

‘Neither cricketers nor ladies’: Towards a history of women and cricket in South Africa, 1860s–2000s¹

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There is a dearth of research and writing on women’s cricket in South Africa. In an attempt to enhance understanding of the nature and effects of women’s involvement in the game of cricket over the past 200 years, this essay offers a chronological account of the sport and the role women played in it. It draws on readings from the international scholarship on women’s early involvement in sport, the fragments that have existed to date about women’s cricket in South Africa and some newly discovered primary material from the 1950s onwards. The essay aims to provide a historical context and open a window for historians and social analysts into an area few knew existed before. There is now a distinctive history and subculture of cricket with multiple social dimensions for scholars to explore; here I offer some preliminary insights.

Keywords: South Africa; cricket; history; women and sport

Introduction

Late January 2004. St Louis, in the United States of America. Deep into the northern winter. The city where the Mississippi and the Missouri Rivers meet is an unlikely place to be delving into the nineteenth-century origins of South African cricket, but contrary to expectations there is an abundance of literature available at the university where I am spending a sabbatical, and I am able to gather fascinating new insights and comparative perspectives on the game.

For example, that cricket was the most popular sport in America until the Civil War in the 1860s, when combatants spread baseball to the west and the south. That the first international cricket match was between the United States and Canada in 1859. That the first cricket tours from England were to North America as well, following the main trade routes across the Atlantic.² In St Louis, I also learn more about how women became involved in the major sports of our time, including cricket.

Having just finished writing *The Story of an African Game*, a book that destroyed the veracity of long-held notions that black Africans have no real history of cricket and rugby to speak of, I cannot help drawing direct parallels between the experiences of black people and women in sport in South Africa. How those with power and privilege simply assumed that the systematic political and social exclusion of these cricketers was ‘natural’ rather than the result of unequal relations and discriminatory

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conventions. How some 110 inter-provincial cricket tournaments organised by black and women cricketers are still not part of official cricket statistics. And how, even under democracy, ingrained notions about their participation and past still serve to reinforce old cultures of exclusion rather than promote enlightened attitudes.³

The reality, meanwhile, is that black and women cricketers in South Africa have been actively involved in the game in various ways from its early beginnings and have developed fascinating cricket subcultures over a period of more than a century.

It strikes me that we are faced here once again with what the historian Colin Bundy has called 'history as negation'.⁴ Women's cricket in this country is virtually invisible. People know little about it. So it is assumed women don't play cricket and have no real cricket history worth talking about. Again it is 'natural' that this is the case. Cricket is a game for men (just as previously it was supposedly for 'Europeans'/whites-only). It is assumed women never aspired to play the 'gentlemen's game' (just as the 'natives' were too unsophisticated and uncultured to have an interest in 'European games'). Those women who persevered with playing cricket were contravening natural laws; they were somehow trouble-makers with suspect sexualities.⁵

In this essay, I try to construct a framework and a narrative so we can begin to understand the history of women's involvement in cricket over the past 200 years in a more coherent way. The primary goal is to lay out a chronological story in an old-fashioned manner, tying together readings from the international scholarship on women's early involvement in sport, the fragments that have existed to date about women's cricket in South Africa and primary material from the 1950s onwards – correspondence, minutes, reports, brochures etc. – made available to me recently by former players and administrators. While limited in its theoretical underpinnings and analysis, this chapter will hopefully provide a useful historical context and open a window for historians and social analysts into an area few knew existed before. Whereas until now there was a vacuum (or derisory laughter at the mere thought), there is now a distinctive history and sub-culture of cricket with multiple social dimensions for scholars to explore; here I offer some preliminary insights.

It is a little-known fact that women have indeed been part of the game of cricket from its very beginnings, both in England where it originated and in South Africa. The extensive literature on the subject has touched on women playing in England in the 1700s and early 1800s in games which seemed to cater for the whole social spectrum, from popular contests at alehouses, which offered the chances for betting, gambling and other social outlets, to private matches organised by aristocrats.⁶

The historian Keith Sandiford noted: 'A significant feature of the Georgian legacy before the beginning of Queen Victoria's 60-year reign in 1843 was the remarkable growth of women's cricket.' But during the Victorian era this trend was reversed and 'Georgian enthusiasm gave way to Victorian earnestness'. Whereas the Georgians were (in the words of Sandiford) noted for their laxity, licentiousness and gambling, the Victorians were 'earnest, prim and evangelical' and they 'cleansed' the game and turned it into a kind of morality play.⁷

A gentleman's game

Cricket became a so-called 'gentleman's game', underpinning in a heavily ideological way the cult of muscular Christianity that sprang up in British boys'

public schools in the mid-1800s, at the very time that sports were taking on their modern shape.

