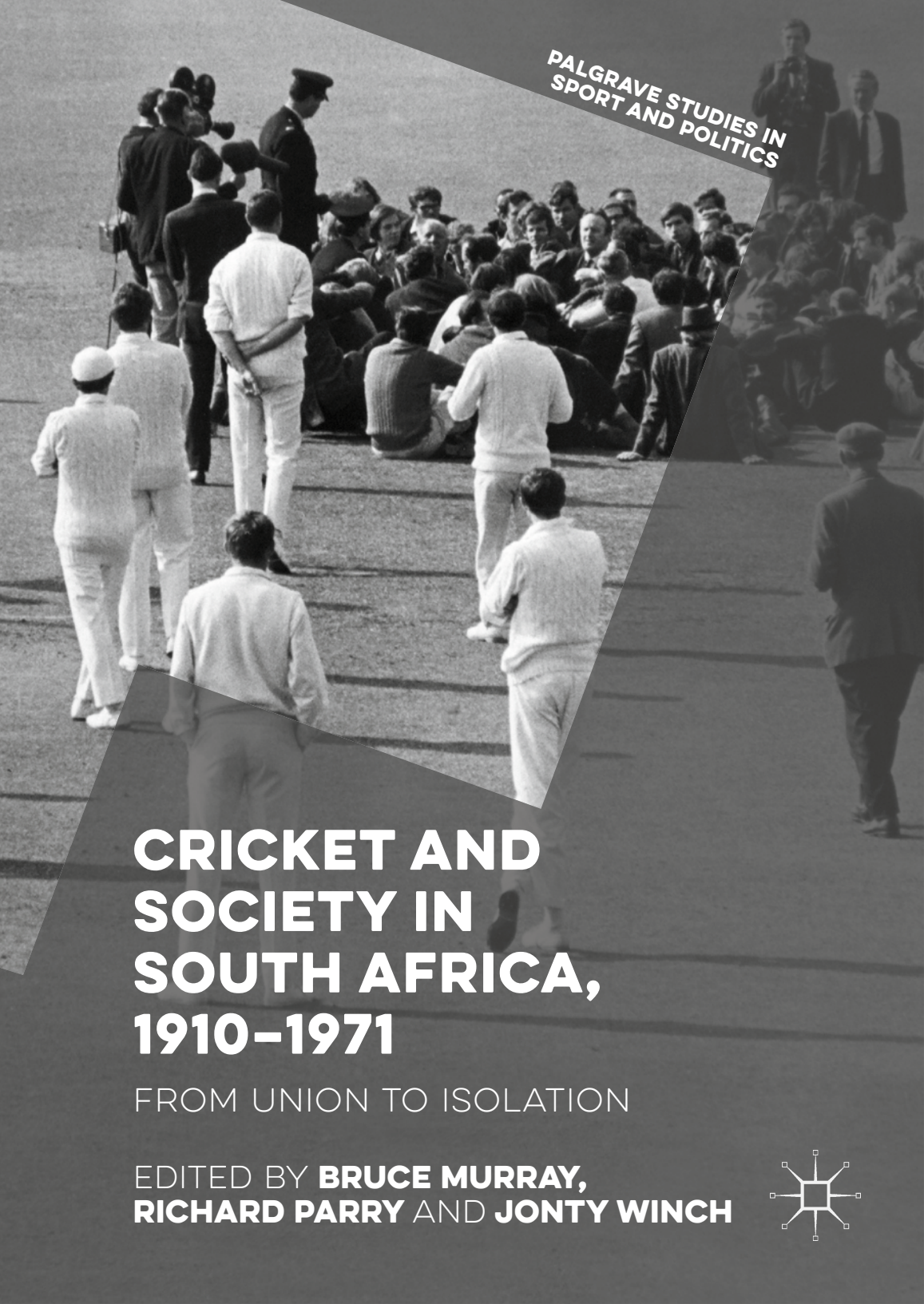

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CRICKET AND SOCIETY IN SOUTH AFRICA, 1910–1971

FROM UNION TO ISOLATION

EDITED BY **BRUCE MURRAY, RICHARD PARRY** AND **JONTY WINCH**

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Cricket and Society in South Africa, 1910–1971

From Union to Isolation

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Foreword

Consider this. When South Africa came into existence as a new country in 1910, two national cricket controlling bodies were in existence. Instead of subsequently following the practice in other countries such as England, Australia, West Indies, India, New Zealand and Pakistan—where the principle of 'one board one country' became established—the game in South Africa splintered spectacularly between the 1920s and the 1950s. At one stage, there were seven different organisations in existence at the same time, all claiming the title 'national' and 'South African'! Operating in the same cities, towns and provinces, each ran their own leagues and provincial competitions for representative teams and each selected their own national sides.

