.’ *Consciousness and Cognition* 14, 1 (2005), 30–80.
- Paul, D. and J. Moore., ‘The Darwinian Context: Evolution and Inheritance’, in A. Bashford and P. Levine (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Eugenics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 27-42.
- Pearson, C., ‘Dogs, History, and Agency.’ *History and Theory* 52, 4 (2013), 128–145.
- ., ‘History and Animal Agencies’, in L. Kalof (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Animal Studies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 240–257.
- Pemberton, N., J-M. Strange, and M. Worboys., ‘Breeding and Breed’, in H. Kean and P. Howell (eds.), *The Routledge Companion to Animal-Human History* (London: Routledge, 2019), 393–421.
- Penn, N. and A. Delmas., ‘Peter Kolb and the Circulation of Knowledge about the Cape of Good Hope’, in M. Lengwiler, N. Penn, and P. Harries (eds.), *Science, Africa and Europe: Processing Information and Creating Knowledge* (New York: Routledge, 2019), 15–46.
- Perry, E., ‘Editor's Forward’, in E. Perry (ed.), *The Artificial Insemination of Farm Animals* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1968), i-x.
- ., ‘Historical Background’, in E. Perry (ed.), *The Artificial Insemination of Farm Animals* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1968), 3–12.
- Phimister, I., ‘Meat and Monopolies: Beef Cattle in Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1938.’ *The Journal of African History* 19, 3 (1978), 391–414.
- Phoofolo, P., ‘Epidemics and Revolutions: The Rinderpest Epidemic in Late Nineteenth-Century Southern Africa.’ *Past & Present*, 138 (1993), 112–143.
- ., ‘Face to Face with Famine: The BaSotho and the Rinderpest, 1897-1899.’ *Journal of Southern African Studies* 29, 2 (2003), 503–527.
- Pienaar, L., J. Grobler, M. Scholtz, H. Swart, K. Ehlers, M. Marx, M. MacNeil, and F. Nesor., ‘Genetic Diversity of Afrikaner Cattle in Southern Africa.’ *Tropical Animal Health and Production* 50, 2 (2018), 399–404.
- Pirie, G., ‘Slaughter by Steam: Railway Subjugation of Ox-Wagon Transport in the Eastern Cape and Transkei, 1886-1910.’ *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 26, 2 (1993), 319–343.

- Pleurdeau, D., E. Imalwa, F. Détoit, J. Lesur, A. Veldman, J. Bahain, and E. Marais., “‘Of Sheep and Men’”: Earliest Direct Evidence of Caprine Domestication in Southern Africa at Leopard Cave (Erongo, Namibia).’ *PLOS ONE* 7, 7 (2012), 1–10.
- Poore, J. and T. Nemecek., ‘Reducing Food’s Environmental Impacts through Producers and Consumers.’ *Science* 360,6392 (2018), 987–992.
- Porcher, J. and T. Schmitt., ‘Dairy Cows: Workers in the Shadows?’ *Society & Animals* 20, 1 (2012), 39–60.
- Proctor, H. and G. Carder., ‘Can Ear Postures Reliably Measure the Positive Emotional State of Cows?’ *Applied Animal Behaviour Science* 161 (2014), 20–27.
- ., ‘Measuring Positive Emotions in Cows: Do Visible Eye Whites Tell Us Anything?’ *Physiology & Behavior* 147 (2015), 1–6.
- ., ‘Nasal Temperatures in Dairy Cows Are Influenced by Positive Emotional State.’ *Physiology & Behavior* 138 (2015), 340–344.
- Quinlan, J., H. Steyn, and D. De Vos., ‘Observations on Artificial Insemination of Sheep with Fresh and Stored Semen.’ *Onderstepoort Journal of Veterinary Science and Animal Industry* 16, 1 and 2 (1941), 263–297.
- Rangarajan, M., ‘Animals with Rich Histories: The Case of the Lions of Gir Forest, Gujarat, India.’ *History and Theory* 52, 4 (2013), 109–127.
- Rees, A., ‘Animal Agents? Historiography, Theory and the History of Science in the Anthropocene.’ *BJHS Themes* 2 (2017), 1–10.
- Reinhardt, V. and A. Reinhardt., ‘Cohesive Relationships in a Cattle Herd (Bos Indicus).’ *Behaviour* 77, 3 (1981), 121–151.
- Reynolds, M., ‘Plasma and Blood Volume in the Cow Using the T-1824 Hematocrit Method.’ *American Journal of Physiology-Legacy Content* 173, 3 (1953), 421–427.
- Rizzolo, J. and G. Bradshaw., ‘Human Leisure/ Elephant Breakdown: Impacts of Tourism on Asian Elephants’, in N. Carr and J. Young (eds.), *Wild Animals and Leisure: Rights and Wellbeing* (New York: Routledge, 2018), 113–131.
- Roba, A., ‘The Looming Threat of Factory Farming in Africa’, in R. Ebert and A. Roba (eds.), *Africa and Her Animals: Philosophical and Practical Perspectives* (Pretoria: UNISA Press, 2018), 225–239.
- Robbins, L., A. Campbell, M. Murphy, G. Brook, P. Srivastava, and S. Badenhorst., ‘The Advent of Herding in Southern Africa: Early AMS Dates on Domestic Livestock from the Kalahari Desert.’ *Current Anthropology* 46, 4 (2005), 671–677.
- Rosemary, S., ‘A Case for Recognizing the Rights of Animals as Workers.’ *Journal of Animal Ethics* 8, 2 (2018), 182–198.
- Ross, R., ‘Khoesan and Immigrants: The Emergence of Colonial Society in the Cape, 1500 – 1800’, in C. Hamilton, B. Mbenga, and R. Ross (eds.), *The Cambridge History of South Africa, Vol. I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 168–210.
- ., ‘The Rise of the Cape Gentry.’ *Journal of Southern African Studies* 9,2 (1983), 193–217.
- Sadr, K., ‘A Short History of Early Herding in Southern Africa’, in M. Bollig, M. Schnegg and H-P. Wotzka (eds.), *Pastoralism in Africa: Past, Present and Future* (New York: Berghahn, 2013), 171–197.
- ., ‘Kalahari Archaeology and the Bushman Debate.’ *Current Anthropology* 38, 1 (1997), 104–112.
- ., ‘The First Herders at the Cape of Good Hope.’ *African Archaeological Review* 15, 2 (1998), 101–132.
- Saha, J., ‘Colonizing Elephants: Animal Agency, Undead Capital and Imperial Science in British Burma.’ *BJHS Themes* 2 (2017), 169–189.
- ., ‘Milk to Mandalay: Dairy Consumption, Animal History and the Political Geography of Colonial Burma.’ *Journal of Historical Geography* 54 (2016), 1–12.