From Rugby and other prominent public schools came the notion that exercise and sport were essential ingredients in shaping young British boys into muscular Christians and worthy imperialists, destined to lead the world in an age of empire and expansion. Sport toughened them up for the job. It cultivated respect for rules, a subordination of the self in service of the greater whole. It taught young boys skills and restraint and imbued them with a sense of gentlemanly 'honour'.⁸

Coinciding with these new notions of masculinity were images and stereotypes of what would happen if women were allowed to participate in sport. Horse-riding was said to lead to 'an unnatural consolidation of the lower part of the body, ensuring a frightful impediment to future functions'. Hockey could 'disable women from breastfeeding'. Athletics was seen as 'a corrupting influence for a "properly brought up girl"' and was bound to 'produce an unnatural race of amazons', unproductive breeders who would contribute to the 'deterioration of the human race'. Cycling was 'an indolent and indecent practice which would even transport girls to prostitution'. Sport, generally, was 'likely to do irreparable damage to the adolescent girl'. For women, 'Rude health . . . was considered quite vulgar'. The notion of the naturally frail woman was turned into a virtuous stereotype – and an industry.⁹

In polite society and genteel schools, girls were expected to do nothing more strenuous than walk in crocodile file or partake in callisthenics, croquet and social dance, all done according to self-conscious protocols. Even at Oxford and Cambridge, where young women experienced greater freedom than was the norm, some colleges as late as the 1880s banned cricket and hockey and had strict rules for bicycle riding.

These exclusions from the male domain of sport only slowly began to be challenged. As the women's emancipation movement grew, and the public-school system for boys manifested its success, women educational reformers began to campaign to extend sport at girls' schools. They turned the old argument around and said that far from hampering a girl's education, sport was good for learning and 'the best training for motherhood'.¹⁰

From the 1870s onwards croquet, badminton and tennis, which could be played in genteel ways in the privacy of private 'lawns', became popular. The first women's cricket club, White Heather Cricket Club, was formed in 1887. The *Athletic News* commented: 'Ladies cricket in the north seems to be rather popular, judging from the reports of the various matches that have crept into the papers of late'. By this time some public schools had teams.¹¹ In 1890, entrepreneurs set up an early kind of professional women's circuit, contracting two teams of women players, known as 'The Original English Lady Cricketers', who played exhibition games at county grounds, including the famous Headingley in Leeds, that drew large crowds. But the initiative folded after two years, apparently because of financial constraints.¹²

Women's cricket in England struggled to grow. It never really spread beyond upper-class women and ex-public-school girls. According to Holt, there were no more than about 50 women's clubs by the 1920s – women's cricket and football clubs 'were laughed at, scoffed out of existence'.¹³

Commenting on The Original English Ladies Cricketers, W.G. Grace, the cricketing figure of the age, declared authoritatively: 'They might be original and English, but they are neither cricketers nor ladies'.¹⁴ In a male-dominated world there was not the space to challenge the notion of cricket as a gentlemen's game.

It underpinned the very idea of masculinity and empire in the Victorian age. It came to be accepted that women could play sports such as tennis, golf and hockey – but not cricket.¹⁵

Despite the slow progress, women had ‘come out of the closet’ as far as sport was concerned by the time war broke out in 1914. Drawn mainly from the educated middle classes, they were slowly breaking old boundaries and taboos and opening up more spaces for themselves in public life, including the professions and politics:

Whereas a little walking, croquet and gentle callisthenics was thought sufficient exercise for the young lady of the 1860s, her grand-daughter could run, bicycle, climb mountains, play tennis at Wimbledon, golf at St Andrew’s, hockey for England, and any number of team and individual games at college and school, and then she could read about so doing in features on ‘The Sportswoman’ or ‘The Outdoor Girl’ in respectable periodicals and newspapers. Despite prejudice, discrimination and restrictions, the lure of sport was obviously irresistible to some Victorian girls, who apparently found the rewards of participation sufficient to counter whatever social costs were involved, and sufficient to offset the stress and role conflict they must have experienced as a result of the clash between their own desire to play and social norms to the contrary.¹⁶

Women and cricket in South Africa in the 1800s

The participation of women in cricket in South Africa not surprisingly followed the British model in many ways. Women were part of the scene, at least the social side of it, from the first regimental games from 1808 onwards, as well as the ‘Home Born’ versus ‘Mother Country’ fixtures which later became popular in Cape Town and other parts of colonial South Africa from mid-century onwards.