While the rest of the cricket world increasingly rubbed out old dividing lines, South Africa reinforced them until there was a 'white' men's South Africa, a 'white' women's South Africa, a 'coloured' Christian South Africa, a 'Malay' or 'coloured' Muslim South Africa, a 'Bantu' (or 'black African') South Africa, an 'Indian' South Africa, and—in a slight variation of these—an 'inter-race' South Africa.

The acronyms alone were enough to make one dizzy—SACA, SACCB, SACCA, SABCB, SAICU, SACBOC and SARWCA.

Thus, many international readers will be surprised to learn that the segregation and apartheid era whites-only SACA Springboks who played in 172 Tests between 1889 and 1970 did not represent their country in the proper sense, but were only one of seven national teams or 'Springboks'. The Test team stood, not for a single united country, but

for the opposite, a national fragmentation, the product of discriminatory socio-economic and political policies throughout these years.

What caused this division in cricket and the tragic waste of human potential and inefficient use of financial resources and public facilities that went with it? How does one explain the creation of this cricketing chessboard properly? The answer is by trying to understand and illuminate the tectonic shifts in society happening below the surface of the game. And this is what *Cricket and Society in South Africa, 1910–1971: From Union to Isolation* sets out to do.

Recently, a reinvented, post-democracy, South Africa gave Australia a drubbing on home soil for the first time since unity in 1991. The events during the course of the Test series again underlined the truism that the game of cricket has always carried meanings greater than the simple impact of leather on willow. While drawing on professed standards of 'fair play' (which the country, incidentally, fails to implement in areas like its immigration policies), Malcolm Turnbull, Prime Minister of Australia, lambasted Australia's ball tampering as 'a shocking disappointment' and a 'disgrace'. When the tsunami of shock and outrage which engulfed 'the Sandpaper Three' (David Warner, Steve Smith and Cameron Bancroft) receded, the central fact remained. Cricket is not just a game, or a sport, it is an institution and a vehicle for ideas, belief and behaviour.

In this book, the authors set out to show that cricket is a quintessential political game, the handmaiden of Empire, and, in South Africa, a barometer of race, class, ethnicity and gender. Also that cricket was a critical factor in the history of segregation in sport. They trace the colour bar over a period of 75 years from the time it was formalised way back in 1894 when the fast-bowler 'Krom' Hendricks was denied an opportunity to represent his country on the first overseas tour to England by the then Cape Prime Minister (Cecil John Rhodes), to 1968 when Basil D'Oliveira, selected as a member of the MCC team to tour South Africa, was rejected by the South African Prime Minister, Johannes Balthazar Vorster, on account of the pigmentation of his skin, effectively ending South Africa's international cricketing contact until the run-up to democracy in the 1990s.

Cricket took root in South Africa following the first British invasion of the Cape in 1795, but in an astonishing reality the country's cricketers have been formally united under a single Cricket South Africa for only 27 out of the 223 years since then. This divided past still bears heavily on

the present. Therefore, the editors and authors are to be congratulated for making the effort to explain the development of the game in ways which go beyond the 'elegant cover drive' school of descriptive writing. Understanding the murky history of class, racial and gender oppression in South Africa and where we have come from will enable our cricketers (and cricket lovers worldwide) to understand better also the unique challenges South Africa faces in making concrete its post-democracy goals of creating equal opportunity and inclusive unity on and off the cricket field.

To quote Wally Hammond, writing in South Africa where he passed his final days, 'we can only hope for a happy future if we first learn the lessons of the past'. Hammond's point gains heft from being penned by the hand which directed the most sublime of cover drives, where finesse and grace obscured the mere mechanics of its operation. The authors of *Cricket and Society*, too, have collectively brought their considerable finesse to teasing out various strands of South Africa's cricketing life from Union to isolation. They help uncover still largely unknown facets of this experience, recognise the achievements of players excluded by a racialised male establishment who for so long claimed the game as their own, and demonstrate how cricket was shaped by society and society by cricket.

Neither does *Cricket and Society* ignore the global dimensions. It shows how Rhodes sought to perpetuate his imperial vision and the significance of cricket in this process. Also how the establishment of cricket within the diasporic Indian community in South Africa, with its close ties with the Indian motherland, was a defence against racist state policies. Of course, the decision to engage or not with South Africa was a key issue for the rest of the sporting world. Two great West Indians, Learie Constantine and C. L. R. James, debated the issue in the 1950s, and by the 1960s, the MCC selectors were forced to take a position on the selection of D'Oliveira. The tortuous path leading to the English withdrawal of contact is examined here, and a chapter containing an in-depth investigation on the impact of the D'Oliveira affair and its aftermath on women's cricket touches on often ignored aspects of the game's history as well. As with the racial exclusions of the past, it will take generations to write gendered cricket histories that undo the dangerous Victorian stereotypes propounded by W. G. Grace and his contemporaries that women who played were 'neither cricketers nor ladies'.

