

Divided We Stand!
The Origins of Separation in South African Rugby.
1861-1899

by

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“...the history of the country is repeated in the
history of sport...”

H.P. Swaffer, 1914.

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List of acronyms and abbreviations

BRFU	-	Border Rugby Football Union
CSRU	-	City and Suburban Rugby Union
EPRFU	-	Eastern Province Rugby Football Union
EPRU	-	Eastern Province Rugby Union
GWCRFU	-	Griqualand West Colonial Rugby Football Union
GWRFU	-	Griqualand West Rugby Football Union
NRFU	-	Natal Rugby Football Union
OFSRFU	-	Orange Free State Rugby Football Union
PECRU	-	Port Elizabeth Coloured Rugby Union
RSPCA	-	Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals
SACRFB	-	South African Colonial Rugby Football Board
SACS	-	The South African College School
SARB	-	South African Rugby Board
SARU	-	South African Rugby Union
SARFU	-	South African Rugby Football Union
TRCRFU	-	Transvaal Coloured Rugby Football Union
TRFU	-	Transvaal Rugby Football Union
VOC	-	Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie
WPCRU	-	Western Province Coloured Rugby Union
WPRU	-	Western Province Rugby Football Union
ZAR	-	Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek

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Summary

The importance of sport in the revision of the past has gained much recognition in recent times and the genre of sport history has become ever more popular as a result. This dissertation attempts to locate and trace the historically binary relationship of sport with concepts such as unification and division, inclusion and exclusion, while focussing on the historical divide in South African rugby. While it is true that sport creates community and pulls people together, it is also true that sport often serves as a stage for division and social exclusion. This is well illustrated in the development and diffusion of rugby in South Africa.

Various theories have been developed to analyse division within societies which may shed more light on the effectiveness of sport as a social divider in the nineteenth century. The concepts and theories include B. Bernstein, H. L. Elvin and R. S. Peters's ideas on rituals and symbols; Eric Hobsbawm's "Invented Traditions"; Benedict Anderson's "Imagined Communities"; as well as Antonio Gramsci's "Cultural Hegemony". These theories, employed within a strong legacy of British cultural imperialism, could explain how the rugby community in South Africa came to be racially stratified. This dissertation sets out to show how the establishment of schools based on the English public school model, and exclusive rugby clubs and unions in South Africa, all aided in the formalisation of rugby and in doing so unlocked the political power of the sport. By looking to the formalisation, and thus politicisation of rugby, this dissertation attempts to trace the origins of separation in South African rugby.

It is thus the aim of this study to discern the link between middle class schools, the establishment of exclusive clubs and unions and the racial stratification of South African rugby.

Keywords: Rugby; sport; South Africa; schools; division; separation; race; class; formalisation; hegemony; exclusion.



Chapter One

The Dressing Room: Introduction

In line with the emergence of social history, many previously ignored sections of society have come under the spotlight and our understanding of different societies in history has benefited immensely. The significance of leisure time studies has received increasing attention, bringing with it a fuller picture of a community and its past. In what historians describe as a “post-modern globalising world”, it has become apparent that while studies tend to be more thematic, focusing on specific topics, there is also a tendency to focus more on previously “ignored histories” of the marginalized or suppressed groups. It has been argued that there is a need to write “new kinds of history making [such as] the histories of families, of sport...”¹ Historical research of sport is not only important because of what it can tell us about the past, but also because of what history can tell us of the present.² Thus the importance of sport in the revision of the past has gained more recognition in recent times.³ This chapter will briefly consider sport as integral to social history; sport as a divisive factor and various theories related to the latter.

Historically, sport has been seen as an important shaper of the social landscape in much the same way as wars, revolutions and elections. It only makes sense that sport should be considered within the realm of social history as it offers the historian glimpses of ways in which social groups interacted outside the traditional confines of historical study such as work or political organisations, providing another facet to social history and the study of past societies. Today sport features prominently in the lives of most communities around the world. It forms part of the social and cultural fabric and millions of people all over the globe find themselves influenced by sport in some way or the other. Even if one is not directly involved in sport as a coach, player or spectator, it is most likely that at some point you will be confronted with sport in some shape or form. Sport is thus a global phenomenon with extensive impact. Newspapers devote entire sections to sport, setting it on equal footing with

¹ M. Morris, *Every step of the way. The journey to freedom in South Africa*, p. 321.

² T. Marjoribanks & K. Farquharson, *Sport and Society in the Global Age*, p. 38.

³ See for example: A.M. Green, “Dancing in Borrowed Shoes: A History of Ballroom Dancing in South Africa (1600-1940s)”, M.A. Thesis, U.P., 2008; A. Grundlingh, *Potent Pastimes: Sport and Leisure Practices in Modern Afrikaner History*, 2014; S. Cornelissen & A. Grundlingh, *Sport Past and Present in South Africa: (Trans)forming the Nation*, 2012; G. Jarvie, *Sport, Culture and Society*, 2006.

other “more serious” fields such as politics and economics. Entire television channels are also devoted to sport, in some cases even to a single sport. Sport generates numerous job opportunities and various levels of employment and also provides extreme wealth for select top performers. Children are encouraged by parents and schoolteachers to pursue sport from a very young age and the state and politicians are often more than willing to appropriate sport into their own agendas.⁴ Some of the world’s biggest events or social gatherings are bound to sporting activities: events such as the Olympic Games, tennis’s Wimbledon, baseball’s World Series, cycling’s Tour de France, golf’s Ryder Cup, association football’s FIFA World Cup, American football’s Super Bowl, cricket’s ICC World Cup, and rugby union’s IRB World Cup. Not only are these gatherings of sportsmen and women, but they are events that attract millions of spectators to the live showpieces and even more through media coverage. Sport is very seldom separate from the community from which it is comprised and sporting teams often come to represent a whole society where the team’s success is the community’s success, and so too their failure. We see this throughout modern sporting history where the comings and goings of a sporting team directly influences the society it has come to represent.

Sport can thus be a very influential force within society and can be quite versatile in its impact. Yet it has been argued that sport is not easy to study as a historical theme.⁵ Defining sport is quite difficult and even though many boundaries have been set in an attempt to describe what sport is and what it is not, an accurate, single definition that encompasses all the characteristics and all activities that one might call sport is yet to be formulated. Despite attempts at critical analysis, sport sociologist John Hargreaves claims that sport remains “socio-culturally and historically opaque”.⁶ For one, it has the tendency to change with society and culture over time. In other words as society develops, so does the concept of sport and as such has mostly been studied as a contextual example of something else. Second, sport has generally been described alongside its function within a social context. It is portrayed and treated as representing a particular part of society. This is why sport as a theme is coupled with other concepts such as sport and religion; sport and violence; sport and class; sport and

⁴ J. Hargreaves, *Sport, Power and Culture*, p. 1

⁵ R. McKibbin, “Can Historians Write the History of Sport”, 2014-05-27. Accessed: 2014-06-17, <<http://podcasts.ox.ac.uk/can-historians-write-history-sport>>

⁶ J. Hargreaves, *Sport, Power and Culture*, p. 1.

gender; sport and masculinity; amongst others.⁷ It is in this dualistic manner that sport has become more and more valuable and visible as a source of historical inquiry.

But to describe modern sport as merely representing a part of society is not telling the whole story. Sport is much more than a symbolic re-creation or microcosm of a society or a mere element of society. Although sport shares many of the characteristics of a culture or society, it is important to know that it is not external and shares these from within. It is not removed or independent of society; it does not stand on its own at a distance. Sport is not *like* society; it *is* society. It is very much part of society and contributes to the shape and structure of a society. It is a fundamentally ingrained part of societal context and in the same breath it has an influence on the societal context in which it finds itself.⁸ As Jay J. Coakley states,

[Sports] are more accurately seen as the creations of people interacting with each other. No voice comes out of the sky and says, 'I am society and this is how sport should be.'⁹

Thus as society and culture are shaped by interaction between people, sport functions as one of these methods of interaction. Sport, as a cultural practice or interaction, is caught up in the production and reproduction of certain systems of social meanings, which influences society directly.¹⁰ So instead of seeing sport as reflecting society, it would be more accurate to view sport as part of the actual fibre that makes up society as a whole.¹¹ The anthropologist Clifford Geertz called sport a kind of “deep play” in which the innermost values of a culture is expressed; it has a mythical dimension and they are, in a sense, “a story we tell ourselves about ourselves.”¹² This points to the question of identity being a binary matter in which the “us” is often determined by the “them”. So when looking to study “sport and division” within society, as this dissertation proposes to do, it would be useful to see sport as illuminating divisions within society but also contributing to it, whether it is to exacerbate social divisions or to combat them. Either way, sport should not be relegated to the sidelines, only mirroring events, but seen as playing an active part in the shaping of societal division. In that sense division within a society is very often highlighted as well as created and perpetuated through

⁷ R. McKibbin, “Can Historians Write the History of Sport”, 2014-05-27. Accessed: 2014-06-17, <<http://podcasts.ox.ac.uk/can-historians-write-history-sport>>

⁸ T. Marjoribanks & K. Farquharson, 2012, *Sport and Society in the Global Age*, pp. 2-3.

⁹ J.J. Coakley, 1998, *Sport in Society, Issues & Controversies*, 6th Edition, p. 49.

¹⁰ J. Hargreaves, *Sport, Power and Culture*, p. 9.

¹¹ J.J. Coakley, 1998, *Sport in Society, Issues & Controversies*, 6th Edition, p. 49.

¹² R. Holt, *Sport and the British: a Modern History*, p. 3.

cultural practices such as sport. Sport is then a societal method of either promoting or discouraging interaction between certain pre-determined class, race or gender groupings.

If we see sport as such an integral and fundamental part of human interaction and consequently society and culture, it is not difficult to see why it is important to analyse sport as part of social history. If we want to understand the heart and mind of humanity, we need to understand how and why they played. Even Plato in his vast philosophy on human nature studied all details of sport, famously saying that one "...can discover more about a person in an hour of play than in a year of conversation."¹³ And modern competitive sport dating from the nineteenth century was one of Europe's most significant cultural practices and has much to reflect on. Harold Perkin makes this point most eloquently:

The history of societies is reflected more vividly in the way they spend their leisure than in their politics or their work. Sport in particular is much more than a pastime or recreation. It is an integral part of society's culture [and] gives a unique insight into the way a society changes and impacts on other societies.¹⁴

Sport and Division

Even though sport can and has taken on various social roles, recently it has almost exclusively been praised for its ability to bring together disparate peoples, especially in the historically divided social landscapes of a country such as South Africa. In 1995, a year into the fledgling democracy, South Africa successfully hosted (and won) the IRB Rugby World Cup and this is often cited as an example of how sport served to unite South Africans who were previously subjected to enforced, legislative division.¹⁵ In 2010 South Africa hosted the FIFA World Cup which can be perceived as another example of how sport is presented as a grand unifying force.¹⁶ This coincidentally brought with it a re-appreciation of sport, especially association football, as a source of historical knowledge within South Africa.¹⁷ International pressure on the first African host of this prestigious event subtly coerced contemporary opinion and writing to be overtly positive and view sport, in this instance soccer, as a magnificent, single-purpose unifying machine that was capable of roping

¹³ C. Kaepfel, "Sport in Classical Times", *The Australian Quarterly*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (Jun., 1938), p. 57; P.J.P. Sandul & T. D. Swim, *Orangevale*, p. 115.

¹⁴ M. Huggins, *The Victorians and Sport*, p. x.

¹⁵ T. Marjoribanks & K. Farquharson, *Sport and Society in the Global Age*, p. 1.

¹⁶ R. Ross, *A Concise History of South Africa*, p. 200.

¹⁷ P. Alegi, *Laduma! Soccer, Politics, and Society in South Africa, from its Origin to 2010*, p. 152-154.

communities together and banding whole populations of diverse people under a single flag.¹⁸ For the purposes of promoting an event like the FIFA World Cup, toting camaraderie and sport as a vehicle for inclusion seems very logical, yet this is an overt oversimplification of its role and place in society.

Like most things, there are two halves to this game. It must be noted that sport can serve the purpose of uniting as well as creating divisions *between* communities, as well as *within* communities. A broader overview of sport shows a binary world of comparison and exclusion, and sport is just as guilty of division and exclusion as it is of unity and inclusion. By seeing sport as merely a vehicle for social cohesion and harmony, we tend to overlook the divisions, conflict and inequalities of power in society that register themselves in sport.¹⁹ When looking at a united group, it seems almost absurd to ignore the fact that there must be at best some form of exclusion of other individuals or another group, and at worst a vilification of these individuals or groups. The same characteristics that make it possible for sport to foster inclusion also simultaneously and inevitably create exclusion. The emergence of inclusionary relationships in sport rests heavily on the presence of in-group solidarity, which tends to highlight the differentiation between members of the group and non-members. Sport often also depends on or promotes closure within a group, which is most often paired with exclusion.²⁰ The power of sport to unite and connect people within a society has been argued incessantly, yet the divisionary nature, bred from exclusionary unification of one group of individuals at the expense of others, is often ignored.

At an international level many key figures have embraced this notion of sport as unifier. For example, former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan has even said that “[s]port is a universal language that can bring people together, no matter what their origin, background, religious beliefs or economic status.”²¹ Yet he makes no mention of the ability of sport to isolate people. In his preface to Chuck Korr and Marvin Close’s *More Than Just A Game: Soccer v Apartheid*, former FIFA President Sepp Blatter asserts that “[soccer] is more than just a

¹⁸ Nelson Mandela Foundation, ‘Nelson Mandela on South Africa Hosting the World Cup: Transcript of Nelson Mandela’s Message at the FIFA World Cup Draw in Cape Town’, <<https://www.nelsonmandela.org/news/entry/nelson-mandela-on-south-africa-hosting-the-world-cup>>, n.a., Access: 2015-03-09; A, Koch, Interview with Willi Lemke: “A Huge Sense of Unity”, *FIFA World*, June/July 2010, pp. 32-33.

¹⁹ J. Hargreaves, *Sport, Power and Culture*, p. 3.

²⁰ P. Christesen, *Sport and Democracy in the Ancient and Modern Worlds*, pp. 102-103.

²¹ Kofi Annan, United Nations Secretary General, November 2, 2005 Press Release, New York, NY. Released by The Office of the Special Advisor to the Secretary General on Sport For The Development of Peace. Accessed: 2014-06-03 <<http://www.un.org/sport2005/newsroom>>

game, since it unites us in a world that is becoming increasingly divided.”²² But he does not ask what share soccer, or sport in general, has had in this division. Former President of South Africa, Nelson Mandela, also stated that “[s]port has the power to inspire and unite people.”²³ As recently as 2017, the President of Cricket South Africa, Chris Nenzani, has praised the unifying power of sport, cricket in particular, when saying that “... wherever the game was played it has played an important role in social cohesion and overcoming prejudices.”²⁴ In all these cases, it is assumed that sharing a sports field or simply a sporting code inevitably brings camaraderie and unity. The inverse is also true though, and very often rigid, competitive lines are drawn dividing societies, groups and individuals. Sport thus often asks for distinctions to be made between “us” and “them”; between represented communities; between who has access to resources and who does not; and sometimes even between who is allowed to play and who is not.

By creating visible divisions within society along these lines, sport also contributes to the power structures at work within the society. Power can be described in many ways, but the type of power relevant here is a type of power people rarely recognise being exercised. This type of power is embedded in everyday social structures and interactions and is closely linked to the concept of hegemony, or subordination through consent.²⁵ Through sport, these power-relations are perpetuated and sometimes created anew where one group is afforded a dominant position over another without the conscious knowledge of the dominated group. This form of social division is not exclusive to sport, though, and many theories have been developed to explain how and why such social division exist.²⁶ These theories include social identity; ideas on rituals and symbols; invented traditions; imagined communities; and cultural hegemony. Together these theories not only help to describe social divisions and power structures from the nineteenth century onwards, but more importantly, if applied correctly, how modern sport contributes to this phenomenon.

Social Identity

²² C. Korr & M. Close, *More Than Just A Game: Soccer v Apartheid*, p.ix.

²³ Nelson Mandela Foundation, ‘Nelson Mandela on South Africa Hosting the World Cup: Transcript of Nelson Mandela’s Message at the FIFA World Cup Draw in Cape Town’, <<https://www.nelsonmandela.org/news/entry/nelson-mandela-on-south-africa-hosting-the-world-cup>>, n.a., Accessed: 2015-03-09.

²⁴ “CSA launches ‘Cricket and Conquest’”, Accessed: 2017-03-25. <<http://cricket.co.za/news/15706/CSA-launches-Cricket-and-Conquest>>

²⁵ T. Marjoribanks & K. Farquharson, 2012, *Sport and Society in the Global Age*, p. 22

²⁶ See the works of Antonia Gramsci, Eric Hobsbawm, Henry Tajfel, Benedict Anderson, John Goodger and James Martin.

Henri Tajfel is credited with formulating a social identity theory that posits that every person creates a sense of himself or herself within the social context in which they find themselves. This idea of “oneself” is known as one’s “social identity”. Through this process of self-categorisation, an identity is formed that is very much based on a group membership as one’s identity is linked to being part of a social category or group. Through a social comparison process individuals who are similar to the self are grouped or categorised with the self and others who are different are excluded or pushed away.²⁷

Tajfel proposed that this type of grouping or affiliation is a natural cognitive process or tendency to group things together and is present as a part of natural human progression. Putting people, including oneself, into social categories can be seen as an extension of the principles governing the categorisation of everyday objects.²⁸ Human beings tend to make distinctions between everyday objects as well as what they perceive themselves to be and what they are not. In this way they place themselves within a certain group with certain criteria in order to create a better, clearer sense of themselves or, according to Tajfel, their “social identity”. It is a form of social characterisation where a sense of belonging to a certain group is created through identifying similarities between group members and a detachment from another group is created through certain perceived differences between the members of the two groups. The social category, or group, to which one belongs thus provides a definition or description of oneself in terms of the defining characteristics of that category and in a sense prescribes certain definitions, or characteristics, to the members of that social category.

However social identities are not merely descriptive and prescriptive, but also evaluative.²⁹ As soon as a person has created a certain identity in line with a certain group and distinct from another, the next logical step is to evaluate these opposing or other groups. This is seen as a need among group members “to differentiate their own groups positively from others to achieve a positive social identity.”³⁰ This is done to create a sense of pride or increased self-image and unfortunately often relies on discrimination and deprecation of the perceived-to-be

²⁷ J.E. Stets & P.J. Burke, “Identity Theory and Social Identity Theory”, *Social Psychology Quarterly*, Vol. 63, No. 3 (Sep., 2000), pp. 224-225.

²⁸ L. Huddy, “From Social to Political Identity: A Critical Examination of Social Identity Theory”, *Political Psychology*, Vol. 22, No. 1 (Mar., 2001), p. 132.

²⁹ M. Hogg, D.J. Terry & K.M. White, “A Tale of Two Theories: A Critical Comparison of Identity Theory with Social Identity Theory”, *Social Psychology Quarterly*, Vol. 58, No. 4 (Dec., 1995), pp. 259-260.

³⁰ L. Huddy, “From Social to Political Identity: A Critical Examination of Social Identity Theory”, *Political Psychology*, Vol. 22, No. 1 (Mar., 2001), p. 132.

opposite group, or the “other”. Membership of a specific group is enhanced and the status of the group is increased by comparing it favourably to another. In this way social categories are created and an “us” and “them” dichotomy is put to the fore with “us”, according to social identity theory, always discriminating against and being elevated above “them”. According to Tajfel, this is known as “in-group” and “out-group”. Thus “in-groups” will discriminate against “out-groups” on the basis of the difference between the two and “in-groups” will positively tote the similarities between members in order to enhance their self-esteem. In this way categorisation can be seen as the direct cause of intergroup discrimination,³¹ and categorisation can be seen as normal, human cognition.

When considering the modern social landscape it is not difficult to see this theory in practice. On almost every plain we find groups and cliques wilfully separating themselves and often times excluding certain members of society in an attempt to create a sense of cohesion, exclusivity and prestige. We find social clubs catering only to certain professions or persons with certain collegiate affiliations (old boys clubs). We find political groups describing their views in terms of opposition parties (conservative vs. liberal). And most significantly for the purposes of this study, we find sports clubs and franchises deliberately setting themselves apart and in opposition to other, seemingly similar groups. These differences are not merely accepted but are tirelessly promoted. What is most fascinating is the way in which they create visible and tangible differences through the use of loaded symbols of exclusivity, rituals that promote division and the invention of traditions to support their claim of elitism and solidarity.

Symbols, Rituals and Invented Traditions

Richard Mandell leads us into the symbolic or ritualistic nature of sport when he posits that, tying in with Tajfel, the natural progression in human civilization resulted in newly developed class-specific recreational activities or theatrical contests that symbolically confirmed the validity of the social order from which they were born.³² John Nauright elaborates on this when he says that all forms of identity, even if they entail racial or class bias, are learned and perpetuated within society through the use of ceremonies, rituals or bodily performances, such as sport, which often also serves as a method of hereditary

³¹ L. Huddy, “From Social to Political Identity: A Critical Examination of Social Identity Theory”, *Political Psychology*, Vol. 22, No. 1 (Mar., 2001), p. 133.

³² R.D. Mandell, *Sport: A Cultural History*, p. 15.

transmission of existing social classification.³³ This argument of class-specific identification can easily be compared or even transferred to race-specific identities. According to popular Marxist theory, division and exclusion on racial lines can be said to relate to and overlap with established class divisions. In South Africa, specifically, theorists such as Harold Wolpe suggested that the divisions in Apartheid South Africa could be explained better through economics and class rather than purely through race. But he himself admitted that this might be an oversimplification and that class and race are very much intertwined.³⁴ In this way sport can be seen to have played a key role in the learning and perpetuation of different social and racial identities the world over. As society is divided, sport, as part of society, serves as one of the dividing aspects of human interaction. These division often find expression in the establishment of exclusive clubs or unions. The creation of club rituals and symbols within a sport then serve to promote a sense of solidarity among members of a club or group which, as mentioned, tends to encourage exclusion of non-members (in-group and out-group discrimination). This most often comes in the form of a badge, crest, uniform or even official documentation showing membership of an exclusive club or sporting union of clubs. These tangible symbols, representing belonging from within the group, also serve as physical symbols of exclusion, rejection or constraint from outside the group. As John Goodger puts it:

...the wearing of badges and uniform dress may...serve to remind group members of their common, specific identity and values, and of the boundary between themselves and outsiders.³⁵

The formalisation of a sport also includes the promotion of ritual. Ritual then serves to relate the individual through ritualistic acts to a social order and heighten respect for that order. It confirms and invigorates that order within the individual and deepens acceptance of the procedures through which continuity, order and boundaries are maintained within the created social hierarchy.³⁶ Ritual activity, like sport, is rule-governed behaviour of a symbolic nature that represents preferred views of the social order and thus legitimises power relations.³⁷

³³ J. Nauright, *Sport, Cultures and Identities in South Africa*, pp. 20-21.

³⁴ S. Friedman, *Race, Class and Power: Harold Wolpe and the Radical Critique of Apartheid*, p. 56.

³⁵ J. Goodger, "Ritual Solidarity in Sport", *Acta Sociologica*, Vol. 29, No. 3 (1986), p. 220.

³⁶ B. Bernstein, H.L. Elvin & R.S. Peters, "Ritual in Education", *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London. Series B, Biological Sciences*, Vol. 251, No. 772, A Discussion on Ritualization of Behaviour in Animals and Man (Dec. 29, 1966), p. 429.

³⁷ J. Hargreaves, *Sport, Power and Culture*, p.12.

As these symbols and rituals take root within society, they become what Eric Hobsbawm refers to as “invented traditions”. These give symbolic form to the establishment of authority and submission.³⁸ Hobsbawm explains:

‘Invented tradition’ is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seeks to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past.³⁹

These traditions become culturally relevant or influential as soon as the symbols and rituals take on social and cultural meanings beyond the symbols or rituals themselves. It is the production of social and cultural meaning that marks the invention of tradition.⁴⁰ It is this meaning that gives the invention of tradition an important function. Hobsbawm mentions three overlapping functions of invented traditions. They are used to a) establish or symbolise social unity or group membership; b) legitimise relations of authority, mainly through institutions; and c) infuse beliefs, value systems and behavioural norms.⁴¹ These traditions influence the way in which groups see themselves, either overtly or unseen. Or as Bela Bartok suggests, these traditions exist within a community to serve as expressions of the community’s identity.⁴²

These invented traditions then become a characteristic of a newly formed, exclusive social category or group, or what Benedict Anderson refers to as an “imagined community”.⁴³ This relies on the concept of tradition, based on fictitious historicity, to legitimize their solidarity and exclusivity. A kind of “we’ve always done it this way” argument. Yet according to Hobsbawm, “traditions” that seem or claim to be old are very often quite recent and sometimes invented.⁴⁴ This newly conjured community identity is restricted by its traditions, with boundaries in place, beyond which lie other communities with different characteristics and different traditions, from which the community often derive its own identity. Anderson’s “community” is imagined as it is not dependant on physical geography, but is built on a

³⁸ C.M. Badenhorst, *Mines, missionaries and the municipality: organised African sport and recreation in Johannesburg, c1920-1950*, p. 28.

³⁹ E. Hobsbawm & T. Ranger (eds), *The Invention of Tradition*, p.1.

⁴⁰ J. Nagel, “Review: The Invention of Tradition. By Eric Hobsbawm; Terence Ranger”, *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 90, No. 5 (Mar., 1985), p. 1098.

⁴¹ E. Hobsbawm & T. Ranger (eds), *The Invention of Tradition*, p. 9.

⁴² C. Morrison, “Culture at the Core: Invented Traditions and Imagined Communities. Part I: Identity Formation”, *International Review of Scottish Studies*, Vol. 28, 2003, p. 4.

⁴³ B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, p. 6.

⁴⁴ E. Hobsbawm & T. Ranger (eds), *The Invention of Tradition*, p.1.

communal perception of similarity and need for shared relations and is often constructed with reference to an insider/outsider dichotomy, or in-group/out-group delineation.⁴⁵

In sporting circles these invented traditions find a cultural foothold and social meaning in the imagined communities of the exclusive club. The sports club offers a sense of identity where identification with the club provides symbolic citizenship and affirms a sense of place⁴⁶ or, what Peter Alegi refers to as a “...forge[d] collective identit[y]...”.⁴⁷ And often these clubs rely less on official club doctrine and statutes to promote cohesion, and more on emotionally and symbolically charged signs and symbols of club membership.⁴⁸ These traditions and the unthinking transmission of them become so entrenched in the clubs, fuelled by a factitious historicity and heritage, that these clubs or sporting communities claim to be the opposite of “invented” and so natural and commonplace that they need no definition other than self-assertion.⁴⁹

Cultural Hegemony

Antonio Gramsci’s concept of “cultural hegemony” is very useful in analysing the social landscape of modern capitalist society as it addresses the relationship between culture and power. Its elegance lies in its emphasis on “culture” and it shows how values, beliefs and perceptions tie to power in society. It attempts to show how certain groups gain and maintain a level of social control and dominance over other groups, beyond economic and political spheres, by focusing on both dominance and subordination as well as control and resistance.⁵⁰ In his extensive writing Gramsci never provided an outright definition of cultural hegemony, possibly suggesting the complex, ambiguous nature of the concept. The closest we get from him is the often-quoted description of hegemony as:

the 'spontaneous' consent given by the great masses of the population
to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant

⁴⁵ J. Harris, “Cool Cymru, rugby union and an imagined community”, *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, Vol. 27 Iss 3/4 p.153.

⁴⁶ J. Harris, “Cool Cymru, rugby union and an imagined community”, *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, Vol. 27 Iss 3/4 p.154.

⁴⁷ P. Alegi, “Playing to the gallery? Sport, cultural performance, and social identity in South Africa, 1920s-1945”, *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 35(1), 2005, p. 18. Although Alegi uses this term to describe the positive effects of a created sense of community and a focus on in-group solidarity, the ‘unwanted’ consequence of exclusion and rejection is also present and also very influential.

⁴⁸ E. Hobsbawm & T. Ranger (eds), *The Invention of Tradition*, p. 11.

⁴⁹ E. Hobsbawm & T. Ranger (eds), *The Invention of Tradition*, p. 14.

⁵⁰ C.M. Badenhorst, *Mines, missionaries and the municipality: organised African sport and recreation in Johannesburg, c1920-1950*, p. 17.

fundamental group; this consent is 'historically' caused by the prestige (and consequent confidence) which the dominant group enjoys because of its position and function in the world of production.⁵¹

Thus hegemony is a method of describing the social inequalities in capitalist society by looking at the misty realm of culture and how one class or class faction (or racial group) achieves control or leadership over the rest of society.⁵² It is a power relationship where one group achieves dominance and another succumbs to subordination. The subordinate group is persuaded by the dominant group to accept its world view either through consent or force where one or the other predominates. Even though hegemony is always in flux and always contested and re-established through resistance and compromise, the most effective method of hegemonic control lies in the ability of the dominant group to win over the subordinate group to the prevailing social order. Dominant groups only resort to force, or the implicit threat of force, when their hegemony is weak and consensual control is not achieved.⁵³ Ruling groups maintain their hegemony by creating and perpetuating symbols of legitimisation, but also by winning the consent of the subordinate group to the social order that these symbols legitimise.⁵⁴ This consent is negotiated through everyday values, perceptions, beliefs, sentiments and prejudices that are shaped through popular culture such as music, films, dress, religion, sport etc. And these cultures, or systems of meaning, are made concrete through patterns of social organisation.⁵⁵

The creation and maintenance of hegemony is a constant process whereby the relationship between the ruling and ruled groups is continuously contested and reworked through concessions and compromises. This relationship is characterised by mutual accommodation where both groups give a little ground and take a little ground, but ultimately secures the hegemony of one of them.⁵⁶ For Gramsci this relationship is a mix of resistance and resignation, approval and apathy, and no one group ever achieves complete success, be it

⁵¹ T. J. Jackson Lears, "The Concept of Cultural Hegemony: Problems and Possibilities", *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 90, No. 3 (Jun., 1985), p. 568.

⁵² J. Hargreaves, *Sport, Power and Culture*, p.7.

⁵³ C.M. Badenhorst, *Mines, missionaries and the municipality : organised African sport and recreation in Johannesburg, c1920-1950*, pp. 17-18; T. J. Jackson Lears, "The Concept of Cultural Hegemony: Problems and Possibilities", *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 90, No. 3 (Jun., 1985), pp. 568-569;

⁵⁴ T. J. Jackson Lears, "The Concept of Cultural Hegemony: Problems and Possibilities", *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 90, No. 3 (Jun., 1985), p. 569.

⁵⁵ C.M. Badenhorst, *Mines, missionaries and the municipality : organised African sport and recreation in Johannesburg, c1920-1950*, p. 19

⁵⁶ J. Hargreaves, *Sport, Power and Culture*, p. 1.

resistance or consent.⁵⁷ What hegemony achieves is creating and promoting a social order where the dominance and control of one group over another is encouraged and advanced through cultural practices and agents of these cultural practices, such as teachers, musicians and sports figures, to such an extent that the prevailing social order becomes “naturalised” and commonplace. Through the values and beliefs propagated by the dominant ideology the social order that encompasses inequalities becomes so natural that the possibility of equality or change is almost nullified and the uneven distribution of power and control is simply accepted.⁵⁸

Gramsci’s theory explains the link between cultural practices and the exercise of power. And modern sport, as a method of cultural interaction, is fertile ground for an exploration of Gramsci’s ideas. Through formalisation and organisation modern sport began to engage in social power relations. As formalisation is most often signified by the establishment of governing bodies, sport became politicised through formalisation, as governing bodies have to do with the exercise of power.⁵⁹ These governing bodies then came to dominate sport and control the methods in which play was organised, thus impacting on the power structures within the community.

Conclusion

In earlier societies and before the advent of the modern era of sport, games and contests often served to represent an aspect of society, whether it be the division of classes or religious characteristics. Sport has always been part, if not parcel of human society. As society changed in the nineteenth century, so did the practice of sport. With the emergence of an industrialised society and new modern organised games, the role of sport grew and developed and became more than just a mere mirroring of society, but rather an integral part of and influential factor in societal structures. Sport became ever more present in the daily lives of humanity and as such came to play a much greater socio-cultural role. In this it is important to see how this cultural practice contributed to the division of society in Victorian England and abroad. Societal division through sport is most evident in Britain and spread to many shores through her imperial fervour. As Sir Charles Tennyson notes, Victorian England was

⁵⁷ T. J. Jackson Lears, “The Concept of Cultural Hegemony: Problems and Possibilities”, *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 90, No. 3 (Jun., 1985), p. 570.

⁵⁸ C.M. Badenhorst, *Mines, missionaries and the municipality: organised African sport and recreation in Johannesburg, c1920-1950*, p. 21.

⁵⁹ J.J. Coakley, 1998, *Sport in Society, Issues & Controversies*, 6th Edition, p. 14.

“...the world’s game master.”⁶⁰ The above theories attempt to create a fuller picture of societal stratification and if applied correctly and efficiently could shed light on the divisions within modern sport in both Britain and her colonies. The abovementioned theories will prove useful in considering the reasons why sport around the British Empire, and in this case specifically South Africa, became such an important yet commonplace feature in the prevailing social divisions. Modern society has the inclination to credit Apartheid with the division of South African sport. Though the harsh policies and legislation of Apartheid undoubtedly added to sporting division, it was not solely responsible for segregating sport in South Africa - this would be giving Apartheid too much credit. This study looks at the divisionary currents in South African rugby, which developed from the infancy of the game, that would eventually give Apartheid the foundation from which to solidify rugby division.

This chapter has reflected on the emerging position of sport within the broader realm of social history and has also considered the contrasting interpretations of sport within historical studies in the past and present. Sport can be seen as not only as a euphoric unifier, but also a social divider - a concern that will be central to the evaluation of the early years of South African rugby and the main concern of this study. This chapter has also outlined and highlighted various theories that will be used to examine and explain how social forces within the development and diffusion of rugby football in both Britain and South Africa created and contributed to social division.

The next chapter will consider the growing field of South African sports historiography. By venturing into the library of South African history, Chapter Two will gauge what the playing field looks like and to what extent sport has been afforded agency in the discussions on South African history. By examining the available historical literature, it will attempt to show both the contributions and shortcomings of South African sports historiography.

Chapter Three seeks to delve into humankind’s historical affinity towards games and play. It attempts to find a suitable definition of sport as well as outlining the historical development of sport from antiquity to the modern era. In Chapter Three the changes in society are linked to the changes in sport. The creation of modern team sport in Victorian England and the social and class roles it fulfilled, are central focusses of the chapter. It also pays special

⁶⁰ Sir C. Tennyson, “They Taught the World to Play”, *Victorian Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 3, (Mar., 1959), p. 211.

attention to the development of sport within the English public school system and how sport was used as a means of informal education for the sons of a growing industrial middle class.

Chapter Four follows the diffusion of Victorian sport to the shores of the British Empire. By looking at the history of the education systems, parallels are drawn between Britain and South Africa that tends to highlight the class exclusivity perpetuated by middle class schools and their sport. The development of South African schools along English public school lines was responsible for the transfer of not only formal education but also informal education in the form of sport. It discusses the development of South African schools as entry-points for the diffusion of rugby and the British values it espoused.

In Chapter Five the transition from the school-ground to the club and union is explored. It considers the formalisation of rugby in South Africa and how the creation of exclusive clubs and unions contributed to division and the uneven balance of power within society. The introduction of governing bodies politicised rugby and thus allowed the game to formally dictate the separation of peoples along class and racial lines. Chapter Five looks to the creation of clubs and provincial rugby unions to showcase how the theories set out in Chapter One play out on the South African rugby field.

The concluding chapter takes the form of an epilogue which explores South African rugby beyond these inception years. The divisionary lines that were forged during the early development of rugby stretches all the way to the present day and this concluding chapter briefly traces these lines back, in an a-chronological trajectory, from the present to their origins in the nineteenth century.