- Salazar, I., P. Sánchez-Quinteiro, N. Alemañ, and D. Prieto., 'Anatomical, Immunohistochemical and Physiological Characteristics of the Vomeronasal Vessels in Cows and Their Possible Role in Vomeronasal Reception.' *Journal of Anatomy* 212, 5 (2008), 686–696.
- Salcido, C., M. Geltmeier, and P. Fuchs., 'Pain and Decision-Making: Interrelated Through Homeostasis.' *The Open Pain Journal* 11 (2018), 31–40.
- Samatar, A. and S. Oldfield., 'Class and Effective State Institutions: The Botswana Meat Commission.' *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 33, 4 (1995), 651–668.
- Sánchez-Bayo, F. and K. Wyckhuys., 'Worldwide Decline of the Entomofauna: A Review of Its Drivers.' *Biological Conservation* 232 (2019), 8–27.
- Sayes, E., 'Actor-Network Theory and Methodology: Just What Does It Mean to Say That Nonhumans Have Agency?' *Social Studies of Science* 44, 1 (2014), 134–149.
- Schneider, H., 'The History of Veterinary Medicine in Namibia.' *Journal of the South African Veterinary Association* 83, 1 (2012), 1–11.
- Scholtz, M., J. Bester, M. Mamabolo, and K. Ramsay., 'Results of the National Cattle Survey Undertaken in South Africa, with Emphasis on Beef.' *Applied Animal Husbandry & Rural Development* 1 (2008), 1–9.
- Shaw, D., 'The Torturer's Horse: Agency and Animals in History.' *History and Theory* 52, 4 (2013), 146–167.
- Shupe, J. 'Arthritis in Cattle.' *Canadian Veterinary Journal* 2, 10 (1961), 369–376.
- Simelane, H., 'The Colonial State and the Political Economy of Famine in Swaziland, 1943–1945.' *South African Historical Journal* 66, 1 (2014), 104–121.
- Sirayi, G., 'The African Perspective of the 1856/1857 Cattle-Killing Movement.' *South African Journal of African Languages* 11, 1 (1991), 40–45.
- Skabelund, A., 'Animals and Imperialism: Recent Historiographical Trends.' *History Compass* 11, 10 (2013), 801–807.
- Smith, A., 'The Origins of Domesticated Animals of Southern Africa', in R. Blench and K. MacDonald (eds.), *The Origins and Development of African Livestock: Archaeology, Genetics, Linguistics, and Ethnography* (London: UCL Press) 2000, 222–238.
- Specht, J., 'Animal History after Its Triumph: Unexpected Animals, Evolutionary Approaches, and the Animal Lens.' *History Compass* 14, 7 (2016), 326–336.
- Stapleton, T., "'They No Longer Care for Their Chiefs": Another Look at the Xhosa Cattle-Killing of 1856-1857.' *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 24, 2 (1991), 383–392.
- Starkey, P., 'The History of Working Animals in Africa', in K. MacDonald and R. Blench (eds.), *The Origins and Development of African Livestock: Archaeology, Genetics, Linguistics and Ethnography* (London: University College London Press, 2000), 478–502.
- Stock, F. and D. Gifford-Gonzalez., 'Genetics and African Cattle Domestication.' *African Archaeological Review* 30, 1 (2013), 51–72.
- Stoecker, R., 'Why Animals Can't Act.' *Inquiry: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Philosophy* 52, 3 (2009), 255–271.
- Stoye, S., M. Porter, and M. Dawkins., 'Synchronized Lying in Cattle in Relation to Time of Day.' *Livestock Science* 149, 1 (2012), 70–73.
- Sunseri, T., 'The African Rinderpest Panzootic, 1888–1897', in *Oxford Research Encyclopedia: Cultural History, Medical History* (Oxford University Press, 2018), 1–34.
- Swanson, M., 'The Sanitation Syndrome: Bubonic Plague and Urban Native Policy in the Cape Colony, 1900-1909.' *Journal of African History*, 18, 3 (1977), 387–410.
- Swart, S., 'Animals in African History', in *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of African History* (Oxford University Press, 2019) 1–16.
- ., "'But Where's the Bloody Horse?": Textuality and Corporeality in the "Animal Turn"', *Journal of Literary Studies* 23, 3 (2007), 271–292.
- ., 'Settler Stock? Animals and Power in Mid-Seventeenth Century Contact at the Cape, circa 1652-62', in P. Cuneo (ed.), *Animals and Early Modern Identity* (London: Routledge, 2016)