Cricket events were often big social occasions accompanied by pomp and ceremony in the small colonial settlements that started springing up throughout southern Africa, with women very much involved. According to Luckin, Durban more or less closed down for the 1860 inter-town match against Pietermaritzburg as the townspeople turned out in full force, and a match report from Queenstown in 1870 graphically describes the tents, bunting and general excitement that went with the cricket.¹⁷

In pre-club days it was also common for team combinations like Single versus Married, and Handsome versus Ugly, to compete. One report from Cape Town noted that ‘For this last game – Handsome versus Ugly – the teams were chosen by a committee of ladies, sometimes with astonishing results, explainable only on the hypothesis that prejudice and a sense of humour were allowed to play a part in the selections’.¹⁸

From the 1860s the number of indigenous people being educated at the church-run British mission schools increased steadily and by the 1880s there was a sizeable class of Western-educated black ‘school people’ in the Cape Colony, both men and women. They copied the example of the British and colonial white establishments almost exactly. Cricket was part of British social values impressed on them at school and they soon formed clubs and started competing. They often beat white teams and used their proficiency at cricket to show the potential of Africans to advance in colonial society and to become fellow citizens if given the opportunity.¹⁹

Thus, when the King Williams Town Champions club played Ngqika CC from East London at home on Boxing Day in 1883 in one of the first inter-town matches,

Imvo Zabantsundu reported that '*langathi liphume lonke iQonce*' ('it was as if the whole of King Williams Town turned out'). It was a hot day, we are told, and the ladies and old men brought along umbrellas to shade themselves.²⁰ In January 1885, when Champions CC became the first inter-town champions after a tournament in Grahamstown, a prominent local woman handed over the bat awarded to the best player.

The 'school people' were a close-knit community, often inter-marrying, and becoming involved in a range of overlapping activities. For example, in 1884 the wives and partners of the leaders of Port Elizabeth's black community set up a tennis and croquet club as part of their church, education and choir activities, and promptly advertised this fact (and the croquet constitution written in Xhosa) in the missionary-controlled *Isigidimi Sama Xhosa* newspaper. These were among the earliest women's sports clubs in South Africa.²¹

When Port Elizabeth played cricket against Kimberley in 1888, the black community turned out in force for the fixture, played at the white Union CC grounds in St George's Park. Entrance to the pavilion cost sixpence and the local reporter, '*Nkosi*' ('chief'), noted, 'For the first time in the history of matches in the area married men brought their wives and single men brought their partners'. He said this was to be applauded 'as it is a symbol of change in our communities'.²²

At the welcoming ceremony for the Kimberley team, Mrs Wauchope, secretary of the women's croquet club, provided the bedding for the visitors. It is in events such as these that the origins of the ladies sections of sport clubs, which became so popular in the twentieth century, can be traced.

Colonial conventions and the church-run girls' mission schools reinforced Victorian British conventions regarding the role of women in sport and in broader society. They were generally trained to accept and fit 'respectably' into the discriminatory colonial order – and, in the case of black women, they belonged not only to the weaker sex, but also an inferior 'race'.

The Bishop of Grahamstown reported in 1885 that the girls at St Matthew's College were instructed for 'fixed hours' every day 'in all the duties of domestic life, such as washing, ironing, sewing, cooking and baking' by a certain Miss Lucas.²³ Little had changed 70 years later:

The curriculum at Lovedale and other mission schools in the 1950s prepared girls for a life of servitude and domestic labour, reinforcing colonial values and gender stereotypes. The home and mother-craft syllabus included instructions on how to wash a hairbrush and comb and clean silverware, the subject of hygiene was 'taught from a book compiled in England and based upon a life as remote as the moon' . . . The widely used *Laundry and Housewife Primer* advised the students on appropriate shoes – 'in the country, very strong ones and a lighter type for town wear', warning that 'fancy feathers never wear well'. Several pages of the slim volume were devoted to the setting of tables in the manner appropriate for breakfast, supper, dinner and afternoon tea as well as the correct method of waiting at table.²⁴