Chapter Two

The Playing Field: Literature review

Introduction

The library of sports history has grown dramatically over the past few decades as the relevance of sport and leisure has become ever more apparent. Many works have come to the fore across the globe covering many different sporting codes and many different periods. The monographs on sport, and particularly on particular sports such as cricket, soccer and rugby abound globally. At an international level, academic publications on sport and specifically sport history have also increased. The publication of the *The Routledge Handbook of Sport, Race and Ethnicity* in 2016, serves as evidence of the growing interest in sport and the key role sport plays in society. It appeared under the editorship of John Nauright and David K. Wiggins.¹ It is one of the first publications to offer a comprehensive survey of approaches to the study of sport, race and ethnicity, including history, politics, sociology, philosophy, journalism and gender studies.² In *The Routledge Handbook of Sport, Race and Ethnicity*, Nauright and Wiggins have brought together academics from all over the globe and produced a multi-disciplinary work divided in two sections: Part one focusses on key themes of race and ethnicity in sport and Part two is a collection of case studies from around the world including Paul Darby's "Ireland and the Irish diaspora" and Chris Bolsmann's "South Africa".³ As a comprehensive work covering issues of race and ethnicity within sport, *The Routledge Handbook of Sport, Race and Ethnicity* is essential reading for students and researchers interested in sport studies. Moreover, this trend is reflected in the publication of journals specially dedicated to sport have been founded. One of which was the "Journal of Sport History" published by the University of Illinois Press. It was founded in May, 1974, under the auspices of the North American Society for Sport History⁴ and initially housed at Radford College, Virginia.⁵ In 1984, "Sporting Traditions" was founded and, under the editorship of Wray Vamplew, saw its first publication in November.⁶ The founding of

¹ J. Nauright and D.K. Wiggins, *The Routledge Handbook of Sport, Race and Ethnicity*, 2016.

² "*The Routledge Handbook of Sport, Race and Ethnicity* by John Nauright et. al", Olympic World Library. Accessed: 2017-03-25. < <https://library.olympic.org/Default/doc/SYRACUSE/165469/routledge-handbook-of-sport-race-and-ethnicity-ed-by-john-nauright-et-al> >

³ J. Nauright and D.K. Wiggins, *The Routledge Handbook of Sport, Race and Ethnicity*, 2016.

⁴ "President's Report", in *North American Society for Sport History*, Vol 1 (1), 1974, pp. 53-54.

⁵ "Publications Committee Report", in *North American Society for Sport History*, Vol 1 (1), 1974, p. 56.

⁶ W. Vamplew, "Editorial Preface", in *Sporting Traditions*, Vol 1 (1), 1984, p. 1.

academic journals exclusively discussing topics surrounding sport is thus indicative of the growing international interest in sport and its effect on society.

This brief literature review will however not delve into the plethora of international material but will rather focus on the key texts in South African history, both a selection of general histories as well as sport specific works. As sport has been a primary element in the socio-cultural development of modern South Africa the historiography thereof comprises quite a varied selection and shows a field begging to be explored from various angles. This brief literature review seeks to give an overview of the most influential and recognised texts to date so as to illustrate the depth and breadth of sports history in South Africa and how it has evolved. It also serves to highlight areas where the field might be expanded and perhaps dares to suggest that sport and leisure be included in general social histories of South Africa.

General Histories

When scouring the vast annals of South African history, we seldom find attention paid to particular strands of social occurrence. In popular general history books very little mention is made of the role of sport in society. One of these popular general histories, *The Reader's Digest Illustrated History of South Africa: The Real Story*,⁷ dedicates a single page to the role of sport in South African history and places its focus simply on the sporting boycotts instigated against the country in the 1980s. It mentions the story of cricketer Basil d'Oliviera; the anti-Apartheid protest of the Springbok rugby tour of 1981; and the refusal of foreign soccer teams to tour South Africa.⁸ It is unfortunately the burden sport bears, as chroniclers are most often interested in the exceptional and extraordinary. The everyday happenings and social historical meaning of sport are more often than not ignored.

Leonard Thompson's *A History of South Africa*,⁹ first published in 1995, is considered one of the go-to publications on modern South African history. Multiple editions have appeared after the initial publication and it continues to serve as a valuable source on South African history, specifically because of its inclusive approach – considering the histories of previously ignored or marginalised groups. Thompson gives coverage to precolonial South Africa as well as the history of European settlement and expansion; the discovery of mineral wealth as well as the segregation and Apartheid; and finally the transition to the “New South

⁷ D. Oakes, *The Reader's Digest Illustrated History of South Africa: The Real Story*, 1992.

⁸ D. Oakes, *The Reader's Digest Illustrated History of South Africa: The Real Story*, pp. 450-451.

⁹ L.M. Thompson, *A History of South Africa*, 1995.

Africa”. Though exhaustive, *A History of South Africa* is selective in its approach and does not consider the history of sport in great detail. A brief mention of pre-colonial African sport is made in the form of cattle-raiding,¹⁰ though this cannot be seen as a leisure activity in the modern sense. Thompson does consider the role of sport within the Apartheid milieu,¹¹ but uses sport simply to illustrate the effects of the segregationist legislation of the Apartheid government and does not afford it much social analysis.

*A History of South Africa*¹² by Frank Welsh is a much praised work first published in 1998 and has been an often-cited source ever since. Welsh’s work is a very popular addition to South African history and rightly so. His literary style is fresh and garnished with a certain measure of creativity that brings often recited narratives to life. Yet social aspects such as sport is sorely neglected. Though this is at times understandable in works of this ambit, it is still regrettable. Though quotes adorn the back cover of the newly revised and updated edition with phrases such as “Sweeping [and] exhaustive...”, Welsh only affords a single paragraph to sport when mentioning how the systematic repealing of Apartheid laws affected South African society. Welsh mentions how the introduction of mixed-race sport allowed a traditionally coloured school, Paulus Joubert High School, to play, and subsequently beat, the famous Afrikaner school, Paarl Gymnasium.¹³ He uses this example to reinforce the ludicrousness of racial separation and how instances of integration proved this, yet nowhere else is sport used to support this argument. Sport is a convenience argument and not afforded the attention it deserves.

Robert Ross’s celebrated work, *A Concise History of South Africa*,¹⁴ published in 1999, is another case in point. Ross mentions sport only fleetingly, reflecting briefly on soccer and rugby in the epilogue when the achievement of the 1996 African Cup of Nations team and the 1995 Rugby World Cup victory, which has been immortalised in the Clint Eastwood film *Invictus*, is mentioned. Though Ross credits these events with much symbolic stature, we are left to ponder the development of sport prior to what he flags as great national accomplishments, which are heralded as symbols of societal reconciliation.

¹⁰ L.M. Thompson, *A History of South Africa*, p.27.

¹¹ L.M. Thompson, *A History of South Africa*, pp. 197; 227.

¹² F. Welsh, *A History of South Africa*, 1998.

¹³ F. Welsh, *A History of South Africa*, p. 491.

¹⁴ R. Ross, *A Concise History of South Africa*, p. 199.

Hermann Giliomee and Bernard Mbenga's work, *New History of South Africa*,¹⁵ published in 2007, quite effectively reflects the negligible standing sport enjoys in general accounts of South African history. In more than 400 pages of South African history, stretching from the first peoples to the Mbeki government, scant attention is given to the role of sport in the history of the country. Only three references are made: John Vorster's "liberal" sport policy (compared to Hendrik Verwoerd's, that is);¹⁶ the protesting of the Springbok tour to the British Isle in 1969-1970 as well as the cancelation of numerous tours from 1970-1989;¹⁷ and finally, the last mention of sport comes in the form of a side-bar and picture making a fleeting reference to the Springbok triumph in the 1995 Rugby Union World Cup and the controversy regarding the Springbok emblem and colours leading up to the tournament.¹⁸ This speaks towards a trend in general South African histories where sport is seen as peripheral and not central or directly relevant to broader historical developments.

In 2012 the fifth edition of Nigel Worden's *The Making of Modern South Africa*¹⁹ was released (the first edition appeared in 1994), speaking to the popularity of the text. The success of Worden's book, according to one reviewer, is that "...it is highly readable, balanced and concise."²⁰ In under 200 pages, Worden gives a very detailed and dense account of South African history from the hunter-gatherers to colonial conquest to Apartheid and beyond. It is telling that in a bid to reveal only the essentials of the complex history of South Africa, Worden chose to mention sport only fleetingly and only from the twentieth century. Worden focuses on the separation of sporting facilities during Apartheid and the sport boycotts of the 1970s and 1980s, and settling his account by praising the successful hosting of the FIFA World Cup in 2010.²¹ *The Making of Modern South Africa* is a prime example of how sport has been and continues to be neglected in the broader histories of South Africa, yet still hints at the increasing importance thereof through fleeting references.

A History of South Africa: From the Distant Past to the Present Day,²² published in 2014, under the editorship of Fransjohan Pretorius, is an informative account of the vast history of South Africa. Contributions by well-known figures in South African historiography,

¹⁵ H. Giliomee & B. Mbenga, *New History of South Africa*.

¹⁶ H. Giliomee & B. Mbenga, *New History of South Africa*, p. 350.

¹⁷ H. Giliomee & B. Mbenga, *New History of South Africa*, p. 359.

¹⁸ H. Giliomee & B. Mbenga, *New History of South Africa*, p. 412.

¹⁹ N. Worden, *The Making of Modern South Africa: Conquest, Segregation and Apartheid*. 2012

²⁰ F. A. Mouton. "Review of Worden, Nigel, *The Making of Modern South Africa: Conquest, Segregation and Apartheid*." H-SAfrica, H-Net Reviews. October, 2000.

²¹ N. Worden, *The Making of Modern South Africa: Conquest, Segregation and Apartheid*, pp. 105, 109 & 169.

²² F.J.P. Pretorius, *A History of South Africa: From the Distant Past to the Present Day*, 2014.

including Hermann Gilliomee, make this twenty-nine chapter compendium a comprehensive, modern overview of South African history. What makes Pretorius's *A History of South Africa* significant is the subtle shift in focus to include and embrace social aspects of South African society. In previous histories of South Africa political and economic issues would be exclusively discussed and social aspects, such as sport, would be at the periphery at best. In Pretorius's work sport has been acknowledged and given some attention. In David M. Sher's section on the Apartheid state, he specifically mentions that "Black people had extremely limited political rights, schools and residential areas were segregated...and there were separate sport and recreation facilities."²³ *A History of South Africa* continues to give sport the nod when giving brief discussions on the British origins and influence of rugby;²⁴ sport within the coloured community, both during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries;²⁵ Indian sport during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries;²⁶ discussing John Vorster's segregationist policies surrounding sport;²⁷ as well as the sporting sanctions of the 1970s.²⁸ Pretorius's *A History of South Africa* is an example of how sport has come to demand greater respect within South African historiography. The mere fact that a previously ignored aspect of South African history is afforded increasing attention, speaks to a renewed interest in sport as a primary element in the socio-cultural development of modern South Africa.

In 2016, Bill Nasson released a collection of his various writings under the title *History Matters: Selected Writings, 1970-2016*.²⁹ Richard Price rightly describes Bill Nasson as one of the leading historians in South Africa and by listing Nasson's outstanding credentials (a list of his books, his editorship of the *Journal of African History* and countless fellowships all over the globe), he highlights the importance of Bill Nasson's academic standing and opinion (as do other reviewers of *History Matters*).³⁰ Price praises Nasson for his ability to combine diverse topics into a single volume while addressing a wide audience; including both historians and non-historians. In reference to *History Matters*, Tim Couzens described Nasson as "...a historian talking not to a narrow clique of historians but to a much wider

²³ F.J.P. Pretorius, *A History of South Africa: From the Distant Past to the Present Day*, p. 329

²⁴ F.J.P. Pretorius, *A History of South Africa: From the Distant Past to the Present Day*, p. 592.

²⁵ F.J.P. Pretorius, *A History of South Africa: From the Distant Past to the Present Day*, pp. 552-554; pp. 560-561; pp. 566-569.

²⁶ F.J.P. Pretorius, *A History of South Africa: From the Distant Past to the Present Day*, pp. 583-584.

²⁷ F.J.P. Pretorius, *A History of South Africa: From the Distant Past to the Present Day*, p. 351, 357, 359.

²⁸ F.J.P. Pretorius, *A History of South Africa: From the Distant Past to the Present Day*, p. 399.

²⁹ W.R. Nasson, *History Matters: Selected Writings, 1970-2016*, 2016.

³⁰ R.N. Price, "Price on Nasson, 'History Matters: Selected Writings, 1970-2016'", H-Empire, H-Net Reviews. February, 2017, p. 1 Accessed: 25/03/2017. <<http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=48693>>; P. Murray, "History Matters by Bill Nasson – a book review", Litnet, 2017-02-01, p. 1. Accessed on: 25/03/2017. <<http://www.litnet.co.za/history-matters-bill-nasson-book-review/>>

audience.³¹ Price describes Nasson as an academic who rarely toils in fields of history where it is unlikely to matter much and praises Nasson for being able to draw historical significance from seemingly dry stones.³² Nasson realises the importance of previously ignored aspects of history and provides analysis outside the confining conventionalities of historical study.³³ It is therefore quite telling that Nasson includes within his selected writings from 1970 to 2016 two chapters specifically on sport and leisure in South Africa: “Not quite fair play, old chap: The complexion of cricket and sport in South Africa”³⁴ and “Popular leisure and class relations in District Six, c. 1920s-1950s”.³⁵ The importance of sport and leisure in South African history is thus reinforced by one of the top historians in South Africa. *History Matters* is a fine collection of historical intricacies, including sport, presented in the accessible fashion that is part and parcel of Nasson.

Sports Specific

Possibly the earliest known work on organised sport in South Africa is by A. G. Parker. Produced in 1897, Parker’s work entitled *South African Sport*³⁶ describes sport in the Cape Colony and the Transvaal Republic or Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek (ZAR). Though Parker covers all manner of organised sport such as cricket, association football, cycling, boxing, athletics and even baseball (showing an interesting American connection as baseball was still a young sport even in the States), his description of rugby is noteworthy. Parker is of the opinion that rugby is the most influential sport in South Africa in the late nineteenth century and says “...the game stands pre-eminent among sport as the most popular with players and the public”³⁷ and goes on to call it “the people’s game”.³⁸ From this early work we can already see the importance of rugby within South African society. *South African Sport* thus serves as a valuable primary source highlighting the prominence of the game at such an early stage of its development. It is however important to mention that this very early work does not discuss the sporting activities in the Natal Colony and the Orange Free State Republic and

³¹ Quoted from P. Murray, “History Matters by Bill Nasson – a book review”, Litnet, 2017-02-01, p. 2. Accessed on: 25/03/2017. <<http://www.litnet.co.za/history-matters-bill-nasson-book-review/>>

³² W.R. Nasson, *History Matters: Selected Writings, 1970-2016*, 2016.

³² R.N. Price, “Price on Nasson, ‘History Matters: Selected Writings, 1970-2016’”, H-Empire, H-Net Reviews. February, 2017, p. 4 Accessed: 25/03/2017. <<http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=48693>>

³³ R.N. Price, “Price on Nasson, ‘History Matters: Selected Writings, 1970-2016’”, H-Empire, H-Net Reviews. February, 2017, p. 4 Accessed: 25/03/2017. <<http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=48693>>

³⁴ W.R. Nasson, *History Matters: Selected Writings, 1970-2016*, pp. 78-88

³⁵ W.R. Nasson, *History Matters: Selected Writings, 1970-2016*, pp. 165-186.

³⁶ G.A. Parker, *South African Sport*, 1897

³⁷ G.A. Parker, *South African Sport*. P. 57.

³⁸ G.A. Parker, *South African Sport*. P. 60.

makes no mention of sport outside of white society. These are of course not shortfalls at all as it tells us much more about the exclusivity of a very myopic white sporting society. *Sport in South Africa* focusses very much on statistics and biographies, serving as a rich source of early information, but its true value is in its role as a primary source that can be used to obtain an idea of how sport was thought of at the time.

A contemporary of Parker, E.J.L. Platnauer, who also contributed to *Sport in South Africa*, produced another instalment in the sport history series in 1908. His work *Sport and Pastime in the Transvaal, including Biographical Sketches of Transvaal Sportsmen*³⁹ discusses sporting life in the Transvaal in the nineteenth century including well known sports clubs like Pirates and Wanderers of Johannesburg and well known personalities such as Robert Loftus Owen Versveld. *Sport and Pastime in the Transvaal* covers a wide variety of sport in the Transvaal. Besides rugby, soccer and cricket, much attention is also paid to athletics and cycling, tennis, golf, amateur boxing, gymnastics and even baseball.⁴⁰ Although this early work is well written and contains ample early accounts, it does lack somewhat in substance. This is apparently due to the absence of earlier records that continue to plague research efforts.⁴¹ In fact, for the current research the reluctance and inability of some rugby unions to make information available proved increasingly frustrating. Moreover, while some of the more established public and private schools were fairly generous in providing access to and supplying early records, at a price, for the most part this was not the case. Much research had to therefore be gleaned from the sanitised accounts of coffee-table type publications and earlier books such as *Sport in South Africa*. Thus while Platnauer's work is essentially a popular chronicling of sport in his time, it serves the purpose of a primary source well. Like Parker's work, it focusses on a specific sporting audience and thus overlooks any sporting activity outside his chosen target.

In 1914, H.P. Swaffer joined the movement and edited a collection of essays entitled *South African Sport*.⁴² Leslie A. Cox was tasked with chronicling the development of rugby, but confesses that the space allotted would not be sufficient to cover the topic effectively (using almost two pages to substantiate this). So instead Cox uses his allotted pages to briefly

³⁹ E.J.L. Platnauer, *Sport and Pastime in the Transvaal, Including Biographical Sketches of Transvaal Sportsmen*, 1908.

⁴⁰ E.J.L. Platnauer, *Sport and Pastime in the Transvaal, Including Biographical Sketches of Transvaal Sportsmen*.

⁴¹ E.J.L. Platnauer, *Sport and Pastime in the Transvaal, Including Biographical Sketches of Transvaal Sportsmen*, p.7.

⁴² H.P. Swaffer, *South African Sport*, 1914.

describe the importance of sport, in this case rugby, in South Africa. He very astutely remarks that “...the history of the country is repeated in the history of sport...”⁴³ but then fails to effectively elaborate on the remark, leaving the potential unfulfilled. He does however effectively apply a South African mentality to the love of rugby saying that “...the suspicion of danger, of difficulties to overcome speaks to [the South African]”.⁴⁴ Cox then assigns half of his piece to describing who he believes to be the four greatest South African ruggers of his time and the other half providing statistics of rugby matches up until 1914. Those four rugby greats are Fairy Heatley, Japie Kruger, Douglas Morkel and Fred Dobbin.

In 1933 what appears to be the first comprehensive history of a single sport in South Africa appeared in the form of Ivor D. Difford’s *The History of South African Rugby Football 1875–1932*.⁴⁵ Difford’s account focuses on the brief history of South African rugby, both locally and on the international stage. As in Parker and Platnauer’s case, Difford writes a popular history with a focus on the grand events and little attention is given to the everyday ins and outs of the rugby community. Similar to Parker and Platnauer, it also serves well as a primary source of historical information and a veritable gold mine of information of the era. Difford’s work was commissioned by the South African Rugby Football Board (SARFB) and even though it failed to garner as much financial popularity as the SARFB would have hoped, it has gained veritable cult status as the South African Rugby bible. This was due to its thorough chronicling of rugby throughout South Africa and it being substantiated by apparently unrestricted access to all affiliated clubs and unions – prior to the loss of a great deal of documentation (mostly by fire). The importance of Difford’s work is underlined by the fact that many of the modern works of rugby history tend to use Difford’s meticulous gathering of statistical and general information as a base or framework, almost without fail. Leading scholars of sport history such as Paul Dobson, Albert Grundling and André Odendaal have all made use of Difford’s early work.

Also making use of Difford’s works is Arthur Cyril Parker who produced the next instalment in South African rugby histories with his 1955 publication *Springboks, 1891-1970*.⁴⁶ Parker covers the early years of rugby in South Africa, even if only fleetingly. His contribution also lies in the detailed accounts of clubs, matches and personalities in the time discussed. It is

⁴³ H.P. Swaffer, *South African Sport*, p. 59.

⁴⁴ H.P. Swaffer, *South African Sport*, p. 60.

⁴⁵ I. D. Difford, *The History of South African Rugby Football 1875–1932*, 1933.

⁴⁶ A.C. Parker, *Springboks, 1891-1970*, 1955.

effectively a general account of South Africa's rugby story and provides a chronological tale with little social analysis.

Though these works are interesting reads and provide an abundance of information, they do, as mentioned, serve as useful "current" primary sources giving us glimpses into the general feelings toward sport and society at the time of writing. The glory-filled descriptions speak of an immense passion for sport while the lack of account outside the white mainstream shows a clear prioritisation of an exclusionist white sport.

As indicated, a number of histories on specific sports in South Africa have appeared in the last few decades. They essentially consider three of the main sporting codes: cricket, rugby and soccer. As sport is a very popular subject in South Africa, most sporting histories are popular works and tend to focus on statistics and general proceedings rather than social analysis. According to John Nauright, due to the racially-driven nature of South African sport, a large and long-established popular literature on the dominant white male team sports of cricket and rugby already exists. As a result other sports have generally been largely overlooked by social historians.⁴⁷ This is of course perfectly understandable as many of these works are intended to be works of "praise" or "nostalgia" commissioned by governing bodies or fans. Examples of this include the centenary celebration publications by Pretoria Rugby Club and Bloemfontein's Collegians Rugby Club published in 1988 and 2002 respectively.⁴⁸ These publications are valuable sources of historical inquiry and even though they might lack rigorous analysis, they do provide important primary material in an often well-fashioned and ordered way. In fact, the "lack of analysis" can be seen as an unfair critique as these works are not meant to provide any analysis. Other works that have been produced in a similar fashion include *Vrystaat – 100 jaar van hardlooperugby* (1995) by Frikkie van Rensburg and Herman le Roux,⁴⁹ *Blue Bulls: 70 years of Glory* (2008) by Wim van den Berg,⁵⁰ and the many works by celebrated journalist Chris Greyvenstein, including *Springbok-Saga: 100 years of Springbok rugby*⁵¹ (1977) and *Great Springbok Rugby Tests - 100 Years of*

⁴⁷ D. Allen, "Studying South African Sports History: A Current Perspective", *Impumelelo: The Interdisciplinary Electronic Journal of African Sport*. < https://www.ohio.edu/sportsafrica/JOURNAL/allen.htm#_edn88 > accessed 19-12-2015.

⁴⁸ F.J.H. Barnard & P.F. Uys, *Die Verhaal van Pretoria Rugbyklub*, 1988; C. Claassen, *Collegians-rugby: Eeufeesviering, 1902-2002*, 2002;

⁴⁹ F. Van Rensburg & H. le Roux, *Vrystaat – 100 jaar van hardlooperugby*, 1995.

⁵⁰ W. Van den Berg & G. Burger, *Blue Bulls: 70 years of glory*, 2008.

⁵¹ C. Greyvenstein, *Springbok-Saga: 100 years of Springbok rugby*, 1977.

Headlines (1989).⁵² Simply by looking at the titles one can ascertain that these works are popularist and are not meant to be regarded as encompassing or analytical histories.

On the other hand, many other works have appeared that try and situate the sporting world within the broader historical context. These works tend to focus on the overlapping social, economic and political spheres and where and how sport and leisure fit in and affect them. The development of sport in South Africa is placed directly alongside social developments and it is put through its paces not in a vacuum, but as part of a broader setting. It is with the emergence of social history in the 1960s that we find sport and leisure stepping somewhat into the spotlight. And no place is better situated to host the foray into sport and society than South Africa with its strong British heritage. A few works appeared in the 1970s and 1980s, including André Odendaal's *Cricket in Isolation: The Politics of Race and Cricket in South Africa* in 1977. Odendaal was one of the first to explore the development of non-white cricket in South Africa and effectively set the stage for future inquiry.

In 1982 one of the very first works focussing exclusively on the impact and repercussions of sport in a socially divided society appeared in Robert Archer and Antoine Bouillon's *The South African Game: Sport and racism*. Archer and Bouillon realised how "sport is embedded in South African history"⁵³ and attempted, quite successfully, to:

...present the point of view of the modern non-racial movement within the country. They also describe the historical and social context within which it came into being - excluded and ignored by white sport, but with a vitality and energy which defies material, social and political deprivation.⁵⁴

The South African Game discredits the myth that sport and politics can be separated and as the most important study of its time, according to Odendaal, opens the door to relating the development of sport to its social and political background. It shows how institutional

⁵² C. Greyvenstein, *Great Springbok Rugby Tests - 100 Years of Headlines*, 1989.

⁵³ D. Allen, "Studying South African Sports History: A Current Perspective", *Impumelelo: The Interdisciplinary Electronic Journal of African Sport*. < https://www.ohio.edu/sportsafrica/JOURNAL/allen.htm#_edn88 > accessed 19-12-2015.

⁵⁴ J.A. Mangan, "Review: The South African Game: Sport and racism by Robert Archer & Antoine Bouillon", *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 5, No. 2, Africa: Tensions and Contentions (Apr., 1983), p. 500.

inequality and discrimination had become ingrained in sport as in other more obvious spheres of life.⁵⁵

It is from the late 1980s that we see a definite upsurge in both published and unpublished works relating to South Africa's rich sporting past. After the ground-breaking works by Odendaal, Archer and Bouillon, and the dramatic social and political change, many scholars have taken on the task of discussing sport and society. One such study that was the doctorate submitted in 1992 to the Department of Geography at Queen's University, Canada by Cecile Badenhorst's: "Mines, Missionaries and the Municipality: Organised African Sport and Recreation in Johannesburg, 1920-1950".⁵⁶ This study examines the motivation behind the efforts of white organisations, such as missionaries, the Non-European Affairs Department and the Johannesburg City Council, to organise and control African sport and recreation. It also considers some of the responses from participants involved. It is a useful source concerning this study as it considers many of the relevant theoretical aspects. What is most useful is how it uncovers and explains certain undercurrents in the development of sport within the South African context. "Mines, Missionaries and the Municipality" impressively explores the relationship between culture and race; how sport became one of the non-coercive means by which whites attempted to control the urban African; and also how sport and leisure served as an arena of conflict over cultural hegemony. Badenhorst uses Antonio Gramsci's explanation of cultural hegemony to explain the early South African sporting context. As mentioned, Gramsci's interpretation of cultural hegemony is useful to conceptualise sport and leisure in a context of dominance and subordination. It is through this theory of cultural hegemony, and her subsequent exploration of invented traditions concerning sport and leisure, that Badenhorst adds another dimension to the role of sport within South African society. Badenhorst effectively applies these groundbreaking theories to the 1920-1950 Witwatersrand mining context. However she tends to overlook the immediate past (late nineteenth century) that, it will be argued, contributed to this context. The same forces she so masterfully examines within the structured, organised mining context were already present and active decades before, allowing white organisations to tap into and exploit for the purposes of overt, focused social control.

⁵⁵ A. Odendaal, "Review: The South African Game: Sport and racism by Robert Archer & Antoine Bouillon", *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, Vol. 54, No. 2 (1984), p. 106.

⁵⁶ C. M. Badenhorst, *Mines, Missionaries and the Municipality: Organised African Sport and Recreation in Johannesburg c1920-1950*, PhD Thesis, Queen's University, 1992.

Paul Dobson's *Rugby in South Africa, A History 1861-1988*⁵⁷ was published in 1989 and is considered one of the most comprehensive accounts of South African rugby to date. Dobson created an in depth account of the origins of rugby, including an analysis of the William Webb Ellis myth, how it came about and the correction thereof, as well as delving into the history of the game in South Africa. With immeasurable research Dobson has carried the baton of rugby history in South Africa and produced a veritable "New Testament" to Difford's *Old*. Dobson made use of various sources including newspapers, school magazines and many works by Dr. Danie Craven to produce a stunning new addition to the South African rugby library. What Dobson brings to the table other than scrupulous attention to detail is coverage of black rugby history that has scarcely been documented. He provides details of the founding of some of the oldest non-white rugby clubs and unions, such as Roslyn RFC and the Western Province Coloured Rugby Union (both 1886); as well as key teams, such as the South African Coloured Springboks of the 1930s and 1950s; and important personalities, such as Dr. A. Abdurahman and Errol Tobias, throughout the neglected history of black rugby.⁵⁸ The focus on black rugby in South Africa opened the door for more comprehensive studies of rugby among black South Africans, such as Abdurahman Booley's *Forgotten Heroes* (discussed below). Similar to Difford, we can see the value and reputability of Dobson's work by the ubiquitousness of it in modern scholar's bibliographies. *Rugby in South Africa* features consistently in the later works of André Odendaal, Albert Grundlingh, John Nauright and even Peter Alegi. Dobson has devoted his life to rugby as a writer, schools coach and member of the Western Province Referees Society and in *Rugby in South Africa* he has made an immeasurable contribution to rugby literature not only in South Africa, but in the world.

Published in 1995, *Beyond the Tryline*⁵⁹ is a collaborative work by three key scholars in South African history: Albert Grundlingh, André Odendaal and Burr ridge Spies. It explores the history of rugby in South Africa and attempts to answer questions on the origins of the game as an expression of imperial heritage, played on well-manicured fields at schools modelled after the English standard, while also considering the somewhat unknown history of the development of black rugby in South Africa. According to Darrell Kruger the greatest strength of this publication lies in placing rugby in the South African social context and

⁵⁷ P. Dobson, *Rugby in South Africa, A History, 1861-1988*, 1989.

⁵⁸ P. Dobson, *Rugby in South Africa, A History, 1861-1988*, pp. 167-226.

⁵⁹ A. Grundlingh, et al., *Beyond the Tryline*. 1995.

calling attention to nineteenth and twentieth century social engineering and discrimination.⁶⁰ The authors do this by focussing on the role of rugby within the broader political framework of South African history, discussing the game in the isolation years; exploring the “Afrikanerisation” of rugby; the links between rugby and Afrikaner nationalism; and considering the long shadow cast by the social history of the game and the rocky road towards rugby reconciliation in a new political era after 1994.⁶¹ *Beyond the Tryline* is the first of its kind in trying to give a detailed account of South Africa’s rugby past alongside an in-depth analysis of the development of the sport and the development of social relations in the country. Malcolm MacLean praises *Beyond the Tryline* as taking a significant step towards correcting a gap within South African sports historiography and, despite a few glaring misconceptions from the reviewer, describes its authors as deserving “...a place on the altar of sport’s social analysis...” and the publication as a “...seminal work.”⁶² A collection of well-researched, effective works, *Beyond the Tryline* is an extremely valuable addition to the pantheon of South African sport history and as such often does and should serve as the basis of many future studies.⁶³

In his 1998 publication, *Sport, Cultures and Identities in South Africa*,⁶⁴ John Nauright successfully tackles the issues surrounding South African sport in a broad political context. He explores the development of different cultures in South Africa through the imperial, Apartheid and post-Apartheid eras and how sport influenced and was influenced by these developments. Nauright quite effectively surveys the rise of cricket in the imperial era and notes how mission-educated Africans adopted the sport to display an affinity for Victorian ideals to fashion a sense of equality with their British counterparts - a scenario that played out on many levels of colonial interaction.⁶⁵ He also deals with the emergence of black sport and how it came to nurture a black cultural identity, especially through soccer. He does, however, not pay equal attention to soccer and cricket, focusing most of his attention on rugby and

⁶⁰ D.P. Kruger, “Review: Beyond the Tryline: Rugby and South African Society. Edited by Albert Grundlingh, Andre Odendaal, and Burrige Spies.”, *Journal of Cultural Geography*, Vol. 16 (2), 1997, pp. 121-122.

⁶¹ R.A. Voeltz, “Review: Beyond the Tryline by Albert Grundlingh, Andre Odendaal and Burrige Spies”, *International Journal of African Historical Studies*. Vol. 30(1), 1997, p.180.

⁶² M. MacLean, “Review: Beyond the Tryline: Rugby and South African Society by Albert Grundlingh, Andre Odendaal and Burrige Spies”, *Journal of Sport History*, Volume 24 (3) pp. 407-408.

⁶³ D.P. Kruger, “Review: Beyond the Tryline: Rugby and South African Society. Edited by Albert Grundlingh, Andre Odendaal, and Burrige Spies.”, *Journal of Cultural Geography*, Vol. 16 (2), 1997, p. 123.

⁶⁴ J. Nauright, *Sport, Cultures and Identities in South Africa*.

⁶⁵ See for example A.M. Green, “Dancing in Borrowed Shoes: A History of Ballroom Dancing in South Africa (1600-1940s)”, M.A. Thesis, U.P., 2008.

white Afrikaner identity. This he labels as “bad”, while promoting black identity as “good”.⁶⁶ This probably stems from an over concentration on and overt criticism of white rugby combined with virtually no attention to soccer and cricket. *Sport, Cultures and Identities* lacks some historical detail, but succeeds well in illuminating sport as an embodiment of cultural identities and the interactions between these identities. While Nauright acknowledges the ability of sport to create a sense of national identification beyond restrictions of entrenched social divisions, much in the way Robert Ross does,⁶⁷ he warns of the divisions that exist within South African sport and opines that it will be a long time before these divisions will be overcome.⁶⁸

Nauright is also the author of *Making Men: Rugby and Masculine Identity* (1996)⁶⁹ in which he once again uses sport, in this case rugby, to evaluate South Africa’s social landscape. He does this by looking into the role of rugby and the rise of masculine identity and how this affected South African society.

Douglas Booth’s *The Race Game: Sport Politics in South Africa* was published in 1998 and set out to explore the intricacies and the effects of Apartheid on South African sport. Sport under Apartheid became quite a popular topic as sanctions turned South Africa into an international pariah. Quite a few authors, including Timothy Chandler and John Nauright,⁷⁰ have dedicated works to the topic of Apartheid and sport including contemporary works on sport, resistance and sanctions.⁷¹ Booth adds to this wonderfully by placing the politics of sport within the wider political framework of South Africa through solid research and sophisticated theory and arguments. What makes Booth’s work such a valuable addition is the abundance of primary material that includes interviews with key figures in South African sport as well as parliamentary records regarding sport.⁷² Interviews with personalities such as Ali Bacher, Willie Basson, Danie Craven, Krish Naidoo, amongst others, add much depth and authenticity to his account. In *The Race Game* Booth has created an engaging, creative and

⁶⁶ D. Booth, “Review: Sport, Cultures and Identities in South Africa by John Nauright”, *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 38, (1) (Mar., 2000), pp. 145-146.

⁶⁷ R. Ross, *Concise History of South Africa*, pp. 199-200.

⁶⁸ J. Nauright, *Sport, Cultures and Identities in South Africa*. p.196.

⁶⁹ J. Nauright, *Making Men: Rugby and Masculine Identity*, 1996.

⁷⁰ T.J.L. Chandler & J. Nauright, *Making the Rugby World: Race, Gender, Commerce*, 1999.

⁷¹ See for example S. Ramsamy, *Apartheid, the real hurdle: Sport in South Africa & the international boycott*, 1982 and C. Korr and M. Close, *More Than Just A Game: Soccer v Apartheid: The Most Important Story Ever Told*, 2008.

⁷² D. Black, “Review: The Race Game Sport Politics in South Africa by Douglas Booth” in *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 38, (2) (Jul., 2000), p. 337.

important study that should be of interest not only to sport and social historians, but to a wider range of scholars interested in the social make-up of South Africa.⁷³

As mentioned, Abdurahman Booley produced *Forgotten Heroes, History of Black Rugby, 1882-1992* in 1998 and with it addresses a topic that has been touched on in passing but not yet dealt with in depth. The history of black rugby in South Africa has not yet been exclusively examined, though it has been considered in earlier studies.⁷⁴ Booley attempts to give a comprehensive history of rugby outside of the white mainstream and does this well by providing statistics and source-backed coverage of non-white clubs and unions stretching all the way back to the nineteenth century – a team photograph from the 1883 Arabian College RFC team being a prime example.⁷⁵ For all that *Forgotten Heroes* offers, it does have its shortcomings that somewhat mars a potentially solid work. The absence of source acknowledgement or any form of bibliography casts some doubt over Booley’s research, if only his method and not the veracity of his information. Small factual inaccuracies also raise an eyebrow. For example, Booley quite rightly emphasises the establishment of the South African Coloured Rugby Football Board and cites it as “the birth of black rugby”,⁷⁶ yet he provides the founding year as 1896, whereas other historians, such as André Odendaal and John Nauright, cite the year as 1897.⁷⁷

Another publication by André Odendaal comes in the form of *The Story of an African Game: Black Cricketers and the Unmasking of One of Cricket’s Greatest Myths, 1850-2003* published in 2003.⁷⁸ In this work Odendaal explores the somewhat neglected history of black cricket. With a few exceptions, South African cricket historiography has had its focus very much on white society with black cricketers and political influence left in the sheds. In *The Story of an African Game*, Odendaal seeks to demonstrate a rich cricketing tradition amongst black South Africans and to dispel the myth that cricket was monopolised by white South Africans.⁷⁹ In Chapter 42, Odendaal speaks of the “...myth that racial inequalities in cricket

⁷³ D. Black, “Review: The Race Game Sport Politics in South Africa by Douglas Booth” in *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 38, No. 2 (Jul., 2000), p. 337.