Six of the contributors of *Cricket and Society* were involved as well as in putting together a polished predecessor volume, *Empire and*

Cricket (2009), which dealt with the late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century period. Double thanks are therefore due to Richard Parry, Bruce Murray and Jonty Winch (the editors of this volume) as well as Geoffrey Levett, Goolam Vahed and Dale Slater for their solid research and thoughtful revisionist inputs over a lengthy period. They are joined here by project newcomers Jon Gemmell, Rafaelle Nicholson, Albert Grundlingh and Patrick Ferriday. The originality of the above-mentioned two books lies partly in the fact that they were written by a mainly British-based group of scholars and that they have a flexibility which allows the multiple authors to explore eclectic themes. The works complement other volumes which have recently appeared in South Africa, most notably *Cricket and Conquest* (2016), *Reverse Sweep* (2017) and *Divided Country* (2018), adding critical mass to a growing new literature on the social dimensions of sport in South Africa. As co-author of the first and third of these last-mentioned books—which are volumes 1 and 2 of the four-part series on *The History of South African Cricket Retold* —I wish to thank Dr. Jonty Winch and Dr. Richard Parry in particular for their cooperative approach. Jonty's research on nineteenth-century establishment cricket was of such a high standard that Krish Reddy, Christopher Merrett and myself invited him to become a co-author of *Cricket and Conquest*. Though our respective projects emerged separately and are different in focus and sometimes in perspectives, the resultant works in many respects complement each other.

To conclude, *Cricket and Society* is an important addition to the rediscovery of history as a basis for social transformation. It not only exposes new realities of South African cricket through different eras, but in doing so also helps illuminate the nature of the South African society itself.

Cape Town, South Africa

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In the course of producing this publication, we have been greatly helped by a number of cricket writers, archivists, librarians, curators, photographers and followers of the game.

Professor André Odendaal kindly wrote the foreword. He has for some years been at the forefront of the new historiography of South African cricket through taking on lead roles in both chairing the Transformation Monitoring Committee and recording the full history of South African cricket. We have learnt much from being able to work closely with him and appreciate his encouragement and support in the course of this project.

We are grateful to Robin Isherwood who gave us the benefit of his expertise in correcting statistical errors and drawing attention to areas that we had overlooked. His knowledge of South African cricket is legendary, and we were fortunate that he should spend considerable time on the manuscript.

It is equally important to acknowledge the contribution that Dale Slater has made in the course of writing and editing this publication. He could not have been more generous with time, information and advice.

One of the most demanding of all tasks in producing a work involving ten authors is the administration. Bernard Tancred Hall has been a tower of strength throughout in assembling material, maintaining links with everyone, and fielding various problems that have arisen.

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Rick Smith in Tasmania provided photographs from the collection that he and the late Brian Bassano have built up on South African cricket. We would also like to thank André Odendaal, Giles Ridley, the *Cape Times* and the University of the Witwatersrand for permission to use their photographs.

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Notes on Contributors

Patrick Ferriday has an English Literature degree from the University of East Anglia. He began writing and publishing cricket books in 2012 with *Before the Lights Went Out*, an account of the 1912 Triangular Tournament, which was shortlisted for the Cricket Society Book of the Year Award. He then edited and co-wrote *Masterly Batting* and *Supreme Bowling* which attempted to classify the greatest Test centuries and bowling performances. Since then he has published three more titles, two for David Frith, and his most recent title, *In Tandem*, is a history of great fast-bowling pairs. He lives in Brighton with his wife and two children, and his real job is commentating on horse racing.

Dr. Jon Gemmell is the author of *The Politics of South African Cricket*. He has also edited volumes on Cricket's World Cup and the Globalisation of Cricket. His interest lies in the relationship between politics and cricket, and he has had articles published on South Africa, Ireland, Zimbabwe, Pakistan, Australia and international politics in general. His latest book, *Cricket's Changing Ethos: Nobles, Nationalists and the IPL*, is released on Palgrave Macmillan. Jon writes the occasional contribution on cricket and politics in *The Morning Star* newspaper.