In the 1888–9 season the first English touring side arrived in South Africa, taking the local game on to a new level. In his well-researched book on the tour, Jonty Winch has shown that women were prominent as the visitors were feted, watched by thousands and escorted along the roughest of terrain before the days of a national railway. On the first day of their first match at Newlands, about 4,000 people attended and 'a very large proportion of the crowd were ladies'. The visiting captain, Aubrey Smith (later a famous Hollywood actor) said,

Newlands Cricket Ground was a picture to be remembered, with its surrounding mass of pines, overtopped by the great Table Mountain on the one side, the new stand covered with red cloth on the other ... The picturesque effect given to our grounds being enhanced by the bright and varied colours of many Malay women in their holiday attire.²⁵

Some of the women watching were also breaking local taboos. The *Cape Times* commented disapprovingly that two of the English cricketers sat 'each with a very dusky damsel by his side in sight of some thousands of spectators ... quite unconscious of any impropriety'. The enthusiasm of the black cricketers in Cape Town and the exotic beauty of their women clearly made an impression on the English tourists, who commented on this several times. Coming back from Christmas lunch with Admiral Wells on the HMS Raleigh moored in Simonstown, Aubrey Smith painted this picture of cricket in Cape Town: 'On our way home we saw as quaint a sight as ever cricketers saw at Mowbray. Two or three cricket matches were being played by Malays and Kaffirs and hundreds of Malay women in their many coloured costumes were there to do honour to the friends.'

Throughout the tour women were prominent as spectators and organisers of social events. The reports were often heavily condescending. In Cape Town a six landing on the pavilion roof 'caused quite a flutter among the tea-sipping ladies'; in Port Elizabeth the throngs and good humour on the pavilion were enhanced by 'the fair sex varying the monotony with their charming dresses'; in Johannesburg, the centurion, Bobby Abel, was carried off shoulder high with a band playing 'See the Conquering Hero Comes' before being 'deposited in the centre of the band stand and made to bow his acknowledgements to the plaudits of the ladies in the Grand Stand before he was allowed to retire blushing to the Pavilion'; and then in Oudtshoorn where, at a picnic at the Cango Caves, with everyone holding a candle, the party proceeded 'into the bowels of the earth, the ladies being guided first and, of course, making the pace slow'.²⁶

These examples illustrate very well how, as in England, education socialised women into specific roles and men and women collaborated, often via the medium of fun, in drawing gender boundaries and discouraging the 'ladies' from actually playing the most gentlemanly of all the Victorian games. They could participate in men's cricket only as supporters, and only up to a certain point.

On the playing field, 1880s to 1914

In South Africa as well, some women began to challenge the notion of cricket as a game only played by 'gentlemen'. Sometimes this was done unselfconsciously and in playful ways; sometimes self-consciously and more seriously. The first known report of women playing cricket in South Africa is dated 1888. This was one year after the first women's club was formed in England and the season in which the first British touring team came to South Africa. Harry Cadwallader, soon to become the first secretary of South African Cricket Association, commented on 'a number of the fair sex indulging in practice with the willow on the Pirates' Ground in Kimberley and they showed they are possessed of not inconsiderable talent. It surely will not be long before we shall have a ladies' match at Kimberley'.²⁷ However, in the typical male idiom of the day, Cadwallader then rather spoils the point he was making with the backhanded observation 'who knows but we may have a match – 500 ladies of Kimberley against Major Warton's team'. (On that

tour the English sometimes played against teams loaded with as many as 22 players.)

In his *Cricket in Southern Africa*, Jonty Winch mentions several early examples of women playing cricket around this time.²⁸ On 7 January 1889 students from the South African College, the current-day University of Cape Town, played a match against 'a team of ladies'. The college professors were against the match (in which 18 women took on 11 men), 'fearing that the morals of the young men might be endangered'. The men had to bat, bowl and field left-handed. They also had to use pick-handles when batting. The women won by an innings.

Winch refers to a number of games like these with the men's teams batting left-handed, using pick-axe handles or being otherwise handicapped. This tradition was carried over from England, and it certainly underlined the point that competing with women could be great fun and for courting, but they could not be taken seriously as cricketers.

In 1893, a proposal was put to the annual general meeting of the Western Province Cricket Club that women be admitted as members, but it was quickly squashed. However, by the early years of the twentieth century there were women's teams at two of the best-known clubs in South Africa: the Wanderers club in Johannesburg and the Ramblers club in Bloemfontein. They were reported to have played against each other.