⁷⁴ See A. Odendaal’s chapter “The Thing that is not Round” in A. Grundlingh, et al., *Beyond the Tryline*.

⁷⁵ A. Booley, *Forgotten Heroes, History of Black Rugby, 1882-1992*, p. 46.

⁷⁶ A. Booley, *Forgotten Heroes, History of Black Rugby, 1882-1992*, p. 13.

⁷⁷ A. Odendaal, *Story of An African Game: Black Cricketers and the Unmasking of One of Cricket’s Greatest Myths, 1850-2003*, p. 78; J. Nauright, *Sport, Cultures and Identities in South Africa*, pp. 50-51.

⁷⁸ A. Odendaal, *Story of An African Game: Black Cricketers and the Unmasking of One of Cricket’s Greatest Myths, 1850-2003*, 2003.

⁷⁹ N. Southey, “*Story of an African Game: Black Cricketers and the Unmasking of One of Cricket’s Greatest Myths, 1850-2003*. By Andre Odendaal”, Book Reviews, *South African Historical Journal*, Vol. 54, 2008, pp. 181-183.

evolved naturally...[and]...divisions existed because black people were not interested in the game or were not suited to it psychologically, emotionally and physically.”⁸⁰ Odendaal stands as one of the foremost explorers of the lost legacies of black cricket and with such a broad range of experience and expertise in the field of cricket (as both a first-class player and researcher), he is uniquely placed to produce a history of cricket as an “African sport”.⁸¹ Cogley finds it “...hard to imagine anyone better equipped to write this history.”⁸² According to Nicholas Southey, containing a wealth of detail, *The Story of an African Game* is the most comprehensive history to date on cricket among black South Africans and is written in an attractive and accessible style.⁸³ Of course this was not Odendaal’s first attempt at recounting the history of black cricket in South Africa and *The Story of an African Game* builds well on his previous works on the subject, including his 1977 work *Cricket in Isolation: The Politics of Race and Cricket in South Africa* and his 1990 article entitled “South Africa's Black Victorians, Sport, Race and Class in South Africa before Union”.⁸⁴ Odendaal also co-authored *The Blue Book: A History of Western Province Cricket* (2012), with Krish Reddy and André Samson, in which the history of one of the oldest cricket playing regions in the world is chronicled.⁸⁵

*Empire and Cricket: The South African Experience, 1884-1914*⁸⁶ is a collection of academic articles edited by Bruce Murray and Goolam Vahed published in 2009. It concerns itself with the early political and sporting history of South African cricket and its formative years prior to the First World War. This collection includes studies by a variety of specialists in the field of Imperial cricket in South Africa including Dean Allen, Richard Parry and Bruce Murray himself (yet it surprisingly only features André Odendaal as the author of the foreword). *Empire and Cricket* demonstrates how cricket was an integral part of the Imperial mission

⁸⁰ Quoted in A.G. Cogley, “Review of Odendaal, Andre, *The Story of an African Game: Black Cricketers and the Unmasking of One of Cricket’s Greatest Myths, 1850-2003*”, H-SAfrica, H-Net Reviews. July, 2004, p. 3. <<http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=9582>> Accessed on: 2017-03-25.

⁸¹ N. Southey, “*Story of an African Game: Black Cricketers and the Unmasking of One of Cricket’s Greatest Myths, 1850-2003*. By Andre Odendaal”, Book Reviews, *South African Historical Journal*, Vol. 54, 2008, p. 180.

⁸² A.G. Cogley, “Review of Odendaal, Andre, *The Story of an African Game: Black Cricketers and the Unmasking of One of Cricket’s Greatest Myths, 1850-2003*”, H-SAfrica, H-Net Reviews. July, 2004, p. 1. <<http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=9582>> Accessed on: 2017-03-25.

⁸³ N. Southey, “*Story of an African Game: Black Cricketers and the Unmasking of One of Cricket’s Greatest Myths, 1850-2003*. By Andre Odendaal”, Book Reviews, *South African Historical Journal*, Vol. 54, 2008, pp. 182-183.

⁸⁴ A. Odendaal, “South Africa's Black Victorians, Sport, Race and Class in South Africa before Union” in J.A. Mangan, *Pleasure, Profit, Proselytism: British Culture and Sport at Home and Abroad, 1700-1914*.

⁸⁵ A. Odendaal, K. Reddy & A. Samson, *The Blue Book: A History of Western Province Cricket*, 2012.

⁸⁶ B. Murray & G. Vahed, *Empire and Cricket: The South African Experience, 1884-1914*.

and featured quite prominently in the social and political developments of early South Africa. By indulging in narrower case-studies within the history of South African cricket, the authors use specific instances to illustrate grander themes in cricket's past. Topics discussed include cricket and the origins of segregation at the Cape; Abe Bailey and the foundation of the Imperial Cricket Conference; and issues of race in the development of Indian cricket in Natal. *Empire and Cricket* is an original compilation of intriguing works on the origins and initial developments of cricket in South Africa. By reaching far beyond the mere chronicling of events and making the links between the sport and the political activities surrounding it, *Empire and Cricket* contributes significantly to the understanding of early cricket and its involvement in the shaping of a distinct social landscape in South Africa.

In 2010, Peter Alegi launched a second edition of his acclaimed work on the origins and development of soccer in South Africa, entitled *Laduma! Soccer, Politics and Society in South Africa, from its Origin to 2010*.⁸⁷ This was hardly surprising as the FIFA World Cup was to be held in the same year. In his work, Alegi describes the roots and diffusion of soccer among black societies in South Africa. He subtly claims soccer in South Africa for the black population, arguing that white South Africans' interest in soccer "proved to be temporary, and rugby soon gained ascendancy."⁸⁸ One is inclined to be doubtful of this assertion as the back pages of white newspapers throughout South African history are littered with weekend results from local and national white soccer leagues. The popularity of soccer in white South African societies seems not to have diminished at all, but merely to have taken a cultural lean or to have become culturally specific to English-speaking South Africans, whereas rugby was followed more vehemently by Afrikaners (most probably due to the impressive victories by the touring Springboks over England in 1906-07 and 1912).⁸⁹ However these profiles are ever-changing and one must be cautious not to make sweeping generalisations concerning sporting codes and their followers.

The question, however, is not whether or not Alegi was completely accurate in his assumption, but rather why he is so comfortable in making such a strong statement of division. His work focuses much on the unifying ability of soccer, but only within black communities in South Africa, ignoring the other side of this unification, meaning who was left out or made to be opposite. Where Alegi does succeed in highlighting the divisionary

⁸⁷ P. Alegi, *Laduma! Soccer, Politics and Society in South Africa, from its Origin to 2010*, 2010.

⁸⁸ P. Alegi, *Laduma! Soccer, Politics and Society in South Africa, from its Origin to 2010*, p.16.

⁸⁹ P. Alegi, *Laduma! Soccer, Politics and Society in South Africa, from its Origin to 2010*, p.17.

nature of soccer is in describing how the segregation laws under the South African Apartheid regime prohibited different racial groups participating in sport alongside one another. Through this, Alegi shows how sport can be used to support, enforce and mirror already existing social divisions within a community.⁹⁰ Alegi's work on the history of soccer in South Africa is a strong, albeit unwitting, commentary on the divisionary nature of sport (in this case soccer). By highlighting a group's need to unify through sport, he inadvertently shows the power of sport to be an instrument through which to distance and separate this group from the "other". In a world characterised by binaries, we need to look not only at the instances of unification through sport, but also at why this is seen as such a momentous occasion. Is it not safe to presume that this occasion in sport is so significant exactly because the period before it was characterised by the division entrenched in sport.

*Sport Past and Present in South Africa*⁹¹ is a collection of articles providing an interpretation of sport in contemporary South Africa through historical accounts of sport in the twentieth century. Published in 2012, it was edited by Scarlet Cornelissen and Albert Grundlingh, who also both contributed. It is in essence a collection of essays by a range of leading academics focusing on various sport-related topics within South African history. It is one of the latest in a line of studies and offers new interpretations of the historical and contemporary dimensions of race, gender, identity and capital in South African sport.⁹² It details the way in which the development of sport in the country relates to major socio-political processes in South Africa and Africa. It covers a wide variety of subjects including the tumultuous relationship between rugby union and rugby league, competitive surfing during the international sports boycott and the history of women and cricket. This compilation is one of the most thorough collections of sport as social history to date and includes some of the foremost experts in the various topics discussed. It provides a further tier to South African sports history and is a valuable contribution to South African sports historiography and serves as another impressive and valuable addition to the field.

*Making Men: Rugby and Masculine Identity*⁹³ by Timothy J.L. Chandler and John Nauright is a 2013 publication that focusses on the historical link between rugby union and masculinity. Most of the articles that make up this collection were written in 1993 and 1994, before the

⁹⁰ P. Alegi, *Laduma! Soccer, Politics and Society in South Africa, from its Origin to 2010*, p. 140.

⁹¹ A. Grundlingh & S. Cornelissen, *Sport Past and Present in South Africa: (Trans)Forming the Nation*.

⁹² A. Grundlingh & S. Cornelissen, *Sport Past and Present in South Africa: (Trans)Forming the Nation*, p. 6.

⁹³ T.J.L. Chandler & J. Nauright, *Making Men: Rugby and Masculine Identity*, 2013.

professionalization of rugby union.⁹⁴ *Making Men* considers quite an important aspect of the colonial legacy in masculinity and how it is displayed and reinforced on the rugby field. Due to publications like *Making Men*, the development of a unique imperial masculinity has become an integral and undeniable part of imperial heritage and, especially when it comes to imperial expression of power and dominance in sport. Under the editorship of Chandler and Nauright, many influential sports academics, such as James Mangan and Albert Grundlingh, have attempted to explain the processes of creating and maintaining white, middle-class and male-defined patterns of cultural behaviour and how rugby has served to reinforce these ideas.⁹⁵ The concept of masculinity within modern sport has been given considerable attention and as such can be seen as an accepted and engrained part of the imperial heritage. It is for this reason that this study does not delve deeply into masculinity.

In 2014, Albert Grundlingh produced *Potent Pastimes: Sport and leisure practices in modern Afrikaner History*,⁹⁶ an engaging set of essays on Afrikaner cultural history.⁹⁷ Grundlingh approaches the topic of Afrikanerdom through the concept of sport and leisure and provides valuable insight into ideas of identity creation through sport. He moves away from the grand narratives of nationalism and, as Jeanne van Eeden puts it, “..look[s] at the myriad other ways in which identity may be avowed through various signifying practices related to leisure and recreation.”⁹⁸ By discussing the importance of class and culture and how leisure and sport promote these within Afrikaner society, Grundlingh seamlessly transitions between seemingly disparate topics (his first two chapters are about dog racing in Johannesburg and the resort town of Hartenbos). Grundlingh also covers more traditional topics such as the histories of rugby and cricket, but gives a fresh insight as to how these codes function and change within changing ideologies. Though rugby was an English middle-class game, its cultural ethos was refurbished with presumed Afrikaner values.⁹⁹ He speaks to this when discussing how rugby came to represent male identity, patriotism and middle class Afrikaner nationalism, yet was able to transform into:

⁹⁴ T.J.L. Chandler & J. Nauright, *Making Men: Rugby and Masculine Identity*, p.

⁹⁵ T.J.L. Chandler & J. Nauright, *Making Men: Rugby and Masculine Identity*, p.

⁹⁶ A. Grundlingh, *Potent Pastimes: Sport and leisure practices in modern Afrikaner History*, 2014.

⁹⁷ N.L. Clark & W.H. Worger, *South Africa: The Rise and Fall of Apartheid*, p. 121.

⁹⁸ J. van Eeden, “Potent pastimes. Sport and leisure practices in modern Afrikaner history, Albert Grundlingh: book review”, *Image & Text*, Number 24, 2014, p. 158.

⁹⁹ Protea Boekhuis, “Albert Grundlingh Examines the Role of Sport in Modern Afrikaner History in *Potent Pastimes*.” Protea Boekhuis @Sunday Times Books Live. Accessed: 2017-03-25. <
<http://protea.bookslive.co.za/blog/2013/09/16/albert-grundlingh-examines-the-role-of-sport-in-modern-afrikaner-history-in-potent-pastimes/>>

...a ‘spontaneous ideology’ of national unification offering a potent mechanism by which the formerly Afrikaner sport was re-coded and mythologised as an inclusive cultural practice during the 1995 IRB Rugby World Cup.¹⁰⁰

Published in 2017, *Cricket & Conquest: The History of South African Cricket Retold, Volume 1, 1795-1914*, by André Odendaal (with an all-star cast consisting of Krish Reddy, Christopher Merrett and Jonty Winch) is one of the latest sporting histories to adorn bookstores and libraries. According to Human Sciences Research Council “*Cricket and Conquest* is simply the finest book ever written about sport in South Africa.”¹⁰¹ Though this evaluation is clearly biased as it is intended to promote the launch of the book, it is a comment not without merit. This mammoth work weighs in at 536 pages and includes meticulous research on the origins of cricket in South Africa as well as the development of the sport beyond its English roots. It contains seemingly undistorted accounts considering the story of black, white, coloured, Indian, male and female South African cricket. True to Odendaal’s repertoire, *Cricket & Conquest* affords much time and attention on the development of cricket in the previously ignored sectors of society, considering Malay cricket, coloured cricket as well as black cricket in the British Cape. As the President of Cricket South Africa, Chris Nenzani, astutely remarks, the publication of *Cricket & Conquest* “...contributes hugely to the rich history of the game...”¹⁰² and serves as yet another line in Odendaal’s already impressive list of sporting accomplishments.

Conclusion

Historical inquiry into sport in South Africa is considered a young field and in many cases seen as a practice still in its infancy. Yet it is clear that the tone has been set and many works have already appeared. Sports history in South Africa has clearly gathered momentum over the past few decades and does not seem to show signs of slowing down with new works on sport and South African society appearing annually. It is with this in mind that this study is undertaken. This study aims to contribute to the understanding of sport and social forces with specific focus on the early formative years of rugby in the country in the nineteenth century.

¹⁰⁰ J. van Eeden, “Potent pastimes. Sport and leisure practices in modern Afrikaner history, Albert Grundlingh: book review”, *Image & Text*, Number 24, 2014, p. 160.

¹⁰¹ “Book Launch: *Cricket and Conquest: The History of South African Cricket Retold*”, HSRC, Accessed: 2017-03-25. <<http://www.hsrc.ac.za/en/events/events/book-launch-cricket-sa>>

¹⁰² “CSA launches ‘Cricket and Conquest’”, Accessed: 2017-03-25. <<http://cricket.co.za/news/15706/CSA-launches-Cricket-and-Conquest>>

Chapter Three

Warm-Ups: A Brief History of Games and Humanity at Play

Introduction

This chapter seeks to delve into humankind's historical affinity towards games and play. It will look into how humanity has played throughout history and what impact games have had on humanity. It looks at the concepts and definitions of sport in order to examine the ever changing roles and functions of sport through the ages. As humanity develops and changes, its leisure and recreation changes as well. It is thus this chapters purpose to explore how games and play has evolved and changed into modern sport; how popular sport in Britain became formalised and institutionalised leading to greater societal impact; and how these modern sports were carried on the wings of Empire to all corners of the globe, including South Africa.

As has been mentioned, the task of creating an all-encompassing definition of what constitutes sport is menacing at best. And even though one would like to follow Ross McKibbin's suit and agree that you will know sport when you see it,¹ or Richard Holt's when he chooses a "catholic approach" and does not attempt to ascribe any artificial boundaries to what is and what is not sport,² allow me to make few useful distinctions between certain forms of play, games and sport in human history. This will only serve to make the appearance and rapid growth of formalised modern team sports in the Victorian Era and its influence on society going forward so much clearer. It would be ideal to say all play is sport, but it would make the influence of modern team sport on modern society seem confusing at best. For the purpose of this study, certain limitations must be placed on what exactly constitutes modern sport and what does not. It is in the interest of understanding the impact of sport on and as part of nineteenth century society that the concept of "modern team sport" itself must be ascribed certain boundaries and distinguished from previous forms of physical leisure or competitive activity that Holt would equate with "sport". As the analysis of modern sport within a historical context is part of social history, a sociological explanation or definition of sport will be useful.

¹ R. McKibbin, "Can Historians Write the History of Sport", 2014-05-27. Accessed: 2014-06-17, <<http://podcasts.ox.ac.uk/can-historians-write-history-sport>>

² R. Holt, *Sport and the British: a Modern History*, pp. 9-10.

The history of “sport” and games dates back thousands of years. Examples of leisure activities involving physical activity and skilful play can be found in the most ancient of civilizations. And most modern competitive sports are refinements of physical activities that have their origins in ancient and medieval times.³ The spirit of competition, personal enjoyment and external reward or validation of skills all contribute to the motivation to participate in games and play. It is however, the transition from simple play and leisure to organised, structured competition or modern sport that marks a significant upsurge in the influence of sport on society. It is therefore argued that play becomes sport when the rules of the activity or play become standardised beyond a single group. When a group of individuals decide to kick an inflated pig’s bladder around a field in an informal manner, this is not sport. Yet when the kicking of this object becomes formalised in that a set of rules, objectives, regulations and restrictions are put in place, and these set rules are adhered to beyond the boundaries of a single group i.e. when these rules are universally accepted, then traditional play becomes modern sport. This most often is paired with the establishment of external governing bodies that formalise rules and regulate sporting activity.⁴ And when a sporting governing body comes into existence, then a sport becomes political as sporting organisations have to do with the exercise of power.⁵ This exercise of power is socially very important as it provides a formal platform from which to regulate the social significance of a sporting activity, whether intentionally or not. In this sense sport is also very much linked to the social, political and economic setting in which it exists. It is part of the cultural context in which it operates and has an influence on this context as well.⁶

Taking all this into account modern sport can thus be seen as any institutionalised, formalised or organised competitive activity that involves physical exertion or the use of relatively complex physical skills by individuals whose participation is motivated by a combination of personal enjoyment and external reward;⁷ it is inextricably linked to the social, political and economic context in which it functions and will both influence and be influenced by this context; it is the product and the agent of social interaction and can thus change over time and from location to location.⁸

³ W.J. Baker, *Sports in the Western World*, p. 1.

⁴ J.J. Coakley, 1998, *Sport in Society, Issues & Controversies*, 6th Edition, pp. 19-20.

⁵ J.J. Coakley, 1998, *Sport in Society, Issues & Controversies*, 6th Edition, p. 14.

⁶ T. Marjoribanks & K. Farquharson, 2012, *Sport and Society in the Global Age*, p. 6.

⁷ J.J. Coakley, 1998, *Sport in Society, Issues & Controversies*, 6th Edition, p. 19.

⁸ T. Marjoribanks & K. Farquharson, 2012, *Sport and Society in the Global Age*, p. 6.

In this way sport has a contextual role to play in society and just as society changes and differs from time to time and place to place, so does sport and the significance of sport within society. There are of course many similarities that make for some generalizations to be made, with caution of course. So as our earlier definition suggests, it would be flawed to examine sport and its influence on society without taking the historical context into account. The meaning and function of sport within a society should be considered within the historical context, it being that sport today is very much a different beast from sport a hundred year ago. The definition and meaning of sport influences culture and society and is very often influenced by social and cultural factors. It is thus very important to take into account what is known as the concept of a historical psychology (from the Annales School). In modern-day scholarship, it is believed that how people interpreted their world is of intrinsic interest. It is this shared, collective meanings of people's world that is of great value to historians today and it is the Annales school that first tried to investigate this collective psychology. The founders of Annales, especially Lucien Febvre, called for a "history of mentalities". According to Febvre, the worst kind of historical anachronism is a psychological anachronism – the unthinking assumption that the mental framework by which people interpreted their experiences in the past is the same as our own.⁹ To understand exactly how sport functions within a society and how that society influences or is influenced by societal factors, we must at first ground ourselves within the historical setting. It would for example be amiss to think that today's thinking about association football would be applicable to the eighteenth century equivalent of the sport.

In this way the concept of sport should be seen as rather fluid and for the purpose of this study will be sub-divided into era-appropriate sections namely: Play or Games, Traditional Sport and Modern Sport. The first forms of sport in humankind's history, play or games tended to serve a religious or ceremonial function as ancient civilisations from Greece to Mesopotamia and China to the Aztecs and the Incas who had religious festivals which entailed all manner of games and contests. These would be firmly connected to the praising or appeasing of the gods, heroic figures of the past or the "demi-god" rulers of the time.¹⁰ Some of these would even consist of the occasional human sacrifice.¹¹

⁹ J. Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, p. 259.

¹⁰ W.J. Baker, *Sports in the Western World*, p. 31.

¹¹ N.B. Crowther, *Sport in Ancient Times*, pp. 166-167; S.E.D. Wilkins, *Sports and Games of Medieval Cultures*, p. 152.

Traditional Sport developed away from the strict religious connotations associated with earlier games and soon took on different meanings. In Rome chariot races and gladiatorial games were used to keep a growing population of idlers and potentially discontent proletariat at bay and to garner votes– the so-called “bread and games” period.¹² During the Middle Ages the most popular competitive sporting activities were centred on military practices and war, and served to keep a military class of knights and warriors fighting fit, often times influencing other classes in their practice of sport as well.¹³ As part of the Renaissance and the ensuing era of human reason and reformed social make-up, sport took on yet another different meaning when games, sport and exercise were seen as valuable means of physical and thus mental improvement.¹⁴ It was not until the eighteenth and nineteenth century when sport took on its most influential form yet and moved steadily from representing part of society to becoming an important form of human interaction itself. Sport shifted from being a means towards an end, be it religious, military or edifying, to being an end in itself. The late Georgian and Victorian eras saw the British introduce Modern Sport that we recognise today.¹⁵ This had a dramatic effect on the societies where it flourished.

Sport: Unifier and Divider

In the modern context, sport has been perceived as a unifier as well as a divider and the transition between the two is often seamless. For example, in the war-torn Ivory Coast sport, in this case association football, served as a nation builder bridging the divide between seemingly inconsolable adversaries. The Ivory Coast found itself in political turmoil and ravished by civil war after the death of their post-colonial President, Félix Houphouët-Boigny in 1993. The country was divided along ethnic (between “pure” and “mixed” Ivorians) and religious (Christian and Muslim) lines and subsequently marred by years of political unrest and sporadic instances of politically motivated violence. With the country in crisis, the national football team became the one thing the Ivorian people, no matter ethnicity or religious affiliation, could support unreservedly. The Ivorian national football team has been a glimmer of hope in desperate times and that the war has ended can be said to owe much to

¹² H.A. Harris, *Sport in Britain*, p. 69; W.J. Baker, *Sports in the Western World*, pp. 31-32.

¹³ J.M. Marshall, “Sport, War, and the Three Orders of Feudal Society: 700-1300”, *Military Affairs*, Vol. 49, No. 3 (Jul., 1985), p. 132.

¹⁴ J. McClland, *Body and Mind: Sport in Europe from the Roman Empire to the Renaissance*, p. 3.

¹⁵ W.J. Baker, *Sports in the Western World*, p. 118.

Les Elephants, captained by Didier Drogba. To many, they are the men who helped stop the war.¹⁶

The inverse is unfortunately also often true. As in the city of Glasgow in Scotland, where the game of football is responsible for the perpetuation of age-old sectarianism that divides a single community. Although violence, riots and unruly crowd behaviour have been part of, though not necessarily a dominant feature of Scottish football since the 1870s, the rivalry between the two biggest sporting teams in the city (some would argue the country), Rangers Football Club and Celtic Football Club, serves as the most prominent example of violence coupled with ethnic, religious and political division.¹⁷ Celtic has a strong Catholic heritage as it was founded by Irish Catholic immigrants. Rangers, on the other hand, has its origin in local Scottish Protestantism. Though these clubs have come to embody a strong religious divide, they also represent an ethnic divide between generations of Glaswegians, which often find expression in discrimination, workplace/occupational partisanship and even violence. And the annual matchups between the teams, that came to be known as “The Old Firm”, tend to bring this ethnic division into the civic sphere and perpetuate a strong antagonism between not just religious groups, but ethnic and political groups as well.¹⁸ This divide is made even more poignant by the fact that the bastions of these two bitter rivals are separated by a leisurely stroll, with Rangers home ground, Ibrox Stadium, about seven kilometres away from Celtic Park.

These two disparate examples serve merely to show a much greater global phenomenon where sport can be both positive and unifying as well as negative and divisive, whether directly or simply a vehicle for other agendas. Other examples include the positive influence of Liberia’s George Weah,¹⁹ The Algerian FLN XI,²⁰ the 1995 Springboks,²¹ but also the

¹⁶ S. Bloomfield, *Africa United: How Football Explains Africa*, p.188.

¹⁷ H.F. Moorhouse, “Football Hooliganism and the Modern World”, *International Review of Modern Sociology*, Vol. 32, No. 2, Special Issue (Autumn 2006), p. 262.

¹⁸ A. Davis, “Football and Sectarianism in Glasgow during the 1920s and 1930s”, *Irish Historical Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 138 (Nov., 2006), p. 201.

¹⁹ Armstrong, G, “The global footballer and the local war-zone: George Weah and transnational networks in Liberia, West Africa”, *Global Networks*, Vol. 7(2), 2007, 230-247.

²⁰ P. Darby, *Africa, Football and FIFA: Politics, Colonialism and Resistance*, pp. 29-30.

²¹ F. Pienaar, *Rainbow Warrior*, p. 183; Noreen Steenveld, L. “The 1995 Rugby World Cup and the politics of nation-building in South Africa”, *Media, Culture & Society*, Vol. 20(4), 1998, 609-629.

negative in the 1972 Munich Massacre,²² the Honduras-El Salvador Football War²³ and North African and European Ultra movements.²⁴

It is clear that sport can be very influential (and versatile in its power) within a society. It has the ability to unite a whole nation of disparate people or it can create and perpetuate a divide between a single, seemingly congruent community. Dividing a society and creating enemies or adversaries in the process is not a very attractive trait, yet it is not a new concept. Sport is just as responsible for division within society as unification, and in some sense, historically more so. Sport and division have been coupled since time immemorial. Games and early sport have long represented in some way or form the differences in society, be it class or race or gender. William Baker opines that from its very origins, social inequality had burdened the development of sport, where definite standards of status, age and sex were enforced upon participants of various cultic games. Baker believes that a person's pastime was as much an indication of one's social standing as one's speech, dress and diet.²⁵ Richard Mandell agrees somewhat when he says that the natural progression in human civilization resulted in newly developed class-specific recreational activities, born out of a divided social order.²⁶ As society is divided, sport, as part of society, serves as one of the dividing aspects of human interaction. And even though organised and formalised modern sport (especially team sport) showcases the creation and perpetuation of societal division most clearly, division within sport is not a new concept.

The Historical Divide

Games and play have been part of human society throughout history and have more often than not been associated with class distinction and social divide. Thomas Woody believes that sport has historically been controlled by those who controlled the wealth in a given society i.e. the so-called upper class.²⁷ This relationship between class and sport dates back thousands of years. Richard Mandell tells us that sport and sporting festivals have existed long before the founding of the great empires from which we date the initial stages of

²² D.C. Large, *Munich 1972: Tragedy, Terror, and Triumph at the Olympic Games*, 2012.

²³ Ramón Spaaij "Football-Related Violence and the Impact of Political Conflicts", *Panorama: Insights into Asian and European Affairs*, Vol. 5(1) (2014), pp. 72-73.

²⁴ Ramón Spaaij "Football-Related Violence and the Impact of Political Conflicts", *Panorama: Insights into Asian and European Affairs*, Vol. 5(1) (2014), pp. 71-74.

²⁵ W.J. Baker, *Sports in the Western World*, pp. 1-2.

²⁶ R.D. Mandell, *Sport: A Cultural History*, p. 15.

²⁷ T. Woody, "Leisure in the Light of History", *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 313, Recreation in the Age of Automation (Sep., 1957), p. 4.

civilization. Through archaeological artifacts and ethnographic evidence we find that humankind has long already devoted their creativity to inventing games and contests we today equate with sport.²⁸ The existence of sport stretches to the earliest known civilization in the world, where archaeological evidence suggests the presence of sport-like practises (even including certain forms of ball games) in the Early Dynastic period of the Sumerian civilisation (3000-1500 B.C.) between the Tigris and the Euphrates rivers.²⁹ The poetry of Homer and Hesiod describe great sporting activities from a period long before their own.³⁰ Homer describes wrestling matches, foot-races, competitive dancing and even certain ball sports.³¹ Before the splendid period of the Ancient Greeks, games and competition existed amongst the Mesopotamians. These games are said to have demonstrated the power and prestige of the ruling classes as a means to intimidate anyone who could potentially be threatening to that class.³²

Already the battle lines were drawn and the simple playing of a game supported the creation and substantiation of social difference and hierarchy. In Ancient Egypt we find more of the same as many examples of sport and competition have been discovered and seen to be consistent with social stratification. Most of the sporting events depicted in surviving Egyptian pictorial records convey the ceremonial elegance and complexity of upper-class life. Events such as wrestling, boxing, running, jumping and fencing or stick-fighting were often done in front of crowds of spectators and often as official state occasions honouring pharaohs.³³ Sport, we can then comfortably assume, has been part of human culture since before the Bronze Age and very early on served as a method of displaying and celebrating societal stratification.

During the high periods of Greek civilisation (Archaic Period – Roman Period) sport in society took on a renewed level of significance. As men in Greek society gained more social and political rights, they tended to participate more frequently in sporting activities. In this we see the emergence of mass sport: in the 7th century BCE the Olympic Games³⁴ was

²⁸ R.D. Mandell, *Sport: A Cultural History*, p. 14.

²⁹ M.L. Howell, “Archaeological Evidence of Sports and Games in Ancient Civilizations Part One”, p. 15.

³⁰ P. Christesen, 2012, *Sport and Democracy in the Ancient and Modern Worlds*, pp. 125-126.

³¹ P. Christesen, 2012, *Sport and Democracy in the Ancient and Modern Worlds*, p. 126; R.D. Mandell, *Sport: A Cultural History*, pp. 31-32; F. van der Merwe, *Sportgeskiedenis: 'n Handleiding vir Suid-Afrikaanse Studente*, p. 41.

³² R.D. Mandell, *Sport: A Cultural History*, p. 17.

³³ W.J. Baker, *Sports in the Western World*, p. 8.

³⁴ This refers to the original concept of the Olympic Games and not the modern equivalent revived by the Frenchman, Baron de Coubertin, in 1896.

already a regularly scheduled event. The cities of Athens and Sparta are the most well-known sporting cities in the Greek world at the time and have quite clear sporting histories respectively,³⁵ with the Spartans providing an overwhelming majority of Olympic victors between the 15th and 50th Olympic Games, before pulling out of the Games by the end of the 6th century BCE.³⁶ The early Greek games were reserved only for the rich and well-born citizens who had the means and the time to participate in the prevailing popular games. The most important event of the time was the chariot race - an event for those who could afford lavish chariots, be it as participant or patron.³⁷ Early accounts of the Olympic Games speak of great four-horse chariot races where pomp and pageantry signalled to onlookers that the owners were men of great wealth and prestige. Thereafter single horse races would commence where nude jockeys would ride without saddle or stirrup. These jockeys would receive little credit as the names of their patrons or the horse owners who hired them would be inscribed on the winners' record.³⁸

Greek sport differed substantially from modern sport. It grounded in religion and based on mythical celebrations; there were no formal administration as is the case with modern sport; no strict and meticulous record keeping; and there was a keen preference for individual sporting activity and not, most significantly, team competition that would come to characterise modern sport.³⁹

Through the Hellenistic period and into the Roman period, sport persisted as an integral part of the daily lives of the people, in spite of political upheavals.⁴⁰ According to J.P.V.D. Balsdon, sport and competition in Ancient Rome was a vital part of society with young Roman men busying themselves regularly with Greek-inspired sport.⁴¹ Even though sport in ancient Rome can be seen as a representation of social cohesion and amity, it is even clearer that it was an accepted preserve of the upper social classes who were afforded the time and freedom to pursue sport and leisure activities. These free-born youths of the upper social classes never saw restrictions on time due to labour obligations and were able to hone their

³⁵ P. Christesen, 2012, *Sport and Democracy in the Ancient and Modern Worlds*, pp. 146-160.

³⁶ R.D. Mandell, *Sport: A Cultural History*, p. 44.

³⁷ W.J. Baker, *Sports in the Western World*, p. 11; J.J. Coakley, 1998, *Sport in Society, Issues & Controversies*, 6th Edition, p. 64.

³⁸ W.J. Baker, *Sports in the Western World*, pp. 17-18.

³⁹ J.J. Coakley, 1998, *Sport in Society, Issues & Controversies*, 6th Edition, p. 65; W.J. Baker, *Sports in the Western World*, p. 11.

⁴⁰ P. Christesen, 2012, *Sport and Democracy in the Ancient and Modern Worlds*, p. 182.

⁴¹ J.P.V.D. Balsdon, *Life and Leisure Ancient Rome*, pp. 160-61.

skills in riding, hunting and the art of fighting.⁴² The mere availability and opportunity to participate in sporting activities set these Roman citizens apart. Throughout history sport has served as an expression of social division and this is one of the first examples of sport and leisure mirroring the social class divisions within a society. Relevant to this study is not simply the existence of the spirit of competition, but rather the presence or the creation of the spirit of collective competition. It is the concern of this study to unearth the existence of group competition or team sport; of one group pitting themselves against another; of creating solidarity amongst a group of individuals and fashioning a villain in the form of another group of seemingly similar individuals. It is this creation of a stage for the expression of “us” against “them” that fascinates and intrigues. And Balsdon shows that this is a stage that seems to be present in ancient Rome when he recounts a game called *episkyros* which is played between teams of equal numbers who face each other and compete until one side drives the other over its own dead-ball line.⁴³

In another description of *episkyros* we find instances of physical confrontation between players and concerted effort to dodge and evade a defending player.⁴⁴ Mention is also made of a game called *harpaston* which was considered to be a very physical and violent ball game.⁴⁵ Whatever the actual rules or explanation of these games were, it seems clear that they were team sports that required the outwitting and conquering of an opposing group of players. And it is this concept of conquering a created “enemy” that tempts and begs exploration. These games are quite interesting, but seems not to have stood the test of time - though one could make the leap and ask if this might have been a precursor to what would become village football in the following centuries.

Sport continued to thrive in Europe even after the collapse of Rome. In Byzantium, chariot races featured abundantly at lavish festivals (even if only a vestige of the former Roman Empire in the East).⁴⁶ During the feudal age, sport was very much influenced by the prevailing hierarchical class division. The different classes of the feudal system had their own select connections with sport, the most prominent being the warrior class of the feudal lords. Gala tournaments that were staged were aimed at the warrior class and their preparations for battle. Paul Christesen is of the opinion that mass sport, like the Olympic Games, disappeared

⁴² J.P.V.D. Balsdon, *Life and Leisure Ancient Rome*, p. 159.

⁴³ J.P.V.D. Balsdon, *Life and Leisure Ancient Rome*, p. 164.

⁴⁴ J.P.V.D. Balsdon, *Life and Leisure Ancient Rome*, p. 164.

⁴⁵ F. van der Merwe, *Sportgeskiedenis: 'n Handleiding vir Suid-Afrikaanse Studente*, p. 46.

⁴⁶ R.D. Mandell, *Sport: A Cultural History*, p. 106-108.

after the 6th century CE and did not reappear for over a thousand years. However Robert Mandell proposes that the grand tournaments of medieval Europe could in fact be equated with the Olympic Games of Antiquity.⁴⁷ Either way, team competition like *episkyros* fell out of favour.

Of the lower class, or peasantry, we have little information regarding sport. Deemed as less important, the peasantry were seldom the subject of chroniclers and even less so their leisurely pursuits.⁴⁸ Sport or play practised by the peasantry is described by Johan Huizinga simply as the antithesis of work. In many cases the peasantry also sought to emulate the upper, warrior classes. In this they pursued games of skill practised by the feudal lords. Roger Caillois suggested, "... games of skill may quickly become games of competitive skill."⁴⁹ If Caillois is to be believed, many of the peasantry must have engaged in warlike or martial sport.⁵⁰

Mandell continues to explore sporting activities in the late Middle Ages and the Early Modern Ages and makes reference to horse racing in Sienna and annual mock battles in Pisa which pitted teams of participants (mock-soldiers?) against each other. This was a welcome return of team competition, if a possibly premature assessment can be made. In medieval northern Europe the Vikings, coinciding with feasts and festivals, participated in all sorts of games, including ball and scraper games, as well as tests of strength like wrestling and stone lifting.⁵¹ Contests of marksmanship were very popular in Northern Europe with archery dominating civic festivals, continuing the connection between sport and military preparedness. Ball games are said to have been so commonplace that only the exceptional were noted. Mandell tells of a ball game being played by peasants of neighbouring villages in Normandy and Brittany on the occasions of Christmas and Mardi Gras where "players" would try to kick, throw or smuggle an inflated animal skin into the opponent's goal.⁵² A possible forerunner of modern football or maybe an heirloom from Roman *episkyros*?