- 243–269.
- ., ‘“The World the Horses Made”: A South African Case Study of Writing Animals into Social History.’ *International Review of Social History* 55, 2 (2010), 241–263.
- Taylor, A. and H Davis., ‘Individual Humans as Discriminative Stimuli for Cattle (*Bos Taurus*).’ *Applied Animal Behaviour Science* 58, 1 (1998), 13–21.
- Theiler, A., ‘East Coast Fever.’ *Journal of the Royal Army Medical Corps* 3, 6 (1904), 599–620.
- ., ‘Some Observations Concerning the Transmission of East Coast Fever by Ticks.’ *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Africa* 2 (1910), 319–338.
- Theunissen, B., ‘Breeding Without Mendelism: Theory and Practice of Dairy Cattle Breeding in the Netherlands 1900–1950.’ *Journal of the History of Biology* 41, 4 (2008), 637–676.
- Thomson, M., ‘Psychiatry, Disability, and Eugenics after World War II’, in A. Bashford and P. Levine (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Eugenics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 116–133.
- Tischler, J., ‘Education and the Agrarian Question in South Africa, c. 1900–40.’ *The Journal of African History* 57, 2 (2016), 251–270.
- Turrell, R., ‘Kimberley’s Model Compounds.’ *The Journal of African History* 25, 1 (1984), 59–75.
- Ulrich, N., ‘Dr Anders Sparrman: Travelling with the Labouring Poor in the Late Eighteenth-Century Cape.’ *South African Historical Journal* 61, 4 (2009), 731–749.
- van den Bergh, G., ‘The British Scorched Earth and Concentration Camp Policies in the Potchefstroom Region, 1899–1902.’ *Scientia Militaria, South African Journal of Military Studies* 40, 2 (2012), 72–88.
- van der Byl, D., ‘A Short History of Irene.’ *Pretoriana* 42 & 43 (1963), 1–21.
- van Dijk, T., ‘Critical Discourse Analysis’, in D. Tannen, H. Hamilton, and D. Schiffrin (eds.), *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis* (Malden: Wiley Blackwell, 2015), 466–485.
- van Huis, A., ‘Welfare of Farmed Insects.’ *Journal of Insects as Food and Feed* 5, 3 (2019), 159–162.
- van Marle, J., ‘The Breeding of Beef Cattle in South Africa: Past, Present, and Future.’ *South African Journal of Animal Science* 4 (1974), 197–304.
- van Onselen, C., ‘Reactions to Rinderpest in Southern Africa 1896–97.’ *The Journal of African History* 13, 3 (1972), 473–488.
- van Rensburg, S., ‘Pitfalls of Artificial Insemination and Semen Examination.’ *Journal of the South African Veterinary Association* 21, 4 (1950), 187–196.
- van Rensburg, W., ‘A Convenient Type of Electro-Ejaculator for Bulls and Rams.’ *Journal of the South African Veterinary Association* 28, 1 (1957), 1–4.
- van Sittert, L., ‘Holding the Line: The Rural Enclosure Movement in the Cape Colony, c. 1865–1910.’ *The Journal of African History* 43, 1 (2002), 95–118.
- ., ‘Writing on Skin: The Entangled Embodied Histories of Black Labour and Livestock Registration in the Cape Colony, C. 1860–1909.’ *Kronos* 40, 1 (2014), 74–98.
- van Sittert, L. and S. Swart., ‘*Canis Familiaris*: A Dog History of Southern Africa’, in L. van Sittert and S. Swart (eds.), *Canis Africanis: A Dog History of Southern Africa* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 1–34.
- Vansina, J., ‘A Slow Revolution: Farming in Subequatorial Africa.’ *Azania: Archaeological Research in Africa* 29, 1 (1994), 15–26.
- Vermeersch, P., V. Linseele, E. Marinova, W. Van Neer, J. Moeyersons, and J. Rethemeyer., ‘Early and Middle Holocene Human Occupation of the Egyptian Eastern Desert: Sodmein Cave.’ *African Archaeological Review* 32 (2015), 465–503.
- Viljoen, P., ‘The East Coast Fever Problem in the Union’ (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1930), 145–157.
- Vogel, S. and H. Heyne., ‘Rinderpest in South Africa – 100 Years Ago.’ *Journal of the South African Veterinary Association* 67, 4 (1996), 164–170.
- von Keyserlingk, M., J. Rushen, A. de Passillé, and D. Weary., ‘Invited Review: The Welfare of Dairy Cattle—Key Concepts and the Role of Science.’ *Journal of Dairy Science* 92, 9 (2009), 4101–4111.

