

1 Decolonising Parasitology: The Case of *Trypanosoma*
2 *brucei rhodesiense*

3

4 Dietmar Steverding^{1,*} and Kevin M. Tyler²

5

6 ¹Bob Champion Research and Education Building, Norwich Medical School,
7 University of East Anglia, Norwich Research Park, James Watson Road, Norwich
8 NR4 7UQ, UK

9 ²BioMedical Research Centre, Norwich Medical School, University of East Anglia,
10 Norwich NR4 7TJ, UK

11

12 *Correspondence: d.steverding@uea.ac.uk (D. Steverding)

13

14 Keywords: *Trypanosoma brucei rhodesiense*, Black Lives Matter, decolonisation,
15 Cecil Rhodes, Rhodesia

16

17 **Abstract**

18 *Trypanosoma brucei rhodesiense* was named after Rhodesia which in turn was named
19 after the British imperialist and white supremacist Cecil Rhodes. In the light of the
20 Black Lives Matter movement and contemporary consciousness of post-colonial
21 legacy, it seems opportune to reconsider the subspecies name. Pros and cons of
22 renaming *T. b. rhodesiense* are discussed.

23

24 Many tropical parasite species were discovered and described at the turn of the 20th
25 century. Most of these research efforts were driven by colonial powers (but not
26 exclusively, e.g. the pioneering work of Oswaldo Cruz (1879-1934) and Carlos Chagas
27 (1872-1917) on Chagas disease in Brazil). Cures for diseases caused by parasites
28 were sought in order to protect military and civilian personnel working in the colonies,
29 and to sustain the native people who provided the labour and local administration
30 needed to maintain a colonial economy and to maximise the economic return. Most of
31 the investigations were carried out by colonial military personnel and by Europe-based
32 scientists. A frequent practice in naming newly discovered parasite species was (and
33 still is) to name them after their appearance, disease characteristics, geographical
34 regions where they were first discovered, discoverers, or in honour of distinguished
35 personalities.

36

37 **The Discovery of *Trypanosoma (brucei) rhodesiense***

38 The identification of the causative agent of human African trypanosomiasis or sleeping
39 sickness is a story of inter-colonial and international collaboration but also a story of
40 serendipity and rivalry [1]. The species *Trypanosoma brucei* was discovered as a
41 causative agent of nagana disease or cattle trypanosomiasis by the Scottish
42 pathologist and microbiologist David Bruce (1855–1931) in 1895 while working for the
43 Army Medical Service [2]. The first unequivocal report of trypanosomes in the blood of
44 a human came from the British Colonial surgeon Robert Michael Forde (1861–1948)
45 in 1901 when examining a steamboat captain in The Gambia [2]. However, he thought
46 it was a worm. It was the English physician Joseph Everett Dutton (1874–1905) who
47 identified the organisms as trypanosomes a few months later and proposed the name
48 *Trypanosoma gambiense* in 1902 [3]. In 1910, the British parasitologists John William
49 Watson Stephens (1865–1946) and Harold Benjamin Fantham (1876–1937)
50 described a trypanosome organism obtained from an English sleeping sickness
51 patient who got infected in the Luangwa Valley (between Mzaza and Feira) in former
52 North-Eastern Rhodesia in September 1909 (**Figure 1**) [4]. At that time the Luangwa

53 Valley was known to be heavily infested with *Glossina morsitans*, a tsetse fly species
54 unknown in transmitting sleeping sickness in those days [4]. Stephens and Fantham
55 distinguished this newly discovered trypanosome organism from *T. gambiense* on the
56 basis of morphological differences [4]. As they thought they were dealing with a new
57 trypanosome species, they proposed the name *Trypanosoma rhodesiense*. [4]. Today,
58 *T. gambiense* and *T. rhodesiense* are referred to as subspecies of *T. brucei* and have
59 been termed *T. brucei gambiense* and *T. brucei rhodesiense*, although the
60 subspecies/species status of the latter is controversial (see **Box 1** and below) [2,5].

61

62 ***T. b. rhodesiense* and Its Eponymous Association with Cecil Rhodes**

63 The naming of *T. b. rhodesiense* followed that of *T. b. gambiense*, which was named
64 after the region where the first case of human infection with this parasite occurred, The
65 Gambia [3]. Accordingly, as the first reported case of sleeping sickness caused by *T.*
66 *b. rhodesiense* was from Rhodesia, the species was named after this historical region
67 in southern Africa [4]. This territory was demarcated by the British South Africa
68 Company, which comprised three protectorates, North-Eastern Rhodesia,
69 Barotseland-North-Western Rhodesia, and Southern Rhodesia (**Figure 1**). North-
70 Eastern Rhodesia and Barotseland-North-Western Rhodesia were amalgamated in
71 1911 to form Northern Rhodesia, which has been Zambia since 1964. The name
72 Rhodesia was first used by white settlers in the 1890s who informally called their new
73 home after the British mining magnate and politician Cecil John Rhodes (1853-1902),
74 the founder and managing director of the British South Africa Company. In 1895 the
75 British South Africa Company adopted the name Rhodesia for this southern African
76 territory and the British government followed suite officially in 1898.