⁴⁷ P. Christesen, *Sport and Democracy in the Ancient and Modern Worlds*, p. 184; R.D. Mandell, *Sport: A Cultural History*, pp. 115.

⁴⁸ M. Carter, "Sport, War, and the Three Orders of Feudal Society: 700-1300", *Military Affairs*, Vol. 49, No. 3 (Jul., 1985), p. 133.

⁴⁹ M. Carter, "Sport, War, and the Three Orders of Feudal Society: 700-1300", *Military Affairs*, Vol. 49, No. 3 (Jul., 1985), p. 137.

⁵⁰ M. Carter, "Sport, War, and the Three Orders of Feudal Society: 700-1300", *Military Affairs*, Vol. 49, No. 3 (Jul., 1985), p. 137.

⁵¹ L. Gardela, "What the Vikings did for fun? Sports and pastimes in medieval northern Europe", *World Archaeology*, 44:2, 234-247.

⁵² R.D. Mandell, *Sport: A Cultural History*, pp. 119-120.

Wrestling was immensely popular within Europe at the time, often featuring in festivals and appearing in many manuscript illustrations and other literature.⁵³

The most important feature of sport throughout the Middle Ages going into the Renaissance is the way in which it mirrors and reinforces class distinctions. Mandell says:

There was almost no possibility that competition in sporting events (as with other formal social undertakings such as dining or courtship) might take place between members of different classes. Publicly viewed sporting events, therefore, worked to celebrate the existing social and cultural distinctions.⁵⁴

The celebration of existing social and cultural distinctions through sporting events serve as visible or ritualistic reinforcement of class divisions.

During the time of the Renaissance, sport, recreation, games and exercise became the subject of intense analysis and debate. Sport became entwined in the concept of physical education and somewhat lost its appeal as purely competitive encounters. Some contests, like archery and hunting retained their importance for combat readiness, but with the development of firearms for both warfare and hunting, archery gained new life as a sport.⁵⁵ Perceptions around martial sports changed drastically with the introduction of firearms. People realised that physical training did little to stop musket balls and suddenly sport started losing its military necessity and justifications.⁵⁶ Many sporting codes found themselves forgotten and lost in obscurity. Some codes were even banned, such as football, golf and stool-ball (possible precursor to modern cricket).⁵⁷ The Renaissance humanists placed more emphasis on the cultivation of a healthy and robust body alongside a sound mind and, although still present, in some ways sport moved away from traditions of contest and competition.⁵⁸ Though sport suffered under the Renaissance, physical education became ever more

⁵³ S.E.D. Wilkins, *Sport and Games of Medieval Cultures*, p. 149; R.D. Mandell, *Sport: A Cultural History*, p. 121.

⁵⁴ R.D. Mandell, *Sport: A Cultural History*, p. 122.

⁵⁵ A. Leibs, *Sports and Games of the Renaissance*, p. 63; S.E.D. Wilkins, *Sport and Games of Medieval Cultures*, p. 254.

⁵⁶ G.M.C. Semenza, "Sport, War, and Contest in Shakespeare's Henry VI", *Renaissance Quarterly*, Vol. 54, no 4, Part 1 (Winter 2001), pp. 1261-1262.

⁵⁷ A. Leibs, *Sports and Games of the Renaissance*, p. 63.

⁵⁸ J. McClland, *Body and Mind: Sport in Europe from the Roman Empire to the Renaissance*, p. 3; R.D. Mandell, *Sport: A Cultural History*, pp. 123-129.

important. A sound mind in a sound body became a standard philosophical approach.⁵⁹ Amongst the peasant class, sport continued to flourish and develop without much influence of intellectuals. Games such as competitive dancing, foot races, wrestling, weight throwing and various ball games continued to garner enthusiasm and participation. Violent blood sport and animal sport were also in fashion during the Renaissance. Johan Huizinga tells of an occasion where four blind beggars were armed with sticks, thrashing and striking each other as they attempted to kill a pig that was to be the victor's prize. Cockfighting and bear or bull baiting were also immensely popular and would put a violent hue on sport heading into the Modern Era.⁶⁰ Despite numerous attempts to ban ball games such as village football, including occasions in 1349, 1541 and 1617, they were still played often and even grew in popularity.⁶¹ Royal Tennis or "Jeu de Paume" also became quite popular in France,⁶² though not in the modern form of Victorian "lawn tennis", that some believe kicked off the era of Modern Sport.⁶³

The Victorians and Modern Sport

Sport has thus been present and an integral part of human society since the beginning of recorded history and, more importantly, has been coupled with social organisation and social division from the outset. Yet the influence sport has had on societal activities took on a dramatic new face during and following the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. During these centuries (arguably an extension of previous series of events) the world saw a dramatic revolution in humanity. The world experienced quite a shift in political, economic and social structures with the French Revolution, the Industrial Revolution and the rise of the modern European nation state ushering in a new era of human interaction. These changes did not happen in some detached void or economic or political dimension, but had a direct influence on the social order. We see the emergence of a new working class in industrialised communities where people clambering for work and excitement streamed to the cities.⁶⁴ We see the rise of patriotism and nationalism in newly formed nations and a surge in imperial and colonial activity with the quest for territory, resources and inter-imperial prestige. European

⁵⁹ S.R. Tiwari, et al., *Health and Physical Education*, p. 12.

⁶⁰ A. Leibs, *Sports and Games of the Renaissance*, p. 62.

⁶¹ A. Leibs, *Sports and Games of the Renaissance*, p. 67.

⁶² R.D. Mandell, *Sport: A Cultural History*, pp. 129 -130.

⁶³ H.A. Harris, *Sport in Britain*, pp. 21-34; Sir C. Tennyson, "They Taught the World to Play", *Victorian Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 3, (Mar., 1959), p. 216; F. van der Merwe, *Sportgeskiedenis: 'n Handleiding vir Suid-Afrikaanse Studente*, p. 166.

⁶⁴ W.J. Baker, *Sports in the Western World*, p. 58.

economic, political and cultural expansion (especially in Britain and her Empire, subsequently) was staggering. All these aspects of the modern world came to have great impacts on societal structures and the social order and never again would patterns of work and sport be the same. Human interaction was altered and malleated to conform to the new economic and political environment and sport, as one of the forms of human interaction, was inevitably effected. During this period we see the rise of Modern Sport.⁶⁵

Victorian England is regarded as the birthplace of modern team sport. It was the rapid growth of urban populations after industrialisation and the emergence of carefully regulated work schedules that gave rise to modern, organised sport in Britain. At this time a long, gradual shift in cultural appreciation for popular recreation, from the eighteenth century, came to fruition and the process of organisation and modernisation of sports saw its epicentre in the era of industrialisation. In the time leading up to the Victorian era in England, the most popular sports and games were violent, disorderly and disorganised. But this gave way to more regulated, organised sport that adapted to the constraints of the new industrial city with its rigorous control over time and space.⁶⁶ In a way, the term “sport” obtained a new meaning, and earlier “manly games” and “healthful recreations” gave way to more formal “sport”. Britain experienced a revolutionary transformation in its sporting culture as new, formalised team sport such as association football and rugby became widely popular. These sports would be approached in different ways by different classes and ultimately serve to create loyalties and social identities within different classes and conflicts between them that would permeate and persist in the decades that followed.⁶⁷

The British were already quite fond of sport before the reign of Queen Victoria and many popular games and contests were already being played. From the period of the Restoration to the onset of the Industrial Revolution, popular culture blossomed⁶⁸ and people watched and played sport extensively as part of this vigorous popular culture.⁶⁹ These games were much different from the modern competitive sports we see coming to the fore during the nineteenth century. Most games were bound to region and served as local pastimes. Sport formed part of the small-scale communal way of life that still persisted in a predominantly rural, agricultural Britain on the eve of the Industrial Revolution. Each town had its own versions of popular

⁶⁵ W.J. Baker, *Sports in the Western World*, p. 116.

⁶⁶ R. Holt, *Sport and the British: a Modern History*, pp. 3-4.

⁶⁷ M. Huggins, *The Victorians and Sport*, pp. ix-x.

⁶⁸ J. Hargreaves, *Sport, Power and Culture*, p. 17.

⁶⁹ M. Huggins, *The Victorians and Sport*, p. 3.

games and contests such as foot races or pedestrianism, pugilism or fist-fighting, certain ball games including early cricket and village football and a variety of cruel animal sports such as bull-baiting and cockfights.⁷⁰ There were no “national” sport as we know them today and each regional generation would simply play the game in the way it was passed down to them by the previous one. There was no need for established rules or written codes of practice between neighbouring parishes as traditional ways of playing dictated the contemporary ways of playing. These games and contests also differed from modern sport as it was never seen as an end in itself or something distinct. Sport and games were strongly linked to general amusement and took place during festivals and annual holidays like Shrove Tuesday or the May Day celebrations in Lincolnshire.⁷¹ These games were thus not only territorial, but also dependent on holidays and seasons away from strenuous agricultural labour when leisure could be afforded.⁷²

The regular pursuit of sport and games differed from one social group to another as certain leisure activities were to a large extent the preserve of young men from classes that were able to afford the time and resources required to practice the most popular of leisurely pursuits. As of old, these young men usually occupied social positions without responsibilities that might hinder such pursuits.⁷³ According to Sir Charles Tennyson the “gentry” preferred racing, hunting and hawking, shooting, fishing, and fencing, while the “rustic population” enjoyed poaching, quoits, skittles, and crude forms of football.⁷⁴ The level of perceived grandeur and constraints on time differed dramatically between these games and in some sense display distinct class interests and ability.

Sports before the Victorian age were also considered to be cruel, violent, disorganised and uncivilised. Many contests of the rural and agricultural population contained acts of cruelty towards animals that coincided with major seasonal festivals. “Throwing at cocks” was a very popular Shrove Tuesday game where contestants would throw stones at a tethered bird. The animal would attempt evasion as best it could until it is finally felled by a pelting of rocks that would often break its legs. The victor would then triumphantly carry off his or her prize.

⁷⁰ M. Huggins, *The Victorians and Sport*, p. 1; R. Holt, *Sport and the British: a Modern History*, p. 13; F. van der Merwe, *Sportgeskiedenis: 'n Handleiding vir Suid-Afrikaanse Studente*, pp. 124-125.

⁷¹ R. Holt, *Sport and the British: a Modern History*, p. 14; A. Leibs, *Sports and the Games of the Renaissance*, p. 62.

⁷² W. Vamplew, “Sport and Industrialisation: An Economic Interpretation of the Changes in Popular Sport in Nineteenth Century England”, in J.A. Mangan, *Pleasure, Profit, Proselytism: British Culture and Sport at Home and Abroad, 1700-1914*, p.7.

⁷³ M. Huggins, *The Victorians and Sport*, p. 1.

⁷⁴ Sir C. Tennyson, “They Taught the World to Play”, *Victorian Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 3, (Mar., 1959), p. 211.

Bull-baiting was also practiced on regular occasion where trained strong-jawed bulldogs would be set on a bovine and it would try and “seize him by the muzzle, the dewlap or the pendant glands.” These bulls were also often let loose in the streets and chased, while being prodded with sticks, guiding him to water until he is finally heaved into it. If he effectively resisted he was “spared”.⁷⁵ These festivals and events were untamed and disorganised and often described in very unflattering terms by those who disapproved. In 1866 writers bemoaned that “cruel sports are still engaged in...” and they felt that participants should be ashamed that they seek “...their pleasure in such brutal, disgusting and degrading pursuits.”⁷⁶ The nineteenth century writer and Burslem native, Arnold Bennet, described the local wake, or pleasure fair, as a “wild and naïve orgy.”⁷⁷

Violence was not reserved to animals, though, and many of the earlier, rural sport advocated violence and aggression between contestants. A very common sporting contest was that of pugilism. This was essentially fist-fighting or bare-knuckle boxing that sometimes had the element of reward i.e. prize-fighting and in some ways the forefather of competitive boxing.⁷⁸ It was a terribly violent sport that often led to serious injury and sometimes even death as in the case of an opponent of Jack Broughton who died from the punishment dealt to him in a boilerplate pugilist brawl in 1743.⁷⁹ The sport was illegal and fighters and their seconds were often charged with an array of offenses ranging from disturbing the peace and unlawful assembly to assault, and at times even with manslaughter or murder if the contest ended in a fatality.⁸⁰

The many variants of parish battles that passed for village football lacked any formal rules and restrictions, were very violent and most often ended in injury for many a player. Shrovetide football, for example, consisted of veritable armies of players that would pursue the game through town streets, fields, rivers and under bridges.⁸¹ This inevitably led to the destruction of property and its fair share of “black eyes, bruised arms and broken shins”. In 1796, for example, Shrovetide football claimed the life of John Snape who was described as “...an unfortunate victim to this custom of playing at Football...”⁸² It is not surprising that

⁷⁵ R. Holt, *Sport and the British: a Modern History*, pp. 17-18.

⁷⁶ M. Huggins, *The Victorians and Sport*, p. 4.

⁷⁷ R. Holt, *Sport and the British: a Modern History*, p. 17.

⁷⁸ T. Collins, J. Martin & W. Vamplew, *Encyclopaedia of Traditional British Rural Sport*, p. 216.

⁷⁹ R. Holt, *Sport and the British: a Modern History*, p. 20.

⁸⁰ T. Collins, J. Martin & W. Vamplew, *Encyclopaedia of Traditional British Rural Sport*, p. 217.

⁸¹ J. Hargreaves, *Sport, Power and Culture*, p. 17.

⁸² J. Walvin, *The People's Game: The History of Football Revisited*, p. 8.

most early references of football in Britain deal with efforts to suppress the violent sport.⁸³ The violence inherent in village football was deemed necessary, though. It was by playing rough and hard and exerting oneself that one would garner prestige and praise. Shoving and kicking and hacking was commonplace and the industriousness and passion with which one played was part of an ancient display of prowess and manliness.⁸⁴

It would be a mistake to think that the shift from these unorganised, violent and regional early sports to organised, structured and national modern sport happened immediately as if a switch had been pulled. The process was rather a long one and the Victorian era should be seen as the culmination of a series of development over a long period of time. To simply say that sport suddenly changed after the Industrial Revolution would be to over-simplify an interesting development in British society. Rather, the Industrial Revolution and the Victorian era should be seen as the epicentre, pinnacle or tipping point in the process from early sport to modern sport.⁸⁵ The process from early to modern sport was gradual and had many influential pressures that contributed to the shift including what Norbert Elias calls “the civilising process” which coincided with the cultural Reform movement; the Industrial Revolution and the consequent change in economic and social structures. These included the introduction of the year-round industrial work schedule and the emergence and growth of the economically and politically strong middle-class. In addition, the development of “Public Schools” and their new-found interest in the moral efficacy of sport for the young English gentleman. These public school gentlemen would find themselves on the forefront of organised sport in the latter half of the nineteenth century, a situation that would be emulated beyond Victorian England to the shores of the far flung British Empire.

The popularity of violent and disorganised brouhahas that were considered sport did not save them from reform, but did lay the foundation for their modern organised equivalents to take hold. From the eighteenth century we find a steady shift in societal behaviour from cruel, feral and licentious to a more compassionate, disciplined and decent state (Elias’s civilising process).⁸⁶ Elias speaks of a continuous general refinement of manners and social standards among Western European societies. According to him people were steadily shifting from crude and “barbaric” behaviour to what would come to be considered “decent” behaviour.

⁸³ H.A. Harris, *Sport in Britain*, pp. 103-105.

⁸⁴ R. Holt, *Sport and the British: a Modern History*, p. 15.

⁸⁵ R. Holt, *Sport and the British: a Modern History*, p. 12.

⁸⁶ R. Holt, *Sport and the British: a Modern History*, p. 29; E. Dunning, *Sport: The Development of Sport*, p. 42.

This process of European “civilising” influenced sport in important ways. It consisted of tightening the regulations on the exercise of excessive violence and aggression and a steady decline in people’s propensity to derive pleasure or amusement from acts of cruelty or violence, whether taking part or merely observing. According to Elias, society experienced a weakening of the urge or lust for violence and brutality. People saw their “threshold of repugnance” regarding bloodshed and physical violence lowered and felt a heightened sense of moral guilt when it comes to violence as a newly established social quandary.⁸⁷ Steadily the practice of animal cruelty came under scrutiny and acts of blatant violence were reconsidered. It was a slow process where traditional sport, drenched in violence and cruelty, became peculiar and problematic. Violent and cruel sports that used to be common and unquestioned, such as public fighting or animal cruelty, steadily became regarded as indecent and cruel and were being condemned in the eighteenth century.⁸⁸ Elias explains that the pleasures previously derived from violence still exist, yet in a modern setting are “placed under increasingly strong social control...and come to express themselves only indirectly, and in ‘refined’ form.”⁸⁹

Keith Thomas explains that the “growing concern about the treatment of animals...was one of the most distinctive feature of late-eighteenth century English middle-class culture.”⁹⁰ The Reform movement took on an anthropomorphic form of this general feeling of morality and guilt towards violence and cruelty and was by and large responsible for the shift in feeling toward sport of a “disreputable” nature. Determined pressure from the abolitionist movement was both secular and religious as Evangelical clergymen, Non-conformist preachers, Sunday-school organisers, philanthropists, utilitarian-inclined ideologues and state officials exercised their influence from every angle. They were determined to control and reshape popular culture that was deemed to be detrimental to social order.⁹¹ Although sport has seen some effort against it intermittently throughout medieval history, this new wave of resistance was fresh and vociferous. Previous efforts were often on the grounds that sport was a waste of time and did not contribute to society. For example, football was banned on many occasions to promote archery or maintain public order. Other pastimes were condemned to keep the

⁸⁷ E. Dunning, *Sport: The Development of Sport*, pp. 42-43.

⁸⁸ R. Holt, *Sport and the British: a Modern History*, pp. 29-31.

⁸⁹ N. Elias, *The Civilising Process: The History of Manners*, p. 192; R. Holt, *Sport and the British: a Modern History*, p. 31.

⁹⁰ K. Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England, 1500-1800*, p. 176.

⁹¹ M. Huggins, *The Victorians and Sport*, pp. 38-39; J. Hargreaves, *Sport, Power and Culture*, p. 21.

workforce at their post and not playing.⁹² These new objections were mainly from moral convictions. Violence, cruelty and the evils of gambling were becoming less acceptable and there were voices willing to make this case.

The establishment of the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (RSPCA) in 1824 is a prime example of the significance and influence of the movement. The RSPCA was able to garner a massive base of support and directed this newfound abhorrence of animal cruelty towards popular sport.⁹³ Traditional festivals were ripe targets and many sports based on the injuring or killing of animals were steadily eradicated. The Stamford bull-run was put to an end after the RSPCA managed to raise the cost of the sport significantly. This victory spurred their campaign against cock-fighting and other animal sport.⁹⁴ Bull-baiting came under intense scrutiny at the turn of the century and was officially prohibited by law under the Cruelty to Animals Act of 1835.⁹⁵ One of the few animal sports considered to be cruel that survived was horse racing where horses were said to be ridden too hard, which was thought to constitute animal cruelty.⁹⁶

Many violent and disreputable sports also attracted the attention of reformists, yet they did not suffer the same fate as cruel animal sports and disappear. Rather, sports considered violent and unbecoming such as pugilism and football experienced a transformation. These sports remained very popular and accommodated the Reform movement by adjusting and changing to become safer and more structured and thus survive the abolitionist onslaught. Pugilism or prize-fighting received its first set of rules in 1743 after a fatality prompted restrictions and safety.⁹⁷ Football, both association and rugby, would become the world's most popular and influential sports and it is in the Victorian era that these codes would evolve from traditional, regional village football into formal, organised sporting codes with set rules and regulations.

The Victorian era saw football shift from regional affiliation and loyalties to national importance and contests. Regional rules according to local customs became formalised and spread to the corners of the country. In this way, local games and play transformed into more formalised modern, competitive sport. Of course, local football persisted throughout this

⁹² R. Holt, *Sport and the British: a Modern History*, p. 28.

⁹³ J. Hargreaves, *Sport, Power and Culture*, p. 21.

⁹⁴ R. Holt, *Sport and the British: a Modern History*, pp. 35-36.

⁹⁵ J. Hargreaves, *Sport, Power and Culture*, p. 23

⁹⁶ N.F. Anderson, *The Sporting Life: Victorian Sports and Games*, p. 32.

⁹⁷ R. Holt, *Sport and the British: a Modern History*, p. 20.

transformation, but lost some of its significance and became features of public holidays and festivals that were few and far between.⁹⁸ The groups greatly responsible for the transformation and subsequent spread and longevity of the footballs were industrialists, eager working class men, the public schools and the economically strong and politically influential middle-class that chose to have their children educated there.

At the turn of the nineteenth century, Britain experienced a dramatic change in terms of its economic and social structures. The steady progress of industrialisation moved Britain from a predominantly rural, agricultural society to a booming industrial, urban society. As industry exploded, many rural folks flocked to the burgeoning new industrial cities to find their fortune.⁹⁹ This gave rise to a new industrial middle-class in British society. The Victorian middle-class came to be very influential economically, politically and socially. Their growing numbers and increasing wealth made them very powerful culturally and they were steadily able to exercise increasing societal influence. The Victorian middle-class usually owned property and engaged in occupations to do with industrial production, trade or professions, keeping clear of any manual labour. Studies have described this middle-class as having a strong work ethic, with an emphasis on respectability and a strong sense of class cohesion. It was this expanding urban middle-class in growing urban areas such as Birmingham and Nottingham that were the main driving force and also the main beneficiaries of modern sports in Britain. They took to sport and games with great enthusiasm and vigour and in doing so made an astounding contribution to how sport was perceived as a political, cultural and social entity, not only in Britain, but globally.¹⁰⁰

Victorian sport was largely a product and an embodiment of social class. It did not merely reflect Victorian class culture, but helped shape it.¹⁰¹ Even though few if any sport was overtly class specific and participation and spectatorship intersected in fascinating ways, the divisions within society still played out on the sports field very strongly. In Victorian England one's wealth, type of occupation, available free time and interests denoted one's class, created divisions and inequality and dictated leisure activities. Social class was accepted as one of the facts of life, not to be disputed and subsequently served as one of the

⁹⁸ M. Huggins, *The Victorians and Sport*, p. 7.

⁹⁹ W. Vamplew, "Sport and Industrialisation: An Economic Interpretation of the Changes in Popular Sport in Nineteenth Century England", in J.A. Mangan, *Pleasure, Profit, Proselytism: British Culture and Sport at Home and Abroad, 1700-1914*, p.7.

¹⁰⁰ M. Huggins, *The Victorians and Sport*, pp. 28-31.

¹⁰¹ T. Collins, *Rugby's Great Split: Class Culture and the Origins of Rugby League Football*, p. ix.

major fissures in sporting culture.¹⁰² Sport had always been the preserve of the upper and middle-classes who had the time and resources to pursue it. But as the industrial changes brought about regulated work schedules and higher “real” wages, the working class came steadily alive within the sport and leisure realm. The upper and new middle-class sought to maintain their hold on popular recreation through taking control of how, where, when and by who the new popular organised sport was played. The upper class landed gentry maintained a firm grasp on their traditional pastimes as these were often subject to gross expense. Yachting and polo participation was limited to the very wealthy and golf required membership fees as well as green fees.¹⁰³ Horse racing drew crowds from all classes, yet remained under the supervision of its wealthy upper class patrons.

In cricket we find the first team sport in which the landed aristocracy displayed an active interest. It was a very cross-class affair with nobility, gentry, middle-class and working class professionals competing on the same pitch.¹⁰⁴ The terms “gentlemen” or “amateur” and “player” or “professional” would be used to describe the difference between the independent players who pursued cricket as a mere leisure activity and those who would play for remuneration. This effectively served to distinguish between the upper/middle-class gentlemen and the working class professionals. It was important to make these distinctions as gentlemen amateurs and working class professionals did not mix socially. Professionals would be assigned different dressing rooms, perhaps have a separate entrance to the ground and would enjoy their meals in the terraces and not in the clubhouse or pavilion dining area. Scorecards would also distinguish an amateur from a professional by the way the name is recorded. An amateur would have his name recorded with the title “Mr” followed by his name and surname. A professional would be recorded with his surname followed by his name.¹⁰⁵ Playing roles differed as well as working class professionals were expected to bowl, field and run, while the elite performed the more prestigious task of batting and scoring runs. Professionals were also often hired to provide practise by bowling to upper class gentleman-amateurs.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰² H.A. Harris, *Sport in Britain*, p. 44.

¹⁰³ M. Huggins, *The Victorians and Sport*, p. 19.

¹⁰⁴ H.A. Harris, *Sport in Britain*, p. 44; R. Holt, *Sport and the British: a Modern History*, p. 25; M. Huggins, *The Victorians and Sport*, p. 20.

¹⁰⁵ T. Mason, *Sport in Britain*, p. 43; H.A. Harris, *Sport in Britain*, pp. 44 & 51-52.

¹⁰⁶ J. Hargreaves, *Sport, Power and Culture*, p. 19; H.A. Harris, *Sport in Britain*, p. 51.

This type of distinction in sport effectively kept the created class identities intact and resisted social dilution in areas where boundaries between classes were challenged e.g. sharing the sports field. The designation of these distinct terms serve as symbolic expressions of class hierarchy within cricket. These symbols (“gentleman” and “professional”) effectively serve to mark off groups within the sport from each other. By assigning titles like these a clear boundary is drawn between the different groups and social order and control is maintained as well as establishing the conditions for its effective transmission over time.¹⁰⁷ The divide between a gentleman amateur and a working class professional (being allowed to play with his social superior) thus setting the stage for a commonplace divide between groups within sport, whether completely or through the designation of roles on the field. As soon as this divide becomes commonplace it sows the seeds for the creation of a social, cultural hegemony where the upper/middle-class gain and retain social and class control over a consenting working class.¹⁰⁸

The conflict between amateur and professional spread to other codes as well and soon a battle between the amateur spirit of the game and the “incursion” of the working class professionals came to light in new modern sporting codes. These terms became increasingly important as the democratic ethos of the Victorian era threatened to dissolve caste lines and many upper and middle-class folk were desperate to resist this. Hierarchy was important to them and they were determined to consolidate class distinction in sport which became ever increasingly significant culturally. Sport came to represent more than masculine competition and a place to prove one’s British worth, but also became a symbol of the economic and labour structures of an industrialised world.

The upper class elite began to take a backseat when it came to modern sport. They kept their grasp firmly on their own sport and games, but gave way to the newly emerging industrial middle-class who took the lead when it came to modern team sports such as football and rugby. By using their educational and organisational skills, the middle-classes ran elite sports clubs – effective displays of power, class control and social exclusivity.¹⁰⁹ Sport itself became caught up in the struggle of a group anxious to define its position in a class-based

¹⁰⁷ B. Bernstein, H.L. Elvin & R.S. Peters, “Ritual in Education”, *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London. Series B, Biological Sciences*, Vol. 251, No. 772, A Discussion on Ritualization of Behaviour in Animals and Man (Dec. 29, 1966), p. 430.

¹⁰⁸ J. Hargreaves, *Sport, Power and Culture*, pp. 58-60.

¹⁰⁹ M. Huggins, *The Victorians and Sport*, p. 34; B. Bernstein, H.L. Elvin & R.S. Peters, “Ritual in Education”, *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London. Series B, Biological Sciences*, Vol. 251, No. 772, A Discussion on Ritualization of Behaviour in Animals and Man (Dec. 29, 1966), pp. 429-30.

society.¹¹⁰ Rugby and football became stages upon which the middle-class staked out their hierarchical claim. Rugby and football were very much middle-class activities with both forms sprouting from public schools catering to the middle-class. These middle-class schoolboys were responsible for bringing the spirit and virtue of sport through to the universities and to the greater English public and beyond. Association football was formalised and regulated in October 1863 when a set of rules was put forth at the Freemason's Tavern in London by a group of middleclass gentleman who intended the game to be a continuation of their school days - a pastime for privileged public school alumni.¹¹¹ The Football Association that was born from this event continued to be run by middle-class men with public school and university backgrounds.¹¹² Rugby was also very much involved in class tussles and Tony Collins is of the opinion that rugby itself was used to define class.¹¹³ Class is said to have been central to the split between rugby union and rugby league: Union came to represent the middle-class bourgeois amateur, as working-class clubs with paid players were ousted, and League came to represent the ambitious working-class rugby player who needed compensation for wages lost during play.¹¹⁴

Sport and Social Control

It is therefore evident that the upper- and middle-class sought to consolidate their social positions through sport. The social position and influence of the expanding middle-class was very high in proportion to their ever growing numbers and thus they were able to exert a huge amount of influence on how sport was to be practiced in the new industrial society. The upper-class elite consolidated their social position by means of patronage, which allowed them to exercise some form of social control over their "inferiors". The prevailing belief in hierarchy allowed the upper class to be part of middle-class sporting expansion by serving as board members on governing bodies or carrying honorary titles.¹¹⁵ In this way the aristocracy maintained leading positions in societal expression and the new middle-class could claim a distinguished heritage and tradition for their new clubs and associations. Of course these were invented traditions and heritages used to fabricate a continuity with the past and establish a sense of legitimacy of their control. The middle-class had no real claim to the tradition and

¹¹⁰ J. Lowerson, *Sport and the English Middleclass, 1870-1914*, p.1.

¹¹¹ B. Murray & W.J. Murray, *The World's Game: A History of Soccer*, p. xvi.

¹¹² T. Mason, *Sport in Britain*, p. 38.

¹¹³ T. Collins, *Rugby's Great Split: Class Culture and the Origins of Rugby League Football*, p. ix.

¹¹⁴ H.A. Harris, *Sport in Britain*, pp. 131 & 128; See also T. Collins, *Rugby's Great Split: Class Culture and the Origins of Rugby League Football*.

¹¹⁵ M. Huggins, *The Victorians and Sport*, pp. 27-28.

heritage that they used to legitimise their authority and in a sense, being such a recent addition to the social landscape, they had no real heritage to cling to at all. The tradition that they clung to and that they claimed constituted their authority was thus factitious.¹¹⁶

The middle and upper classes, with their public school backgrounds, went about “opening” up sport for the working classes in an effort to discipline the working class and have them conform to the bourgeois norms of respectability. In this way the middle-class entrenched their world view and position of dominance over the subordinate working classes – a clear creation of what Antonio Gramsci has termed “cultural hegemony”.¹¹⁷ Industrialist employers promoted a middle-class respectability that deplored drunkenness, absenteeism and idleness. They encouraged participation in or watching of organised sport and saw this as a means of social control and stability, keeping workers away from drinking, gambling and anything deemed not on par with middle-class respectability. In this way they also ensured productivity from their employees. Many modern football clubs can trace their origins back to some or other industrialist using sport to maintain control over his workers – for example Arsenal, West Ham, Manchester United (previously Newton Heath).¹¹⁸ Thus the middle-class used sport to maintain their social standing and social control over the working class. However, the increasing democratisation of leisure created a slight panic as class lines were thought to be dissolving by increased working class participation in middle-class sport. This was revealed by the way in which many clubs and sports went to great lengths to restrict access and membership to their “social inferiors”. Through rules, exorbitant entry fees, and subscription fees or simply through membership election systems that conveniently favoured class markers, attempts were made to exclude working class sportsmen from formal organised sport.¹¹⁹ Thus by controlling access to clubs, grounds and other facilities, the middle-class effectively controlled how the working class was to play. They supplemented this by having control over the rules of the games, employing terms of distinction such as “amateur” and “professional” and by claiming heritage and tradition long beyond their true past. This would legitimise this form of control, this relationship of dominance and subordination that the working class accepts as normal and routine.

¹¹⁶ E. Hobsbawm & T. Ranger (eds), *The Invention of Tradition*, pp. 1-2.

¹¹⁷ J. Hargreaves, *Sport, Power and Culture*, pp. 58-60.

¹¹⁸ M. Huggins, *The Victorians and Sport*, p.36.

¹¹⁹ M. Huggins, *The Victorians and Sport*, p. 34.

Perhaps one of the most significant characteristics of the nineteenth century is the shift in interest in sport among elite educators in England. Before the Victorian age, school masters and educators had very little interest in sport and games and saw no advantage in the English schoolboy's "informal education". The only real occasions for interacting with schoolboys and their games were to intervene when these games became too rowdy or spilled over outside the school grounds. On a few occasions school authorities even attempted to ban organised sport such as football as it was seen as unbecoming for a young gentleman. The early nineteenth century the head of Shrewsbury, Samuel Butler, even described sport as "...more fit for farmboys and labourers."¹²⁰ The exception, and possible early sign of change was the work of Thomas Elyot who expressed the usefulness of games in the education of young men in his 1531 publication *Boke named the Governour*,¹²¹ yet this might have been a bit premature and most probably fits in with the Renaissance period change in education.

The Victorian age then effectively brought with it a shift in mentality towards sport among the educated elite and soon a cult of athleticism was born within the older public schools which housed the sons of the growing middle-class - a lead that was followed by many newer public schools as well as grammar schools.¹²² A new, younger generation of schoolmasters saw the merit in sport and promoted sport as a way of educating the English schoolboy beyond the classics. Masters from exemplar schools such as Harrow, Eton, Marlborough and Uppingham all sought to diffuse gentlemanly ideals through renewed forms of traditional sports.¹²³ What had long been part of the "informal curriculum" would be transformed and organised by headmasters as a means to instil discipline and morality in young Englishmen outside the classroom. Soon sport was an essential pastime and it was considered scandalous not to partake in "regular manly exercise". Schoolmasters would chastise non-participants as 'idle' and at one point a notice at Eton read:

Any lower boy who does not play football once a day and twice on half holiday will be fined half a crown and kicked.¹²⁴

One of the most influential figures of the time was Dr Thomas Arnold of Rugby school – considered by some "the great reformer of English pedagogy, the Victorian saviour of public

¹²⁰ R. Holt, *Sport and the British: a Modern History*, p. 75.

¹²¹ C.R. Torres, *The Bloomsbury Companion to the Philosophy of Sport*, p. 24; N. Veitch, *SACS 175: A Celebration*, p. 104.

¹²² M. Huggins, *The Victorians and Sport*, p. 31.

¹²³ M. Huggins, *The Victorians and Sport*, p. 31.

¹²⁴ R. Holt, *Sport and the British: a Modern History*, p. 76.

schools”.¹²⁵ Though his influence on recreational reform has been disputed, some even arguing that the widely accepted idea that Arnold promoted sporting activity is largely a myth,¹²⁶ his influence on general educational and moral reform is undisputed.¹²⁷ Arnold’s contribution lay mainly in his fascinating view on masculinity amongst British schoolboys and the need to produce mature Englishmen. He believed that the transition from boyhood to manhood was not effectively nurtured by the English public school system and set out to facilitate this. It is important to note however that his idea of masculinity was not a gendered concept, yet because he was mostly involved in boys’ school, it tended to manifest in a gendered fashion. His ideas around masculinity, however, were aimed at maturity and attempted to highlight the difference between childhood immaturity and adult, masculine maturity.¹²⁸ Arnold promoted a masculine, moral maturity that would befit an Englishman from a public school background and would filter into the image of the English national character.¹²⁹

According to J.A. Mangan, Arnold desired to create an English public school system that would allow the moral outlook of the middle-class to meet with the sporting culture of the aristocracy. He did, however, not believe in the efficacy of traditional field sport (sport involving the hunting and killing of animals such as foxes) and saw them as barbaric and unnecessary. The availability of alternatives to field sports such as cricket and football made the opposition to field sport more readily acceptable. Arnold was at the forefront of this and promoted an emerging educational ideology that focused on the moral efficacy of controlled recreation among school boys. These controlled activities essentially included football and cricket and would be used to build character and help facilitate the transition from boyhood to maturity¹³⁰ – in other words the creation of manliness and quintessential Victorian character. According to Derek Birley sport was the great character-builder on which Arnold’s England depended to train her leaders. He quotes from Thomas Hughes’s *Tom Brown’s Schooldays* (in which Arnold is alluded to) and refers to team-sports, and in this case cricket: “The discipline

¹²⁵ S. Zemka, “Spiritual Authority and the Life of Thomas Arnold”, *Victorian Studies*, Vol. 38, No. 3 (Spring, 1995), p. 429.