Professor Albert Grundlingh is a graduate of the University of the Free State and was appointed to the University of South Africa in 1973 where he obtained his MA and D Litt et Phil degrees. In 2001, he moved to Stellenbosch University as Head of Department. Grundlingh is the author of and co-author of several books and numerous articles

and chapters in books. Many of his publications have appeared in leading international journals. He specialises in social and cultural history with a particular interest in war and society. His major works deal with the Boer collaborators during the Anglo-Boer War of 1899–1902, black South African troops during the First World War, and he would like to think that the book he has written on rugby and South African society is akin to dealing with the phenomenon of war in a different format.

Dr. Geoffrey Levett is a historian who writes on sport and empire in Britain and France in the twentieth century. His doctoral thesis was on sport and imperial culture in the Edwardian period. Previous publications include a chapter on the 1907 South African tour in *Empire and Cricket: The South African Experience 1884–1914* (2009), various scholarly articles on the history of sport, as well as a series of contributions on West Indian cricketers for the *Dictionary of Latin American and Caribbean Biography*.

Professor Bruce Murray is Emeritus Professor of History at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, where he lectured from 1970 to 2001, offering courses in British, American and medieval European history. He is the author of *The People's Budget: Lloyd George and Liberal Politics, 1909/10* (1980), and two volumes on the history of Wits University, *Wits: The Early Years* (1982) and *Wits: The 'Open' Years* (1997). He is co-author with Christopher Merrett of *Caught Behind: Race and Politics in Springbok Cricket* (2004) and a contributor to and co-editor of *Empire and Cricket: The South African Experience 1884–1914* (2009).

Dr. Rafaelle Nicholson has recently completed her doctorate at Queen Mary University, London, which focuses on the history of women's cricket in Britain since 1945. Prior to this, she gained a BA in Modern History and Politics at Merton College, Oxford, and an MSt in Women's Studies at Mansfield College, Oxford. She has published articles in *History of Education* and *Women's History Review* and has also written freelance on women's cricket for, among others, ESPNCricinfo and *Wisden*. She is the editor of the women's cricket website, www.crickether.com.

André Odendaal is Honorary Professor in History and Heritage Studies at the University of the Western Cape. After graduating with a Ph.D. from Cambridge, he taught at UWC and was founding director

of both the Mayibuye Centre for History and Culture in South Africa at UWC and the Robben Island Museum, the first heritage institution of the new South African democracy. He was then Chief Executive Officer of the Western Province Cricket Association and the successful Cape Cobras professional team. He had previously played first-class cricket in South Africa and England and was the only provincial cricketer designated 'white' to join the non-racial SACOS during the apartheid years. He was an anti-apartheid activist in the UDF, NECC, NSC and ANC and chaired the United Cricket Board of South Africa's Transformation Monitoring Committee from 1998 to 2002. In that year, he received the President's Award for Sport (Silver Class). André has written ten books on the history of the liberation struggle and the social history of sport in South Africa including *Vukani Bantu!* (1984), *The Story of an African Game* (2003) and *The Founders* (2012). He is currently lead writer and project coordinator of *The History of South African Cricket Retold*, a four-volume series, while also serving as writer and research coordinator for the Albie Sachs Trust on constitutionalism and the Rule of Law.

Dr. Richard Parry studied at the University of Natal, Durban and Queen's University, Canada. His Master's thesis was on Rhodes and the Development of Segregation at the Cape (1983), and his Ph.D. tackled informal resistance and the limits of colonial power in Rhodesia (1988). After 15 years in the UK Inland Revenue as an expert in international taxation, he was Head of Global Relations in the Centre for Tax Policy and Administration, at the Paris-based Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. He has written variously on culture, sport and resistance to colonialism in Africa, on early South African cricket, and on international taxation. Since 2016, he has divided his time between advising African countries on implementing effective tax systems and writing on South African cricket and social history. He was a contributor to *Empire and Cricket: The South African Experience 1884–1914* (2009).

Dale Slater grew up in the Eastern Cape and studied Politics at the University of Natal, Durban. Living and working in the field of Information and Research in the UK since 1979, he has contributed occasionally to sundry cricket and cricket history titles. He contributed to *Empire and Cricket: The South African experience, 1884–1914* (2009), and his article on 'Dik' Abed was selected by Ramachandra Guha for his anthology of notable cricket writing, *The Picador Book of Cricket* (2001).

A survivor of both cancer and major heart disease, he is retired on health grounds and uses this time writing and researching cricket and social history, and watching his granddaughter play for Surrey. He is currently collecting material for a Reader on South African cricket history and for a piece on the rapidly developing tradition of black South African fast bowlers.

