

hook, Ogborn writes that the Jamaican overseer Thomas Thistlewood, in a confrontation with the enslaved man Quashie, demanded to know whether Quashie intended “to poison or murder him” (2). Quashie, Thistlewood noted, *paused* before replying that he intended only to get Thistlewood dismissed. That pause, so full of meaning, might have been more threatening to Thistlewood than the words the enslaved man spoke. Had Ogborn dwelled on moments like these, he could have wrestled with his sources to squeeze out these ancillary elements of speech practices, oral cultures, and the social attitudes towards them.

Freedom of Speech is an innovative and nuanced book that opens new lines of inquiry into the “conceptual geography of speech acts” (32) and new ways of reading and *hearing* the sources in the problematic archives of slavery. Built from deep archival research, the book offers fascinating anecdotes to support its argument. Yet, it has some central flaws. Ogborn’s study would have benefited not only from a more *bottoms up* approach, but from a more *ground up* approach. While the book asserts that there is a geography of speech practices, it includes little in the way of specific and

sustained comparisons among Caribbean islands, and pays far too little attention to the physical geography of enslaved life on plantations. There is a materiality in the built environment of the plantation that surely informed the speech practices of everyday life. This is a book focused on the power and politics of talk and silencing that tends to depict the enslaved as a uniform political body. Ogborn’s analysis of the spoken word seems disembodied: disconnected from body language. There is little attention paid to change over space or time, making the oral cultures of Caribbean slavery seem monolithic and transhistorical. These issues may arise from applying Latour’s broad theoretical model to a complicated subject with a dynamic history. That theoretical model and language shapes the book throughout. Ogborn’s work is intricate and thoughtful, but his sentence structure is often needlessly convoluted. This is a book that will appeal to specialists and graduate students seeking new lines of inquiry, but it will be less accessible for undergraduates or the general public.

JUSTIN ROBERTS
Dalhousie University

JACOB S. T. DLAMINI. *Safari Nation: A Social History of the Kruger National Park*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2020. Pp. 350. Cloth \$80.00, paper \$34.95.

Kruger National Park (KNP) occupies a central place in South Africa’s past and present as a national asset and international tourist destination. Jacob Dlamini’s *Safari Nation* is a black history of the park that stresses the presence and mobility of African, Indian, and Coloured South Africans in the face of laws that sought to curtail independent movement and racially segregate South Africa. By focusing on social and political relations within the park beyond themes of absence and constraint, Dlamini brings to the fore ways that black South Africans “gave meaning to their lives”—living with rather than under colonialism and apartheid—and gave shape to the history of the park and the nation over the twentieth century. (Following Dlamini, this review uses “black” as a political as opposed to an ethnic or racial category, and African, Coloured, and Indian as used in the text [e.g., 8, 264].)

Safari Nation extends from the 1902 creation of the park’s forerunner, the Sabi Game Reserve, through KNP’s establishment in 1926 up to the present. True to the methods of social history, Dlamini draws on a wide array of sources, from government records and the black press to oral history interviews and personal photo collections. The book contributes not only to literature on the history of the park, and land and conservation more widely, but also to everyday social histories of Africans living with colonialism and apartheid. Dlamini divides the book into two parts: “Movement,”

with chapters that consider poachers, migrant laborers, and early histories of black tourism; and “Homelands,” with chapters that zoom in on KNP to detail the history of black tourism there, how the park was shaped by the development of apartheid’s faux independent bantustans and their administrators, and how democracy changed—and in some ways did not change—relationships between the park and its neighbors.

Dlamini confronts scholarship on KNP that has reduced the relationship between black South Africans and the park to one of restriction by focusing on how conservation required displacement. This sense of limitation emerged from the very history of the park that enabled the consolidation of white (English- and Afrikaans-speaking) interests around land and labor via the promotion of nationhood. In particular, the development of a South African tourism industry included the promotion of the country as “a place where the modern (mines) lived side by side with the traditional (chiefs)” (135). Scholars and teachers of African history still confront these images of timeless Africans, and Africans at one with nature, as evidenced by the popularity of Binyavanga Wainaina’s essay “How to Write about Africa” on university syllabi. Why, Dlamini asks, does scholarship continue to focus on absence despite a history of black engagement with the park? On the contrary, Dlamini argues: exclusion from national politics did not mean absence from the national park.