77

78 Cecil Rhodes was an ardent imperialist and believed in the supremacy of the “*English*
79 *race*”. This racial attitude is confirmed in a letter of 1877 which Rhodes wrote when he
80 was about 22 years old [6]. He also advocated vigorous settler colonialism and was
81 an integral participant in southern African and British imperial policy [7,8]. Cecil

82 Rhodes was always a controversial figure, but since the 1950s, opposition to his
83 memorials has been escalating. Particularly in South Africa, protesters have
84 demanded his monuments be taken down. In recent years, the Black Lives Matter
85 movement has given fresh impetus to the demand to remove memorials of Cecil
86 Rhodes. For example, in June 2020, the governing body of Oxford Oriel College
87 bowed to student pressure and voted to remove a Rhodes statue from the facade of
88 the collegeⁱ. In response to the Black Lives Matter protests against institutional racism,
89 the Rhodes Art Complex in Bishop's Stortford, Hertfordshire, England, was changed
90 to South Mill Arts in August 2020ⁱⁱ. In this context, it seems timely to re-evaluate the
91 subspecies name *T. b. rhodesiense*.

92

93 **Renaming *T. b. rhodesiense*: What Are the Options?**

94 There are three options to deal with the controversial subspecies epithet
95 "*rhodesiense*". The first option is to leave it as it is. The second option is to revoke the
96 subspecies status of *T. b. rhodesiense* while the third option is to give *T. b.*
97 *rhodesiense* a different subspecies epithet. In the following paragraphs, the pros and
98 cons of the second and third options are discussed.

99

100 The second option would be in agreement with previous molecular and genetic studies
101 (reviewed in [9,10]) and phylogenetic relationship analysis [11], which all concluded
102 that *T. b. rhodesiense* is only a phenotypic variant of *T. b. brucei* while *T. b. gambiense*
103 type 1 constitutes a valid (sub)species of *T. brucei*. The only characteristic that
104 distinguishes *T. b. rhodesiense* from *T. b. brucei* is the ability of the former to infect
105 humans. The human infectivity of *T. b. rhodesiense* is associated with a single gene,
106 the serum resistance associated (*SRA*) gene [12,13]. Indeed, it has been
107 demonstrated that transferring the *SRA* gene into *T. b. brucei* was alone sufficient to
108 confer resistance to human serum [13]. An accidental laboratory infection with a *T. b.*
109 *brucei* strain expressing the *SRA* gene proved unequivocally that human infectivity of
110 *T. b. rhodesiense* is solely based on this gene [14]. In addition, it has been shown that

111 it is possible to experimentally cross *T. b. brucei* and *T. b. rhodesiense* in the laboratory
112 (reviewed in [15]). Some of the hybrid clones acquired copies of the *SRA* gene and
113 were resistant to lysis by human serum, indicating that they inherited the human
114 infectivity phenotype [15]. Furthermore, population genetics studies have evidenced
115 that there is gene flow between *T. b. brucei* and *T. b. rhodesiense* [15]. These studies
116 all strongly suggest that *T. b. rhodesiense* is not a valid subspecies but just a host
117 range variant of *T. b. brucei*. Revoking the subspecies status of *T. b. rhodesiense*
118 leaves the phylogenetically distinct *T. (b.) brucei* and *T. (b.) gambiense* as the two
119 aetiologic agents of human African trypanosomiasis and ameliorates the need for a
120 subspecies nomenclature. The major consequence of doing so is that human infective
121 isolates from surveillance of livestock and tsetse will not be differentiated for human
122 infectivity by their nomenclature unless a suffix (such as *SRA+/-*) is also adopted. It
123 has the advantage that as well as being more socially acceptable *T. brucei* *SRA+* is
124 also more accurate scientifically than *T. b. rhodesiense*. Abolishing the subspecies
125 status of *T. b. rhodesiense* may also cause practical problems in everyday laboratory
126 handling of this parasite. For example, the risk of a mix-up between non-human
127 pathogenic and human pathogenic variants of *T. b. brucei* due to labelling errors may
128 increase. In addition, *T. b. brucei* and *T. b. rhodesiense* are usually assigned to
129 different hazard groups ⁱⁱⁱ, with *T. b. rhodesiense* being classified as a biological agent
130 that can cause serious disease in humans. The classification of a biological agent in
131 two different hazard groups may cause its own problems with respect to risk
132 assessment and application of appropriate control measures. However, the
133 assignment of a biological agent that includes both pathogenic and non-pathogenic
134 strains in different hazard groups is not unprecedented. For example, the non-
135 pathogenic *Escherichia coli* laboratory strain K-12 is usually assigned to Hazard Group
136 1 while the verocytotoxigenic *E. coli* strain O157:H7 is classified into Hazard Group 3
137 ⁱⁱⁱ. Revoking the subspecies status of *T. b. rhodesiense* could also raise concerns by
138 clinicians, particularly if the “*brucei*” epithets were retained as it is crucial for them to
139 know with which human-pathogenic *T. brucei* subspecies a patient is infected. This

