

established in local memories as despots — a simplified depiction that glossed over a more complicated and variegated history) (93–6).

Third, the analysis in Chapter Six of colonial reforms after the Second World War makes important claims about historical continuities, but here again, the case may be overstated. It is certainly plausible that officials on the local level were reluctant to implement reformist policies that came down from above, and the persistent alliances between chiefs and local recruiters after 1961 serve as proof that reforms were not implemented. However, Kagan Guthrie could have said more about these complex details and about resistance to change; moreover, his sources are clustered in the late 1940s. In the 1950s, one might expect that even weak reforms led to some timid first results. Interestingly, José Diogo Ferreira Martins, who is discussed in this book as a conservative anti-reformer serving as district governor of Manica e Sofala in 1950, reappeared in Angola by 1960 as one of the most important administrative inspectors, verbally flagellating the defenders of forced labour and violently denouncing systems analogous to the Mozambican *contrato* (133).<sup>4</sup> The transformations in Martins' career suggest that more could be said about the possibilities for individual change.

These points notwithstanding, by working in the (slowly) expanding field of study that brings together consideration of forced labour and migrant labour, Kagan Guthrie offers one of the sharpest and clearest interpretations of a forced labour system and its effects on the choices available to local individuals. Bringing in categories such as affect and the importance of home to explain such choices makes the analysis only stronger. Scholars of labour history, including that of coerced labour, in Africa and beyond, will certainly need to read and learn from this book.

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## AFRICAN SOCCER PLAYERS IN THE PORTUGUESE EMPIRE

*Following the Ball: The Migration of African Soccer Players Across the Portuguese Colonial Empire, 1949–1975.*

By Todd Cleveland.

Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2017. Pp. *xiii* + 266. \$80.00, hardback (ISBN: 978-0-89680-313-8); \$32.95, paperback (ISBN: 978-0-89680-314-5).

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**Key Words:** sports, colonial, migration, Central Africa, Western Africa.

*Following the Ball: The Migration of African Soccer Players Across the Portuguese Colonial Empire, 1949–1975*, by Todd Cleveland, is the first academic monograph on

4 A. Keese, 'The constraints of late colonial reform policy: forced labour scandals in the Portuguese Congo (Angola) and the limits of reform under authoritarian colonial rule, 1955–1961', *Portuguese Studies*, 28:2 (2012), 186–200.

the history of the migration of African football players to a European country. It focuses on the experiences in Portugal of footballers from Mozambique and Angola, and a few others from Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde, and São Tomé and Príncipe. Based on extensive archival research and fascinating oral interviews, *Following the Ball* argues that *futebol*, an integral part of the cultural fabric of colonial and metropolitan societies, provided African migrants with the means to pragmatically negotiate a better life for themselves in Portugal.

The book is chronologically organized. After a helpful Introduction, Chapter One describes Portugal's African empire and the initial development of football there. The next chapter concentrates on Lourenço Marques (Maputo) and examines the rise of racially segregated leagues and distinctive modes of play. It also explores a process in the 1950s that integrated many of the best *mestiço* and black players into white clubs, which facilitated their recruitment to play overseas. (This trend also undermined the vitality of African leagues.) Chapter Three explains the causes for the migratory flow of talented footballers of color to clubs in Lisbon and elsewhere in Portugal. The scouting networks and process of signing players are revealed in detail through the interviews, including one with Eusébio — the first African-born global football celebrity — with whom the author spoke just before the former Benfica and Portugal striker passed away at the age of 71. Chapter Four is one of the strongest in the book. It scrutinizes the many challenges faced by immigrant players under the Salazar dictatorship, from emotional ones such as *saudade* (melancholy, longing for home) to the different diet and climate, the financial struggles, and the hyper-competitive environment of professional sport. Unity and solidarity were vital to adaptation: 'The social bonds that African footballers cultivated and deepened served to mitigate their *saudades*, while also lifting their spirits and helping them adjust to metropolitan life' (154).