Deploying a frame of “histories of presence,” Dlamini shows not only the black South Africans present in the park, but the ways their presence reveals how travel helped craft new ways of being. *Safari Nation* is thus a welcome contribution to the historiography of the early twentieth-century political landscape that documents the black pursuit of rights in land and the legal system. To name just a few examples, that scholarship includes Tembeka Ngcukaitobi’s *The Land Is Ours: South Africa’s First Black Lawyers*; Bongani Ngqulunga’s *The Man Who Founded the ANC*; and Brian Willan’s *Sol Plaatje*. Several of the most prominent political actors in these books—such as Pixley ka Isaka Seme and Plaatje—appear throughout *Safari Nation* as well, alongside others—such as John Dube, D. T. Jabavu, and Herbert Dhlomo—who engaged in questions of land and black political rights. Dlamini convincingly shows how scholarly attention to the land question obscures the fullness and complexity of black experiences of twentieth-century South Africa.

Describing the primary concerns of these black South Africans as roots and routes, Dlamini reveals how the elite positioned their right to travel without interference (routes) as equally important to their right to vote or own land (roots)—and as significant to the crafting of a South African identity (chap. 4). White officials with the South African Railway (SAR) saw trains as the means of black labor mobilization, not black tourism, and black South Africans as raw materials to be viewed by white passengers. Through the propaganda photographs, slides, pamphlets, and films on which Dlamini draws, railway officials advertised black South Africans as “the basic stuff from which South Africa could be made known to the world,” promoting ethnicized difference to entice white visitors and settlers to the young nation whose black population continued to outnumber the white. SAR advertised KNP as the “biggest natural zoo in the world” (123), and modern mines as places to see so-called tribal dances. Richly colored images from the Transnet Heritage Museum Photo Collection, featuring scenes of so-called native life and white couples having tea with vervet monkeys, bring this point home.

While the state sought to constrain them as modernity’s foil, early twentieth century “New Africans” lived with colonialism while consciously cultivating modern identities. In concentrating on their insistent right to travel—and new relationships with the land built to claim South Africa as their own through tourism—Dlamini’s work marks a significant departure from the extensive scholarship focused on land and the ways Africans claimed it through relationships with the ancestors, property associations, or oral accounts of the past. The travelogues left by men like Jabavu document the significance of routes to rooting them in a modern South Africa.

In its attention to leisure, *Safari Nation* builds on a growing literature that deals with everyday life under co-

lonialism and apartheid (for instance, Dlamini’s own *Native Nostalgia* [2010] and Daniel Magaziner’s *The Art of Life in South Africa* [2016]). The book’s most compelling chapters examine those who visited the park on holiday and the relationship that elite and nonelite black South Africans had with travel. Tracking the “Who’s Who in the News This Week” columns from the black daily paper *Bantu World*’s, and using the original *African Who’s Who* directories as a kind of South African *Negro Motorist Green Book*, chapter 3 documents black arguments for leisurely travel and the travel itself. Dlamini uses the leisure activities of Dube, Plaatje, and Dhlomo to show how elites distinguished themselves from the rest of the African population and expected the state to recognize the distinction. They likened plans to enforce Africans to display themselves in their “natural conditions” to keeping Africans like animals in the KNP zoo.

Subsequent chapters turn to how black South Africans moved and developed their own tourism traditions. Chapter 5 tracks how African, Indian, and Coloured South Africans visited and experienced KNP when so little of the country and the park’s infrastructure was intended for them, contributing to social histories of the continent that document black theater and film, sports, and consumption (by Bheki Peterson, Tyler Fleming, Laura Fair, Peter Alegi, Emmanuel Akyeampong, and Phyllis Martin, among others). Indians constituted the largest group of black tourists to the park, while African domestic workers in the company of white employers—neither on holiday nor tethered organically to the land, as Dlamini stresses—made up another. Using correspondence regarding the availability of accommodation in KNP for African teachers (mobile because they were exempt from passes), oral accounts and their dissonances, and photo albums of Indian tourists, Dlamini unpacks how these black South Africans may have experienced a holiday: arriving perhaps by car; drawing on networks of solidarity to avoid the humiliations of segregated accommodation; paying for park entry, for accommodation in a tent or hut in the Indian camp at Skukuza, and for use of campfires, water, and attendants.

The presence of growing numbers of black visitors shaped the park, particularly after the establishment of the Bantu Authorities system that stressed African autonomy in their own ethnicized spheres. In 1962, the South African Institute of Race Relations published *Holiday and Travel Facilities for Non-Whites in South Africa* to help black South Africans pursue leisure (chap. 6), including at KNP. The neighboring bantustans contributed to the growing number of African tourists, forcing the apartheid state to respect bantustan travel documents and the KNP to abandon petty racial discrimination in 1981. The park’s board made most rest camps “international” to allow bantustan citizens to be accommodated, and the Department of Indian Affairs pressured the board to pro-

vide better facilitates for Indians, who were ultimately given access to white facilities so they would not have to use the inferior facilities reserved for Africans.