¹²⁶ J. Chandos, *Boys Together: English Public Schools, 1800–1864*, p. 70.

¹²⁷ H. Ellis, “Thomas Arnold, Christian Manliness and the Problem of Boyhood”, *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 19:4, pp. 426-427.

¹²⁸ H. Ellis, “Thomas Arnold, Christian Manliness and the Problem of Boyhood”, *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 19:4, p. 426.

¹²⁹ S. Zemka, “Spiritual Authority and the Life of Thomas Arnold”, *Victorian Studies*, Vol. 38, No. 3 (Spring, 1995), pp. 430-431

¹³⁰ J.A. Mangan, *A Sport-Loving Society: Victorian and Edwardian Middle-Class England at Play*, pp. 43-44.

and reliance on one another, which it teaches, are so valuable.”¹³¹ Even if one is to believe that Thomas Arnold did not intend to actively promote sport and team play in Britain, it cannot be denied that his ideas of manliness and the transition from boyhood to manhood and maturity laid much needed groundwork for the realisation of the efficacy of team sport in moral education and character building. Arnold most definitely deserves to occupy an important place in the historical study of British sport and education.¹³²

Cricket and football were the most potent weapons in the arsenal of the sporting enthusiast educator and epitomised what sport meant in the education system. They were occasions where the virtues of Victorian bourgeois morality, leadership and respectability could be learned and displayed.¹³³ Cricket had been played in schools as early as 1805 and regularly by the 1840s, teaching boys the value of teamwork, obeying constituted authority, loyalty to team mates, respect for the rules and courage in the face of adversity.¹³⁴ Almost every school had its own version of football with rules and ways of playing being dictated by the terrain and local traditions. These games were quite rough and often caused injury. But to be able to play beyond injury or withstand the brutal punishment with stern aplomb and fortitude was seen as noble and manly – venerable traits of bourgeois, middle-class stoicism. Endurance and courage were qualities that were revered and thought to be built or unveiled through sport.

Where football used to be a mere free-for-all between two village groups, in the public schools it became orderly and a place where a boy could show his “pluck” and prove his middle-class character.¹³⁵ A traditional rural rumpus was effectively re-appropriated by the newly emerging middle-class to represent and foster their ideals of masculine respectability. Sport promoted a form of stoicism – to work hard and show no weakness. It was also used to “keep idle hands busy” so adolescent boys would not succumb to the “enormous evil of unchastity” and the temptations of the flesh – “problems” that could somehow be solved by a cold shower and a game of rugby.¹³⁶ Complex concepts such as manliness and athleticism were being fostered in school and soon sport, especially football, became the testing ground

¹³¹ D. Birley, *Sport and the making of Britain*, p. 286.

¹³² H. Ellis, “Thomas Arnold, Christian Manliness and the Problem of Boyhood”, *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 19:4, p. 426.

¹³³ J. Hargreaves, *Sport, Power and Culture*, p. 17.

¹³⁴ B. Stoddart, “Sport and British Cultural Imperialism, and Colonial Response to the British Empire”, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 30, No. 4 (Oct., 1988), p. 653.

¹³⁵ R. Holt, *Sport and the British: a Modern History*, p. 78.

¹³⁶ R. Holt, *Sport and the British*, p. 91.

for English grit that would spill over into concepts of militarism and imperialism.¹³⁷ These ideas transported the concept of sport as a “civilising”, respectable pursuit to the socially ambitious parents of modest means and these working class families bought into the middle-class view concerning sport and the social structures it portrayed.¹³⁸

By the 1850s sport and football in particular was an integral part of most public school’s repertoire. The most prestigious schools would now promote themselves by making reference to their sporting prowess and tradition as opposed to merely endorsing academics.¹³⁹ Gradually sport sprung itself loose from its edifying and disciplinary role and became an end in itself. Football was no longer simply a tool to produce a good, morally stout Englishman. It was seen as a pursuit in itself, with discipline and morality desirable bourgeois qualities fostered by it.¹⁴⁰

Former public schoolboys would be responsible for spreading the games, its ethics and its cultural meanings to the wider world. Footballing public schoolers took the game with them when they made their way into the elite English universities, which usually meant Cambridge or Oxford.¹⁴¹ Between 1855 and 1900 about 80 percent of Oxford students were former public schoolboys.¹⁴² The sporting craze that can be seen in the ancient universities of England in the mid-nineteenth century is a mere reflection or continuation of the public school devotion to games at the time.¹⁴³ Just as many of the public schools spent vast amounts of resources to improve and extend their sports fields, so too did universities whose colleges were more than happy to accommodate sporting interest and rivalries learned in public schools.¹⁴⁴ These college students would spearhead the development and diffusion of modern team sport in England and abroad as most adult sports clubs were founded by public school alumni. And as has been mentioned, it was a group of ex-public school, ex-university students who established the first universal rules of football in 1863 at a meeting in a London tavern¹⁴⁵ and the subsequent Football Association was continuously staffed by ex-university

¹³⁷ M. Huggins, *The Victorians and Sport*, p. 31.

¹³⁸ R. Holt, *Sport and the British: a Modern History*, pp. 82-83.

¹³⁹ M. Huggins, *The Victorians and Sport*, p. 32.

¹⁴⁰ R. Holt, *Sport and the British: a Modern History*, p. 81.

¹⁴¹ Sir C. Tennyson, “They Taught the World to Play”, *Victorian Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 3, (Mar., 1959), p. 212.

¹⁴² M. Huggins, *The Victorians and Sport*, p. 32.

¹⁴³ R. Holt, *Sport and the British: a Modern History*, p. 76.

¹⁴⁴ R. Holt, *Sport and the British: a Modern History*, pp. 82-83

¹⁴⁵ W.J. Murray, *Football: A History of the World Game*, pp. 4-10; R.D. Mandell, *Sport: A Cultural History*, pp. 154-157; R. Holt, *Sport and the British: a Modern History*, pp. 13- 17 & pp. 85-86.

men.¹⁴⁶ The governing body of the Rugby Union was also drawn from the same background: the public schools and universities.¹⁴⁷ And this diffusion of middle-class sport by ex-public school men would continue into the colonial world.

Conclusion

It is thus apparent that sport was and has always been a part of human society being present from the ancient kingdoms of the Mesopotamians through the Middle Ages, the Renaissance into the Industrial Age. At first people just played. Whether it was ball games or foot races or archery, the spirit of competition was expressed through games. In some cases games came to have a religious, ritualistic significance. In other cases it became a spectacle or a means to keep the people content. Sport was integral to the social lives of many generations, but without the rigid formalisation of modern sport. After the rapid social changes experienced in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, games became formalised and organised and received rules, structures and governing bodies and these games transformed into Modern Sport. Games before the eighteenth and nineteenth century mirrored and in some cases reinforced class divisions, but only when these became sport, and took on greater social significance, did sport become part of the social fabric and not just a representation of social division, but formed part of it and supported and perpetuated and accentuated social divides. Sport became an expression of one's standing in society. It became an important aspect of the modern man's character building process. And then it became more than a means towards creating a man's character, but became an ends in itself. And when sport becomes something in itself, it becomes an integral part of human interaction and begins to markedly influence societal structures and social order.

In Victorian England sport became a means of demarcating social class and perpetuating hierarchical difference. The middle-class gained control of the means of sporting production and by controlling how, where and by whom sport was played, they reinforced boundaries and caste. The terms "amateur" and "professional" added a distinct colour to sport that were already deemed as "cross class". The divide between amateur and professional, or upper/middle-class and working class, became hotly contested areas.

¹⁴⁶ T. Mason, *Sport in Britain*, p. 38.

¹⁴⁷ H.A. Harris, *Sport in Britain*, p. 127.

Sport gained perhaps most significance in public schools as a means to create the perfect English middle-class gentleman. It was used to instil certain British ideals of hard work and perseverance and to teach young English gentleman to be gracious in both victory and defeat. It was here that sport saw its initial formalisation and from the public school organised sport spread to the British public. Former schoolboys would be responsible for spreading the spirit and ethos of sport and the perfect Englishman to the world. It taught Englishmen to govern others and control themselves.¹⁴⁸ It created the perfect masculine Christian and an ideal British imperialist that was fit to rule and fit to create and extend the Empire! This spirit of imperialism would spread from the public school into colonial societies all around the world.¹⁴⁹ Victorian sport, and all that it entails socially, would spread from the shores of Britain and on the back of the Empire to the far reaches of the globe. The Victorians would, as Sir Charles Tennyson accurately proclaimed, “teach the world to play”.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁸ R. Holt, *Sport and the British*, p. 76.

¹⁴⁹ M. Huggins, *The Victorians and Sport*, p. 31.

¹⁵⁰ Sir C. Tennyson, “They Taught the World to Play”, *Victorian Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 3, (Mar., 1959), pp. 211-222.

Chapter Four

The Kick Off: British Schools, Sport and South Africa

Introduction

The entrenchment of the racially divided social order in South Africa is distinctly evident and decidedly visible within sport. Sport has been segregated for most of the country's history with whites sharing the field with whites and non-whites¹ sharing the field with non-whites. Grant Jarvie states that, "sport must not be understood abstractly or simply in the context of ideas about racial prejudice, but rather in the context of the ensemble of social relations characterizing the South African social formation."² Thus the history of division of sport in South Africa, be it by class or race, must be considered within and as part of broader social and political interactions in the country and must be evaluated with one eye on existing social relationships. Social division does not merely happen and must be built on a previously existing relationship of collaboration or at the very least exchange, even if on the smallest of scales. Charles van Onselen captures this sentiment well when he explains modern race relations in South Africa in his work, *The Seed is Mine: The Life of Kas Maine, a South African Sharecropper, 1894-1985*:

Currents of anger, betrayal, hatred and humiliation surge through many accounts of modern South Africa's race relations, but what analysts sometimes fail to understand is that without prior compassion, dignity, love or feeling of trust – no matter how small, poorly, or unevenly developed – there could have been no anger, betrayal, hatred and humiliation. The troubled relationship between black and white South Africans cannot be fully understood by focussing on what tore them apart and ignoring what held them together. The history of a marriage, even an unhappy one, is inscribed in the wedding banns as well as the divorce notice.³

This is also very much the case with sport in South Africa from its very beginnings. The separate diffusion of sporting codes like rugby, soccer and cricket must flow from some form

¹ The term "non-white" is only used in the colonial context to emphasize the contemporary custom of inclusion of one race and the general exclusion of all other races.

² G. Jarvie, *Sport, Racism and Ethnicity*, p. 143.

³ C. van Onselen, *The Seed is Mine: The Life of Kas Maine, A South African Sharecropper, 1894-1985*, p. 4.

of integrated development of the specific code. Archer and Bouillon refer to a cricket match played between “the Hottentots and the Boers Afrikaners [sic]” as early as 1854, as well as John Sheddon Dobi’s experience of a “farmer [who] had been amusing himself by playing cricket with Kaffirs.”⁴ And rugby historian Braber Ngozi speaks of “kitchen boys who learnt their rugby from whites”, referring to the founders of the Port Elizabeth-based Union Rugby Football Club.⁵ It is inconceivable that the same sport would develop in complete isolation within separate communities in a single region. So the question is not whether the different communities played together, but rather when did they stop playing together and why? Why is South African sport in the twentieth century characterised by limitation and segregation; by who gets to play; or at best, who gets to play with whom? This chapter suggests that the answer to this question lay in the British colonial schoolboy roots of South African rugby culture.

The previous chapter ventured into the origins and development of sport and division throughout global history. It shows that sport and the division it creates have been a part of human endeavours since the dawn of history and will most likely keep its prominent position or even strengthen as humankind continues to develop. With the emergence of capital driven sport, the role and significance of sport may well grow substantially. The previous chapter shows how sport has gained and maintained a prominent position within society, whether it be for religious, military or edifying reasons. The chapter concludes by looking at the development of modern team sport in Britain and how football and cricket especially have come to serve a greater social purpose than merely a distraction from work or simple leisure activity. These sports served as informal education whereby sons of the growing British Empire could learn the morals and values of true, upstanding Englishmen, effectively distinguishing themselves from who they felt did not live up to these lofty, class-specific standards. It is on the sports field where the young middle-class Briton learns how to govern not only himself, but also those that were “destined” to be under British rule. And these young, middle class imperialists were taught these values and morals on the flowing green grass of the English public school which would be expanded to the colonies of the Empire. This class-specific social indoctrination would lead to the division of society along class lines and subsequently along racial lines when applied to the colonial context and to interaction with the so-called “other”.

⁴ R. Archer & A. Bouillon, *The South African Game, Sport and Racism*, p. 79.

⁵ A. Odendaal, ‘The Thing That Is Not Round’, in A. Grundlingh, et. al., *Beyond The Tryline*, p.34.

It is this spirit of Britishness and imperial endeavour fostered in the English public school system with which the following chapter concerns itself. By looking at the arrival of the British at the Cape, the chapter looks to the establishment of English middle class culture on the shores of South Africa. And amongst all the unique cultural trappings transplanted by the British, the public school and her sporting culture and newly developed traditions take centre stage. It is the aim of this chapter to trace and track the diffusion of the English public school sporting ethos onto African shores and into the interior. It will do this by looking at the quintessential English schoolboy game of rugby football.

The British at the Cape

After the initial voyages of discovery by the Portuguese, leading to both Vasco da Gama and Bartholomew Diaz rounding the southern tip of Africa in the fifteenth century, the Cape of Good Hope was settled by the Dutch trading enterprise, the “Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie” (VOC), in 1652.⁶ The Dutch settlement in the Cape was primarily meant to serve as a halfway station or refreshment depot on the trade routes to the Dutch spice islands in the East. The initial purpose of this station was modest: simply to victual passing ships with fresh produce on their way to the spice archipelago of Java and Sumatra.⁷ But this humble refreshment station would serve as the initial foray into the interior of southern Africa and forms the first point of entry of European social influences in all its various national forms. According to Gilliomée and Mbenga the intellectual (and social) baggage in the minds of the European immigrants was much more important than their clothes and other belongings.⁸ A sentiment that will be reiterated as the chapter unfolds.

The Dutch occupation of the Cape lasted for almost two centuries, but during the turmoil of the French Revolution at the end of the eighteenth century the Cape of Good Hope was taken by British forces under the pretext of protection. The exiled Dutch monarch, William V, the Prince of Orange, sought protection from French imperialism and the British, fearing French domination of the spice routes, eagerly obliged. In June 1795 a British naval force under Admiral Keith Elphinstone and Major-General James Craig arrived at False Bay.⁹ It was essentially a pre-emptive military campaign aimed at the French and not the Dutch.¹⁰ The

⁶ H. Giliomée & B. Mbenga, *New History of South Africa*, pp. 40 & 46.

⁷ F.J.P. Pretorius, *Geskiedenis van Suid Afrika: Van Voortye tot Vandag*, p. 41; H. Giliomée & B. Mbenga, *New History of South Africa*, p. 42.

⁸ H. Giliomée & B. Mbenga, *New History of South Africa*, p. 42.

⁹ C. Hamiton, B. Mbenga & R. Ross, *South Africa: Volume 1, From Early Times to 1885*, p. 210; N. Worden, E. Van Heyningen & V. Bickford-Smith, *Cape Town: The Making of a City: an Illustrated Social History*, p. 86.

¹⁰ I. Blom, “Defence of the Cape Colony under Batavian Rule 1803-1806”, *Kronos*, No. 17 (1990), p. 20.

British were determined to prevent this strategic colony from falling into the hands of revolutionary France. After meek resistance from a disjointed Cape militia, the first British occupation of the Cape commenced.¹¹ The British occupation of the Cape lasted only a few years and came to an end in 1803. They saw their stay in the Cape as temporary and would leave if the threat of the French subsided. The Treaty of Amiens was signed in March 1802 and the Cape was returned to Dutch authority. This time being ruled by the new Batavian Government as the VOC had by this time, after an inglorious collapse, already been liquidated.¹² The treaty stipulated that the Cape should only be handed over to the new Batavian government, provided that the English and French ships could call at its port without having to pay higher port fees than Dutch ships. Though some complications delayed the transfer of the Cape to the Batavian government, it did eventually happen on the 19th of February 1803.¹³

The Batavian government of the Cape came with many liberal ideas of reform, but suffered from an inheritance of long existing problems in the area. The reforming zeal of Commissary-General J.A. De Mist came in contact with a colony rife with internal friction. The heterogeneous society of the Cape would present a stern challenge, yet the liberal colonial policy of De Mist proved promising, even if greeted with suspicion at first. His aim of comprehensive control over all departments stood in stark contrast to the comparatively negative military policy of the British.¹⁴ But control over the disparate, friction-laden groups would not come as easy as the idea had. European interactions with the local Khoi tribes were not always peaceful and the area in modern day Eastern Cape known as the Frontier had long been a cause for concern. On the Frontier colonial order and economic stability had nearly been destroyed by decades of war and revolt.¹⁵ The torrid relationship between white farmers and their Khoi workers, as well as the neighbouring Xhosa farmers gave the Batavian government the same headache as it did the British government before it and similarly no feasible solution could be found.¹⁶ The issue of slavery also plagued the new Dutch

¹¹ N. Worden, E. Van Heyningen & V. Bickford-Smith, *Cape Town: The Making of a City: An Illustrated Social History*, p. 86.

¹² F.J.P. Pretorius, *Geskiedenis van Suid Afrika: Van Voortye tot Vandag*, p. 61; N. Worden, E. Van Heyningen & V. Bickford-Smith, *Cape Town: The Making of a City: an Illustrated Social History*, pp. 86-7; H. Giliomee, *Die Afrikaners*, p.53.

¹³ I. Blom, "Defence of the Cape Colony under Batavian Rule 1803-1806", *Kronos*, No. 17 (1990), p. 21.

¹⁴ E.A. Walker, *The Cambridge History of The British Empire*, p.192.

¹⁵ W. M. Freund, "The Eastern Frontier of the Cape Colony during the Batavian Period (1803-1806)", *Journal of African History*, XII.

¹⁶ H. Giliomee, *Die Afrikaners*, p.91; I. Blom, "Defence of the Cape Colony under Batavian Rule 1803-1806", *Kronos*, No. 17 (1990), p. 19.

administration as it had the British and would leave deep furrows in the social landscape of the country.¹⁷

The liberal, progressive policies of De Mist had some success and may have proved an outright success if the Batavian government was afforded more time. The period of Dutch administration of the Cape was much too short to have implemented any long-term changes.¹⁸ Unfortunately European tensions flared again very soon and the Napoleonic Wars gave rise to a new threat of French nationalism and expansionism. The war between Great Britain and France would continue. The British felt the need to intervene in the lot of the Cape as a strategic colony once again and once again would come to the Cape not for the expansion of revolutionary European liberalism, but merely to occupy a fort and to preserve its Indian Empire. This meant the liberal social reform and promise of a modern model colony up and left with the exiting Batavian Dutch.¹⁹ But the British had abandoned their temporary mindset and from 1814, when official British occupation was recognised after the Napoleonic Wars, permanent British influence in southern Africa commenced. This occupancy had a dramatic effect on the Cape. It changed from what the British believed to be the economic and social backwater of the VOC to the capital of the expanding British Empire.²⁰ And this time Gilliomée and Mbenga's sentiments directed at the Dutch, rings even truer for the British as their most significant import will be their "intellectual baggage and their social influence."²¹

The British brought with them all the social and cultural customs inherent to Britain - some of which were by then serving to reinforce social differences. These included games and sport which had already come to represent class division in early Victorian England.²² As William Baker notes:

While organized sports in late-Victorian England both reflected and affected social relationships and ideological assumptions, sports in Britain were scarcely 'integrated and integrating activities.' On the

¹⁷ H. Giliomée, *Die Afrikaners*, p.57

¹⁸ I. Blom, "Defence of the Cape Colony under Batavian Rule 1803-1806", *Kronos*, No. 17 (1990), p. 34.

¹⁹ E.A. Walker, *The Cambridge History of the British Empire*, p.192.

²⁰ N. Worden, E. Van Heyningen & V. Bickford-Smith, *Cape Town: The Making of a City: an Illustrated Social History*, p. 88; S. Trapido, "From Paternalism to Liberalism: The Cape Colony, 1800-1834", *The International History Review*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (Feb., 1990), p. 78.

²¹ H. Giliomée & B. Mbenga, *New History of South Africa*, p. 42.

²² T. Mason, *Sport in Britain*, p. 37.

contrary, they resulted from a class-divided society and tended to accentuate rather than to heal those divisions.²³

British soldiers and settlers brought with them competitive horse racing and games like cricket and later, through the export, efforts and influence of the British school system, rugby and association football.²⁴

Education at the Cape

As the previous chapter explains, the British public school system in many ways shaped and formed class identities within British society. The middle class public schoolboys produced from these prestigious English gentleman factories would then go out into wider society and reproduce their status and class exclusivity beyond the confines of the public schools. This same culture spilled over into Empire and with the second British occupation of the Cape, South Africa saw a steady influx not just of the physical presence of soldiers and officers and missionaries and artisans, but also of social intangibles - English class culture and all that it entailed. The transplant of the English public school model eased the transmission of English class culture into Cape society. As the status conscious English middle class felt the need to direct their exclusivity towards the working class in England, so too did they feel the need to direct their exclusivity towards a group of similar “lesser” standing within the Empire. Their target being whom they considered “other”. The British school system and her sport thus served to give the abstract notion of class distinction and hierarchy physical expression and a point of diffusion into the rest of would-be South Africa. And because most colonial inhabitants of British descent were very much the same - of the middle class (officers, lawyers, clerks etc.), the “other” in the Colony would be inextricably linked to race.

The second, more permanent British occupation of the Cape from 1806 was not responsible for the introduction of schooling to the Colony. Informal education amongst local peoples was prevalent long before the Dutch arrived and introduced a schooling of sorts.²⁵ Sport as a means of informal education would thus find South Africa ripe with opportunity. It merely needed formal education, i.e. formal institutions, from which to operate. Efforts by the VOC and the Batavian government would then lay the groundwork for formal education in the

²³ W. J. Baker, “The Making of a Working-Class Football Culture in Victorian England”, *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (Winter, 1979), p. 242.

²⁴ See for example: S. Swart, *Riding High: Horses, Humans and History in South Africa*, 2010.

²⁵ A. van Zyl, “A Historical Overview of South African Education” in E.M. Lemmer & D.C. Badenhorst, *Introduction to Education for South African Teachers*, p. 50.

Cape. This educational groundwork would serve as both a boon and a bane to the British educational efforts. The initial sign of concern over schooling in the Colony can already be seen in the first Dutch Commander, Jan van Riebeeck, himself. And even though education would become one of the key elements of racial tension in South Africa, Van Riebeeck's journal ironically shows us that the introduction of schooling and education was directed at those who were to be marginalised in terms of education in the future. In a journal entry from the 17th of April 1658 van Riebeeck mentions his intention to introduce a manner of education to the growing number of slaves at the Cape:

April 17th – Fine Weather. Arrangements made for establishing a school for the Company's slaves from Angola brought hither by the *Amersfoort*. The Sick comforter, Pieter van der Staal, to be the teacher, especially as he reads Dutch correctly; and that he may encourage the slaves to attend and hear or learn the Christian prayers, it is ordered that everyone shall receive after school a glass of brandy and two inches of tobacco each.²⁶

Van Riebeeck's vision led to the establishment of the first Western school in the Cape in 1658. But, as he envisioned, it was for the sole purpose of educating slaves. The purpose of this school was to teach slaves and slave children the Dutch language, but also to introduce slaves to Christian doctrine. One colonial administrator stressed the importance of introducing religious doctrine to "...these poor people...estranged and ignorant of the true God" ("...deese arme menschen...vervreemt en onkundig van den waeren God").²⁷ This initial school would serve as the only place of instruction for five years until the first school for the purposes of educating "free children", as opposed to enslaved children, was opened in 1663.²⁸ This school would sow the seeds of separation that would become a prominent feature in education. This initial separation was along the lines of religion and not race directly. The lines were conveniently blurred and some coloured children were allowed to

²⁶ H.C.V. Liebbrandt, *Precis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope, January 1656-December 1658: Riebeeck's Journal Part II*, p. 115.

²⁷ Quoted in P.S. du Toit, *Onderwys aan die Kaap onder die Kompanjie, 1652-1795*, p. 46.

²⁸ A. van Zyl, "A Historical Overview of South African Education" in E.M. Lemmer & D.C. Badenhorst, *Introduction to Education for South African Teachers*, p. 51; P.S. du Toit, *Onderwys in Kaapland: 'n Historiese Oorsig, 1652-1962*, p. 3.

attend this school provided they had been baptised.²⁹ However, the official stance was still one of separation of the races. This was because some were of the opinion that the slave element in schools would be detrimental towards the religious edification of the free white children, who were considered to be on a much higher spiritual level than their enslaved counterparts.³⁰ Thus a religious divide would steadily grow into a racial divide where separate schools were established for white colonial children (especially during British rule) and what was considered non-white, or even native children – these would later find expression in mission schools such as Lovedale (1841),³¹ Adam’s College (1853),³² Healdtown (1855),³³ and Zonnebloem College (1858).³⁴

This racial divide was never enacted to the tee and for many years slave children and free children attended the same schools. In 1676 the Church Council officially lobbied for the separation of the races at schools and even though the separation of schools was licitly accepted, it was never enforced.³⁵ The development of education in the Dutch colony was arrested and no clear progress was made for decades. Schools were few and far between and a great portion of education in the colony was maintained by private teachers and tutors – especially in the sparsely populated interior of the colony.³⁶ In 1714 the first efforts to formalise the governing of schooling arrived with Maurits Pasques de Chavonne who promulgated an Ordinance whereby much stricter control over the qualification and aptitude of teachers was enacted and a measure of state control over schooling, as opposed to sole church control.³⁷

²⁹ A. van Zyl, “A Historical Overview of South African Education” in E.M. Lemmer & D.C. Badenhorst, *Introduction to Education for South African Teachers*, p. 52.

³⁰ This argument was accepted and put forth by P.S. du Toit, *Onderwys aan die Kaap onder die Kompanjie, 1652-1795*, p. 45.

³¹ A. Odendaal, *Story of an African Game*, p. 31.

³² G.C. Grant, *The Liquidation of Adams College*, p. 28

³³ Anon., “Healdtown: Under the Eagle’s Wings” Accessed: 2017/03/18 <<https://www.ru.ac.za/facultyofhumanities/alumniarticles/healdtownundertheeagleswings-1.html>>; Also see T. Webster, *Healdtown: Under the Eagle’s Wings : the Legacy of an African Mission School*.

³⁴ J. K. H. Hodgson, “A History of Zonnebloem College 1858 to 1870: A Study of Church and Society”, Unpublished MA Thesis: University of Cape Town, p. 186.

³⁵ P.S. du Toit, *Onderwys in Kaapland: ‘n Historiese Oorsig, 1652-1962*, pp. 3-4; A. van Zyl, “A Historical Overview of South African Education” in E.M. Lemmer & D.C. Badenhorst, *Introduction to Education for South African Teachers*, p. 52.

³⁶ J.C. Coetzee, *Onderwys in Suid Afrika, 1652-1960*, pp. 6-8.

³⁷ P.S. du Toit, *Onderwys in Kaapland: ‘n Historiese Oorsig, 1652-1962*, p. 9; C.F.J. Muller, *500 Jaar: Suid Afrikaanse Geskiedenis*, p. 68; P. Pistorius, *Gister en Vandag in die Opvoeding*, p. 274.

Change and progress was slow and the state of education was dire when the appointment of Commissioner J. A. de Mist and Governor J.W. Janssens heralded in the Batavian era of Cape rule. De Mist and Janssens are said to have travelled in turn around the colony to inspect the level of education and were both surprised at the substandard of education after more than a century of occupation.³⁸ Though there were efforts at education, the colony suffered from incoordination and a lack of competent teachers.³⁹ The De Mist period is characterised by efforts to bring structure and order to a somewhat dilapidated education system in the Cape. De Mist had many plans to whip schooling into shape, but as with other aspects he was not afforded the time he needed. Thus the Batavian regime ended in 1806 with most of De Mist's plans left unrealised.⁴⁰ This leaves one to wonder whether De Mist would have been able to create the progressive, modern schooling system that he envisioned, especially as De Mist has been described as "...one of the soundest educationalists of either the Eighteenth or Nineteenth centuries."⁴¹

The Cape, British Education and Rugby

The second British occupation of the Cape brought with it the British schooling system as well as an intense need to Anglicize the Colony.⁴² By making English the medium of education the British displayed efforts of turning the Cape into a colony worthy of its lofty position within the British Empire. Beyond this they also played a big part in perpetuating separate education in South Africa.⁴³ The Governor of the Cape at the official onset of British occupation in 1814, Lord Charles Somerset, attempted to facilitate integration of schools by means of his free English schools, also known as "Somerset Schools" or "established government schools". This did however not last long as in 1815 he suggested that fifteen new schools be established with the sole purpose of educating slaves.⁴⁴ Beyond slave education, it was Somerset's ultimate goal to turn the colony of Dutch people into a British society. He did this by passing an Anglicization proclamation in 1822, by making the medium of instruction English and importing English speaking teachers to take the reins in all government schools

³⁸ C.F.J. Muller, *500 Jaar: Suid Afrikaanse Geskiedenis*, p. 115.

³⁹ P. Pistorius, *Gister en Vandag in die Opvoeding*, p. 275.

⁴⁰ C.F.J. Muller, *500 Jaar: Suid Afrikaanse Geskiedenis*, p. 116.

⁴¹ J.C. Coetzee, *Onderwys in Suid Afrika, 1652-1960*, pp. 40-41.

⁴² C.F.J. Muller, *500 Jaar: Suid Afrikaanse Geskiedenis*, p. 131.

⁴³ A. van Zyl, "A Historical Overview of South African Education" in E.M. Lemmer & D.C. Badenhorst, *Introduction to Education for South African Teachers*, p. 53.

⁴⁴ A. van Zyl, "A Historical Overview of South African Education" in E.M. Lemmer & D.C. Badenhorst, *Introduction to Education for South African Teachers*, p. 53.

in the Cape. Somerset was confident "...as to the expediency and propriety of gradually superseding Dutch Schoolmasters by Englishmen of a superior class ... and improving the manners and the morals of the people."⁴⁵ Somerset insisted that the colonial Dutch send their children to his free schools to be taught the English language and thus English customs and so "...the next generation will be Englishmen."⁴⁶ Though Somerset did not achieve full Anglicization of the Cape and many Dutch-speaking children were to be schooled in Dutch-medium private schools (of which many sprang up after the official policy of Anglicization was enacted),⁴⁷ he did create a foothold for the British Public school system of formal education that would provide the entry point for informal education in the form of sport.

Thus even though many formal and informal schools did exist when the British took control of the Cape in 1806, it was the effort of the British colonial office to bring the British public school model to the Cape that would ultimately have a profound effect on South African sport and issues of division within sport. Private schools were nothing new and had long been established by local communities and churches. However, schools being provisioned by the government was new.⁴⁸ The British education system in the Cape gained a tremendous boost with Sir John Herschel advising "the Government to plant superior schools in the principal centres of population"⁴⁹ after an inspection of the Cape education system he undertook in 1837.⁵⁰ Herschel's advice led to the appointment of the first Superintendent-General of Education in the Cape, James Rose Innes, who would be charged with administering a system of schooling that greatly resembled the public school system in England.⁵¹ Innes was known to promote the idea of open schooling and tried to provide education for all of the colony's youth. Though Innes laid the groundwork for separation by establishing a three-tier classification system, it was his successor, Langham Dale, entering the Department in 1859, who would push for the complete separation of schools.

⁴⁵ C.F.J. Muller, *500 Jaar: Suid Afrikaanse Geskiedenis*, p. 131.

⁴⁶ P. Pistorius, *Gister en Vandag in die Opvoeding*, p. 285.

⁴⁷ P. Pistorius, *Gister en Vandag in die Opvoeding*, pp. 286-287.

⁴⁸ J. Gardener, *Bishops 150, A History of the Diocesan College, Rondebosch*, p. 3.

⁴⁹ C. Soudien, "The Making of White Schooling in the Cape Colony in the late Nineteenth Century", *Southern African Review of Education*, 19(2), p. 115.

⁵⁰ C.F.J. Muller, *500 Jaar: Suid Afrikaanse Geskiedenis*, p. 210.

⁵¹ J. Gardener, *Bishops 150, A History of the Diocesan College, Rondebosch*, p. 3; J.C. Coetzee, *Onderwys in Suid Afrika, 1652-1960*, p. 57.

Dale was very much caught up in the social Darwinist ethos of the time and made provisions to organise a school system not only along racial lines, but also class and gender.⁵² It was Dale's, and very much Colonial society at the time's primary concern not to simply educate and uplift, but to gain and retain a measure of social control and discipline that was thought to be essential in preserving the Colony.⁵³

I will see that the sons and daughters of the European colonists ... have at least such an education ... as will fit them to maintain their unquestioned superiority in this land.⁵⁴

Dale's sentiment was shared by the Superintending Inspector of Schools for the Natal Colony, Robert Russell:

The question is not whether the [coloured settlers] shall be educated, but whether they shall be allowed to sit side by side with our children ... Their ways of thought ... and their habits and customs are often widely different from our own.⁵⁵

As has previously been mentioned, the British public school system was essential in the British colonising mission. The formal education in the classroom as well as the informal education on the sports field served to inculcate British colonial and imperial values onto young Englishmen. It was there that they learned how to govern and rule not only themselves but others who they deemed of lesser standing than themselves. The Cape Colony and beyond would be the site where these ideals and principles would be lived. It was within this framework of British political and cultural expansion in South Africa that the first official "College Schools" were established. The quintessential British public school, imbedded with class exclusivity and separation thus had fertile ground to lay roots in South Africa and Dale was a fervent exponent of transferring the "superior" education of Britain to the sons of the colony (provided they are of the right class). He spoke eagerly of his vision:

⁵² C. Soudien, "The Making of White Schooling in the Cape Colony in the late Nineteenth Century", *Southern African Review of Education*, 19(2), p. 113.

⁵³ C. Soudien, "The Making of White Schooling in the Cape Colony in the late Nineteenth Century", *Southern African Review of Education*, 19(2), pp. 14-15.

⁵⁴ C. Soudien, "The Making of White Schooling in the Cape Colony in the late Nineteenth Century", *Southern African Review of Education*, 19(2), p. 115.

⁵⁵ C. Soudien, "The Making of White Schooling in the Cape Colony in the late Nineteenth Century", *Southern African Review of Education*, 19(2), p. 115.

...the sons and daughters of the colonists, and of those who come hither to throw in their lot with them, should have at least such an education as their peers in Europe enjoy, with such local modifications as will fit them to maintain their unquestioned superiority and supremacy in this land. Tradition, religion, custom, all demand this as essential to the stability of the Government and the material progress of this Colony and the neighbouring states.⁵⁶

Elite schools in South Africa were modelled along the lines of traditional British public schools such as Eton, Harrow and Winchester, and English games were part of the curriculum. These imperial-minded schools expressed the naturalness of the British Empire through the promotion of “our” games for “our” people. Education was used as a tool to achieve the desired colonial dominance and control and the public school model, with rugby as an integral part, was to be its unwitting vehicle.⁵⁷

South African government schools that would be at the heart of the transplant of British colonial ideals through rugby, from the Cape Colony to the Natal Colony, included the South African College School (SACS), The Diocesan College, Rondebosch (Bishop’s), Wynberg Boys High School, St. Andrews College in Grahamstown, The Grey Institute in Port Elizabeth, Martizburg College and Hilton College in Pietermaritzburg. These schools have all been modelled around the public schools of nineteenth century England and are steeped in this tradition even to this day. These schools came to epitomise English class culture on the continent and readily took the lead from schools such as Eton, Harrow, Winchester and Rugby when it came to embracing rituals and symbols within the school structure. Traditions based on Victorian class exclusivity, brought about by the newly established industrial middle class in Britain (as has been mentioned in Chapter 3), found its way to the South African shores and were accepted with little hesitation. These traditions, bolstered by school rituals and symbolism (school crests and songs etc.) became so integral to the ways in which these schools functioned that it soon grew beyond question.⁵⁸ And these traditions live on

⁵⁶ C. Soudien, “The Making of White Schooling in the Cape Colony in the late Nineteenth Century”, *Southern African Review of Education*, 19(2), p. 118.

⁵⁷ J. Gardener, *Bishops 150, A History of the Diocesan College, Rondebosch*, p. 3.