Professor Goolam Vahed is an Associate Professor in History at the University of KwaZulu Natal. He received his Ph.D from Indiana University, Bloomington. His research interests include the history of identity formation, citizenship, ethnicity, migration and transnationalism among Indian South Africans and the role of sport and culture in South African society. He has published widely in peer-reviewed journals, and his co-authored books include (with Ashwin Desai, Vishnu Padayachee and Krish Reddy) *Blacks in Whites: A Century of Cricket Struggles in KwaZulu Natal* (2002) and (with Ashwin Desai) *The South Africa Gandhi: Stretcher-Bearer of Empire* (2015). He was co-editor with Bruce Murray of *Empire and Cricket: The South African Experience 1884–1914* (2009).

Dr. Jonty Winch received a Master of Arts degree with distinction from De Montfort University's International Centre for Sports History and Culture and was then awarded his Ph.D. from the University of Stellenbosch. He has been involved in photography, journalism and education and has written six books on sporting history in southern Africa. They include *Cricket's Rich Heritage: A History of Rhodesian and Zimbabwean Cricket 1890–1982 (1983)*; *Cricket in Southern Africa: Two Hundred Years of Achievements and Records* (1997); and *England's Youngest Captain: the Life and Times of Monty Bowden and Two South African Journalists* (2003). He is also co-author of *Cricket & Conquest: The History of South African Cricket Retold 1795–1914* (2016) and has written articles for accredited international academic publications, winning the British Society of Sports History 'Best Article in *Sport in History*' in 2008.

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PART I

The Landscape

CHAPTER 1

Landscape, Players and Politics

Richard Parry, Jon Gemmell and Jonty Winch

This book examines aspects of South African cricket from the formation of Union in 1910 to the country's eventual isolation as a cricketing nation in 1971. It is a history of cricket and a history of how cricket was shaped by society and society by cricket. It explores the tangled and complex relationship between cricketers, politicians, and the economy during the period which started with South Africa at the beating heart of the imperial project and ended with the country as an international pariah.

Cricket, with a weight of ideological baggage unmatched by other sports, was influenced in many ways by the relations between land, labour and capital, town and country. South Africa's human landscape was divided by the state into English or Afrikaans-speaking whites, and blacks whether African, coloured or Indian, and by economics and culture on the basis of race, ethnicity, language, class, religion, and gender.

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These tensions, divisions and conflicts also influenced South Africa's relations within the Empire and the operation of the South African economy through an exploitative cheap labour policy sustained by a segregated regime which in its state-structured shape proved unsustainable by the end of the twentieth century. And all this occurred in a world at a time of unprecedented upheaval; the end of the construction of colonialism; the advent of economic imperialism after the South African War and the formation of Union; the struggle over labour; the involvement of the Empire in two world wars; decolonisation and finally the expulsion of South Africa from the imperial fraternity.

The various chapters explain and tease out some of the key strands in the evolving nature of South African cricket within the international landscape. The view through the cracks of history is often constrained by difficulties of evidence and establishing the decision-making processes which took place behind closed doors. Cricket not only reflected the evolution of the social order but was part of a strategy used to control that structure and maintain the global imperial network. All South African cricketers represented their own specific interest groups based on race, ethnicity, gender and class—whether Africans on the gold mines trying to forge a community; Indians trying to establish their identity as South Africans; Afrikaners rejecting one imperial game, cricket, for another, rugby; women fighting their ongoing battle for resources and recognition, or the final generation of white cricketing Springboks walking off the field in a futile protest aimed at saving their country's Test status, the last act before the shutters came down on South African participation in official international cricket.

Not surprisingly therefore, the historical experience of South Africa over the last hundred years has witnessed the tension between fragmentation and unity, as part of the struggle to weld a country from its disparate elements. This reflects on a smaller screen the global struggle over Empire as political 'colonial' control gave way to an economic and ideological framework.

South Africa was not unique among imperial cricket-playing countries in the extent to which cricket influenced the political and social order. But the South African dynamic was qualitatively different from the other parts of Empire where the racial questions of who could play for the country and who the country would play against did not arise. These questions lay at the heart of the South African social and political order. They still reverberate through the debate over the role of

cricket in the collapse of apartheid, and the subsequent transformation process as well as the tensions in South Africa's current search to ensure that it fields a competitive international team which is representative of the whole country.

Cricket is and was a barometer of South African society as well as part of the complex and changing relationship between South Africa and Empire. This was shifting and ambivalent in nature, riven by economic and political tensions. From the late nineteenth century, white and black cricketers played their own segregated games, with the pervasive racism of the state and the white community always shaping the action. By the mid-twentieth century, the segregationist strategy had solidified, through the ostensible development of an ideology to justify its repression, into the apartheid regime. Who could play with or against whom, and where, were enshrined in law as well as practice.