Amid a new wave of scholarship on the operation of these bantustans, Dlamini takes seriously these so-called ethnic homelands as places in which multidimensional people *lived*. Several bantustan leaders declared themselves conservationists, served on park boards, and used conservation for the purposes of recognition and challenge. Oral history interviews with those who grew up near KNP or worked within it reveal few who experienced the park as tourists, but Dlamini takes the presence of “ghostly tourists” in those conversations as an entry into how “apartheid was spooked by its own contradictions” (197). Hudson Ntsanwisi, chief minister of the Gazankhulu bantustan neighboring KNP, was one such conservationist: accepting the idea of a political and cultural Tsonga nation, he also called for a radical idea of nature that could undermine apartheid political and ideological boundaries.

None of this attention to leisure and diverse engagement with the landscape is intended to obscure the displacement and struggles of life under apartheid for the majority of black South Africans. Dlamini draws out the experiences of migrant laborers, domestic workers, and those deemed poachers who shaped the park. Chapter 1 considers the struggles over the park’s resources between park and state officials and those hunters they labeled poachers. Dlamini posits the arrival in 1902 of Warden James Stevenson-Hamilton to the Sabi Game Reserve as signaling a new regime, “one premised as much on the preservation of the reserve’s dwindling fauna as on the control of people” (35). This new regime was far from uniform: park officials’ priorities often butted up against the priorities of the Native Affairs Department, and confusing laws made implementation difficult. Dlamini fleshes this out by paying attention to the battles around depredations—by wildlife on crops and livestock and perceived depredations by Africans on wildlife. Stevenson-Hamilton’s efforts to disarm Africans of their bows and arrows, which Native Affairs officials contended were necessary for Africans to defend themselves from wildlife after it became illegal for them to carry guns, is one such example. Speaking to how Africans lived within this new regime, Dlamini describes men and (notably) women hunters whose knowledge of weapons, borders, and the political ecosystem “did not stop them from moving around and eking out an independent existence, manipulating said borders in the process” (48).

Chapter 2 considers the migrant laborers who crossed colonial borders, working to earn their passes and moving through the park. It tracks the building of a relationship between the National Parks Board and the mining industry, an alliance produced from the presence of laborers and resulting in some of the park’s first

roads and camps turned ranger stations. Dlamini opens with the death of an unnamed man to illustrate the park’s role as a place of movement for Africans with diverse motivations. Those passing through included laborers recruited by the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (known as Wenela), those visiting friends and family, and those pursuing jobs outside of the sanctioned Wenela channels. Africans who stayed in the park became valuable labor for the reserve, but also cemented an image of Africans at one with nature.

Dlamini does not miss opportunities to consider gendered experiences of the park. He documents the presence of women among the hunters (chap. 1), women travelers whose holidays were covered in the black press (chap. 3), women domestic workers not on holiday in the park (chap. 6), and the women gig (or piece, as it would be called in South Africa) workers who annually cut grass to thatch the park’s accommodations (chap. 7). A 2001 fire that killed nineteen women and five men working in the park exposed just how little the end of apartheid in 1994 had changed for KNP’s neighbors in terms of its gendered labor regime. Dlamini deftly argues that while democracy may have made women citizens, it did not change their material circumstances.

The last two chapters and conclusion bring this home, as black South Africans—now rights-bearing citizens rather than subjects—can be said still to “live with” KNP in ways that reflect both continuities and change from the pre-1994 world. In 1991, a year after his release from prison, the liberation struggle leader Nelson Mandela stayed in KNP and in another bantustan game reserve; his hunt from this trip features on the cover of *Safari Nation*. These historic visits marked the start of an engagement between the ascendant African National Congress and a more inclusive “national” park and conservation regime. Mandela used nature in a way reminiscent of earlier black South Africans who insisted on knowing the land as part of being South African.

But as Dlamini shows, KNP still needed to make amends to communities such as the Ngomanes, who had twice been removed from land in the region and continued to experience depredations by animals for which they were under-remunerated. Dlamini documents the growth of direct and public protests against the park—such as the 2009 demonstration during which men and women of Shabalala township blockaded the road to the park’s main entrance. These citizens did so “with greater means to make their voices heard and grievances attended to, even if the attention paid to their complaints might be no different from what blacks were exposed to in colonial and apartheid South Africa” (242). While African farmers invoked the past, park officials hoped to plan for a future in which a changing conservation philosophy acknowledged KNP as part of a larger ecosystem whose human neighbors played a key part.