- Wadiwel, D., 'Chicken Harvesting Machine: Animal Labour, Resistance and the Time of Production.' *South Atlantic Quarterly* 117, 3 (2018), 527–549.
- Wahlquist, Å., 'Eating Beef: Cattle, Methane and Food Production.' *Asia Pacific Journal of Clinical Nutrition* 22, 1 (2013), 16–24.
- Walker, B., 'Animals and the Intimacy of History.' *History and Theory* 52, 4 (2013), 45–67.
- Watkins-Pitchford, H., 'Dipping and Tick-Destroying Agents' (Pretoria: Union of South Africa Department of Agriculture, 1911).
- Waynert, D., J. Stookey, K. Schwartzkopf Genswein, J. Watts, and C. Waltz., 'The Response of Beef Cattle to Noise during Handling.' *Applied Animal Behaviour Science* 62 (1999), 27–42.
- Weber, J. and K. Alcorn., 'Origins of HIV and the AIDS Epidemic.' *MedGenMed* 2, 4 (2000), 1–6.
- Wells, M., 'The Effect of the Wagon Building Industry on the Amatola Forests.' *Bothalia* 11, 1 & 2 (1973), 153–57.
- Wells, M., W. Philpot, S. Musgrave, E. Jones, and W. Brock., 'Effect of Method of Semen Collection and Tranquilization on Semen Quality and Bull Behavior.' *Journal of Dairy Science* 49, 5 (1966), 500–503.
- Wessels, A., 'The Anglo-Boer War (1899 – 1902) and its Traumatic Consequences', in P. Gobodo-Madikizela (ed.), *Breaking Intergenerational Cycles of Repetition a Global Dialogue on Historical Trauma and Memory* (Berlin: Barbara Budrich Publishers, 2016), 160–173.
- Wilmot, S., 'From "Public Service" to Artificial Insemination: Animal Breeding Science and Reproductive Research in Early Twentieth-Century Britain.' *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science Part C: Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences, Between the Farm and the Clinic: Agriculture and Reproductive Technology in the Twentieth Century* 38, 2 (2007), 411–441.
- Wolfe, N., C. Dunavan, and J. Diamond., 'Origins of Major Human Infectious Diseases.' *Nature* 447, 7142 (2007), 279–283.
- Wynne, C., 'What Are Animals? Why Anthropomorphism is Still Not a Scientific Approach to Behavior.' *Comparative Cognition & Behavior Reviews* 2 (2007), 125–135.
- Zeder, M., 'The Broad Spectrum Revolution at 40: Resource Diversity, Intensification, and an Alternative to Optimal Foraging Explanations.' *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 31, 3 (2012), 241–264.
- Zerboni, A. and K. Nicoll., 'Enhanced Zoogeomorphological Processes in North Africa in the Human-Impacted Landscapes of the Anthropocene.' *Geomorphology* 331 (2019), 22–35.