This essential landscape had its key elements in place before the formation of Union in 1910 unified the previously separate British colonies—Cape, Natal, Transvaal and Orange Free State—into a self-governing dominion within the Empire. Cricket in earlier years had been a critical factor in the Cecil Rhodes imposed policy of segregation which concentrated economic and political power in white hands, and restricted representation at cricket to whites, whatever the nature of their ties to the country itself. Race was the key to qualification: white South Africans were 'citizens' of Empire, blacks were subjects, less to Empire than their white masters.

The opening section of this work explores the landscape in two main areas: first the evolution of South African sport and identity in its imperial context and second, the nature of the internal landscape and how it defined South African cricket.

Origins

During the latter part of the nineteenth century Cecil John Rhodes, by then Prime Minister of the Cape Colony and before that one of the first mining magnates who exploited the discoveries of diamonds in 1867 and gold in 1886, often expressed his desire that South Africa should be united under British leadership as part of the Empire. He did not wish to be left 'settled just on this small peninsula' but wanted the Cape Colony 'to be able to deal with the question of confederation as the dominant state of South Africa'.[1]

In order to achieve union, he sought to bring together the two dominant white 'races' (English and Dutch/Afrikaans speakers) at the expense of the Cape's grand 'liberal' tradition and the rights of the black population.[2] His aspirations to an Anglo-Afrikaner alliance were shared by the leader of the Cape Afrikaner Bond, J. H. 'Onze Jan' Hofmeyr. But while they agreed on an alliance for unity, Hofmeyr wanted a unified South Africa under its own flag and an independent republic beyond the ties of Empire. Whichever side won, black South Africans were to be the losers.

Rhodes and Hofmeyr both recognised the potential for sport to unify the region fully twenty years before this became a political reality. A 'South African' cricket team was selected for the first time in 1889 to play against Major Warton's English tourists. This team met Warton's on level terms and included representatives from the various self-governing colonies and independent republics in the subcontinent. Several months later the South African Rugby Football Board was formed, and in 1890 a meeting was held to establish the South African Cricket Association (SACA).

Cricket did not play the role in bringing together the two white 'races' which rugby, another imperial game, managed to do in the late nineteenth century. The problem was not the Afrikaner's lack of interest or ability in cricket. Stellenbosch, a side comprised almost entirely of players from the Dutch-speaking sector of the white population, was for a time the most feared team at the Cape. They produced several outstanding fast bowlers—notably Louis Neethling, E. L. Schröder, Pieter de Villiers, Johan du Plessis and Nicol Theunissen. The last named, renowned for his 'great knee-shaking, rib-roasting, finger-mangling bump', opened the South African bowling against Major Warton's side in 1888/89.[3]

The problem was what in the nineteenth century the Cape used to call 'race', that is the relationship between the Dutch/ Afrikaner and English, rather than class as they referred to white-black relations. William Milton, South Africa's leading cricket administrator and the Western Province Cricket Club—the self-styled MCC of South Africa which Milton controlled for many years—were reluctant to provide opportunities for the Dutch country district teams. Milton also became Rhodes's Private Secretary but his innate snobbishness and distaste for the Dutch meant that he did not share Rhodes's vision in this key area. The failure at this early stage to recognise the potential of the Afrikaner would prove detrimental to South African cricket for much of the

twentieth century, The indifference shown by cricket's administrators towards teams outside the elite group of Cape Town's southern suburb clubs contrasted with the attitude of the progressive and democratic Western Province Rugby Football Union. Led by their young secretary, Carlo Douglas-de Fenzi, the Union actively encouraged the participation of the Afrikaans-dominated districts and introduced the successful Country Challenge Cup. Stellenbosch enjoyed marked rugby success and in the 1896 season not only won Western Province's premier competition—the Grand Challenge—but also secured the Junior Challenge for the third successive year.[4]

By the mid-1890s Afrikaner participation in cricket had declined at the Cape and elsewhere with the representative games essentially taking on an exclusively English-speaking white status. Interest flickered among Afrikaner communities in the different regions and in March 1892, for example, Charlie Fichardt and Vlooi du Toit attended a SACA meeting to set up the affiliation of the Orange Free State.

Yet during all of this, cricket was not just a white game. Black pupils were encouraged to play by the mission schools as proud harbingers of Empire, while the coloured and 'Malay' communities, who had not received a mission education, nonetheless had built a strong cricketing network in Cape Town and Kimberley by the 1880s. The quality of play was equally strong and their best players participated at a level directly comparable with white cricketers despite their limited resources. Cricket's popularity was in part due to the fact that it was emblematic of Empire and as such allowed for the aspirations of ambitious blacks who used cricket to build and advance their leadership status within their communities.