Nurses attached to the British forces are known to have played cricket during the South African War and in April 1902 the Wanderers ground was hired for a match between 'Ladies' and 'Gentlemen' in order to collect funds to buy literature for soldiers who were 'garrisoning lonely block-houses'. According to Thelma Gutsche in *Old Gold: The History of the Wanderers Club*, women played the game seriously at the Wanderers in the early 1900s:

The club had enough trouble with the lady cricketers who insisted on playing the game seriously. After Mrs Winifred Kingswell, wife of the fiery editor of the *Sunday Times* (George Kingswell) had joined in 1911, the Wanderers rang with unwonted trebles as its ladies team under her captaincy, played similar teams from Bloemfontein and elsewhere and sometimes took on the men.²⁹

From the 1900s onwards cricket was also introduced into girls' schools. The most famous of these was Roedean in Johannesburg, started in 1903 in the immediate aftermath of the war and modelled on the famous institution of the same name in Sussex. Roedean had a school cricket song and the girls played inter-house matches, friendly matches against the old girls and fathers, and a few inter-school contests against teams such as Jeppestown High School and the 'Park Town School' for boys.³⁰

The establishment of Roedean was one reflection of the post-war Anglicisation policies pursued by Britain, and those in the forefront of women's cricket were generally linked to the strong, very British cultures flourishing at the main cricket clubs in South Africa. Some of them, like Winifred Kingswell, described as the pioneer of women's cricket in South Africa, strongly believed in the value of sport for women and were influenced by growing struggles for political rights to be extended to women. A memoir on early Natal cricket also underlines this British influence:

I remember well a century made by the younger Miss Campbell, who had recently returned home from a Girls' College in England where she had learnt cricket. Miss

Campbell had all the orthodox shots. She played with a straight bat, her stroke play was good and she could drive a ball to the boundary with ease.³¹

The first known black women's cricket clubs were formed in Kimberley in 1909. Women from the 'coloured' community there 'set the pace in a highly commendable way' by forming The Daisies, The Ivies and Perseverance clubs, and grouping themselves into a cricket union under prominent local sports administrator, Mr J.S. Lackey.³² These reports appeared in the *APO* newspaper, the official organ of the African Political Organization (later the African People's Organization), which was the first large-scale political organisation for coloured people, with more than 100 branches throughout the country. These cricket activities were an integral part of the overall life of the middle-class communities in Kimberley; women were ever-present, though their actually playing cricket took things to quite another level.

However, as historians have noted, there was very limited space before the First World War for women to confront their exclusion from cricket and from sport generally. Those who actually played had to do so 'out of sight', in a separate world where their participation was not experienced as a direct challenge to male control of sporting space and the masculine imperial ideology cricket had become drenched in.³³ Even in the practice nets, women had to be out of sight when the men arrived after work to play, as the women members at the Wanderers discovered in 1911.

From ballot box to batting crease: South Africa and the beginnings of international women's cricket, 1920s–1960s

The first national cricket organisations, Test matches and international tours for women took place in the decade and a half after the First World War. And there was a good reason for this – the extension of the franchise to women in England and other countries after the war. During the conflict women in Britain had often taken on roles previously reserved for men and this speeded up the extension of the franchise to them. Political rights brought greater social freedom, assertiveness and mobility. This link was uncannily close in the field of sport. There was a notable expansion of international sport for women in the 1920s, including the lifting of restrictions on participation at the Olympics and the first South African hockey tour to England.³⁴

The first international women's cricket body was the Women's Cricket Association, established in England on 4 October 1926. The Australian Women's Cricket Council was formed in 1931 and the New Zealand Women's Cricket Council and the Nederlandse-Dames Cricket Bond in 1934. At the end of 1934 an English team embarked on the first ever international tour, visiting Australia and New Zealand under the captaincy of Betty Archdale. England beat Australia by nine wickets in the first women's Test match held in Brisbane from 28 to 31 December 1934.³⁵

South African women tried to come in line as well. In 1922 the redoubtable Winfred Kingswell, who had in the meantime moved to Cape Town, was 'instigator and first president' of the Peninsula Girls' School Games Union. Regular inter-schools sports events began to be held in Cape Town. The annual Cavanagh Cup for inter-school competition was started in 1921, with the Kenilworth Race Course a popular venue. One observer noted that 'almost the whole school – children and staff included would turn out to support the competitors'. Schools cricket grew in

this environment and soon there was a time 'when all the girls' schools played competitive inter-schools cricket'.³⁶