140 knowledge is important as different drug regimens are used for the treatment of East
141 African and West African sleeping sickness caused by *T. b. rhodesiense* (then *T.*
142 *brucei*) and *T. b. gambiense*, respectively, so it may be wise to readopt the use of *T.*
143 *gambiense*. However, in either case, revoking the subspecies status of *T. b.*
144 *rhodesiense* may not cause any problems for the treatment of sleeping sickness
145 patients as both forms of the disease have distinct geographical distribution with
146 Uganda being the only country in which both forms of sleeping sickness co-occur but
147 in different regions without overlapping.

148

149 For the third option one would need to find a suitable replacement for the subspecies
150 epithet "*rhodesiense*". This should follow the previous naming of the human
151 pathogenic subspecies of *T. brucei*, which was according to the locations of the first
152 reported cases of infection. As the first documented case of *T. b. rhodesiense* infection
153 was from North-East Rhodesia (**Figure 1**) [4], which since 1964 is part of present-day
154 Zambia, the logical choice would be to rename the subspecies as *T. b. zambiense*. As
155 the three British South Africa Company protectorates, North-Eastern Rhodesia,
156 Barotseland-North-Western Rhodesia, and Southern Rhodesia were initially
157 collectively known as Zambesia ^{iv}, *T. b. rhodesiense* could alternatively also be
158 renamed as *T. b. zambesiense*. An obstacle to the renaming is the law of priority,
159 which is a basic principle of the International Code of Zoological Nomenclature ^v. This
160 law states that "*the valid name of a taxon is the oldest available name applied to it*" ^v.
161 However, a name can be invalidated by any ruling of the International Commission on
162 Zoological Nomenclature ^v.

163

164 Whatever the decision may be, the major obstacle of all remains the more than 100
165 years of literature published on *T. b. rhodesiense* and East African sleeping sickness.
166 It is easy to remove a statue from public view but it is impossible to erase a species
167 name from the scientific record.

168

169 **Acknowledgements**

170 We want to thank the council members of the British Society for Parasitology (BSP)
171 for a helpful and constructive discussion on the topic of renaming *T. b. rhodesiense*.

172

173 **Resources**

174 ⁱ <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/education-53487991>

175 ⁱⁱ [https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/cecil-rhodes-arts-complex-](https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/cecil-rhodes-arts-complex-theatre-name-change-black-lives-matter-protests-a9655221.html)
176 [theatre-name-change-black-lives-matter-protests-a9655221.html](https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/cecil-rhodes-arts-complex-theatre-name-change-black-lives-matter-protests-a9655221.html)

177 ⁱⁱⁱ <https://www.hse.gov.uk/pubns/misc208.pdf>

178 ^{iv} <https://www.britannica.com/place/Zimbabwe/The-British-South-African-Company>

179 ^v <https://iczn.org/the-code/the-international-code-of-zoological-nomenclature/>

180 ^{vi} https://commons.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Rhodesia_map_EB1911.png

181 ^{vii} https://commons.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Zanbia_Zimbabwe Locator.png

182

183 **References**

184 1. Webel, M. K. (2019) Trypanosomiasis, tropical medicine, and the practices of
185 inter-colonial research at Lake Victoria, 1902-1917. *Hist. Technol.* 35, 266-292
186 doi: 10.1080/07341512.2019.1680151

187 2. Steverding, D. (2008) History of African trypanosomiasis. *Parasit. Vectors* 1, 3
188 doi: 10.1186/1756-3305-1-3

189 3. Dutton, J. E (1902) Preliminary note upon a trypanosome occurring in the blood
190 of man. *Thompson Yates Lab. Rep.* 4, 455-468

191 4. Stephens, J. W. W. and Fantham, H. B. (1910) On the peculiar morphology of a
192 trypanosome from a case of sleeping sickness and the possibility of its being a
193 new species (*T. rhodesiense*). *Proc. Roy. Soc. Lond. B* 83, 28-33 doi:
194 10.1098/rspb.1910.0064