Unpublished theses/dissertations and papers

- Bottaro, J., 'The Changing Landscape of the Liesbeek River Valley' (Master's Thesis, University of Cape Town, Cape Town, 1996).
- Braden, P., 'Serve the People: Bovine Experiences in China's Civil War and Revolution, 1935-1961' (PhD Dissertation, University of California San Diego, San Diego, 2020).
- Cripps, E., 'Provisioning Johannesburg, 1886-1910' (Master's Thesis, Pretoria, University of South Africa, Pretoria, 2012).
- Fitchett, R., 'Early Architecture at the Cape under the VOC (1652-1710): The Characteristics and Influence of the Proto-Cape Dutch Period' (PhD Dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 1996).
- Fourie, J., 'An Inquiry into the Nature, Causes and Distribution of Wealth in the Cape Colony, 1652-1795' (PhD Dissertation, Utrecht University, Utrecht, 2012).
- Heinrich, A., 'A Zooarchaeological Investigation into the Meat Industry Established at the Cape of Good Hope by the Dutch East India Company in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries' (PhD Dissertation, The State University of New Jersey, New Jersey, 2010).

- Jerlström, J., 'When and What Determines the Death of an Animal? A Study Investigating the Heart Activity during Slaughter of Farm Animals' (Veterinary Medicine Thesis, Swedish University of Agricultural Science, Skara, 2014).
- Jimenez, R., 'Rites of Reproduction: Gender, Generation and Political Economic Transformation among Nguni-Speakers of Southern Africa, 8th - 19th Century CE' (PhD Dissertation, Northwestern University, Illinois, 2017).
- 'Lesotho Agricultural Sector Investment Programme. Working Paper 4B Intensive and Extensive Livestock Production Agricultural Diversification', Lesotho, 1997.
- Lewis, J., 'An Economic History of the Ciskei, 1848-1900' (PhD Dissertation, University of Cape Town, Cape Town, 1984).
- Macala, J., D. Norris, and B. Kiflewahid., 'Cattle Milk and Meat Research and Development in Botswana', ILCA Workshop on Collaborative Cattle Milk and Meat Research in East and Southern Africa, Harare, Zimbabwe, 12-15 June, 1989.
- Machingaidze, V., 'The Development of Settler Capitalist Agriculture in Southern Rhodesia with Particular Reference to the Role of the State, 1908-1939' (PhD Dissertation, University of London, London, 1980).
- Madida, N., 'A History of the Colonial Bacteriological Institute 1891-1905' (Master's Thesis, University of Cape Town, Cape Town, 2003).
- Milton, S., 'The Killing Floor: The First World War and the Emergence of the South African Beef Industry 1902-24', *Collected Seminar Papers. Institute of Commonwealth Studies* 48 (1994), 82–91.
- Molosiwa, P. "'The Tragedy of the Ababirwas": Cattle Herding, Power and the Socio-Environmental History of the Ethnic Identity of the Babirwa in Botswana, 1920 to the Present' (PhD Dissertation, University of Minnesota, Minnesota, 2013).
- Rosenthal, E., 'Cold Storage Chronicle: History of the Imperial Cold Storage' (Unpublished: circa 1955), Cambridge University Library, Rare Books Department.
- van Heyningen, E., 'Public Health and Society in Cape Town, 1880-1910' (PhD Dissertation, University of Cape Town, Cape Town, 1989).

Internet sources

- Angus Society of South Africa., 'History of the Angus Society', *Angus Society of South Africa*. <http://www.angus.org.za/history/>, accessed 3 April 2021.
- Artefacts Website., 'Lyon, John. Architect', *Artefacts Website*. <https://www.artefacts.co.za/main/Buildings/archframes.php?archid=1022>, accessed 6 January 2020.
- Ayrshire., 'History of the Ayrshire Breed', *Ayrshire*. <http://www.ayrshire.co.za/p2/about-the-breed/history-of-the-ayrshire-breed.html>, accessed 3 April 2021.
- Banerjee, B, J. Rodriguez, and S Dar., 'Beyond Name Changes and Pulling down Statues – How to Decolonise Business Schools', *The Conversation*, 13 July 2020. <http://theconversation.com/beyond-name-changes-and-pulling-down-statues-how-to-decolonise-business-schools-142394>, accessed 13 July 2020.
- BBC., 'Amazon Fires Increase by 84% in One Year - Space Agency', *BBC News*, 21 August 2019. www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-49415973, accessed 23 August 2019.
- — —., 'Amazon Fires: Merkel and Macron Urge G7 to Debate "Emergency"', *BBC News*, 23 August 2019. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-49443389>, accessed 23 August 2019.
- Benatar, D., 'Our Cruel Treatment of Animals Led to the Coronavirus', *The New York Times*, 13 April 2020. <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/13/opinion/animal-cruelty-coronavirus.html>, accessed 14 April 2020.
- — —., 'Why Don't Academics Address Each Other Politely?', *Times Higher Education*, 31 January