⁵⁸ B. Bernstein, H.L. Elvin & R.S. Peters, “Ritual in Education”,

even today and are very much venerated. Maritzburg College, for example, prides itself on its British traditions and mentions on the school's website that "[Maritzburg] College's rigorous structure of traditions and concepts date back to similar styles found in pre-1900 British boarding schools",⁵⁹ while Bishops "...aspires to live the Christian faith in the Anglican tradition".⁶⁰ It is thus no coincidence that Victorian ideals of class exclusivity, that were espoused through formal and informal education in English public schools, found its way to the British colonies of the Cape and Natal precisely during the advent of formal government education in these areas.

The Diocesan College at Rondebosch was founded in 1849 after Robert Gray, the first Anglican Bishop of Cape Town, endeavoured to do so and would eventually bear the name "Bishops" in his honour. He was not impressed by the secular nature of the local education, nor the poorness of local schools and headmasters.⁶¹ James Rose Innes's education system provided for free education, yet Gray felt that the children of "merchants...and magistrates needed different education from that of Hottentots and heathens."⁶² Gray then proposed that a College be founded in Cape Town "...for the promotion of sound Learning" that would allow them to qualify for English Universities or "[prepare] pupils for secular employment and professions."⁶³ The College would also adhere to a body of statutes "...similar to those by which our ancient institutions in the mother country are ruled."⁶⁴ This not only implies a direct link to English public school administration, but also an attempt to latch onto their traditions and values. Opposing the vision of Superintendent-General Innes, the Bishop's school was a self-supporting fee-paying institute. This would serve to limit the pupils to the sons of the "upper classes of society", according to John Gardener. On inception the college school charged a hefty fee of fifty pounds per year. This was significant as a highly select school such as "Mrs. Midgley's at Herchel, Claremont, charged twenty six pounds per year".⁶⁵

Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London. Series B, Biological Sciences, Vol. 251, No. 772, A Discussion on Ritualization of Behaviour in Animals and Man (Dec. 29, 1966), p. 429.

⁵⁹ "Our Victorian Origins" accessed: 2016/08/22. <<http://www.maritzburgcollege.org.za/home/our-history>>

⁶⁰ "Vision Statement" accessed: 2017/05/06. <<http://www.bishops.org.za/VisionStatement.aspx>>

⁶¹ D. McIntyre, *A Century of Bishops*, p. 3; J. Gardener, *Bishops 150, A History of the Diocesan College, Rondebosch*, p. 4.

⁶² J. Gardener, *Bishops 150, A History of the Diocesan College, Rondebosch*, p. 4.

⁶³ D. McIntyre, *A Century of Bishops*, pp. 2-4.

⁶⁴ D. McIntyre, *A Century of Bishops*, p. 4.

⁶⁵ D. McIntyre, *A Century of Bishops*, p. 9; J. Gardener, *Bishops 150, A History of the Diocesan College, Rondebosch*, p. 6.

The establishment of the Diocesan school itself is of remarkable significance, yet also of great importance are those who made the school function and those for whom it functioned. The class exclusivity of the newly proposed school is not only evident in Gray's writings, but in his background and that of his staff and pupils. Gray himself was a product of the English middle class education structure – receiving his schooling at Eton and then Oxford.⁶⁶ So too were all who came to play a significant role at the school. The first headmaster, Henry Master White, attended Winchester College and was also an Oxford man, attending New College; and his Vice-principal, John Hopkins Badnall was a fellow of University College, Durham (an institution modelled after the Oxbridge system).⁶⁷ H.M. White's successor, his brother Francis Gilbert White was also an Oxford man – being a fellow of Lincoln College. So too was Badnall's successor, J. Gorham, graduating from St. John's College.⁶⁸ One of the most imposing figures at Bishop's not only for his educational prowess but also for the influence he had on sport in South Africa, Canon George Ogilvie, was himself also a product of English Victorian education being schooled at Winchester and Wadham College, Oxford.⁶⁹ It is of course not surprising as Bishop Gray preferred to appoint principles and staff trained in handling English Public schoolboys and men of this description usually came directly from that system. The idea was of course to emulate the structures and systems of “the mother country”.⁷⁰

Other than the staff, the pupils also displayed a strong link to middle class privilege. The first pupils of the Diocesan School in Rondebosch include Richard Daniells, the son of Major Daniells, Garrison; Charles Hope, the son of the Treasurer-General; as well as Benjamin Musgrave, the son of Judge Musgrave.⁷¹ The groundwork for English middle class values were truly laid from the outset and would be expressed on the rugby fields of Cape Town in the same way as in England.

Credit of introducing and promoting rugby football in the Cape Colony goes to George Ogilvie. Ogilvie took the headmastership of Bishop's in 1861, after he transferred from

⁶⁶ J. Gardener, *Bishops 150, A History of the Diocesan College, Rondebosch*, p. 3.

⁶⁷ D. McIntyre, *A Century of Bishops*, p. 8; “Collegiate School”, *South African Commercial Advertiser*, February, 1849; J. Gardener, *Bishops 150, A History of the Diocesan College, Rondebosch*, p. 276.

⁶⁸ D. McIntyre, *A Century of Bishops*, pp. 14 & 16.

⁶⁹ J. Gardener, *Bishops 150, A History of the Diocesan College, Rondebosch*, p. 276; D. McIntyre, *A Century of Bishops*, p. 18; I.D. Difford, *History of South African Rugby Football*, p.12; A.C. Parker, *W.P. Rugby, Eeufees 1883-1983*, p.10.

⁷⁰ D. McIntyre, *A Century of Bishops*, p. 18.

⁷¹ D. McIntyre, *A Century of Bishops*, p. 10

Gray's Grammar school, St. George's. At Bishop's he introduced a version of football played at Winchester school, where he received his education - they called it "Gogball" or "Gog's game" (derived from the only thing legible from his signature).⁷² The Winchester way of playing was only one of many codes of football being played in Victorian England at the time. Other versions being from amongst many, Eton and quite famously Rugby School.⁷³ The game that Ogilvie brought with him from Winchester shared characteristics of both the association game and the rugby game. It is played with a soccer ball but it includes a rugby-like scrum and is still played at Winchester to this day – under the name of Wincoll Football.⁷⁴

The entry of "Gogs game" into a bastion of English middle class culture is important as the game's diffusion throughout the country inevitably bore the trappings of English class culture. Even though they trace their founding to years before The Diocesan College, the perennial rugby rival of Bishop's, The South African College School (SACS), only took up the game after it had been introduced by Bishop's. It soon became a regular fixture and the Bishop's-SACS derby can be considered the oldest rugby rivalry in the country.

SACS traces its origin decades before Bishop's when a group of "likeminded and far-seeing men" met on the 14th of October 1828, to discuss the possibility of establishing a college that would provide a higher level of education than was available at the time.⁷⁵ SACS would have its founding in an era when a variety of private, grammar and boarding schools, as well as "academies" and "dame" schools were established and then ceased to exist. The educational zeal and actions of Gray, and the traditions of the English public school system imported and touted by Herschel and Innes lay some 20 years in the future and a need for education beyond the means and availability of the time was greatly sought after.⁷⁶ The 60-odd private and public schools active during the time were all small in stature and would often suffer premature ends, thus plans for an institution above and beyond the mediocrity of Cape schools of the time. Though the South African Antheneum, as SACS was originally known, was considered a Dutch private school catering for both Dutch- and English-speaking pupils,

⁷² P. Dobson, *Rugby in South Africa*, p. 16.

⁷³ A. Grundlingh, et. al., *Beyond The Tryline*, p.66.

⁷⁴ "Wincoll Football", accessed 2016/08/22. < <http://www.winchestercollege.org/wincoll-football>>

⁷⁵ P. Pistorius, *Gister en Vandag in die Opvoeding*, p. 287; N. Veitch, *SACS 175: A Celebration*, p. 21.

⁷⁶ N. Veitch, *SACS 175: A Celebration*, pp. 20-21

it would eventually Anglicise entirely and effectively lay the foundations for Bishop's, who considers the Antheneum a senior cousin of sorts, and the English Public school system.⁷⁷

The opening of SACS's doors on Thursday, the 1st of October 1829, was received with great optimism and a staggering 115 pupils attests to the desire for the institution. Although the Anthneum was considered Dutch and often suffered financial instability because of this, her British heritage and influence is unmistakable. Many of SACS's early educators have strong British roots and would play key roles in the establishment of the English public school system in the Cape. A good percentage of the founding- and early council members were staunch Britons including Reverend Dr James Adamson of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church and John Fairburn, a very influential Capetonian and fervent colonial.⁷⁸ Of the first educators a few names stand out: Herschel, on whose advice the Cape education system was reformed, briefly taught Mathematics at SACS;⁷⁹ Innes and Dale, who both served as superintendent-general of education during the transformative years of Cape education, served on the staff of SACS as Mathematics and English Classics professors, respectively.⁸⁰

The systematic influx of British educationalists at SACS prepared the College for a smooth integration into the newly established English school system from the 1830s. One could even argue that this system was built on the backs of SACS men themselves. Whichever stance is taken, it is clear that SACS played a key role in the establishment of the English school system and despite its dual language origin (Dutch-English) it was destined to be an English school. This sentiment was reinforced by Dale at a prize-giving ceremony in 1868 when he described the College as a "copestone of a system of public education in the Colony".⁸¹ Dale, it can safely be assumed, was referring to a system of education based on the English public schools - a system he helped establish in the Cape Colony.

SACS was introduced to the forefather of rugby football in South Africa, the Winchester game, by her younger rival to-be, Bishop's. As Theo le Roux and Stanley G. Osler point out, it is unfortunately not possible to trace the exact rugby origins at SACS,⁸² yet the transplant of a general sporting or athletic ethos from the English public school system to the colonies did not by-pass SACS and her plethora of English-born and educated teaching staff. Mention

⁷⁷ N. Veitch, *SACS 175: A Celebration*, p. 20; P. Pistorius, *Gister en Vandag in die Opvoeding*, p. 287.

⁷⁸ N. Veitch, *SACS 175: A Celebration*, pp. 20-21;

⁷⁹ N. Veitch, *SACS 175: A Celebration*, p. 23.

⁸⁰ N. Veitch, *SACS 175: A Celebration*, p. 27.

⁸¹ N. Veitch, *SACS 175: A Celebration*, p. 28.

⁸² I.D. Difford, *History of South African Rugby Football*, p. 501

has already been made of the educative value of sport and games in English public schools and how this was recreated in the colonial spheres. Neil Veitch reiterates this sentiment eloquently when he says that “These two elements – boys and games – came together in a formula which underpinned a certain type of English school from the mid-nineteenth century onwards”.⁸³ Veitch continues on to list the ideals that were thought to be instilled by Victorian sport – including of course discipline, honour, courage, patriotism – and how these Victorian ideals were taken to at SACS with vigour not only by the schoolboys, but by their English schoolmasters as well. The importance of informal education on the sports field was voiced from Britain to her colonies and the message was received loud and clear at SACS – situated in the strategic heart of the British Empire, Cape Town.⁸⁴

According to Veitch, the SACS boys took to English sports from 1874 onwards,⁸⁵ yet this should not be seen as an official date - 1874 marks the separation of the school from the college - and sporting endeavours were most definitely undertaken much earlier. Cricket, for example, had been played unofficially at the Cape since 1808 and at SACS unofficial matches are said to have been played prior to 1849.⁸⁶ According to Louis Babrow and R.K. Stent the Winchester game was introduced by Ogilvie at Bishop’s and “the next year, the boys introduced it to their friends at SACS and it is believed that an inter-collegiate match was arranged and played”.⁸⁷ Though no formal records exist, a healthy rivalry between Bishop’s and SACS can be assumed from the 1860s, with Dobson hinting at a possible match as early as 1862 (though no record has been found)⁸⁸ up until the first official record of a Bishop’s-SACS match in 1873.⁸⁹

Wynberg Government School was established in 1840 as part of the new colonial school system under the authority of the first Superintendent-General of Education, Innes. The aim of this system was the inclusion of all classes and races, yet the application smacked of British class bifurcation and soon most of the schools founded under the new system were class-conscious⁹⁰ – following in the Arnoldian footsteps of SACS and Bishop’s in promoting an imperial British character. John McNaughton, who arrived at the Cape in 1841, would

⁸³ N. Veitch, *SACS 175: A Celebration*, p. 104.

⁸⁴ N. Veitch, *SACS 175: A Celebration*, p. 104.

⁸⁵ N. Veitch, *SACS 175: A Celebration*, p. 104.

⁸⁶ N. Veitch, *SACS 175: A Celebration*, p. 113.

⁸⁷ Quoted from P. Dobson, *Rugby in South Africa*, p. 21.

⁸⁸ P. Dobson, “How Rugby Started in South Africa”, in W. Wighard, *Rugby at SACS*, p. 11.

⁸⁹ P. Dobson, *Rugby in South Africa*, p. 21; D. R. Black & J. Nauright, *Rugby and the South African Nation: Sport, Cultures, Politics, and Power in the Old and New South Africas*, p. 30.

⁹⁰ H. Ludlow, “The Government Teacher who resolved himself to do what he could himself. Wynberg, Cape Colony, 1841- 1863”, *Southern African Review of Education*, 19(2), pp. 26-27.

become one of the key figures in Wynberg's educational history; in fact, Wynberg was often referred to as "McNaughton's".⁹¹ According to Helen Ludlow, McNaughton could be seen as one of the Colony's most successful teachers and did much to accommodate an emerging Cape Colonial bourgeoisie consisting of English middle-class professionals and the Cape Dutch elite.⁹² Though the new system under Innes promoted a liberal acceptance of pupils from all stations, Wynberg is somewhat of an example of what this inclusivity meant – the inclusivity of a Cape Colonial Dutch and English middle class.

Wynberg had been part of the Cape schools rugby scene from early in its existence and when the Western Province Rugby Football Union (founded in 1883) established its formal Schools Union, Wynberg was right there alongside SACS and Bishop's.⁹³ The rugby Master at Wynberg, Mr Hoogenhout, was the first Chairman of this Union, showing the high standing Wynberg rugby enjoyed at the time.⁹⁴ The status Wynberg enjoyed at the formalisation of schools rugby in the Cape is of no great surprise as the school was founded on the rich sporting traditions of the nineteenth century public school system in England. Wynberg has, from its inception, borne the ethos of the British colonial school - including the stern belief that sport and games carry the essentialities of the English gentleman.⁹⁵ Neil Veitch minces no words when he makes the definite link between informal education of the British Imperial gentleman to the "dusty confines of Brynderwyn school playground on Aliwal Road" where Wynberg traces its sporting heritage.⁹⁶

Amongst the non-white communities of the British colonies in southern African, education and sport formed part of the purported "civilising mission" by European mission societies. According to Cornelissen and Grundlingh, missionaries saw Western sport, such as rugby and cricket, as generally beneficial to the growth and development of society and as such actively promoted these in their conversions.⁹⁷ Thus mission schools such as Zonnebloem, Healdtown, Lovedale and Adam's College actively promoted the practise of Western sport and in such a way upheld and encouraged the development of the social customs, whether divisionary in nature or not, inherent in these British sporting codes.

⁹¹ N. Veitch, *Brothers in an Endless Chain*, p. 126.

⁹² H. Ludlow, "The Government Teacher who resolved himself to do what he could himself. Wynberg, Cape Colony, 1841- 1863", *Southern African Review of Education*, 19(2), pp. 28-29.

⁹³ N. Veitch, *Rugby at SACS*

⁹⁴ N. Veitch, *Brothers in an Endless Chain*, p. 126.

⁹⁵ N. Veitch, *Brothers in an Endless Chain*, p. 110.

⁹⁶ N. Veitch, *Brothers in an Endless Chain*, p. 110.

⁹⁷ A. Grundlingh & S. Cornelissen, *Sport Past and Present in South Africa: (Trans)Forming the Nation*, p. 48.

Rugby Beyond the Cape

The diffusion of rugby from the immediate area of Cape Town to other prominent English schools around the colony was swift. Even as far afield as the newly established Frontier towns in the modern day Eastern Province, English schools adopted the sporting mantra of *Mens sana in sano corpore* (“healthy body healthy mind”) that would epitomise the English national character. After rugby gained a significant foothold in the Cape, it extended even further into the established colonial influence in the interior. Rugby was introduced to Europeans in the interior of the country through colonial officials, military regiments and the establishment of private schools. The Eastern Cape and the Natal Colony were first to introduce the game at the local elite English private schools. The oldest schools in South Africa boast rich rugby traditions and these include, as discussed, Bishop’s in the Cape, whose Old Boys club’s green jerseys would later be adopted by the Springboks; Grey High School and St. Andrews in the Eastern Cape; Hilton College, Michaelhouse and Maritzburg College in Natal.⁹⁸ Maritzburg is even thought to have played rugby as early as 1870, as reported by *The Natal Witness* of the 11th of October 1870, but like the 1862 Green Point match it might have been any code of football played that day.⁹⁹

What is important to note is that Natal and the Eastern Cape had an established tradition of football very early on. Reports of tough games of football being played throughout South Africa in the 1860s suggest a wider football reach and perhaps even an earlier period of origin than conventional wisdom dictates. A game played in Pietermaritzburg on the 26th of September 1866 between ‘City and Garrison’ teams would seem to indicate this.¹⁰⁰ *The Cape Argus* even reported on the 29th of May 1862 that a match would have been played in Port Elizabeth, but no official records exist to prove that this game in fact did take place.¹⁰¹ Wim van der Berg also makes note of a match between officers and civilians on the 23rd of March 1860, but admits no record could be found to support this.¹⁰² Though it is a safe assumption that football in any basic shape or form was played at military bases and colonial outposts before official records were kept, for our concerns, the official transmission of rugby will be traced via the new public school system, and official dates, where possible, will take preference over conjecture.

⁹⁸ A. Grundlingh, et. al., *Beyond The Tryline*, p.67.

⁹⁹ P. Dobson, *Rugby in South Africa*, p. 21.

¹⁰⁰ P. Alegi, *Laduma! Soccer, Politics and Society in South Africa, from Origin to 2010*, p.15.

¹⁰¹ P. Dobson, *Rugby in South Africa*, p. 18.

¹⁰² W. Van der Berg, *150 Jaar van Suid Afrikaanse Rugby*, p.26.

In Grahamstown, almost 900km from Cape Town, St. Andrew's College was established in 1855 by the Bishop of Grahamstown, John Armstrong, naming it after St. Andrew's Day - the day of Armstrong's consecration.¹⁰³ The College followed the English sporting example of Bishop's from the outset,¹⁰⁴ and though the oldest remaining record of rugby at St. Andrew's College is from May 1873,¹⁰⁵ it can be assumed that the College's rugby traditions stretch back much further. According to the May 1873 edition of *the SAC Chronicle*, "The first match of the season was played on Saturday, April 13th, between our first XV, and that of the Grahamstown Public School [emphasis added]."¹⁰⁶ The casual wording of the report reflects a comfort and familiarity with the game of rugby suggesting an existing history. And the mere fact that a local opponent was readily available suggests prior knowledge of the game. The 1873 report also makes reference to a need for "further acquaintance with our new rules"¹⁰⁷ also implying prior knowledge of the game – even if by different rules (Winchester vs Rugby, most probably).

As British influence spread beyond the Cape, into the Frontier and Natal, so too did the schooling system and with it the game of rugby. As the newly imagined South African colonial school endeavoured to educate and create the next generation of colonial officials, as had been done in England before them, so would these schools see the enrolment of the sons of the British colonial class. The British colony in Natal was not as settled and the relatively small population of 14 000 had not yet stamped their authority on the colony by the time rugby was introduced in the 1870s.¹⁰⁸ The exotic and unfamiliar colony prompted the settlers to cling fervently to their British roots so as to create some semblance of familiarity. The social and class values of Britain were transplanted to Natal and a definite sense of social hierarchy offered a sense of "home" and belonging to the Natalians. Class stratification was a feature of Natal society and the class difference between the two groups of white inhabitants (the so-called lower class and gentry) was quickly replaced by a racial divide. This racial divide came to be keenly expressed through rugby as it was an ideal vehicle for the transplant

¹⁰³ R. F. Currey, *St. Andrew's College: 1855-1955*, p. 14.

¹⁰⁴ A. Seldon & D. Walsh, *Public Schools and The Great War*, p. 81.

¹⁰⁵ Anon., "Football" in *SAC Chronicle*, May, 1873.

¹⁰⁶ Anon., "Football" in *SAC Chronicle*, May, 1873. Emphasis added.

¹⁰⁷ Anon., "Football" in *SAC Chronicle*, May, 1873.

¹⁰⁸ R. Morrell, "Forging a Ruling Race: Rugby and White Masculinity in Colonial Natal", in T.J.L. Chandler & John Nauright, *Making Men: Rugby and Masculine Identity*, p. 91.

of British class values.¹⁰⁹ As in the Cape Colony, the colonial school and the game of rugby played an important role in transferring these values to the next generation of colonist.

The three main rugby playing schools in Natal were Maritzburg College, Hilton College and Michaelhouse.¹¹⁰ All of which would use rugby to instil the values and ideals of the British colonial class. Maritzburg College lays claim to being the oldest public school in the Natal Colony, tracing its origin to 1863 under the headmastership of William Calder.¹¹¹ According to Allan Guttman, Maritzburg College was the first to play a recorded game of rugby as early as 1870, against the German school, Hermannsburg.¹¹²

Hilton College was founded in the Natal Colony in 1872¹¹³ and from its inception Hilton College strove to cater for a distinct social class. Hilton College was founded in the heart of colonial Natal and was meant to provide a colonial education to young English gentleman. Ross Hoole reveals much of the spirit of Hilton College: on the back cover of his 1997 work on the College an unreferenced article from the *Natal Witness* appears in which clear reference is made to the British colonial ethos at Hilton College:

The object of this School is to prepare the boys in Natal and neighbouring colonies for the Public Schools, the Universities, the Services, or for Colonial life.¹¹⁴

This is a clear indication that Hilton College would also follow the traditions of the English Public School as seen at Bishop's, SACS, and St. Andrew's before it. Furthermore, the article provides more hints at the British colonial ethos of the school when it emphasises that the "masters" or teachers were all of public school or University background.¹¹⁵ In fact, the founding headmaster, W.O. Newnham, is said to have been a staunch proponent not only of the English public school system, but even more so of the rugby code.¹¹⁶

¹⁰⁹ R. Morrell, "Forging a Ruling Race: Rugby and White Masculinity in Colonial Natal", in T.J.L. Chandler & John Nauright, *Making Men: Rugby and Masculine Identity*, pp. 91-94

¹¹⁰ R. Morrell, "Forging a Ruling Race: Rugby and White Masculinity in Colonial Natal", in T.J.L. Chandler & John Nauright, *Making Men: Rugby and Masculine Identity*, p. 93.

¹¹¹ Maritzburg College Magazine: May, 1964 No. 98, pp. 2-3; S. Haw & R. Frame, *For Hearth and Home: The Story of Maritzburg College, 1863-1988*, p. 15.

¹¹² A. Guttman, *Sports: The First Five Millennia*, p.244.

¹¹³ R. J. Hoole, *Hilton College, 1872-1972: Events recorded through the years in the Natal Witness*, p.1.

¹¹⁴ R. J. Hoole, *Hilton College, 1872-1972: Events recorded through the years in the Natal Witness*.

¹¹⁵ R. J. Hoole, *Hilton College, 1872-1972: Events recorded through the years in the Natal Witness*.

¹¹⁶ C.O. Medworth, *Natal Rugby: 1870-1964*, p.88.

Hilton College was clearly an institution for the English colonial gentleman and is so expressed by the author “Natalian” in his 1897 work *A South African Boy* where he describes the first address by Rev. W.O. Newnham:

[Rev. Newnham’s] first and greatest desire was that “Hilton boy” should be synonymous with “Gentleman” in the very best sense of the term...and he begged the boys to help him create such an *esprit de corps*.¹¹⁷

In Alan Hattersley’s 1945 *Hilton Portrait*, mention is made of Newnham claiming that Hilton boys were “notable for three things – Learning, gentlemanly behaviour and football.”¹¹⁸

In 1873 Hilton took another step in cementing their connection with English Public School culture by adopting a monitorial system.¹¹⁹ By inducting prefects into the school system Hilton actively chose to adopt symbols of hierarchy and rituals of subordination that could be found in England. These rituals, according to Bernstein, Elvin and Peters, are major mechanisms of social consensus and facilitates appropriate sentiments toward the dominant value system of the wider society. They claim that it binds the school (staff and pupils) into a moral community and gives this community continuity with a past they were not a part of.¹²⁰ In Hilton College’s case, the school partakes in a monitorial ritual that conforms to a hierarchical system prevalent not only in English public schools, but also in English industrial class society. This again highlights the importance of the use of rituals and symbols in the creation of British social structures.

In 1877 the lease of the school was taken over by Henry Vaughan Ellis. Ellis was a former pupil of Rugby school in England (he attended in 1860) and was eager to transfer the style and ethos of his alma mater to Hilton College. His idea of what a public school should be was firmly rooted in Rugby tradition. He had an even greater love for the rugby code than Newnham and quickly persuaded the boys to adopt the rugby rules. He thus wasted very little time in instilling the traditions and associations of his old school. The iconic black fleur-de-lys on white jerseys was adopted from Rugby school and the Hilton College motto of “orando

¹¹⁷ Natalian, *A South African Boy*, p. 142.

¹¹⁸ A. Hattersley, *Hilton Portrait: 1872-1945*, p. 34.

¹¹⁹ R. J. Hoole, *Hilton College, 1872-1972: Events recorded through the years in the Natal Witness*, pp. 8-9.

¹²⁰ B. Bernstein, H.L. Elvin & R.S. Peters, “Ritual in Education”, *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London. Series B, Biological Sciences*, Vol. 251, No. 772, A Discussion on Ritualization of Behaviour in Animals and Man (Dec. 29, 1966), p. 429.

et laborando” (by prayer and work) is clearly derived from Rugby’s “nihil sine laborando” (nothing without work).¹²¹

Hilton had adopted the rugby code and soon found themselves with limited opposition. The only steady competition Hilton would have in the early days of rugby in Natal would be against Bishop’s – the forerunner of Michaelhouse. These two teams played their first recorded game as early as 1872.¹²² Bishop’s school existed from 1872 until 1881 and was the only team to play the game according to the rugby rules, serving as sole opponents to Hilton until 1880.

Formal education in the Cape and Natal was predominantly trended towards systemisation and Anglicisation. It was geared almost exclusively towards the English public school system and the promotion of British principles and ideals.

Schools, Rugby and the Trekker Republics

Education among the people of the Trekker Republics of Transvaal and, to a lesser extent, the Orange Free State Republic in the interior would stand in relatively stark contrast to the education in the colonies. Education after the Great Trek (1834-1852) would very much be based on informal religious education provided by parents and travelling missionaries. This is keenly expressed in the life of one of the Trekker Republics’ most cherished leaders, Paul Kruger. Kruger was a young boy during the Great Trek and received no more than three months of formal education – and that very much geared towards the reading of the Bible.¹²³ The mere fact that the Great Trek happened, ensured that generations of Voortrekkers were isolated and removed from any form of philosophical or educational reform and progress that might have taken place in Europe. New ideas and structures that swept across the European educational landscape reached the Cape, but not the “unexplored wilderness” into which the Voortrekkers ventured. Left to their own devices, the Voortrekkers clung to existing conservative, religious knowledge and pragmatic innovation.¹²⁴

Thus formal education was very much limited in the early days of the Republics. The establishment of towns and the creation of infrastructure were foremost.¹²⁵ Education was

¹²¹ C.O. Medworth, *Natal Rugby: 1870-1964*, pp. 89-91; R. Morrell, “Forging a Ruling Race: Rugby and White Maculinity in Colonial Natal”, in T.J.L. Chandler & John Nauright, *Making Men: Rugby and Masculine Identity*, p. 91.

¹²² A. Guttman, *Sports: The First Five Millennia*, p.244.

¹²³ H. Giliomee, *Die Afrikaners*, p.126.

¹²⁴ P. Pistorius, *Gister en Vandag in die Opvoeding*, p. 289.

¹²⁵ P. Pistorius, *Gister en Vandag in die Opvoeding*, p. 291.

still a priority, though, and a constant flow of books from the Netherlands kept the Republics afloat on that front. The year 1851 saw the arrival of the first teachers in the Transvaal - H. van der Linden served in Mooirivier (Potchefstroom), J.W. Spruit in Rustenburg, and W. Poen in Lydenburg.¹²⁶ By 1867 there were only twenty five teachers in the Transvaal – thirteen of them in rural areas. The lack of funding greatly affected the ability to provide formal schooling to the Boer youth.¹²⁷

The Orange Free State Republic saw the establishment of education much earlier than the Transvaal Republic (Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek or ZAR).¹²⁸ The Orange Free State Republic shared a border with the Cape and would much sooner be influenced by the English systems than the Transvaal Republic. In the Orange Free State Republic we find Grey College that traces its founding back to October of 1855 (though there is much debate over the exact year as 1856, 1857 and 1859 have been indicated).¹²⁹ The oldest school to adopt the English way of teaching in Transvaal is considered to be Jeppe High School, which dates their existence back to 1890 (established as St. Michael's College).¹³⁰

During the infancy and growth of the Orange Free State Republic, a strong British influence predominated. Many top officials stemmed from Europe and at the time Bloemfontein was in essence an English town. A Scotsman, Dr. John Brebner, headed up the reform of the education system and the establishment of Grey College is testament to the influence of British cultural influence in the Orange Free State Republic. The founding of the College can be attributed to the unflinching efforts of both Sir George Grey and the youthful Andrew Murray (who would become one of South Africa's most well-known religious personalities).¹³¹ Sir George Grey was appointed as the High Commissioner of the Cape Colony for the first time in 1854,¹³² succeeding Sir George Cathcart, and was given strict orders to keep peace on the Frontier and project firm diplomatic relations with the Boer Republics.¹³³ The Orange Free State Republic, though considered a model republic, still faced many problems. Amongst them the issue of citizenship, labour, and a strenuous

¹²⁶ P. Pistorius, *Gister en Vandag in die Opvoeding*, p. 291.

¹²⁷ S. Patterson, *The Last Trek: A Study of the Boer People and the Afrikaner Nation*, p.220.

¹²⁸ S. Patterson, *The Last Trek: A Study of the Boer People and the Afrikaner Nation*, p.222.

¹²⁹ Anon., *Grey College: 'n Suid Afrikaanse Skool*, pp. 4-7.

¹³⁰ History, accessed: 2017/02/12 < <http://www.jeppeboys.co.za/about-us/history/>>

¹³¹ Anon., *Grey College: 'n Suid Afrikaanse Skool*, p. 5.

¹³² W.L. Rees & L. Rees, *The Life and Times of Sir George Grey, K.C.B.*, p. 203.

¹³³ P. Joyce, *A Concise Dictionary of South African Biography*, p. 105.

relationship with their neighbours under Moshoeshoe (leading to Senekal's War in 1858).¹³⁴ This saw Grey in Bloemfontein on many a diplomatic visit to the burgeoning new Republic.

On one such occasion on the 12th of October 1855, Sir George Grey finds himself in Bloemfontein discussing the strong relationship between the Orange Free State Republic and the Cape Colony. He was received by President J.N. Boshoff, as well as Andrew Murray, and it took little time for the issue of formal schooling to come under discussion.¹³⁵ William and Lily Rees describe a Grey very much concerned about the education of the Free Staters, who treated him with much respect and kindness, winning his affection. He was concerned that higher education was being overlooked and that the Free Staters:

...situated 800 miles from Cape Town, and speaking a foreign tongue...seemed left to ignorance and barbarism in the midst of savage nations.¹³⁶

Whatever the case may be, whether the impetus was from Grey or from within the Orange Free State Republic, the strong diplomatic ties between Grey and the Orange Free State Republic resulted in the establishment of a college of higher education very much in line with what has been produced in the Cape. Something that would only be seen in Transvaal Republic much later (Jeppe High School). The main difference in early educational development between the Orange Free State Republic and the Transvaal Republic lies in the fact that the Orange Free State Republic was, as indicated, much closer to the Cape both geographically and politically. The Orange Free State Republic embraced the formal educational systems that Sir George Grey offered, whereas the Transvaal Republic relied very much on their own abilities to foster an educational system.

The political and cultural ties between the Orange Free State Republic and the British colonies were keenly felt outside the classroom as well, where sport, especially rugby football, solidified the link between the Orange Free State Republic and British education and culture. This is not to say that the Orange Free State Republic was in any way subordinate or dependent on Britain (except of course on her ports).¹³⁷ Free State boys were more inclined to riding and shooting as their pastimes – practices which fitted in well with the young Republic's physical, cultural and social conditions. They were also pursuits that would come in handy during the armed conflict of 1899-1902. According to a previous rector of Grey

¹³⁴ H.Giliomee & B.Mbenga, *New History of South Africa*, p. 153.

¹³⁵ Anon., *Grey College: 'n Suid Afrikaanse Skool*, p. 4.

¹³⁶ W.L. Rees & L. Rees, *The Life and Times of Sir George Grey, K.C.B.*, p. 339.

¹³⁷ H.Giliomee & B.Mbenga, *New History of South Africa*, p.

College, these boys needed to be weaned from these natural forms of recreation and brought under the wing of organised sport.¹³⁸

As early as 1873, Dr. Johannes Brill, the fifth rector of the Grey College (the first, according to Frikkie van Rensburg),¹³⁹ recommend the purchase of gymnastic and cricket equipment. He believed the practice of sport would not only allow boarders to use their down time in a more fruitful manner, but also, and most importantly, in 1881 he articulated his belief that compulsory participation in sport would develop "...a fresh, manly attitude, a sound competitive attitude and self-control."¹⁴⁰ It would seem that the informal education of the English middle-class gentleman had reached the capital of the Boer Republic and it had done so through the avenue of sport. It would be no sooner that the cultural ideals of middle class exclusivity played out within this new setting. The development of organised sport in the Orange Free State Republic, as in most of South Africa, was spearheaded by the English-speaking community. With the discovery of diamonds in Kimberley in 1866, the Orange Free State Republic saw a huge influx of English-speakers and the English-speaking community grew immensely. It is from this that the Bloemfontein boys took to organised sport and the first cricket match between the two oldest schools in the Orange Free State Republic, Grey College and St. Andrew's School for Boys, took place on the 25th of January, 1880. The first rugby match, played according to the Winchester rules, was contested in either 1881 or 1882 (depending on the source used), with Grey emerging victorious in both.¹⁴¹ Rugby union (as opposed to the Winchester game) was firmly established in Bloemfontein by the 1890s¹⁴² and by the time the South African War/Anglo-Boer War broke out in 1899, rugby had become a staple of Grey College's informal curriculum, with three teams playing regular matches.¹⁴³

Conclusion

The Orange Free State Republic and the Transvaal Republic, though independent in both culture and government, did not evade the diffusion and transmission of organised English team sport and the social class distinctions that came with it. With the introduction of rugby union and the weaning off from traditional physical recreation such as riding and shooting, Victorian social ideas surrounding social standing, distinction and hierarchy could find a

¹³⁸ Anon., *Grey College: 'n Suid Afrikaanse Skool*, p. 59.

¹³⁹ F. van Rensburg, *Cheetah-land weer Curriebeker-land*, p. 9.

¹⁴⁰ Anon., *Grey College: 'n Suid Afrikaanse Skool*, pp. 58-59.

¹⁴¹ Anon., *SAS: 150th History Book*, p. 175; Anon., *Grey College: 'n Suid Afrikaanse Skool*, p. 60.

¹⁴² Anon., *Grey College: 'n Suid Afrikaanse Skool*, p. 60

¹⁴³ Anon., *Grey College: 'n Suid Afrikaanse Skool*, p. 61.

foothold and would be expressed through sport. Yet these would be more readily accepted within the colonial milieu when applied to imperialist notions of the “other”, thus linking class divisions and distinction to race. These distinctions would find expression through the establishment of governing bodies (clubs and unions) outside of the educational sphere, specifically in the allocation of separate playing fields and competitions. When rugby moves beyond the confines of the school ground, it would come to represent more than just a game for the educated middle class, but a symbol of division between those who were allowed to play and those who were not.

Chapter Five

The Second Half: Rugby Beyond the Schools

Introduction

Though the burgeoning school system in South Africa would give entry to Canon Ogilvie's game, it was by no means confined to the schools. Many an English gentlemen came to the shores of South Africa with a rich background of middle class recreation and entertained no delay in establishing firm roots of middle class sport in the Colony. Just as Victorian teachers brought their ideas of informal education to the schools, so did many merchants and bankers and lawyers bring with them already engrained traditions of middle class sport. Traditions that they themselves had learned from their schooling in England. Traditions that included the exclusivity of rugby and the exclusion of the "other". These middle class colonials were very eager to continue the recreational pursuits they enjoyed at school and beyond. Thus when the opportunity arose, they wasted little time in organising not only once-off matches but eventually fully fledged clubs and unions. And it is the development of these clubs and unions that would come to further entrench ideas of division not only on the sports field, but also within the organisation of the sport. In this way, racial segregation and separate sporting development under the guise of British class stratification, became not only practiced but more importantly, commonplace and tacitly accepted as the norm.