This was exemplified by the coloured 'Krom' Hendricks, a 'demon' fast bowler whom W. W. Read described as 'the Spofforth of South Africa'.[5] He was omitted on political grounds from the 1894 first South African tour to England. Hendricks was understandably eager to represent South Africa but, for a decade, Milton and his fellow white Cape cricket officials systematically excluded him from participation in all levels of representative cricket.[6] Through their treatment of Hendricks, the Cape administrators laid the foundations of segregated sport in South Africa. Established practice became enshrined in the law until more than seventy years later another player of colour from the Cape—Basil D'Oliveira—forced the sporting world to focus on what was happening in the country and South Africa was at last liberated in the 1990s.

The period in which Hendricks sought recognition for his cricket ability was one of immense political turmoil. A long struggle between the Kruger-led South African Republic and the foreign adventurers, miners and 'Randlords' over control of the mining industry followed the discovery of gold in 1886 on the Rand. In retrospect, there could only be one outcome. As Kruger lamented, 'it is not the vote they want, it is my country …' and that outcome was annexation or war. The Jameson Raid over New Year 1896—plotted by Rhodes, Jameson and John Hays Hammond, the American imperialist—was a dramatic attempt to usurp the Transvaal's autonomy, and effectively brought to a temporary end Rhodes's dream of uniting South Africa. It was a fiasco, as the bumbling Jameson was shadowed all the way by Kruger's forces and walked into an ambush. Meanwhile, the bellicose 'Randlord' Reform Committee in Johannesburg sat on their hands.

Hofmeyr and his followers at the Cape felt betrayed by Rhodes, who resigned and effectively disappeared from Cape politics. 'Afrikaners', said Robert I. Rotberg 'would never again trust Britons'.[7] It was questionable how much trust there had been in the first place but the Raid had created a watershed between the communities and provided Kruger's Republic with a moral and psychological triumph. 'The Jameson Raid', said the Boer leader, Jan Smuts, 'was the real declaration of War', adding, 'and that is so in spite of the four years of truce that followed … the aggressors consolidated their alliance … the defenders on the other hand silently and grimly prepared for the inevitable'.[8]

The second South African War was fought from 11 October 1899 to 31 May 1902. Cricket was played throughout the war and even included an ill-timed tour to England in 1901. It was financed by James Logan, and the manner in which the team was assembled is best exemplified by the fact that he selected his own son. In the aftermath of the War, the Transvaal mining magnate, Abe Bailey, took over responsibility for funding a game which had not yet managed to turn a profit in South Africa but would bring Rhodes's imperial dream to fruition in the cricketing context. As a result of Bailey's efforts and the systematic involvement of Lords Harris and Hawke and much of the English cricketing establishment with the South African gold mines, the Imperial Cricket Conference included South Africa as a founder member alongside England and Australia.[9] Symbolically, South Africa with its vast mineral resources was at the heart of Empire when the South Africa Act, which provided for Union, was enacted by the British Parliament in 1909.

A key to this was the development of a global generation of South African cricketers which for the first (and last time until the 1930s) proved competitive against England thanks to the all-round skills of Aubrey Faulkner and the performances of the googly bowlers who took an English invention and shaped it to South African ends.[10] 'Vogler, Faulkner, Schwarz and White', wrote Ian Peebles, were 'relatively and positively in fact, the greatest combination of pure spin ever to appear in a single team'.[11]

The captain of the side before and after Union and on tours to England and Australia was Percy Sherwell. In the opening chapter of this volume, Geoffrey Levett examines the issue of imperial and national identity through an analysis of Sherwell's career. The question Levett poses is that of 'race' in the sense of English and Afrikaner: what did it mean to be a white South African and a cricketer in the aftermath of the South African War? And why did Sherwell, who had the cricketing and personal credentials to be an authentic South African sporting hero, fail to achieve this status in the face of rugby and the achievements of Paul Roos, the South African rugby captain? The insights here are critical to key characteristics of Empire—its slipperiness, and its ability to claim those it wished to further its cause. But they also demonstrate the search by the majority Afrikaner population, still deeply traumatised by the war and the concentration camp deaths only a few years previously, for an authentic hero untainted by what they saw as a quintessential imperial legacy.