2019. <https://www.timeshighereducation.com/opinion/why-dont-academics-address-each-other-politely>, accessed 27 April 2021.
- Bogué, J., 'Decolonising Dutch Museums: Stolen Heritage to Be Returned? (blog)' *Dutch Review*, 26 October 2020. <https://dutchreview.com/culture/decolonising-dutch-museums/>, accessed 29 October 2020.
- Bradford, T., 'Southern Africa, circa 1835', *Afriterrra*, *The Cartographic Free Library*. <http://catalog.afriterrra.org/viewMap.cmd?number=2286>, accessed 4 February 2019.
- Brooke, P. and A. Mood., 'The Welfare of Fish in Commercial Fishing', *fishcount.org*, 2013. <http://www.fishcount.org.uk/published/high/fishcount-presentation1-2013HR.pdf>, accessed 26 April 2021.
- CABI., 'Contagious Bovine Pleuropneumonia', *CABI*, 2020. <https://www.cabi.org/isc/datasheet/88090>, accessed 12 May 2021.
- ., 'Rinderpest, *Fallopia Japonica*', *CABI*, 2020. www.cabi.org/isc, accessed 5 May 2020.
- Carrington, D., 'Avoiding Meat and Dairy is "Single Biggest Way" to Reduce Your Impact on Earth', *The Guardian*, 31 May 2018. <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2018/may/31/avoiding-meat-and-dairy-is-single-biggest-way-to-reduce-your-impact-on-earth>, accessed 31 May 2018.
- ., 'Plummeting Insect Numbers "Threaten Collapse of Nature"', *The Guardian*, 10 February 2019. <http://www.theguardian.com/environment/2019/feb/10/plummeting-insect-numbers-threaten-collapse-of-nature>, accessed 11 February 2019.
- CBS News., 'Live Animal 'Wet Markets' in New York City Face Protests amid Coronavirus Pandemic', *CBS This Morning*, 9 May 2020. <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/coronavirus-pandemic-animal-wet-market-new-york-city-protests/>, accessed 10 May 2020.
- Centre for Disease Control and Prevention., 'Zoonotic Diseases (blog)', *CDC*, 14 July 2017. <https://www.cdc.gov/onehealth/basics/zoonotic-diseases.html>, accessed 3 March 2020.
- Chaudhuri, A., 'The Real Meaning of Rhodes Must Fall | Amit Chaudhuri', *The Guardian*, 16 March 2016. <http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/mar/16/the-real-meaning-of-rhodes-must-fall>, accessed 16 March 2019.
- Chube, L., 'Botswana: 'Decolonise, Africanise Education' *allAfrica.com*, 21 May 2019. <https://allafrica.com/stories/201905220711.html>, accessed 1 June 2019.
- Eban, K., 'The Lab-Leak Theory: Inside the Fight to Uncover COVID-19's Origins', *Vanity Fair*, 3 June 2021. <https://www.vanityfair.com/news/2021/06/the-lab-leak-theory-inside-the-fight-to-uncover-covid-19s-origins>, accessed 8 June 2021.
- familysearch.org., 'Life, Education & Work', *familysearch.org*. <https://www.familysearch.org/service/records/storage/das-mem/patron/v2/TH-904-74804-2087-19/dist.txt?ctx=ArtCtxPublic>, accessed 3 May 2021.
- Farmer's Weekly., 'Shorthorn (blog)', *Farmer's Weekly*, 23 April 2012. <https://www.farmersweekly.co.za/farm-basics/how-to-livestock/shorthorn/>, accessed 3 April 2021.
- Frood, A., 'How Can You Tell If an Animal Is Happy or Sad?', *Phys.Org*, 11 May 2016. <https://phys.org/news/2016-05-animal-happy-sad.html>, accessed 9 January 2019.
- Gómez Ramírez, E., 'Amazon Wildfire Crisis Need for an International Response', *European Parliamentary Research Service*, 2019. [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2019/644198/EPRS_BRI\(2019\)6441_98_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2019/644198/EPRS_BRI(2019)6441_98_EN.pdf), accessed 3 December 2019.
- Google Maps., 'Map of Southern Africa', *Google Maps*, 2021. [Google.com/maps](https://www.google.com/maps), accessed 21 February 2021.
- Gustafsson, L. and T. Haapoja., 'The Museum of the History of Cattle', *Gustafsson&Haapoja*. <http://www.gustafssonhaapoja.org/museum-of-the-history-of-cattle/>, accessed 27 April 2021.