Cape Rugby Clubs

The establishment of clubs and unions in the Cape lead to the sport of rugby football reinforcing class and race divisions that would permeate into the rest of South African society. Clubs were formed and served to display a certain sense of British exclusivity and social and political dominance outside Britain. Andre Odendaal refers to Jan Morris when discussing the establishment of British social and sports clubs:

[The club] was developed as an enclave of power and privilege in an alien setting, its members patently different from the unadmitted millions not only in colour and in status but also in place. More than anywhere else it was the place where imperialists celebrated their Britishness, authority and imperial lifestyle.¹

¹ A. Odendaal, 'The Thing that is not Round' in A. Grundlingh, et. al., *Beyond The Tryline*, p.26.

According to Jonty Winch “the accepted meeting place in an alien land was the sports club which served to integrate new arrivals into Cape Town society.”² As soldiers, students, missionaries and fortune seekers, along with Colonial school graduates, spread into the interior,³ they took with them British social customs and, subsequently, imperialist expressions in the form of the social or sports club.

As indicated, the first game reported on by *The Cape Argus* was played at Green Point on the 23rd of August 1862, between “Military” and “Civilian” teams.⁴ This pioneering game⁵ is claimed to be the origin of not only rugby football, but also association football (soccer) in South Africa.⁶ The distinction between association and Rugby football was not as clear cut as it would become after the formalization of the rules of two the codes in 1863⁷ and 1871,⁸ respectively. Thus the game played on that Saturday in 1862 can be seen as the precursor to South African rugby football as well as association football. Adriaan van der Byl, who took the first kick off, was schooled at Marlborough College where he learnt his football.⁹ As Marlborough College was known to adopt a form of Rugby football from its inception in 1843 (as opposed to association-schools like Harrow and Westminster),¹⁰ the fielding of a “rucker” might be an indication of the nature of that iconic first game (if distinctive claims were to be made). The split between rugby and soccer in South Africa, however, would better be referred to as happening over a period of time than on a single occasion.

The origin of football can be considered as starting at Ogilvie’s Bishops, yet the popularity of football in the Cape stretched well beyond Bishops and gave rise to many other football clubs. The first football clubs in the Cape did not play rugby, but rather the Winchester Game or Gog’s game, as at Bishops. The oldest Rugby club in South Africa is reported to be

² J.R.T. Winch, “Sir William Milton: a leading figure in Public School Games, Colonial Politics and Imperial Expansion, 1877-1914.” PhD-Thesis, Stellenbosch University, p. 31.

³ With the discovery of diamonds in Kimberley in 1867 and gold in 1886 on the Witwatersrand, the interior of South Africa, especially the young South African Republic (Transvaal), saw a great influx of prospectors seeking riches.

⁴ P. Dobson, *Rugby in South Africa*, p. 17; A.C. Parker, *W.P. Rugby, Eeufees 1883-1983*, p.10.

⁵ According to Gerhard Roodt, the first official mention of football in Australia was made on the 25th of July, 1829 in *The Sydney Monitor*, reporting on a game played by soldiers from the Sydney Barracks. This would lead one to believe that football at the Cape might be much older than 1862 as British Colonial forces were stationed both in Sydney as well as the Cape. And the mere fact that the first real rivals of Bishop’s were in fact the 11th Regiment of the British Military stationed at the Cape, leads one to believe that the game had already established roots.

⁶ P. Alegi, *Laduma! Soccer, Politics and Society in South Africa, from Origin to 2010*, p.15.

⁷ The History of the FA, accessed: 03-06-2014, < <http://www.thefa.com/about-football-association/history>>

⁸ P. Dobson, *Rugby in South Africa*, p. 14.

⁹ P. Dobson, *Rugby in South Africa*, p. 18.

¹⁰ W.J. Baker, “William Webb Ellis and the Origins of Rugby Football: The Life and Death of a Victorian Myth”, *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (Summer, 1981), p. 122.

Hamilton's Football Club from Green Point, Cape Town (where they still are), founded in March of 1875. Villagers Football Club was founded a year later in the Cape in order to challenge Hamilton's.¹¹ Both are reported to have been playing the Winchester game before a one Mr. William Milton, who played fullback for England in 1874-1875, convinced Villagers to switch to the Rugby rules in 1879.¹² This might well serve as the first official entry of rugby, as we know it today, into the South African historical record. After this, many clubs converted to playing according to Rugby rules. Even Bishop's, who came to represent the Winchester game (Gog's game), chose to adopt rugby rules. The need for the formalisation of rugby rules, and the universal adoption of these rules throughout the Cape would lead to the formation of the Western Province Rugby Football Union (WPRU) in 1883.¹³ The Union was established in order to standardise rules and organise competition. What is important to note is that the members of these rugby clubs and the Union of clubs were almost without fail from the educated middle class. They were often colonial imports from England, as in the case of William Milton, or colonial born middle class gentleman who received their education from the English public schools in South Africa such as Bishops, Wynberg and SACS, for example Robert Loftus Owen Versfeld, after whom the famous rugby stadium in Pretoria is named.¹⁴

William Henry Milton was born on the 3rd of December, 1854, in Little Marlow – a small village in Buckinghamshire, England.¹⁵ At the age of thirteen, Milton entered Marlborough College, where he is said to have learnt many Victorian virtues through sport such as cricket and rugby.¹⁶ Milton excelled in both codes and represented the Marlborough Rugby First XX at halfback in 1871.¹⁷ According to Alcock's *Football Annual* he was "... on his day a most brilliant and dashing half-back,"¹⁸ (though he would become known as a fullback in his later years).¹⁹ In 1874, Milton played his first test for the English side against Scotland,²⁰ before

¹¹ P. Dobson, *Rugby in South Africa*, pp.19-20; I.D. Difford, *History of South African Rugby Football*, p.13.

¹² R.K. Stent, *100 Years of Rugby: Story of the Villagers Football Club*, p. 6.

¹³ B. Spies, "The Imperial Heritage" in A. Grundlingh, et. al., *Beyond The Tryline*, p.71.

¹⁴ J. Swiegers, *Loftus Versfeld*, 1977.

¹⁵ J.R.T. Winch, "Sir William Milton: a leading figure in Public School Games, Colonial Politics and Imperial Expansion, 1877-1914." PhD-Thesis, Stellenbosch University, p. 5.

¹⁶ J.R.T. Winch, "Sir William Milton: a leading figure in Public School Games, Colonial Politics and Imperial Expansion, 1877-1914." PhD-Thesis, Stellenbosch University, p. 22.

¹⁷ I.D. Difford, *History of South African Rugby Football*, p. 704; J.R.T. Winch, "Sir William Milton: a leading figure in Public School Games, Colonial Politics and Imperial Expansion, 1877-1914." PhD-Thesis, Stellenbosch University, p. 28.

¹⁸ Quoted from J.R.T. Winch, "Sir William Milton: a leading figure in Public School Games, Colonial Politics and Imperial Expansion, 1877-1914." PhD-Thesis, Stellenbosch University, p. 31.

¹⁹ R.K. Stent, *100 Years of Rugby: Story of the Villagers Football Club*, p. 6.

²⁰ I.D. Difford, *History of South African Rugby Football*, p. 704.

leaving for the Cape at the end of 1877.²¹ Shortly after his arrival, Milton became involved in both playing and the administration of local colonial sports. With his strong public school background he was highly thought of and was quickly elected secretary/treasurer of the Western Province Cricket Club and joined the Villager Football Club soon after.²² As has been mentioned, Milton played a pivotal role in the development of the Rugby game in South Africa (as opposed to the Winchester game). In 1878, with the help of Billy Simkins from Hamilton's, Milton organised a match to be played under the Rugby rules, in order to sway opinion to the less-violent version of the game. After the conclusion of the match a general meeting was held to discuss the option of adopting Rugby rules over and above the local form of the game after which the *Cape Times* announced:

At a meeting recently held in connection with the Hamilton Football Club to decide whether the old rules as heretofore played, or the Rugby Union should be the standing rules of the club, we were glad to find that the new rules were unanimously adopted.²³

In convincing the Villagers Football Club to convert to the Rugby game, Milton effectively swayed popular opinion away from the Winchester game and as such paved the way for rugby football in South Africa.²⁴

Robert Loftus Owen Versfeld, the founder and first captain of Hamilton's Football Club, is a key example of the local middle class colonist. Versfeld was born at Constantia near Cape Town on the 7th of December, 1862 and educated at SACS along with his four brothers, two of whom became Springboks.²⁵ It can be assumed that Versfeld enjoyed the informal education he was afforded at SACS and just as his middle class counterparts in England, he endeavoured to continue his love for sport after he graduated from SACS and started his middle class life as a lawyer.²⁶ Versfeld became instrumental in the diffusion of rugby in South Africa and can be considered the father of at least three of the oldest clubs in the country – Hamilton's (1875) in Cape Town, Union Rugby Club in Uitenhage (1888) and

²¹ R.T. Winch, "Sir William Milton: a leading figure in Public School Games, Colonial Politics and Imperial Expansion, 1877-1914." PhD-Thesis, Stellenbosch University, p. 35.

²² R.T. Winch, "Sir William Milton: a leading figure in Public School Games, Colonial Politics and Imperial Expansion, 1877-1914." PhD-Thesis, Stellenbosch University, p. 43.

²³ *Cape Times*, 21 August 1878, quoted in R.T. Winch, "Sir William Milton: a leading figure in Public School Games, Colonial Politics and Imperial Expansion, 1877-1914." PhD-Thesis, Stellenbosch University, p. 44.

²⁴ I.D. Difford, *History of South African Rugby Football*, p. 704.

²⁵ Coetzee, N.A. "Herdenking van Loftus Versfeld op 20 Junie 1992", *Pretoriana – Journal of the Old Pretoria Society*, (March 1993), p. 37; W. Wighard, *Rugby at SACS*, p.18.

²⁶ Coetzee, N.A. "Herdenking van Loftus Versfeld op 20 Junie 1992", *Pretoriana – Journal of the Old Pretoria Society*, (March 1993), p. 37; W. Wighard, *Rugby at SACS*, p.36.

Pretoria Rugby Club (1888) in the ZAR. He was also a founding member of the Eastern Province Rugby Football Union, the Transvaal Rugby Football Union as well as the Pretoria Sub-Union which would become the Northern Transvaal Rugby Union in 1938.²⁷ With a little bit of historical imagination we can see the spread and diffusion of the game of rugby amongst middle class South Africa illustrated by Loftus Versfeld's journey from Cape Town to the Frontier to The Transvaal Republic (a quick sojourn in the City of Roses would have made this image much clearer, though).

Rugby matches in the Cape would be contested on separate racial fields, dictated by class and race. Competitive encounters organised under the auspices of the WPRU would inevitably be done so in line with the colonial attitudes of the time, which lead to segregated rugby competitions in the area. This is illustrated well as rugby in the Cape developed outside the confines of European middle class culture and became an integral part of coloured cultural life, during the same period. According to Abdurahman Booley, non-white rugby clubs had already been established by the time the WPRFU was founded. And a mere three years later, in 1886, the Western Province Coloured Rugby Union (WPCRUC) was established by three of the oldest coloured rugby clubs in the country: Roslyns, Arabian College and Good Hopes (then known as Malay Quarter). It is believed that Roslyns were founded as early as 1881 and photographic evidence suggest that Arabian College had been playing regular rugby by 1883.²⁸ Unfortunately an exact founding date for Good Hopes remains elusive, yet John Nauright claims the establishment year as 1886.²⁹ In an interview, "Meneer" Effendi, a long time rugby administrator in the Cape, related to John Nauright that the "non-white community as such was a very sport loving community" and that rugby "brought the whole community together".³⁰ Among the Muslim clubs and players of the WPCRUC, rugby was thought to be the "second religion".³¹ Yet in 1898, a second union in the region, the City and Suburban Rugby Union (CSRUC), was established and actively excluded Muslim clubs and players.³² This would suggest a religious divide amongst the coloured communities of nineteenth century Cape Town that played out on the rugby field and would suggest division

²⁷ Coetzee, N.A. "Herdenking van Loftus Versfeld op 20 Junie 1992", *Pretoriana – Journal of the Old Pretoria Society*, (March 1993), pp. 37-38

²⁸ A. Booley, *Forgotten Heroes, History of Black Rugby, 1882-1992*, pp. 44-46.

²⁹ J. Nauright, *Sport, Cultures, and Identities in South Africa*, p. 49.

³⁰ D.R. Black & J. Nauright, *Rugby and the South African Nation: Sport, Cultures, Politics, and Power in the Old and New South Africas*, p. 50.

³¹ D.R. Black & J. Nauright, *Rugby and the South African Nation: Sport, Cultures, Politics, and Power in the Old and New South Africas*, p. 50.

³² D.R. Black & J. Nauright, *Rugby and the South African Nation: Sport, Cultures, Politics, and Power in the Old and New South Africas*, p. 48.

within rugby was not limited to race alone. The mere fact that rugby clubs felt the need to establish a separate union of clubs three years after the WPRFU speaks to the exclusionary nature of the WPRFU, whether explicit or otherwise.

With the rapid influx of European settlers and colonial born public school graduates, it was clearly not difficult for rugby to make inroads as the groundwork had already been done on the back of official expansion into the interior of southern Africa. The early establishment of official rugby unions in the Eastern Cape and Natal areas seem to support this. The Frontier saw the establishment of Albert Rugby Football Club in the old Frontier capital of King William's Town in 1878.³³ In 1880, Buffalo Rugby Football Club was established in East London³⁴ and, as has been mentioned, Loftus Versfeld's Union Rugby Club was founded in 1888 in Uitenhage.³⁵ Rugby in the colonial outposts found further formalisation when clubs joined together to form unions, so as to administer inter-club competition. The Eastern Province Rugby Football Union (EPRFU) was founded in 1888; followed by the Natal Rugby Football Union (NRFU) in 1890 and the Border Rugby Football Union (BRFU - then known as Frontier) a year later³⁶ - all adding to the formalisation and politicisation of rugby in the colonies.

Of course the diffusion of rugby was not limited to European expansion and the game took root amongst many non-white peoples in the Eastern Cape, as has been mentioned in Chapter Four.³⁷ The establishment of separate clubs and unions again stresses the exclusive nature of white rugby in the colonies. Booley suggests that the non-white Eastern Province Rugby Union (EPRU) was founded in 1886 with both black and coloured clubs affiliated to it,³⁸ two years before its white counterpart. Odendaal, though, is of the opinion that rugby only took root amongst the black communities of the Eastern Cape in the 1890s,³⁹ stating that the first non-white union was The Port Elizabeth Coloured Rugby Union (PECRU), founded in 1892, under the auspices of the first adult club in the area, Union Rugby Football Club (established

³³ B. Spies, "The Imperial Heritage" in A. Grundlingh, et. al., *Beyond The Tryline*, p.71; I.D. Difford, *History of South African Rugby Football*, p.565.

³⁴ I.D. Difford, *History of South African Rugby Football*, p. 568.

³⁵ Coetzee, N.A. "Herdenking van Loftus Versfeld op 20 Junie 1992", *Pretoriana – Journal of the Old Pretoria Society*, (March 1993), p. 37.

³⁶ P. Dobson, *Rugby in South Africa*, pp. 244-245; I.D. Difford, *History of South African Rugby Football*, pp. 93, 105; C.O. Medworth, *Natal Rugby: 1870-1964*, p. 29.

³⁷ Also refer to A. Odendaal, 'The Thing that is not Round' in A. Grundlingh, et. al., *Beyond The Tryline*, p.34.

³⁸ A. Booley, *Forgotten Heroes, History of Black Rugby, 1882-1992*, p. 71.

³⁹ A. Odendaal, "South Africa's Black Victorians, Sport, Race and Class in South Africa before Union" in J.A. Mangan, *Pleasure, Profit, Proselytism: British Culture and Sport at Home and Abroad, 1700-1914*, p. 16.

in 1887).⁴⁰ Non-white rugby in the Natal Colony seems to have been very limited before the end of the Second World War and information on official bodies has not yet surfaced.⁴¹ Discrepancies and doubts over exact dates aside, the establishment of the clubs and unions specifically for certain racial (and even religious) groups at the expense of others, would strongly suggest societal division. Rugby thus created new tangible markers of division while building on and promoting established colonial customs of class and race division.

The further development and diffusion of rugby into the interior of the country owes much to the South African Mineral Revolution and the establishment of the mining town of Kimberley. With the discovery of diamonds 1867 near Hopetown and the subsequent find on the farm of the de Beer brothers, the to-be Kimberley area received a huge influx of prospectors. In October 1871 Sir Henry Barkley claimed the Griqualand West area as a Crown Colony and soon British influence grew strong in the area.⁴² Alongside official policy and legislation, social practices were also transplanted and developed; amongst them the concepts of social and sporting clubs. In 1873 the first game of football is reported to have been played. *The Diamond News and Vaal Advertiser* reported on a challenge sent to the New Rush and Dutoitspan camps by the West End Football club.⁴³ This game was most probably a mixed game of Rugby and the Winchester game that was popular in the region before the establishment of the official Griqualand West Rugby Football Union (GWRFU) in 1886.⁴⁴ The popularity of the game in Kimberley led to visiting teams venturing into the adjacent Republic and increasing the popularity.⁴⁵ Frikkie van Rensburg reports on the popularity of rugby in Kimberley and how it affected the surrounding areas when he recalls a short article published on 14 July 1881 under “Local and General” of *The Friend*:

We understand that the Kimberley team having challenged the Bloemfontein players, a match will be played here next week between Kimberley and Bloemfontein. From all accounts our men have their work cut out for them.⁴⁶

⁴⁰ A. Odendaal, ‘The Thing that is not Round’ in A. Grundlingh, et. al., *Beyond The Tryline*, p.34.

⁴¹ A. Booley, *Forgotten Heroes, History of Black Rugby, 1882-1992*, p. 176.

⁴² H.Giliomee & B.Mbenga, *New History of South Africa*, pp. 158-159

⁴³ P. Dobson, *Rugby in South Africa*, p. 23.

⁴⁴ I.D. Difford, *History of South African Rugby Football*, pp. 77-78.

⁴⁵ D. Pyne Mercier and H.G.E. de la Cornillere, “The O.F.S. and Basutoland Rugby Football Union and the Game in the Orange Free State” in I.D. Difford, *History of South African Rugby Football*, p. 151.

⁴⁶ F. van Rensburg, *Cheetah-land weer Curriebeker-land*, p. 10.

Yet, Kimberley was also very important in the development of black rugby. According to Alegi, Kimberley became a hotbed of black sport in the last quarter of the nineteenth century,⁴⁷ while Nauright describes it as “The Cradle of National Black Sport”.⁴⁸ Cricket saw an early introduction in Griqualand West with rugby short on its heels.⁴⁹ Consisting of Coloured, “Malay” as well as black clubs, the Griqualand West Colonial Rugby Football Union (GWCRFU) was founded in 1894, by, amongst others, Isiah Bud Mbelle, a product of Healdtown mission school.⁵⁰ The importance of Kimberley in the history of both white and non-white rugby, including the development of division between the two, is illustrated by the founding of two separate national governing bodies. Kimberley saw the founding of the exclusive white South African Rugby Board (SARB) was founded in 1889.⁵¹ The same year saw the inauguration of the first official inter-provincial rugby competition in South Africa. The Currie Cup competition, as it has come to be known, has been contested since 1892 after mining magnate and founder of Castle Shipping Line, Sir Donald Currie, donated a trophy (the Currie Cup) to the Griqualand West team as reward for their outstanding play against the first British touring side to South Africa.⁵² A separate, non-white governing body, the South African Colonial Rugby Football Board (SACRFB), was established in 1896 (Odendaal suggests the founding date to be 1897)⁵³ under the auspices of the Kimberley-based GWCRFU.⁵⁴ Mbelle apparently convinced the diamond and gold magnate, Cecil John Rhodes, to donate a trophy for an inter-provincial competition.⁵⁵ The Currie Cup and the Rhodes Cup would then serve as tangible symbols of division between white and non-white rugby, each group competing for their own separate trophy on their own separate fields.

⁴⁷ P. Alegi, *Laduma! Soccer, Politics and Society in South Africa, from Origin to 2010*, p.17.

⁴⁸ J. Nauright, *Sport, Cultures, and Identities in South Africa*, p. 64.

⁴⁹ A. Odendaal, “South Africa's Black Victorians, Sport, Race and Class in South Africa before Union” in J.A. Mangan, *Pleasure, Profit, Proselytism: British Culture and Sport at Home and Abroad, 1700-1914*, p. 22.

⁵⁰ J. Nauright, *Sport, Cultures, and Identities in South Africa*, p. 65; A. Odendaal, “South Africa's Black Victorians, Sport, Race and Class in South Africa before Union” in J.A. Mangan, *Pleasure, Profit, Proselytism: British Culture and Sport at Home and Abroad, 1700-1914*, p. 22.

⁵¹ D.R. Black & J. Nauright, *Rugby and the South African Game: Sport, Cultures, Politics, and Power in the Old and New South Africas*, p. 31.

⁵² J. Nauright, *Sport, Cultures, and Identities in South Africa*, p. 40; D.R. Black & J. Nauright, *Rugby and the South African Game: Sport, Cultures, Politics, and Power in the Old and New South Africas*, p. 31.

⁵³ A. Odendaal, “South Africa's Black Victorians, Sport, Race and Class in South Africa before Union” in J.A. Mangan, *Pleasure, Profit, Proselytism: British Culture and Sport at Home and Abroad, 1700-1914*, p. 22.

⁵⁴ R. Archer & A. Bouillon, *The South African Game, Sport and Racism*, p. 58.

⁵⁵ A. Odendaal, “South Africa's Black Victorians, Sport, Race and Class in South Africa before Union” in J.A. Mangan, *Pleasure, Profit, Proselytism: British Culture and Sport at Home and Abroad, 1700-1914*, p. 22.

The Orange Free State Rugby Football Union (OFSRFU) was founded (comparatively late) in March 1895,⁵⁶ yet it has been noted that rugby had been played at school level for quite some time before this iconic date. According to D. Pyne Mercier and H.G.E. de la Cornillere, the game was imported to the area by pioneers from the Cape and abroad and had been played at club level since the 1870s.⁵⁷ The game played in Bloemfontein was not afforded much structure and organisation and the first appearance of a rag-tag Free State representative team at the Currie Cup was only in 1894. After the shambles that ensued (for example, the team's jerseys only arrived halfway into the first match, prompting the crowd to refer to the team as a "lot of stragglers") it was made clear that if Orange Free State rugby wanted to be competitive, they would have to organise and import personnel with a more extensive knowledge of the game than had been available at the time.⁵⁸ This would lead to a stronger British influence on the game than ever before. The first match of a formal competition in the Orange Free State Republic, the Grand Challenge Cup, was contested on May Day, 1895, between Bloemfontein (later known as Ramblers) and Grey College.⁵⁹ This can be seen as the introduction of the ritualised practice of rugby in the Orange Free State Republic.

It is important to note that very little is known about the development of Free State rugby outside the white colonial sphere, though a keen sporting interest appears to have been prevalent. According to Chris Bolsmann, the first South African football team to tour abroad comprised of sixteen black South Africans who played under the auspices of the whites-only Orange Free State Football Association. They played their first match against Newcastle United at St James' Park as the "Orange Free State Kaffir Football Club" and lost by six goals to three.⁶⁰ This speaks to high levels of interest in British colonial sport amongst the black communities of the Orange Free State Republic and can be thought to imply that even though sport was practiced amongst both black and white inhabitants of the Orange Free State Republic, it was done so in a very separate and segregated fashion.

The Transvaal Rugby Football Union as case study

⁵⁶ D. Pyne Mercier and H.G.E. de la Cornillere, "The O.F.S. and Basutoland Rugby Football Union and the Game in the Orange Free State" in I.D. Difford, *History of South African Rugby Football*, p. 151.

⁵⁷ D. Pyne Mercier and H.G.E. de la Cornillere, "The O.F.S. and Basutoland Rugby Football Union and the Game in the Orange Free State" in I.D. Difford, *History of South African Rugby Football*, p. 151.

⁵⁸ F. van Rensburg, *Cheetah-land weer Curriebeker-land*, p. 14.

⁵⁹ D. Pyne Mercier and H.G.E. de la Cornillere, "The O.F.S. and Basutoland Rugby Football Union and the Game in the Orange Free State" in I.D. Difford, *History of South African Rugby Football*, p. 152.

⁶⁰ C. Bolsmann, "The 1899 Orange Free State football team tour of Europe: 'Race', imperial loyalty and sporting contest", *International Journal of the History of Sport*, Vol. 28, No. 1, 2011, p. 81.

The development of separate rugby clubs in the ZAR or Transvaal Republic,⁶¹ serves as a prime example of how South African rugby came to be divided and will be used as a case study in how the theories outlined in Chapter One play out on the rugby field. The Transvaal rugby clubs and union were built on or an extension of British traditions of class privilege and separation within the burgeoning, cosmopolitan Transvaal society. This tended to reproduce and enforce the dichotomy of white and non-white. The Transvaal, with its substantial British immigrant society, drew a distinction between ruling and ruled races,⁶² which impacted on the development of social interaction immensely. The Transvaal community, of course, was not subject to British colonial dictation. Formal Transvaal legislation might have borrowed from British tradition, but also enforced its own constitutional rule regarding race separation. In article 9 of the 1858 constitution of the newly founded Transvaal Republic/South African Republic it was made clear that there would be no equality between whites and coloured people “neither in church, nor in state”.⁶³ Racial collaboration in formal settings were constitutionally restricted from the word go.

Sporting division in the Transvaal Republic thus had an early start and the beacon of difference within a sport, the exclusive club, was present from the beginning. The burgeoning mineral metropolis, built on the discovery of gold in 1886, gave rise to many social clubs and societies that were geared towards not only social meetings, but also sports meetings. According to I.P.W. Pretorius, the first rugby practice in Pretoria took place as early as 23 August 1873, and would lay the foundation for the formal entry of the game in the shape of the exclusive club.⁶⁴ The first of which seems to be Adrian Roberts’s Pretoria Football and Cricket Club, established in 1877 (and sadly disbanded in 1881).⁶⁵ One of the most famous, and longest-lasting clubs is the Wanderers Club situated in Johannesburg, established in 1887, that catered not only for rugby, but also cricket, athletics and cycling.⁶⁶ Unfortunately, according to the Chairman of the Wanderers Rugby Football Club, Mr Rob Cloete, the Wanderers suffered a catastrophic clubhouse fire and currently only possess committee

⁶¹ The ZAR or Transvaal was an independent Boer (Afrikaner) republic in the interior of Southern Africa since 1852. The discovery of rich gold deposits in the Witwatersrand area of the Transvaal in 1886 saw a huge influx of foreign prospectors into the republic. Thus Transvaal society became very cosmopolitan with social interaction and social position becoming somewhat contested areas.

⁶² M. Lake & H. Reynolds, *Drawing the Colour Line: White Men’s Country and the International Challenge of Racial Equality*, p. 9.

⁶³ *Grondwet van die Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek*, 1858, Artikel 9.

⁶⁴ I.P.W. Pretorius, “Senior Rugby in Pretoria, 1938-1988”, unpublished MA-dissertation, U.P., 1989, p. 1.

⁶⁵ I.P.W. Pretorius, “Senior Rugby in Pretoria, 1938-1988”, unpublished MA-dissertation, U.P., 1989, p. 2.

⁶⁶ F.J.P. Pretorius, *A History of South Africa: From the Distant Past to the Present Day*, p.202; I.D. Difford, *History of South African Rugby Football*, p. 604.

meetings stretching back as far as the 1960s, leaving researchers with little more than conjecture.⁶⁷ Though most sporting clubs and unions in South Africa were established on exclusionary grounds, they had no need for constitutional racial restrictions as social custom, according to formal Colonial and Republican tradition and ideology, already dictated separation.⁶⁸ However, this does not mean that sport was to elude the rest of society as these clubs and unions did not monopolise sport or block any external exposure. Rugby clubs were established by socially likeminded individuals, but never with the intention of having sole rights to the game. Thus the game soon spread to communities outside the European settler fold and these communities took to it quite vigorously.

Questions then arise as to how exactly rugby functions within the abstract realm of societal forces and how this in effect influenced Transvaal, and by extension South African society. As an integral part of the fabric of society it does beg the question as to what influence sport has, and in this case, how exactly rugby generated and fostered social exclusion within the Transvaal society. As has been mentioned in Chapter One, various theories have been developed to analyse the role of formalised sport which may shed more light on the effectiveness of sport as a social divider in the nineteenth century. The concepts and theories include B. Bernstein, H. L. Elvin and R. S. Peters's ideas on rituals and symbols; Eric Hobsbawm's "Invented Traditions"; Benedict Anderson's "Imagined Communities"; as well as Antonio Gramsci's "Cultural Hegemony". The formalisation of rugby union in the Transvaal Republic serves as a key example of how these theories play out. Together, these theories might be employed within a strong legacy of British cultural imperialism to explain how the Transvaal, and by extension the South African rugby community came to be racially stratified.

The development of rugby in the Transvaal Republic, with the establishment of the racially exclusive Transvaal Rugby Football Union (TRFU) in 1889,⁶⁹ keenly expresses the ideas set forth in Chapter One, and can, with caution, be assumed to be a trend prevalent in other unions as well. The establishment of the TRFU was in itself a continuation of inherent racial exclusivity of its founding clubs,⁷⁰ and served to solidify this racial exclusivity through the

⁶⁷ R. Cloete, "RE: History", <rob@selectra.co.za> 2014-06-19, archive at
< <https://mail.google.com/mail/u/1/#search/rugby%40wanderersclub.co.za/146b37ee8cc875d6> >

⁶⁸ J. Nauright, *Sport, Cultures and Identities in South Africa*, p. 25.

⁶⁹ E.J.L Platnauer, *Sport and Pastime in the Transvaal*, p. 61.

⁷⁰ The founding members of the TRFU were Potchefstroom, Wanderers, Pretoria, Pirates and Kaffrarians.

creation of symbols of exclusion. These symbols include a crest, a charter and documented club affiliation to the TRFU and as John Goodger explains:

...the wearing of badges and uniform dress may . . . serve to remind group members of their common, specific identity and values, and of the boundary between themselves and outsiders.⁷¹

The Union itself would become a symbol of formal exclusivity within the sporting community of the Transvaal. These tangible symbols, represented belonging from within the group, yet also served as physical symbols of exclusion, rejection or constraint from outside the group.

The formalisation of a sport also includes the promotion of ritual. Ritual serves to relate the individual through ritualistic acts to a social order and to heighten respect for that order. It confirms and invigorates that order within the individual and deepens acceptance of the procedures through which continuity, order and boundaries are maintained within the created social hierarchy.⁷² In this way a formal club competition for member clubs of the Union, created early in its founding year, served as ritualistic exclusion. Cup matches under the exclusive banner of the TRFU were already being played on the 7th of June, 1889 and the “Grand Cup Match” being contested on the 27th of July in the form of “Pirates vs Pretorians”.⁷³ This can be seen as the establishment of a ritual whereby member clubs reinforced their solidarity and exclusivity on the field (the Grand Challenge Cup in the Orange Free State Republic would serve a similar purpose). By competing solely against other member clubs, they underpinned the restrictive nature of the TRFU and began a process whereby the separation of member- and non-member-participation became commonplace. Although these rituals are not overtly differentiating they did serve to maintain the status, or racial, distinctions within the society of the time.⁷⁴ The end product of this ritual can be seen in the legacy of separate facilities in Transvaal rugby. In minutes from a meeting of the Pretoria Rugby Sub Union (later Northern Transvaal Rugby Union) of 1935 mention is made of “...the construction of suitable rugby fields for coloured persons and natives”, which was

⁷¹ J. Goodger, “Ritual Solidarity in Sport”, *Acta Sociologica*, Vol. 29, No. 3 (1986), p. 220.

⁷² B. Bernstein, H.L. Elvin & R.S. Peters, “Ritual in Education”, *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London. Series B, Biological Sciences*, Vol. 251, No. 772, A Discussion on Ritualization of Behaviour in Animals and Man (Dec. 29, 1966), p. 429.

⁷³ “Football, Gand Cup Match”, *The Star*, 1889-07-25; “Football, The Cup Match”, *The Star*, 1889-07-29.

⁷⁴ J. Goodger, “Ritual Solidarity in Sport”, *Acta Sociologica*, Vol. 29, No. 3 (1986), p. 220.

agreed upon.⁷⁵ This entry displays a certain normalcy or usualness of the separation of white and non-white within rugby at the time. In a way the divide has become natural, commonplace, a sort of run of the mill practice that could be attributed to the early construction of ritual, which maintained and bolstered the social order of the day; rituals which came about with the formalisation of the sport in the 1880s.

These symbols and rituals took root within the rugby society of the Transvaal in the late nineteenth century and became an example of Eric Hobsbawm's "Invented Traditions" - invented traditions that gave social and cultural meaning to the establishment of authority and submission.⁷⁶ These traditions became culturally relevant or influential as soon as the symbols and rituals took on social and cultural meanings beyond the symbols or rituals themselves. It is the production of social and cultural meaning that marks the invention of tradition.⁷⁷ Traditions that then become a characteristic of a newly formed, exclusive community, or "Imagined Community", according to Anderson.⁷⁸ This relies on the concept of tradition, based on fictitious historicity, to legitimize their solidarity and exclusivity. This community identity is restricted, with boundaries in place, beyond which lie other communities with different characteristics, from which the community often derive its own identity. Members of the Transvaal rugby community gauged their identities as "rugby playing" and as "white", and set their boundaries where others are not those things. This community is constructed with reference to a dichotomy of member vs. non-member, symbolised in part by an "us" and "them" delineation.⁷⁹ "Us" and "them" in this case mostly meant white and non-white, as per colonial societal norms of the day. The rugby club, or by extension the union, came to offer a sense of identity where identification with the rugby club offered symbolic citizenship and affirmed a sense of place⁸⁰ or, what Peter Alegi refers to as a "...forge[d] collective identit[y]..."⁸¹

⁷⁵ *Grounds Communication Report*, Noord Transvaal Rugby Unie Notules, Pretoria Rugby Sub Union, 08 April 1935, Section 82/35b.

⁷⁶ C.M. Badenhorst, *Mines, missionaries and the municipality: organised African sport and recreation in Johannesburg, c1920-1950*, p. 28.

⁷⁷ J. Nagel, "Review: The Invention of Tradition. By Eric Hobsbawm; Terence Ranger", *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 90, No. 5 (Mar., 1985), p. 1098.

⁷⁸ B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, p. 6.

⁷⁹ J. Harris, "Cool Cymru, rugby union and an imagined community", *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, Vol. 27 Iss 3/4 p.153.

⁸⁰ J. Harris, "Cool Cymru, rugby union and an imagined community", *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, Vol. 27 Iss 3/4 p.154.

⁸¹ P. Alegi, "Playing to the gallery? Sport, cultural performance, and social identity in South Africa, 1920s-1945", *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 35(1), 2005, p. 18. Although Alegi uses this term to

This collective identity was most probably craved in the newly developing Transvaal community especially with the steady influx of new members to society amidst the emerging Mineral Revolution. As Nauright suggests, identity is perpetuated within society through the use of ceremonies, rituals or bodily performances, like sport, which then also serves as a method of hereditary transmission of existing social classification.⁸² This applies to the burgeoning community within the Transvaal Republic in an interesting way. The generational growth of Transvaal society was supplemented greatly by the steady influx of new members into the society. These large numbers of “immigrants” (“uitlanders” or foreigners) are then welcomed into an avaricious society, teeming with dissimilarities,⁸³ desperately trying to create its own homogenous identity and sense of belonging.