195 5. Hide, G. (1999) History of sleeping sickness in East Africa. *Clin. Microbiol. Rev.*
196 12, 112-125 doi: 10.1128/CMR.12.1.112

- 197 6. Stead, W. T. (1902) *The Last Will and Testament of Cecil John Rhodes with*
198 *Elucidatory Notes to which Are Added Some Chapters Describing the Political*
199 *and Religious Ideas of the Testator*. William Clowes and Sons, Ltd.
- 200 7. McFarlane, R. A. (2007) Historiography of selected works on Cecil John Rhodes
201 (1853-1902). *Hist. Afr.* 34, 437-446 doi: 10.1353/hia.2007.0013
- 202 8. Magubane, B. M. (1996) *The Making of a Racist State: British Imperialism and*
203 *the Union of South Africa*. African World Press
- 204 9. Baker, J. R. (1995) The subspecies taxonomy of *Trypanosoma brucei*. *Parasite*
205 2, 3-12 doi: 10.1051/parasite/1995021003
- 206 10. Gibson, W. (2002) Will the real *Trypanosoma brucei rhodesiense* please step
207 forward? *Trends Parasitol.* 18, 486-490 doi: 10.1016/s1471-4922(02)02390-5
- 208 11. Balmer, O. *et al.* (2011) Phylogeography and Taxonomy of *Trypanosoma brucei*.
209 *PLoS Negl. Trop. Dis.* 5, e961 doi: 10.1371/journal.pntd.0000961
- 210 12. de Greef, C. *et al.* (1989) A gene expressed only in serum-resistant variants of
211 *Trypanosoma brucei rhodesiense*. *Mol. Biochem. Parasitol.* 36, 169-176 doi:
212 10.1016/0166-6851(89)90189-8
- 213 13. Xong, H. V. *et al.* (1998) A VSG expression site-associated gene confers
214 resistance to human serum in *Trypanosoma rhodesiense*. *Cell* 95, 839-846 doi:
215 10.1016/s0092-8674(00)81706-7
- 216 14. Gibson, W. C. (2005) The *SRA* gene: the key to understanding the nature of
217 *Trypanosoma brucei rhodesiense*. *Parasitology* 131, 143-150 doi:
218 10.1017/s0031182005007560
- 219 15. Gibson, W. (2015) Liaisons dangereuses: sexual recombination among
220 pathogenic trypanosomes. *Res. Microbiol.* 166, 459-466 doi:
221 10.1016/j.resmic.2015.05.005
222

223 **Box 1. How the three subspecies nomenclature became adopted**

224 In the early years of parasitological research, species discovery and identification
225 relied mainly on the description of morphological and biological features. Accordingly,
226 the discovery of sleeping sickness trypanosomes was solely based on morphological
227 description [3,4]. However, when *T. rhodesiense* was discovered, it was thought by
228 some (the so-called “British” school including Bruce himself) that this trypanosome
229 was identical to *T. brucei*, because the two species were morphological
230 indistinguishable, and both were transmitted by the same group of tsetse flies (*G.*
231 *morsitans* group) and showed equal virulence to animals [9,10]. In contrast, others
232 thought (the so-called “German” school) that *T. rhodesiense* and *T. brucei* were
233 distinct species mainly based on the fact that isolates of *T. brucei* were non-infectious
234 to humans [9,10]. Further evidence for *T. rhodesiense* being a distinct species came
235 from the Tinde experiment, which showed that a strain of *T. rhodesiense* did not lose
236 its human infectivity after prolonged serial cyclical passages (23 years) through tsetse
237 flies and sheep [9,10]. However, human infectivity of *T. rhodesiense* and non-human
238 infectivity of *T. brucei* were shown not to be absolute characteristics of the two species
239 [9]. Eventually, the British protozoologist and parasitologist Cecil Arthur Hoare (1892-
240 1984) demoted both sleeping sickness trypanosome species to subspecies of *T.*
241 *brucei* [9,10].

242

243 **Figure 1. Map of historical Rhodesia.** The protectorates North-Eastern Rhodesia
244 and North-Western Rhodesia, which were amalgamated into Northern Rhodesia in
245 1911 (Zambia since 1964), are shown in green. The protectorate Southern Rhodesia
246 (Zimbabwe since 1980) is shown in orange. The region where the first documented
247 case of a human *T. b. rhodesiense* infection presumably occurred is highlighted in red.
248 The map has been created by merging a 1911 Encyclopædia Britannica illustration ^{vi}
249 and a map indicating the location of Zambia and Zimbabwe ^{vii}.

250