- Hope, A., 'Invisible Fences Keep Grazing Angus Cattle in Place', *The Brussels Times*, 26 July 2020. <https://www.brusselstimes.com/news/belgium-all-news/168978/la-boum-3-is-not-authorised-says-brussels-mayor-philippe-close-may-bois-de-la-cambre-events-prime-minister-alexander-de-croo/>, accessed 26 July 2020.
- Interagency Coordination Group on Antimicrobial Resistance., *No Time to Wait: Securing the Future from Drug-Resistant Infections. Report to the Secretary-General of the United Nations* (Interagency Coordination Group on Antimicrobial Resistance, 2019). https://www.who.int/antimicrobial-resistance/interagency-coordination-group/IACG_final_report_EN.pdf?ua=1, accessed 3 March 2019.
- IPPC., *Summary for Policymakers: Global Warming of 1.5°C. An IPCC Special Report on the Impacts of Global Warming of 1.5°C above Pre-Industrial Levels* (Geneva: World Meteorological Organization, 2018). <https://www.ipcc.ch/sr15/>, accessed 29 January 2019.
- JBS., *JBS Annual and Sustainability Report* (JBS, 2019). <https://www.jbs.com.br/relatorioanual2019/en/home/>, accessed 3 June 2021.
- Jersey SA., 'Historical Origin of Jerseys', *Jersey SA*. <https://www.jerseysa.co.za/Breed-History.htm>, accessed 3 April 2021.
- Kaneda, T. and C. Haub., 'How Many People Have Ever Lived on Earth?', *Population Research Bureau*, 23 January 2020. <https://www.prb.org/howmanypeoplehaveeverlivedonearth/>, accessed 26 April 2021.
- Kohn, M. and K. Reddy., 'Colonialism', in E. Zalta (ed.), *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Metaphysics Research Lab, Stanford University, 2017). <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2017/entries/colonialism/>, 26 June 2019.
- Law Library of Congress., 'Regulation of Wild Animal Wet Markets in Selected Jurisdictions', *Library of Congress*, 2020. <https://www.loc.gov/law/help/wet-markets/index.php>, accessed 3 November 2020.
- Low, P., 'The Cambridge Declaration on Consciousness', 7 July 2012, J. Panksepp, D. Reiss, D. Edelman, B. van Swinderen, P. Low, and C. Koch. (eds.), 2012. <https://fcmconference.org/img/CambridgeDeclarationOnConsciousness.pdf>., accessed 13 January 2013.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs., 'Four-Year Study to Be Conducted into Decolonisation of the Dutch East Indies', *Government of the Netherlands*, 27 February 2017. <https://www.government.nl/latest/news/2017/02/27/four-year-study-to-be-conducted-into-decolonisation-of-the-dutch-east-indies>, accessed 30 March 2017.
- OIE., 'Contagious Bovine Pleuropneumonia', *OIE, World Organisation for Animal Health*, 2020. <https://www.oie.int/en/disease/contagious-bovine-pleuropneumonia/>, accessed 12 May 2021.
- — —., 'Rinderpest', *OIE, World Organisation for Animal Health*, 2020. <https://www.oie.int/en/disease/rinderpest/>, accessed 5 May 2020.
- — —., 'Technical Disease Card: Contagious Bovine Pleuropneumonia', *OIE, World Organisation for Animal Health*, 2020. https://www.oie.int/fileadmin/Home/eng/Animal_Health_in_the_World/docs/pdf/Disease_cards/CONTAGIOUS_BOVINE_PLEUROPNEUMONIA.pdf, accessed 12 May 2021.
- Our World in Data., 'Number of Animals Slaughtered for Meat, World, 1961 to 2018', *Our World in Data*, 26 March 2021. https://ourworldindata.org/grapher/animals-slaughtered-for-meat?country=~OWID_WRL, accessed 26 April 2021.
- PETA., 'The Jaws of Death: How Steel-Jaw Traps Torture and Kill Animals (blog)', *PETA.Org*, 9 September 2020. <https://www.peta.org/features/steel-jaw-trap-fur-cruelty/>, accessed 5 June 2020.
- Phillips, D., D. Camargos, A. Campos, A. Wasley, and A. Heal., 'Revealed: Rampant Deforestation of Amazon Driven by Global Greed for Meat', *The Guardian*, 2 July 2019. <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2019/jul/02/revealed-amazon-deforestation->