The appointment of the first qualified physical education teacher from Britain, and the introduction of 'games and sports trophies' at Wynberg in the 1920s, charted this new emphasis on sport in girls' schools. The 'All round Sport' trophy was presented in 1922, followed by trophies for swimming in 1923, gymnastics (1924), netball (1925) and tennis in 1926. In 1928, the Jeffrey Cup for cricket was added to the list.³⁷

In 1921, Wynberg introduced Mrs A.B. Moir as the physical education teacher. A product of 'that famous school for girls, St Leonards, St Andrews', who had trained at Dartford Physical Training College, 'she soon got her girls very enthusiastic about cricket'.³⁸ When she arrived, 'games' were compulsory for the boarders at Wynberg but 'there was not any very great enthusiasm for games among the scholars' and 'the mass of children were untrained'.³⁹ Wynberg, Roedeane and Rustenburg were among a number of schools in South Africa following in the footsteps of educational reformers in Britain who were promoting sport for girls.

The formal introduction of cricket in schools in turn led to the first serious efforts to run women's cricket in South Africa on an organised basis built on the efforts to establish schools cricket on a formal footing. In 1932, Winifred Kingswell formed the Cape Town-based Peninsula Ladies Cricket Club (PLCC) and two years later it affiliated to the Women's Cricket Association in England, to all intents and purposes the international governing body, or the women's equivalent of the Marylebone Cricket Club (MCC).

The PLCC's aim was to build on affiliation by sending teams to play against the Ramblers Club in Bloemfontein and the Wanderers Club in Johannesburg – 'the pioneers of women's cricket in South Africa' – and thereafter to form a South African Women's Cricket Association 'after which international games in England, New Zealand and Australia' would hopefully become a reality. Elma Kingswell, commenting on the 1934 English tour to Australia, said: 'If cricket in South Africa is not merely a passing phase it should not be long before a triangular contest between these three main cricketing countries in the world will be held.'⁴⁰

According to an article in *The South African Ladies Pictorial*, there were three women's clubs in South Africa in the early 1930s (as opposed to the 73 clubs and 65 schools affiliated to the Women's Cricket Association in England). These, as mentioned above, were the Wanderers ladies section in Johannesburg; the Ramblers in Bloemfontein; and the new Peninsula Ladies' Cricket Club, founded in 1932 in Cape Town.

The Peninsula Ladies' Cricket Club, captained by Clarrie Peirce, had 30 members in 1934 and played on level pegging against men. In 33 games over two seasons, they lost 21, won nine and drew three. Their top score was 160 runs against 207 and they averaged 80 runs against 133. One of the veterans was a Mrs Hime, who had scored three centuries playing for Ramblers in Bloemfontein. The coach, a Mr Stevenson, commented: 'The rapid improvement in the technique of the game in the short period of two seasons astonished me' and added that the women had already left the learner stage far behind.'⁴¹ The captain and vice captain, Clarrie Peirce and Winifred Jeffrey, remained prominent as players and administrators for over four decades.

The few South African cricket bodies mentioned here were for white women only, but there is ample evidence that black women continued to share many of their cricket interests and aspirations, even while South African society was becoming

increasingly segregated and discriminatory. One example is the photograph from *Umteteli wa Bantu* of December 1933 showing fashionably dressed women spectators at the first inter-provincial tournament of the South African Bantu Cricket Board in Johannesburg.

During the 1930s and 1940s black sports clubs had well established 'ladies sections'. A lifelong cricket and rugby fan recalled: 'We were very smart, we even had blazers. Ours had one button and the men two buttons.' These were specially made. Tailored blazers. And then 'you had your caps, you know, with pom poms. . . . We were strong, very, very strong.'⁴² At the famous *Macal'egusha* ('sides of a sheep') tournaments in the rural areas, women were cheerleaders and vocal supporters, escorting successful batsmen and bowlers off the field.⁴³

In A.C. Jordan's path-breaking *Ingqumbo Yeminyama* ('The wrath of the ancestors'), published in 1940 and described as 'the first real novel in Xhosa',⁴⁴ he gives a vivid picture of the popularity of cricket among educated Africans in the eastern Cape and the supporting role that women played. At the centre of the story about the tensions between traditionalists and the educated school people in the mid-1900s are the Lovedale and Fort Hare-educated Mpondomise chief Zwelinzima Majola and his wife Nobantu, née Thembeke Khalipa, who was schooled at St Matthews. When they return to the then Transkei:

The Chief had no difficulty with the cricket league. In response to a letter inviting him to join, he readily accepted membership and in addition to this invited the cricket league to a feast at the Royal Place. Nobantu, Mother of the People, was no less busy in her efforts to organise the women. She formed a child welfare and home improvement society; she patronised the Wayfarer Guide Movement, which she had liked as a girl; she patronised tennis and netball; and having also been fond of cricket at college, she encouraged the girls, especially the teachers, to become associate members of the cricket league. Indeed it was a pleasant sight whenever a visiting team played at Tsolo, to see the Chief himself taking part in the game while his wife attended to the visitors.⁴⁵

However, I have to date found no evidence of specific women's cricket clubs and matches in black communities during the middle years of the twentieth century.

The affiliation of the Peninsula Ladies' Cricket Club to the Women's Cricket Association in 1934 raised the prospect of a national association and international cricket, but South Africa was surprisingly far behind England, Australia, New Zealand and Netherlands in setting up such structures. It was almost two decades before the South Africa and Rhodesia Women's Cricket Association (SARWCA) was finally formed in 1952.

Part of the reason for the slow progress was the dislocation caused by the traumatic Second World War, which disrupted most forms of organised sport between 1939 and 1945. Winifred Jeffrey explained: 'We had continued in the thirties to have games, with our "Peninsula" team against men's sides of one sort or another, like the local rugby clubs, oil companies and so on. But when war broke out, we turned it in and gave all our equipment to the forces.'⁴⁶

After the war, women's cricketers in Johannesburg quickly became organised again. By 1947 they were able to start a league and select two Southern Transvaal teams to play what was then Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) in Johannesburg. Although a separate British colony at that stage, Rhodesia also played in the South African domestic white men's Currie Cup competition.⁴⁷

The Southern Transvaal Women's Cricket Association was formed the following year in 1948 and by 1951–2 it had grown from six teams and 75 players to 10 clubs with 13 teams.⁴⁸ Players in Cape Town re-established the Western Province Women's Cricket Club (the old Peninsula Ladies' Cricket Club) in 1949 and in September 1951 a new Western Province Women's Cricket Union was formed. Three clubs affiliated, namely Alma, Liesbeeck Park and Tresdecim. The combined playing membership was 55. Prominent men's cricketers such as Eric Rowan, W. 'Boggels' Matthews and Jack Cheetham became involved in these two provinces and Clarrie Peirce, captain of the PLCC in the early 1930s, was one of the members of the new Western Province executive committee.⁴⁹ The first fully-fledged inter-provincial game was played between Southern Transvaal and Western Province at Liesbeeck Park in Cape Town in 1951.

These developments in turn paved the way for a national association. After an interim committee had been formed at a tournament in Johannesburg in April 1952, SARWCA was officially established later that year, and the first official annual inter-provincial tournament for the Simons Trophy was played in Bloemfontein in December 1952.⁵⁰ Ten provincial teams participated in the first SARWCA tournament. Western Province, captained initially by Vicky Valentine-Brown, won the first three inter-provincial tournaments. Thereafter Southern Transvaal dominated, winning nine out of 16 tournaments from 1955 to 1971. There were an estimated 400 women players in South Africa in 1956, and about 70 of these participated in the SARWCA tournament.⁵¹

The first inter-provincial century was scored by Johannesburg-based Eileen Hurley in 1953–4. Sheila Nefdt from Western Province took a double hat trick in 1953–4 with her leg-spin bowling. In the 1960 tournament Doris Ten-Cate, an ambidextrous spinner, took a rare ten wickets in an innings.

The new SARWCA soon began preparing for international tours and participating in international affairs. Marjorie Robison, university-educated in London, was despatched to England in 1956 to initiate arrangements for a tour, and in February 1958 the association became one of five founder members of the International Women's Cricket Council (IWCC). Robison chaired the inaugural meeting held in Australia before herself becoming IWCC president in 1963.⁵²

IWCC membership paved the way for international competition and South Africa finally joined the small Test circuit (with England, Australia, New Zealand and Holland) when England toured in the 1960–1 season. After more than four years of planning by SARWCA, the visitors arrived on board the *Pretoria Castle* on 10 November 1960 for a ten-week tour, including four Test matches. This was only the eighth international Test series in just over a quarter of a century of international women's cricket, during which time 24 test matches had been played.⁵³