The imagined community created within late nineteenth century Transvaal rugby circles then took it upon itself to transfer the values and traditions of this rugby society onto newly arrived members. This can then be seen as a sort of accelerated method of Nauright’s hereditary transmission of cultural identity and societal classification.⁸⁴ The new members to society are then seen and treated as “new generations” who need to have the societal traditions, symbols and rituals instilled in them. The “new generation” must conform to the rules and traditions, norms and values, of the society if they wish to acquire personal identities that would allow them to be integrated into the structures of the society;⁸⁵ rules and traditions, which are, of course, invented and based on flawed historical justifications. In this way, the invented traditions that served to legitimise the newly imagined racially exclusive community or collective identity of the Transvaal rugby playing society are imposed on and taught to a large number of new members of society much quicker than conventional hereditary transmission would. This is achieved through membership to social and sports clubs which in turn created and perpetuated an in-group and out-group categorisation which manifested in racial division.⁸⁶

The creation of these imagined communities and collective identities, as represented by and expressed through club and union membership, was an extension of previously discussed British traditions of class privilege and separation, played out within Transvaal society. The

describe the positive effects of a created sense of community and a focus on in-group solidarity, the ‘unwanted’ consequence of exclusion and rejection is also present and also very influential.

⁸² J. Nauright, *Sport, Cultures and Identities in South Africa*, pp. 20-21.

⁸³ ⁸³ H.Giliomee & B.Mbenga, *New History of South Africa*, p. 200.

⁸⁴ J. Nauright, *Sport, Cultures and Identities in South Africa*, pp. 20-21

⁸⁵ J. Hargreaves, *Sport, Power and Culture: A Social and Historical Analysis of Sports in Britain*, p. 2.

⁸⁶ See Chapter One on Henry Tajfel: eg. L. Huddy, “From Social to Political Identity: A Critical Examination of Social Identity Theory”, *Political Psychology*, Vol. 22, No. 1 (Mar., 2001), p. 133.

game was played by many non-white Transvaal residents, who formed clubs and a union of their own. The excluded non-white rugby playing community thus emerged as a reactionary imagined community themselves. And so two distinct rugby communities emerged in the ZAR: one white and the other non-white.

The racial divide between these two communities was entrenched and solidified by the establishment of the Transvaal Coloured Rugby Football Union (TRCRFU), whose founding date is somewhat elusive. As has been mentioned, the South African Colonial Rugby Football Board was established in 1896 under the auspices of the Griqualand West Colonial Rugby Football Union.⁸⁷ Among the founding members of the SACRFB were non-white representative rugby unions from the Western Province, Griqualand West, Eastern Province and Transvaal.⁸⁸ It is then safe to assume that the Transvaal Coloured Rugby Football Union was founded some time before 1896 and thus within six or seven years of the founding of the Transvaal Rugby Football Union. The founding of the TCRFU would strongly imply the racial exclusivity of the TRFU as well as the need for an official governing body to oversee the growth and expansion of rugby among the excluded non-white rugby community.

The white, non-white divide which took place all around South Africa at the time, also implies a strong cultural hegemonic order within society and by extension in the rugby playing community. The establishment of a racially separate governing body in some sense shows a tacit acceptance of the divisionary status quo. It is a form of consensual control where the non-white rugby playing community “willingly” or “voluntarily” assimilated to the worldview of the dominant group or hegemonic leadership - this acceptance of subordination allows the relationship to be hegemonic.⁸⁹ This assimilation was not really voluntary, though, as the non-white rugby playing community had very little choice but to establish a governing body of their own if they wanted to keep playing the game. Thus the “acceptance” of the status quo was rather done under duress.

The establishment of a separate governing body for non-whites is also a form of reaction, or even active resistance, to the socially oppressive TRFU and the dominant hegemonic role it fulfilled. The white rugby playing community, including the TRFU administrators, neutralised this resistance by accepting the establishment of the new non-white rugby body. By accommodating certain needs of the subordinate group (TCRFU), the dominant group

⁸⁷ R. Archer & A. Bouillon, *The South African Game, Sport and Racism*, p. 58.

⁸⁸ A. Booley, *Forgotten Heroes: History of Black Rugby, 1882-1992*, p.13.

⁸⁹ P. Ransome, *Social Theory for Beginners*, pp. 198-199.

(TRFU) kept the hegemony in place. This accommodation served to promote and strengthen the hegemony.⁹⁰ The dominant group “allowed” this form of resistance without losing its grip on the overarching power structures that dictated how, or even where and by whom, the game was played; while the subordinate group viewed this act of breaking away and gaining a semblance of independence as a victory. In this way, neither group accomplished their complete objective nor gained or retained control completely, yet just enough to satisfy the hegemonic relationship and keep the social power structure in place. Thus the established dominant, white Transvaal Rugby Football Union reacted to resistance from the non-white Transvaal Coloured Rugby Football Union and through concession and compromise, accommodated the needs of the TCRFU. Thus the cultural hegemony, already in place, was reinforced. In this way, the subordinate group was persuaded to have a commitment to the established order.⁹¹ Hegemony is not static and reacts and continuously changes to accommodate the interactions and transformations within its existing social context.⁹²

The established cultural hegemony in the Transvaal rugby world (the white rugby playing community having established control over the non-white rugby playing community) was easy to perpetuate due to the constant influx of new members of society, especially with the constant increase of numbers of social clubs and sport clubs to boost the cultural hegemony of the time. As mentioned, the hereditary transmission of existing social classification was present in a hastened form – the large amounts of new societal members mimicking a new generation in some ways. This incoming “new generation” was then taught how this society functions and what hegemonic relationships existed into which they must assimilate. Of course this was not expressly articulated, but rather achieved through the transmission of rituals and traditions. It should be noted that this was merely one episode in the story of hegemonic relationships within rugby circles and does not apply to every era. This is because hegemony is a fluid being and is constantly renegotiated and reconstructed in accordance with the actions and reactions of the dominant and subordinate group.⁹³

The hegemonic relationship between the white and non-white rugby playing communities was also not a conscious one. As has been mentioned, the dominant white rugby society had

⁹⁰ J. Hargreaves, *Sport, Power and Culture: A Social and Historical Analysis of Sports in Britain*, p. 7.

⁹¹ C.M. Badenhorst, *Mines, missionaries and the municipality: organised African sport and recreation in Johannesburg, c1920-1950*, p. 19.

⁹² T. J. Jackson Lears, “The Concept of Cultural Hegemony: Problems and Possibilities”, *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 90, No. 3 (Jun., 1985), p. 571.

⁹³ J. Hargreaves, *Sport, Power and Culture: A Social and Historical Analysis of Sports in Britain*, p. 7.

no intention of controlling non-white sport. The relationship developed from the established and re-appropriated divisionary norms of colonial society and the dominant-subordinate roles were reinforced and advanced by issues around playing fields, facilities and the dictation of playing rules all being under the control of the so-called dominant group. By managing where and how the non-white rugby community played, the white TRFU officials unwittingly created and promoted a hegemonic relationship that is strikingly similar to paternalism. The relationship was not merely one where a dominant group made an effort to subdue or control a subordinate group, but rather one where the dominant group “facilitated” the game for the subordinate group. Of course the TRFU was in a position of authority over the TCRFU but never with the intention of maintaining control over a population group. This form of paternalistic hegemony is illustrated by white governing bodies *officially* allocating playing fields and equipment to non-white clubs and players,⁹⁴ while still not allowing these teams to share the field with white players.

This unwitting paternalistic hegemony set the stage for more concerted efforts of social control through sport. Cecile Badenhorst captures the sentiment well in her study on white organisation of black sport on the Witwatersrand.⁹⁵ She explores the impact of deliberate white involvement into organised black sport and illustrates how a determined effort was made to control the leisure time activities of the growing migrant labour force on the Witwatersrand mining scene. She shows that during the 1920s, white groups (mine managers, the local state, missionaries and philanthropic individuals) saw their own activities in terms of a discourse of control over the increasing urban African population.⁹⁶ This effort to actively try and control the workforce through sport would not have been possible if a naturalised hegemonic system of control and consent had not already existed on some level. It is this “original” paternalistic hegemony created during the formalisation of rugby in the earlier periods of the late nineteenth century that would lead to twentieth century South African rugby being characterised by separation and limitation.

Conclusion

⁹⁴ In the 1912 Annual Report of the T.R.F.U., published on 24 Feb 1913, the T.R.F.U. is said to have provided goalposts and balls for the use on the Wolhulu grounds; Also refer back to the Pretoria Sub-Union example.

⁹⁵ C.M. Badenhorst, *Mines, missionaries and the municipality: organised African sport and recreation in Johannesburg, c1920-1950*.

⁹⁶ C.M. Badenhorst, *Mines, missionaries and the municipality: organised African sport and recreation in Johannesburg, c1920-1950*, p. 31 & 49.

The introduction of rugby football in South Africa can be traced to the colonial school system. This is where the groundwork was laid for the introduction of the sport and all its cultural and societal trappings. Yet it is in the formalisation of the game where the true social impact of rugby is seen. As formalisation is most often signified by the establishment of governing bodies, rugby became politicised through formalisation. This is because governing bodies have to do with the exercise of power.⁹⁷ Rugby's governing bodies were established to oversee how and by whom the game was played, all the while controlling which societal trappings rugby would espouse. Affiliation to a governing body often gave members a feeling of solidarity and exclusivity that would inevitably translate to the exclusion of any persons or groups deemed not to be part of or welcome into this exclusive community.

The development of rugby in South Africa followed a very natural course from schoolboy rugby to clubs and eventually unions. This course is visible throughout the country. It is unfortunately this same course that would lead to division within the rugby playing community as exclusion dictated separate development. This is seen in the establishment of separate schools for separate communities and eventually the establishment of separate clubs and unions that would cater for separate peoples. The establishment of separate clubs, unions and competitions speaks to the divisionary nature of rugby in the early history of the game in South Africa and should be seen as an example of how sport, in particularly rugby, not only reinforced, but also created racial divisions within the country.

Theories discussed, including rituals and symbol, "Invented Traditions", "Imagined Communities", and "Cultural Hegemony", help to discern how the formalisation of rugby through the establishment of exclusive clubs lead to the separate development and diffusion of the game in South Africa. British colonial custom dictated separation and exclusion of the "other" and rugby's exclusive club used symbols, rituals and invented traditions to differentiate themselves as a community from the "other". The club came to symbolise more than a casual get-away, but rather "...an enclave of power and privilege...its members patently different from the unadmitted millions not only in colour and in status but also in place."⁹⁸ Membership to an exclusive club or union not only created a fabricated sense of community, but perpetuated this idea through the invention of traditions that eventually lead to an unquestioning acceptance of the concept of racial division. The establishment of the

⁹⁷ J.J. Coakley, 1998, *Sport in Society, Issues & Controversies*, 6th Edition, p. 14.

⁹⁸ A. Odendaal, 'The Thing that is not Round' in A. Grundlingh, et. al., *Beyond The Tryline*, p.26.

racially exclusive Transvaal Rugby Football Union and its non-white counterpart, the Transvaal Coloured Rugby Football Union, serves as a prime example of how these theories play out on the rugby fields of the nineteenth century and might well serve to explain the divisionary history of rugby in a broader context.

Chapter Six

The Final Whistle: Epilogue

South African rugby today is a case of divided we stand. The game has continued to be played and supported enthusiastically for over a century, yet division persists. This chapter is an a-chronological reflection highlighting the milestones of perpetuated division.

This dissertation set out to show how the birth and development of South Africa as a country and the diffusion of rugby football in South Africa go more or less hand in hand. Rugby started its journey in the Cape and spread across the country on the wings of imperialists. The discovery of mineral wealth in Kimberley and the Witwatersrand saw not only the growth and development of cities and towns, but also the introduction of the game of rugby. In 1891 an English rugby side toured to South Africa and faced off against what is considered to be the first South African rugby team followed by the tour of a second team in 1896.¹ Considering that South Africa as a county did not really exist at the time (it was made up of four separate regions), it could be suggested that these tours foreshadowed the Union of South Africa which would be founded more than a decade later, emphasising the close relationship between rugby and politics in South Africa that is still visible today.

More than twenty years into South Africa's new democracy, rugby still struggles to cope with the deep furrows of segregation dug in the more than 150 year history of the South African game. The profound and senseless heritage of division still currently permeates while the shadow of nineteenth century segregation has been cast dark across South Africa's rugby history. Rugby has developed along two separate lines since its nineteenth century introduction and these have only recently been officially integrated, however this has been done hastily and with strong political undertones. Rugby enthusiasts continuously call for politics to be kept out of the game, but the truth is that the game has always been and continues to be intertwined with the social and political currents of the country. The establishment of governing bodies in the late nineteenth century is witness to that. Although South African rugby has attempted to heal the wounds of separation and division that were created over more than a century, more time, patient contemplation and generational shifts in mind-set are needed to fill these deep furrows. Springbok success in their first Rugby World

¹ I.D. Difford, *History of South African Rugby Football*, pp. 16-18.

Cup in 1995 served as a glimmer of hope in a society suddenly confronted with the daunting task of overcoming decades of indoctrinated division.

The euphoria experienced by South Africans after the astonishing World Cup triumph in 1995 has since seen a comparatively unceremonious descent into struggle and tension. As indicated at the outset of this dissertation, the 1995 Rugby World Cup is often lauded as a miraculous moment of national unity. So euphoric was the moment that the media chose to praise the Springbok team with headlines such as “Triumph of the Rainbow Warriors”.² Even Hollywood has chosen to immortalise the event through the Clint Eastwood film, *Invictus*. It was a moment in which all the political troubles of the country were erased, even only for that moment, and South Africans embraced a shared culture. Though this was a phenomenal occasion, such praises were contrived and premature. The real significance of the 1995 World Cup is not in a magical overturn of years of oppression and systemic divide, but rather the promise of a unified future. South Africa did not change all of a sudden, but it showed that it could. And rugby, as part of the social fabric of the country, provided the stage. In the 1995 Rugby World Cup, we see an amalgamation of symbolism: rugby, as the traditional symbol of Afrikanerdom, and to some, Apartheid, was rebranded and redistributed to South Africans of all creeds and colours. Nelson Mandela (himself a symbol of national unity), adorned in the Green and Gold of the Springboks, presented the William Webb Ellis trophy to the Springbok Captain, Francois Pienaar. This was of great symbolic importance. Albert Grundlingh explains:

The closed cultural space occupied by rugby, hitherto a predominantly Afrikaner preserve, was sufficiently prised open to allow at least a partial reinscription of the game’s narrow cultural identity.³

The significance of this symbolic moment can only be understood if one appreciates the historically divisionary nature of rugby in the country. Rugby was not a vehicle of sentiment chosen on the spur of the moment. It was already a symbol of the divisions South African society experienced and was thus the perfect instrument by which to showcase, even if fabricated at the time, the promise of an undivided future. If division and exclusion could be overcome on the rugby field - a bastion of whiteness and the preserve of a few - then it could be overcome anywhere. The unified celebrations across the country would thus come to symbolise a desire and a hope for a deracialised (rugby) society in the future.

² R. Hartman, “Triumph of the Rainbow Warriors”, *The Sunday Independent*, 25 June 1995, p. 1.

³ A. Grundlingh, *Potent Pastimes: Sport and leisure practices in modern Afrikaner History*, pp. 144-145.

The hope and pursuit of an undivided society remains, while traditional concepts of rugby's social identities also persist. The two opposing and differentiating social identities created in South African rugby are still present today and continue to find expression. The hope of removing cultural prejudice and separate identification within the game rests on a generational transfer of new values - values that embrace unity and abhor division, or at least is confused by it. A unified cultural, social identity should become the unquestioned and accepted norm within the rugby community, while division is seen as nonsensical and illogical. This will serve to defuse any latent form of hegemony as no subordinate group would be identifiable. Before this happens, efforts to forge artificial equality through legislation will find South African rugby a house propped up on shaky, unstable foundations. The current scars of South Africa's rugby are the products of a century and a half of generational indoctrination and they are too old and too engrained to be removed by single legislative sweeps. As Ross puts it: "South Africa still has to reckon with its history... psyches had been scarred."⁴ These scars are illustrated by racial rows that mar our recent past.

Recent controversy over SARU's implementation of a transformation charter or quota system shows a very uneasy relationship between South African rugby and race. This system was pushed heavily by former Minister of Sport and Recreation, Fikile Mbalula, and proposed that the Springboks (as well as other national teams) reserve a certain number of positions for non-white players. This system has invoked a lot of discussion since its implementation, mainly because of the non-consensual, artificial way in which the system was put in place. As recently as 2017, Springbok wing Bryan Habana suggested that the transformation charter has contributed to the emigration of many young South African rugby players, diluting the talent pool in the country.⁵ In 2016, former All Blacks coach, Laurie Mains blamed this system for the Springboks decline in form saying that "With the quota system they have, I think the days of them being top competitors are over."⁶ Heyneke Meyer, Springbok coach from 2012 to 2015, was accused of not adhering to these transformation policies and there were frequent complaints of white players being played out of position while black

⁴ R. Ross, *A Concise History of South Africa*, pp. 200-201.

⁵ Sport Staff, "Bryan Habana: Politics, not just cash, makes plyers leave", *The Citizen*, 11 May, 2017. Accessed: 2017/05/11. <<http://citizen.co.za/sport/sport-rugby/1510439/bryan-habana-politics-not-just-cash-make-players-leave/>>

⁶ Anon., "Mains: Blame quotas for Bok woes", *Sport24*, 12 October, 2016. Accessed: 2017/04/25. <<http://www.sport24.co.za/Rugby/RugbyChampionship/mains-blame-quotas-for-bok-woes-20161012>>

players, who specialise in these positions, were being side-lined.⁷ Though often lauded for the progressive racial make-up of his squads, it was often much the same in the case of Meyer's predecessor, Pieter de Villiers.⁸ Though this system has been promoted as aiming to right the wrongs of the Apartheid era and for nation-building purposes, Kallie Kriel, CEO of the civil rights organisation, Afriforum, has described it as "...a crude form of racial discrimination."⁹ The controversy surrounding the transformation of rugby, it can be argued, stems from the unnatural implementation thereof and is reflected in headlines permeating newspapers since its inception.¹⁰ In 2006 Springbok coach Jake White claimed that he was forced to pick non-white players for political reasons, again showcasing the uneasy relationship between rugby and politics.¹¹ In 2003 Geo Cronje allegedly refused to share a room at a training camp with locking partner, Quinton Davids, apparently due to the colour of his skin, causing immense uproar and controversy.¹² In 1997 Springbok coach André Markgraaff, was forced to resign after a recording surfaced in which he referred to black politicians and rugby officials as "fucking K*****s".¹³

The 1995 World Cup then stands as an island in post-Apartheid rugby, after which inherent problems have proven to be hard to mask. The lead up to the competition was also somewhat tumultuous. With the constitutional collapse of Apartheid in 1990, South African sport was charged with non-racial integration and rugby was to be on the forefront of this process. The South African Rugby Board (SARB) was synonymous with white rugby while the South African Rugby Union (SARU) was a staunch anti-Apartheid, non-racial union affiliated with the African National Congress (ANC). After much debate and negotiation, the unified South African Rugby Football Union (SARFU) was formed in 1992, effectively merging black and

⁷ S. Mnyanda, "Imposing Racial quotas is a vital step forward for South African sport", *The Guardian*, 29 April, 2016. Accessed: 2017/04/25. <<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/apr/29/south-africa-racial-quotas-sport-rugby-springboks-cricket>>; C. Ray, "Is Div right about race bias", *The Times*, 20 September 2012, p. 1.

⁸ S. Nell, "ANC loof spansamestelling", *Volksblad*, 7 Junie, 2008, p. 10; Sapa, "Boks coach mauled over selection", *Star*, 14 Aug 2008, p. 7.

⁹ eNCA, "Saru Calls for more black Boks" *eNCA*, 25 June, 2014. Accessed: 2017/04/22 <<https://www.enca.com/saru-calls-black-springboks>>

¹⁰ O. Nqubane, "Surely we should not be talking quotas in rugby in 2013", *The New Age*, 23 August 2013, p. 14; Anon., "When sport is no longer about excellence on the field", *Daily Dispatch*, 13 June 2013, p. 7;

¹¹ S. Buhlungu, J. Daniel & R. Southall, *State of the Nation: 2007*, p. 410.

¹² W. van der Berg, *150 Jaar van Suid-Afrikaanse Rugby*, p. 16; Anon., "Geo Cronjé en rassisme in sport", *Die Burger*, 1 September, 2003, Anon., "Geo Cronjé uit wereldbeker – weier om by kleurling te bly", 1 September 2003; M. du Preez, "When under fire, show us the light", *The Star*, 4 September 2003; K. McCallum, "There's a lot of black and white space between 'k' and 'r'", *Star*, 05 September 2003.

¹³ M. Braid, "SA rugby coach quits over racist outburst", *Independent*, 19 February, 1997. Accessed: 2017/04/22. <<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/sa-rugby-coach-quits-over-racist-outburst-1279426.html>>; Anon., "Ball is now in Sarfu's court", *The Natal Witness*, 20 February 1997; V. Tsuai, "Sarfu accepts Bok coach's resignation", *Sowetan*, 20 February 1997; P. Kruger, "Springbok management man faces probe for taped 'racist remarks'", *Business Day*, 17 February 1997, p. 1.

white rugby interests under one banner.¹⁴ The joining of these two separate lines of rugby did not mean that immediate harmony was created. It was as if two ropes were simply laid out next to each other and passed off as one without any twisting or braiding to strengthen it. This was a marriage of convenience and both parties seemed to concede and scheme rather than harmoniously come together. Issues around the meaning of the Springbok emblem, a symbol that is said to have inculcated certain racially exclusive values, became the subject of intense debate and left the country at odds. Contemporary headlines reflect a divided society: “Keep Bok emblem for team – Tutu”¹⁵ and “Keep Bok emblem: Mandela”;¹⁶ “Springbok – sad relic of the past”¹⁷ and “Let’s bury the Springbok with honour”.¹⁸ The saga surrounding the emblem has continued to spur debate until this day.¹⁹ Political infighting between members of both factions also cast an ominous hue to this union.²⁰ Scuffles between teams of different races cast a solemn shadow over proceedings as well and the hope at reform was dealt a considerable blow much because incidents of racial slurs and violence were not new phenomena. Examples of this can still be found in recent times, in one case even leading to the death of a player.²¹

The joining of the two governing bodies was of great historical importance as it would finally bring to an end the international boycotts and isolation of South African rugby since the 1970s. These had been protesting the lack of sporting integration in South Africa. Ebrahim Patel of SARU realised the political effectiveness of rugby in South Africa, while SARB under Craven desperately wanted to resume regular rugby tours to South Africa. The lack of international competition put immense strain on South African rugby and many of the so called “rebel” or unofficial tours did little to ease the tension.²² Between 1980 and 1984, an unofficial Argentinian rugby team, playing under the guise of the South American Jaguars, toured South Africa three times.²³ The 1986 tour by a New Zealand representational team

¹⁴ A. Grundling, *Potent Pastimes: Sport and leisure practices in modern Afrikaner History*, p. 114.

¹⁵ A. Johnson, “Keep Bok Emblem for team – Tutu”, *The Cape Times*, 30 May 1995, p.1.

¹⁶ C. Pretorius, “Keep Bok emblem: Mandela”, *The Citizen*, 26 June 1995, p. 1.

¹⁷ V. Tsuai, “Springbok – sad relic of the past”, *Sowetan*, 29 June, 1995, p. 53.

¹⁸ D.P. Thompson, “Let’s bury the Springbok with honour”, *The Argus*, 4 August 1995, p. 17.

¹⁹ See M. Keohane, “Tshwete tackles Sarfu”, *The Cape Times*, 11 February 1998, p. 1; L. Xinwa, “Bok emblem of denial”, *Cape Times*, 21 June 2004, p. 8; C. Kgosana, “Springbok faces extinction”, *City Press*, 1 July 2007, p. 4.

²⁰ L. Luyt, *Walking Proud: The Louis Luyt Autobiography*, pp. 183-184.

²¹ S. Mostert, “Roughhouse probe: ugly incidents threaten mixed rugby”, *Weekend Argus*, 3 August 1985, p. 3; M. Williams, “Racism set off rugby brawl”, *Cape Argus*, 27 June 2006, p. 1; Anon., “Racism and rugby”, *Cape Argus*, 5 June 2013, p.1.

²² G. Kirsten, “‘Toets’ gereël vir Bokke”, *Die Burger*, 6 July 1983, p. 14; H. Salkow, “More rugby tours forecast”, *The Citizen*, 20 July 1983, p. 1.

²³ J. Nauright, *Sport, Cultures and Identities in South Africa*, p. 92, 152.

called the Cavaliers was seen by some as blatant contempt for the political struggles the country was facing, especially amidst the strain of the current state of emergency of. Patel, who would later become the President of SARFU, was livid with what he called “deceit and secrecy” and a “callous disregard for the feelings and political realities,”²⁴ thereby challenging the accepted divisionary norms (hegemonic structure). The 1986 tour could be seen as a ritualistic act in itself, which reinforced and condoned the racial separation in South Africa. Albert Grundlingh speaks to this disregard, political apathy and reinforcement of the skewed social order when he calls the tour a “sectional symbol” that perpetuated divisions.²⁵

During the 1980s white administrators insisted they had integrated sport.²⁶ Programs such as Danie Craven’s rugby clinics, held between 1982 and 1991 which were attended by 88 000 players of all races, would suggest efforts at integration.²⁷ These clinics were established to promote rugby amongst all peoples of the country and can be seen as a continuation of his efforts at multi-racial rugby in South Africa during the 1970s. Craven promoted not only black and white clubs facing each other on the field, but also mixed teams. He even succeeded in fielding a racially mixed team against a French touring side at Newlands in 1975, much to the



Amici per rugby – the logo of Craven’s multi-racial rugby clinics.
[“No time to be naïve”, *Financial Mail*, 9 March 1990, p. 53]

dissatisfaction of Prime Minister John Vorster and Piet Koornhof, the then Minister of Sport.²⁸ The inclusion of two coloured players, Errol Tobias and Charles Williams in the 1981 tour of New Zealand, also served to overtly display signs of inclusion. These examples are important because they provide exceptions to starkly contrasting rules of the time.²⁹ The prevailing assumption within broader rugby circles was still one of rigid separation. In 1980 a former Springbok captain Dawie de Villiers even claimed that “blacks have really known Western sport only for the past ten years”³⁰ indicating an ignorance and possible reticence to

²⁴ A. Grundlingh, *Beyond the Tryline*, p. 97.

²⁵ A. Grundlingh, *Beyond the Tryline*, p. 17.

²⁶ D. Booth, *The Race Game: Sport and Politics in South Africa*, p. 137.

²⁷ Anon., “No time to be naïve”, *Financial Mail*, 9 March 1990, p. 53; Grundlingh, *Potent Pastimes: Sport and leisure practices in modern Afrikaner History*, p. 103;

²⁸ A. Grundlingh, *Potent Pastimes: Sport and leisure practices in modern Afrikaner History*, p. 101.

²⁹ Sapa, “‘People to trust’ vital for game”, *The Citizen*, 28 March 1981, p. 9; C. Greyvensteyn, *Springbok Rugby: An Illustrated History*, pp. 201 & 210;

Interestingly, no mention is made of either of these players in Manie Booley’s *Forgotten Heroes: A History of Black Rugby, 1882-1992*.

³⁰ D. Booth, *The Race Game: Sport and Politics in South Africa*, p. 137.

integrated sport. Thus in the 1980s the divisionary lines were still all too visible and South African rugby found itself in a state of crisis.

This persisting turmoil and tension was the result of what was deemed as selfish reactions to strong international opposition to the segregated nature of South African sport. The Apartheid years were characterised by the gradual exclusion from international sport due to increasingly rigid racial regulations. Though intermittent matches and rugby tours did take place, international reaction to Apartheid policies saw disruptions and protest of many tours and matches: the 1969/70 tour to the United Kingdom; the 1971 tour to Australia; and notably in 1979, when pressure from the French government and the International Olympic Committee, under Lord Killanin, led to the cancellation of the proposed Springbok tour of France.³¹

Most famously in 1981 a Springbok tour to New Zealand tour saw massive demonstrations.³² The 1981 tour was marked by protest action in Gisborne; matches being cancelled in Hamilton and Timaru; as well as the outbreak of violence in Wellington, Christchurch and Auckland. One policeman, recalling incidents in Christchurch on the 15th of August, said that it was “sheer luck” that no one was killed that day.³³ The most poignant scenes from the 1981 tour took place during the third test in Auckland where protesters clashed with police outside the grounds and flour and smoke bombs were dropped from a Cessna aircraft onto the pitch.³⁴ These actions of the New Zealanders were in opposition to the racially segregationist sporting policies put in place since the advent of Apartheid in 1948. Official guidelines governing Apartheid sport, commenced under Dr T.E. Dönges, Minister of Interior from 1948 to 1961, insisted that sport be practiced in accordance with the policy of separate development.³⁵ Though there was never any official legislation that prohibited mixed sport, custom and tradition already dictated separation (as was the case with TRFU policy in 1889).³⁶ This was vividly apparent in the comments made by member of parliament, Blaar Coetzee, who casually remarked in the House of Assembly in 1962 that “it was just normal to have this

³¹ Anon., “Vuil spel, sê Franse”, *Beeld*, 5 May 1979, p. 14; I. Hobbs, “Killanin to attack French over Bok tour”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 8 May 1979, p. 28; Sapa-Reuter, “‘Isolation’ for France over Boks”, *The Natal Mercury*, 22 March 1979, p. 14.

³² Anon., “The Aftermath of the Springbok tour”, *The Natal Witness*, 23 September 1981, p. 21.

³³ Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 'Tour diary', updated 17-Sep-2014, <<https://nzhistory.govt.nz/culture/1981-springbok-tour/tour-diary>>.

³⁴ Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 'Tour diary', updated 17-Sep-2014, <<https://nzhistory.govt.nz/culture/1981-springbok-tour/tour-diary>>.

³⁵ D. Booth, *The Race Game: Sport and Politics in South Africa*, p. 58.

³⁶ Refer to Chapter Five.

separation as it is normal to wake up in the morning.”³⁷ The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act of 1953 also made it clear that even if mixed sport was to be practiced, there would be no legal venue that could accommodate both white and non-white players.³⁸

During the 1970s, while the official Springboks under SARB were touring the world and playing test match after test match, non-white rugby teams were doing the same on separate fields. Coloured and black players who played under the South African Rugby Football Federation (SARFF) and South African Rugby Association (SARA), previously known as the South African African Rugby Board (SAARB), received a taste of international competition. This is because both SARFF and SARA were affiliated with SARB and SARB promoted international tours for these teams. Both the Proteas, the official team of SARFF,³⁹ as well as the Leopards, the official team of SARA⁴⁰ went on tour in the 1970s. The Proteas went to England in 1971 and the Leopards to Italy in 1974.⁴¹ A racially mixed team, the SA Barbarians, comprising of eight coloured players, eight black players and eight white players, toured Britain in 1979.⁴² They stood at the centre of widespread debate about the racially divided composition of South African rugby.⁴³

These tours, along with many matches against international touring sides at home, were simply window dressing, doing little to mask inequalities and division within South African rugby and in fact provided more tangible symbols of separation in the Leopard and the Protea. For example, the *Evening Post* of the 9th of January 1980 expressed the desire for racial division within rugby to end. It stated that “[t]here is no place today for separate matches for touring sides against the Leopards (Africans) and Proteas (coloureds)” and with an air of scepticism pointed to the Barbarians tour of Britain as “...‘great strides’ towards multiracialism in South African rugby”.⁴⁴ Peter Hain, South African born leader of the anti-Apartheid campaign “Stop The Seventy Tour”,⁴⁵ also dismissed these sides as:

³⁷ D. Booth, *The Race Game: Sport and Politics in South Africa*, p. 58.

³⁸ D. Booth, *The Race Game: Sport and Politics in South Africa*, p. 58.

³⁹ D.R. Black & J. Nauright, *Rugby and the South African Nation: Sport, Cultures, Politics, and Power in the Old and New South Africas*, p. 56.

⁴⁰ R. Davies, *Undefeated: The Story of the 1974 Lions*, p. 153.

⁴¹ A. Grundlingh, *Potent Pastimes: Sport and leisure practices in modern Afrikaner History*, p. 100

⁴² F. van Rensburg, “SA se sportisolasië kom al ‘n lang pad”, *Die Volksblad*, 11 August 1983, p. 13

⁴³ G. de Kock, “Wat die Baabaas terugbring: Nege Protea-spelers maak hart oop”, *Rapport*, 28 October 1979, p.1.

⁴⁴ Anon., “Rugby must end racial divisions”, *Evening Post*, 9 January 1980, p. 4.

⁴⁵ D.R. Black & J. Nauright, *Rugby and the South African Nation: Sport, Cultures, Politics, and Power in the Old and New South Africas*, p. 68.

...representing the Uncle Tom rugby organisations in South Africa. The terms coloured and black were classified in law. And you want to know how absurd these racial restrictions were? The Proteas were coloured, the Leopards were black. So not only were there no blacks in the Springbok team, there were no blacks in the coloured team!⁴⁶

These international encounters were most probably an attempt to promote an image of healthy, normal and natural separation and that the SARB was taking care of non-white rugby. This sentiment is captured well in a photograph of British and Irish Lions captain, Andy Irvine, smiling and shaking hands with equally gleeful Leopards captain, Thompson Magxala, in 1974.⁴⁷ Albert Grundlingh's comments on these tours aptly puts this image into perspective:

To those ignorant of the intricacies of South African society, these might have appeared as worthy attempts to promote African and coloured rugby, but in reality they perpetuated apartheid's racial divisions in sport.⁴⁸

These tours and matches not only serve to illuminate divisions, but also speak to a paternalistic hegemony within South African rugby in which non-white unions found it necessary to pander to SARB in order to be afforded international opportunities. The establishment of a host of non-white rugby bodies including the SACRFU, the SAARB, the SARU as well as the multitudes of provincial bodies and clubs, was indicative of an engrained divide. And the internal struggles between these bodies, especially surrounding affiliation with SARB (often seen as traitorous), conveyed a feeling of insecurity over how to respond to abstract oppression and rigid control.

This hegemonic relationship between white and non-white sport is expressed most visibly during the 1920s and 1930s when mine owners, city councillors and missionaries attempted to organise and control African sport and recreation. Sport, and its inherent hegemony, was used to control the labour force on the Rand with mine owners promoting sport in order to control the leisure activities of their labourers.⁴⁹ In this way, alcohol, drugs and prostitution were replaced by organised sport such as rugby and soccer. It was a time when, as Charles van

⁴⁶ R. Davies, *Undeclared: The Story of the 1974 Lions*, p. 153.

⁴⁷ C. Greyvensteijn, *Springbok Rugby: An Illustrated History*, p. 186.

⁴⁸ A. Grundlingh, *Potent Pastimes: Sport and leisure practices in modern Afrikaner History*, p. 100.

⁴⁹ C. M. Badenhorst, *Mines, Missionaries and the Municipality: Organised African Sport and Recreation in Johannesburg c1920-1950*, PhD Thesis, Queen's University, 1992.

Onselen puts it, “The sun triumphed over sin”.⁵⁰ The sun, in this case, just happened to be white organised sport.

The jagged lines of division created with the inception of rugby’s governing bodies and exclusive clubs, can be traced from the nineteenth century all the way to today. The vestiges of colonial customs of separation continue to plague the South African psyche and considerable revision is required to unhinge it. These nineteenth century divisions have left indelible marks and a shared South African identity is constantly and arduously being contemplated. The idea of a unified South Africa, as expressed through the 1995 Rugby World Cup is still being negotiated every day. In 1998 former Minister of Sport and Recreation, Steve Tshwete, claimed:

With unification of rugby in 1992 one thought that rugby finally had got to that point where it had become a sport organised and played by all who loved it in the spirit of non-racialism, transparency and democracy...That is still an ideal to be realised.⁵¹

Almost twenty years later, rugby persists in pursuing this ideal. Rugby continues to develop and grow within South Africa’s multi-racial social landscape and as society changes, so will rugby - and as rugby changes, so will society. Separate social identities and separate imagined communities have developed over more than 150 years. Yet if these communities and identities are built on invented traditions, then these identities can be changed and remoulded. Yet change needs to be organic and true and legislative festoons do little to address fundamental issues. Just as clubs and unions did not need official legislation to promote exclusivity and division, so too is legislation unnecessary to do away with exclusion and division – deeper social change holds the key. As part of the social fabric of the country, rugby will inevitably have a part to play in how divisions are removed, how new shared identities are created, how old ideas are reshaped and how South Africa might become “a rainbow nation at peace with its own diversity.”⁵²

⁵⁰ C. van Onselen, “Sunny Places for Shady Characters: The Making of Working Class Cultures in Southern Africa’s Mining Revolution, c. 1886-1914”, UP Expert Lecture Series, 20 April, 2016.

⁵¹ A. Booley, *Forgotten Heroes: A History of Black Rugby, 1882-1992*, p. 8.

⁵² Edward Griffith quoted in A. Grundlingh, *Potent Pastimes: Sport and leisure practices in modern Afrikaner History*, p. 139.

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