- driven-global-greed-meat-brazil, accessed 2 July 2019.
- Phiri, A. and D. Mupotsa., 'On Decolonising Teaching Practices, Not Just the Syllabus', *The Conversation*, 15 July 2020. <http://theconversation.com/on-decolonising-teaching-practices-not-just-the-syllabus-137280>, accessed 15 July 2020.
- Red Poll Cattle Breeder's Society of SA., 'History of the Red Poll Cattle Breeder's Society', *Red Poll Cattle Breeder's Society of SA*. <http://www.redpollsa.co.za/p2/the-society/history-of-the-red-poll-cattle-breeder-s-society.html>, accessed 3 April 2021.
- SA Hereford., 'Hereford Breed History', *SA Hereford*. <https://www.hereford.co.za/Breed-History.htm>, accessed 3 April 2021.
- SA Stud Book., 'SA Stud Book's History', SA Stud Book's history, *SA Stud Book*. <https://studbook.co.za/p107/about-us/sa-stud-book-s-history.html>, accessed 3 April 2021.
- South Devon Cattle Breeders' Society., 'South Devon's Prime Beef, About the Breed', *South Devon*. <https://www.southdevon.co.za/Breed-About.htm>, accessed 3 April 2021.
- Stead, A. (contributor), 'Map of southern Africa, 1946', *University of Cape Town Digital Collections*. <https://digitalcollections.lib.uct.ac.za/collection/islandora-30052>, accessed 19 January 2019.
- Stewart-Burger, M., 'Water and Your Cows (blog)', *Farmer's Weekly*, 20 June 2012. <https://www.farmersweekly.co.za/animals/cattle/water-and-your-cows/>, accessed 12 June 2018.
- Sussex., 'The History of the Sussex Breed', *Sussex*. <http://sussex.co.za/p13/sussex-breed/the-history-of-the-sussex-breed.html>, accessed 3 April 2021.
- The American Bonsmara Breed., 'History of Bonsmara', *The American Bonsmara Breed*. <http://www.bonsmara.com/bonsmara/>, accessed 4 May 2021.
- Thornton, L., 'Antibiotic Resistance Could Wipe out Human Race before Climate Change', *Mirror*, 29 August 2019. <https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/antibiotics-resistance-could-wipe-out-19034176>, accessed 2 September 2019.
- U.S FDA., *2019 Summary Report on Antimicrobials Sold or Distributed for Use in Food-Producing Animals* (U.S Food and Drug Administration, 2020). <https://www.fda.gov/media/144427/download>, accessed 7 January 2021.
- van Zyl, A., 'Deplorable State of Mara Research Station Raises Eyebrows', *Zoutpansberger*, 19 September 2020. <https://www.zoutpansberger.co.za/articles/news/53114/2020-09-19/deplorable-state-of-mara-research-station-raises-eyebrows#:~:text=The%20history%20of%20the%20Mara,station%20was%20Professor%20Jan%20Bonsma>, accessed 3 April 2021.
- WHO., 'Global Shortage of Innovative Antibiotics Fuels Emergence and Spread of Drug-Resistance (blog)', *World Health Organisation*, 15 April 2021. <https://www.who.int/news/item/15-04-2021-global-shortage-of-innovative-antibiotics-fuels-emergence-and-spread-of-drug-resistance>, accessed 15 April 2021.
- Wikipedia Commons., 'Cows dead from rinderpest in South Africa, 1896', *Wikipedia Commons*. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rinderpest#/media/File:Rinderpest_1896-CN.jpg, accessed 3 June 2020.
- Zia, M., J. Hansen, K. Hjort, and C. Valdes., 'Brazil Once Again Becomes the World's Largest Beef Exporter (blog)', *Economic Research Service U.S Department of Agriculture*, 1 July 2020. <https://www.ers.usda.gov/amber-waves/2019/july/brazil-once-again-becomes-the-world-s-largest-beef-exporter/>, accessed 12 July 2020.

Other (map, patent, speeches)

Fenner, R., 'Colony of Good Hope' (London: Joseph Thomas, 1835).

- Force, L., G. Moore, and W. Hincks., 'Process for dressing beef cattle and the like', US Patent 2, 640, 225, issued June 2, 1953
- Swart, S., 'Beasts of the Southern World', African Environments & their Populations, Keynote Address, Georgetown University, 23 April 2016.
- ., 'The Lion's Historian: Animal Histories from the South', Inaugural Address, Stellenbosch University, 17 October 2017.

Curriculum vitae

Michael Glover matriculated at the Roseway Waldorf School in Assegay, KwaZulu-Natal in 2007. He completed a BA with distinction in English Literature and Philosophy with a minor in Linguistics at Rhodes University in 2011 and a BA(Hons) in Philosophy with distinction in 2012. As a Mandela Rhodes Scholar, in 2015 he completed a MA by thesis in History with distinction at the University of Cape Town. He also completed a PGDip in Education Technology in 2018. In 2018 he became a lifetime Associate Fellow of the Oxford Centre for Animal Ethics. He has published internationally in open education and open pedagogies, animal history, economic history, and philosophy. From 2019 to 2021 he researched and wrote his PhD thesis under a cotutelle agreement between the University of the Free State and Leiden University.