Union in 1910

Rhodes died in 1902 and did not live to see anything approaching his concept of a 'United States of South Africa'.[12] Nonetheless, the movement towards unification gathered pace following a severe depression in the middle of the decade, and a National Convention at Durban in October 1908 was followed by a gathering in Bloemfontein the following year. The leaders of the Afrikaner movements wisely decided that union rather than a federal form of government would be to their advantage. Crucially, no one either represented or stood up for the country's majority black population. English and Afrikaners agreed that only whites could become members of the House of Assembly with executive power being in the hands of the Governor-General and cabinet.

Despite the efforts of African leaders to persuade the British Government to honour the promises made in the course of a war in

which thousands of Africans had died, the country was given inevitably to the white Afrikaans and English-speaking communities. The battle fought by Africans was waged primarily over the franchise: would the Cape's property-based system be exported into the rest of the subcontinent? The solution was to maintain the pre-war arrangements—racially exclusive voting rights to white males in all colonies except the Cape where qualifications which had undergone massive erosion from the mid-1890s allowed a small minority of 'civilised' black male residents to vote. These numbers dwindled year by year, as blacks struggled to meet requirements for qualification which involved salary, literacy and access to property, specifically land. The access that the remaining handful of blacks had to the ballot box under the 'colour blind' franchise in what was then the Cape Province was finally abolished on racial grounds in 1936.

In order to further placate the majority Afrikaners on which their Empire would soon depend, the British supported the former defeated Boer leader, General Louis Botha, as the best man to lead the Union government and promote a policy of reconciliation and co-operation between Briton and Boer. Enthusiasm for Union, however, failed to win over black South Africans who had gained nothing from the new dispensation. The South African Native National Congress, forerunner of the African National Congress (ANC), was created in 1912 to defend black rights and despite its lack of success so far continued a policy of engagement and persuasion rather than industrial or armed resistance.

Meanwhile, not all Afrikaners were bought off by the compromises of Empire. Two years later, in 1912, the National Party was formed in Bloemfontein by leading anti-imperialists, General J. B. M. Hertzog and the Fichardt brothers, Charlie and Everard. The original National Party attacked symbols such as the flag, anthem, currency and the monarchy as being alien to the Afrikaner cause, and they held little respect for the Commonwealth. In this regard, Charlie Fichardt's enthusiasm for cricket is interesting and it is perhaps unfortunate that it was not utilised to greater advantage in developing Afrikaner involvement in the sport. He was a South African player, as well as the Orange Free State captain, opening batsman and opening bowler in two Currie Cup tournaments and against the touring MCC sides in 1905/06 and 1909/10. His family had also hosted Emily Hobhouse during the South African War and he was a politician and businessman of considerable influence.

He was of German descent and fiercely committed to the Afrikaner cause, becoming known during the First World War for his 'sheer, open Germanism and hatred of all things British'.[13]

The First World War exposed these divisions within the Afrikaner ranks. Some under the influence of Lieutenant-General Manie Maritz supported the Germans while others under General Christiaan de Wet marched to Pretoria to demonstrate their discontent about the invasion of German South-West Africa. There were also Afrikaners who supported the subsequent conflict when a victory was achieved in less than six months at the cost of less than 300 South Africans killed in action.

There was a bitter debate within South Africa on entry into the war, but its white and black soldiers served with distinction in the East African campaign and on the Western Front, most famously at Delville Wood during the Battle of the Somme in 1916. In the first three weeks of July that year the South African Infantry Brigade lost 2536 men while 607 black troops in the South African Labour Corps were drowned when the *SS Mendi* sank in the English Channel in January 1917. It might be added that seven of the twelve Test cricketers who lost their lives while serving in the First World War had played for South Africa—Arthur Ochse, Reggie Schwarz, Gordon White, Eric 'Bill' Lundie, Claude Newberry, Reggie Hands and Frederick Cook.

Throughout this period, Jan Smuts was a dominant figure. Educated in the Cape and in the law at Cambridge, he had been one of the most resolute generals on the Afrikaner side in the South African War. In the First World War, he was invited to join the Imperial War Cabinet and he became the South African Prime Minister when Botha died in August 1919. Global racialism after the war—and of course events in Russia—was enflamed by the international recession. In South Africa, mine owners confronted by a fixed price for gold and escalating production costs endeavoured to use cheap African labour to challenge the 'job colour bar' or white miners' monopoly over skilled and semi-skilled employment on the mines. In 1922, white workers came out on the streets in an armed Rand Rebellion, chanting slogans like 'Workers of the World Unite and Fight for a White South Africa'.[14] African workers also came out in defence of their rights and the Government eventually called out the troops to suppress the rising. Smuts was 'severely criticised both for his initial apathy and his sudden ruthless quelling of the rebellion',