A riveting Chapter Five uncovers the ways in which African footballers coped with Portugal's increasingly tense political atmosphere of the 1960s and early 1970s. The vast majority of immigrant players distanced themselves from overt oppositional politics. But some socialized with university radicals from the Casas dos Estudantes do Império (CEI), while others, like the African players at the football club Académica de Coimbra, took part in public expressions of anti-Salazar sentiment. Linked to a campus known as 'the epicenter of political radicalism', the Académica club team bravely walked on to the pitch for a 1969 Cup semifinal against Sporting Lisbon wearing black armbands in support of student demonstrations against the regime (196). The independence of the colonies in 1975 after the Carnation Revolution brings the book to an end, but the epilogue notes that the migration of players from Africa to Europe continues to the present. In fact, a passage in the closing pages points out that Portugal's only goal in its victorious 2016 Euro final against France was scored by Eder, a striker born in Guinea-Bissau. This episode reinforces the book's conclusion that 'the myriad contributions made by these African players have, indeed, rendered Portugal a very *rich* nation' (216).

The centrality of African players' voices and agency in the narrative and the analysis is one of the book's signature accomplishments. As a meticulously researched and engagingly written study, *Following the Ball* brings the Portuguese soccer empire to life and helps to narrow the intellectual fault lines that often separate Anglophone, Francophone, and Lusophone African scholarship. On a more critical note, the book's reliance on interviews sometimes appears to articulate an argument based on anecdotes. Also, there is scant

coverage of how Portuguese fans, club owners, media, and businesses shaped the local sporting scene and delineated the limits of possibility for African agency in the metropole. These minor shortcomings aside, *Following the Ball* is an impressive book that makes a significant contribution to the fields of African history, sport studies, and global migration.

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## THE LIFE OF SOL PLAATJE, REVISTED

*Sol Plaatje: A Life of Solomon Tshekisho Plaatje 1876–1932.*

By Brian Willan.

Johannesburg: Jacana, 2018. Pp. xxiv + 711. R380, paperback (ISBN: 978-1-4314-2644-7).

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**Key Words:** South Africa, biography, sources.

This impressive, finely wrought scholarly biography of Solomon Tshekisho Plaatje is a synthesis of a similarly thorough work published in the early 1980s with extensive recent research.<sup>1</sup> Changing trends in African politics and journalism after 1948 and new writing by South African historians imbued with recovering socio-economic pasts initially meant that, whilst not forgotten in the histories of the African National Congress (ANC), which he helped found in 1912, both activist and academic alike have tended to look askance at ‘middle-class’ leaders such as Plaatje. Yet his accomplishments are too numerous to be ignored: editor of influential multilingual newspapers; first ANC Secretary-General; a leading campaigner against the 1913 Natives’ Land Act; champion of African women’s anti-pass protests; global ambassador and agitator for the rights of his people and culture; and author of the seminal *Native Life in South Africa* (1916) and the first novel in English by a black South African, *Mhudi* (1930).

Writing in the 1980s at the height of apartheid rule, with its tradition of disregard for black lives, and banned from the country, Brian Willan nevertheless succeeded in recovering much detail on the life of this neglected major African nationalist and writer in his 1982 biography. His approaches to writing Plaatje’s story have changed somewhat since then. He now situates Plaatje in a postcolonial South Africa where roads, schools, and even a university, bear his name. Willan draws on a burgeoning literature that he, together with literary scholars such as Tim Couzens and others, has stimulated.<sup>2</sup>

Much has been added to this latest biography. The papers of Ernst Westphal and the Berlin Mission Society provide fresh perspective on Plaatje’s early years and education.

<sup>1</sup> B. Willan, *Sol Plaatje: South African Nationalist, 1876–1932* (Berkeley: 1984).

<sup>2</sup> Sol T. Plaatje, *Mhudi*, Tim Couzens(ed.), (Capetown, 1996); T. Couzens and S. Gray, “Printers” and Other Devils: The Texts of Sol T. Plaatje’s *Mhudi*’, *Research in African Literatures*, 9:2 (1978), 198–215; T. Couzens and B. Willan (eds.), *Sol T. Plaatje, Selected Shorter Writings* (Grahamstown, 1995).