At times, the quick shifts from migrant laborers to elite travelers, from domestic workers to holiday makers can make it feel as though there is more than one book here—but this inclusive choice is precisely the point. A multitude of black actors with diverse experiences and an array of motivations shaped both park and nation. This is a through-line that connects *Safari Nation* to Dlamini's seemingly different scholarship on policing and collaboration. It is another example of the nuanced, sharply insightful work for which Dlamini has become known.

Safari Nation is more than a social history of KNP. It

is a history of black South Africans opposed to injustice engaging with the land, leisure, what it means to be South African, and “ways of being” under colonialism, apartheid, and a still unequal nation. About black struggles for access to nature and travel, Dlamini writes: “Although not necessarily political, such struggles could not help but assume a political dimension” (261). Indeed, Dlamini's history of Kruger National Park makes a bold and hopeful statement about conservation and the land question in South Africa.

JILL E. KELLY

Southern Methodist University

ERIN HANEY and SHRAVAN VIDYARTHI, editors. *Priya Ramrakha: The Recovered Archive*. Heidelberg: Kehrer Verlag, 2018. Pp. 200. Cloth €39.90.

Until the 1950s, photojournalism in colonial East Africa was a barren field controlled by government information departments staffed with amateur European photographers. While commercial photography in the region was initially developed by South Asian entrepreneurs, who established studios in coastal towns beginning in the late nineteenth century, independent newspapers faced too small a market and too many technological hurdles to support professional photojournalists. A sharp rise in both regional and international interests in postwar East Africa, driven largely by the dramas of nationalism, created opportunities for photographers to transform their hobbies into careers by landing contracts with newspapers, magazines, and wire services. By the 1970s, the continent's most famous and accomplished photojournalists were South Asians who called East Africa home. The pioneer of this field was Priya Ramrakha. His meteoric career, tragically cut short while on duty as a war correspondent, is chronicled and commemorated by the editors Shravan Vidyarthi and Erin Haney in this revelatory edited volume of short essays and photograph reproductions. *Priya Ramrakha: The Recovered Archive* establishes Ramrakha's position as a towering figure of African photojournalism during the continent's decolonization, with photographs that consistently capture the ambitions, fears, and frailties of his subjects. Far from being a hard-bitten war photojournalist, Ramrakha's own vulnerability and sensitivity serves as the palpable thread that runs across his life and this book.

Born to a Punjabi family in colonial Kenya, Priya Ramrakha never took to academics, but became a keen photographer at an early age. He was fortunate first to have a father who was willing to purchase him an expensive Rolleiflex camera, and second to have an uncle—G. L. Vidyarthi, publisher of East Africa's leading radical newspaper, *Colonial Times*—willing to hire him as a staff photographer. Among Ramrakha's early

published photographs in the mid-1950s were Mau Mau detainees, which are reproduced here from some rare surviving issues of *Colonial Times*. His first independent professional job came at *Drum* magazine, which employed Ramrakha at their Nairobi office as a staff photographer in 1958—editor Alan Rake considered his press photography “already good for East African Standards” (56). His timing could not have been better, as Nairobi was then not only the center of the region's journalism, but also a prime site for student recruitment for university training by industrialized countries keen to exert their influence over a decolonizing Africa. Through *Drum*, he met Time-Life photographer Eliot Elisofon, who took Ramrakha under his wing and helped to enroll him at the Art Center College of Design in downtown Los Angeles. Through this relationship, Ramrakha became, as the book's editors put it, “to some degree, an honorary member of the white male western journalism brotherhood, a position buoyed by his economic privilege, his brown (not black) skin, his successful smoothing of difficult situations, his local knowledge and assurances, his ease of moving between continents and being an invaluable and tenacious asset wherever he went” (176).

Following study and apprenticeship in the United States, Ramrakha returned to East Africa in 1963 with a reputation as the region's leading photojournalist, having blazed a trail to international media access that several South Asian photographers in East Africa would immediately follow. The most famous of these were Mohamed Amin and Mohinder Dhillon—“Mo and Mo” as they were known—who both had long and illustrious careers, though Amin's life ended tragically in a hijacked aircraft crash in 1996. The two became international figures through their sheer industry and, more particularly, their searing images of Ethiopia's 1984–85 famine. Both also enjoyed a degree of journalistic independence that came with establishing their own Nairobi-