England were led by the Middlesex opener and wicketkeeper Helen Sharpe, who was also co-editor of the magazine *Women's Cricket*. Sheila Nefdt was appointed first captain of South Africa. England won the third Test in Durban by eight wickets and the other three were drawn. The left-handed Southern Transvaal all-rounder Yvonne van Mentz became the first South African woman to score a Test hundred when she hit 105 not out in the final Test, to the delight of 2,000 spectators at Newlands. Helen Sharpe said the South Africans had seemed nervous in the first Test but were 'vastly improved' by the time they played at Newlands. Three English batsmen scored over 500 runs. Harold Butler, cricket writer for the *Cape Times*, was

impressed: 'Their batting has character and technically it is equal to much of what one would find among our top-class men players.'⁵⁴

Apartheid, isolation and decline, 1960–1990

The 1960 English tour helped raise the profile of women's cricket. The commitment of the cricketers at the time was well demonstrated by Vicky Valentine-Brown (33 times Western Province captain and former Wimbledon tennis player), who was quoted as saying that, unlike tennis, cricket was not 'light-hearted and social ... cricket is an intelligent game and demands team work, enthusiasm, patience, knowledge and years of practising'; and, she added, 'it is my whole life'.⁵⁵

Having made their debut at international level in 1960, women cricketers now looked forward to increasing opportunities and higher standards, but for some reason, contrary to expectation, there was instead a precipitous decline in the numbers and playing standards in South African domestic cricket after the English tour. To add to these woes, South Africa played only one more official series before being isolated for more than two decades from international cricket.

The main reason given for the drop in standards was the high financial burden the English tour had placed on women's cricket. A year after the tour, the once strong Western Province region was still struggling to pay off its R2,000 debt and seemed to have imploded completely. It had less than 20 registered players in 1962 and therefore, in terms of the SARWCA constitution, this founding province had to be de-registered.⁵⁶ Most other provinces were affected as well. The numbers dropped nationally from 300 players in 1961 to a mere 130 in 1966.⁵⁷

In 1963, the only full provincial teams at the tournament in Port Elizabeth were Natal, Eastern Province and Southern Transvaal, who ended up winning the tournament. Besides the strong Southern Transvaal, which was the 'largest province' and could boast that 'League is played in Johannesburg every Saturday afternoon', the other provinces increasingly appeared to be in disarray in the 1960s.

Annual tournaments continued to be organised, but their format was downgraded from an inter-provincial tournament to a so-called Cricket Week, also involving clubs and invitation teams because of the irregular attendance of traditional provincial teams. Southern Transvaal continued to have by far the strongest cricket set-up in South Africa. During the 1973–4 season, they had a regular newsletter and six clubs, and 80 cricketers were playing in the league in Johannesburg.⁵⁸

The dip on the domestic front from the early 1960s onwards impacted on international cricket as well. While the SARWCA looked forward to regular international contact after making its international debut in 1960, the historic first English tour proved to be a false dawn for the whites-only association. A South African tour to Australia in 1964–5 was 'suggested', but did not materialise for financial reasons. Then a proposed three-Test English tour in 1969 was cancelled in the wake of the sensational Basil D'Oliveira affair, when the South African-born cricketer, a member of the English team, was refused permission to play for England in his home country because of his colour. A weak Dutch team stepped in to fill the breach, but were easily defeated in all three Tests by a team captained by Eileen Hurley. Thereafter, closely paralleling the fortunes of the whites-only South African Cricket Association (SACA) men, South Africa played only one more official home series against New Zealand in 1972 before stagnating in isolation for 25 years.⁵⁹

After exclusion from the first women's World Cup held in England in 1973 because of South Africa's apartheid policy, SARWCA sought help from conservative friends in Britain, as did their men's counterparts. The era of privately organised tours commenced, with the Derek Robbins XI (men) and the Unicorns (women) providing relief to a beleaguered whites-only cricket establishment. Pat Crain, a member of the 1960 English touring team, was responsible for bringing out the Unicorns, who made four tours to South Africa between 1974–5 and 1983–4, the first three under her captaincy.

As isolation tightened its grip in the 1970s and 1980s, SARWCA became firmly locked into the apartheid establishment's attempts to seek legitimacy while maintaining the system intact. Following the 'multi-national' SA Games in 1971, the SA Sports Foundation decided to help women's cricket, and the government started providing aid to avoid isolation. Prime Minister B.J. Vorster twice made a point of personally welcoming the 1972 New Zealand tourists and the Minister of Sport became a key supporter of SARWCA.⁶⁰ The association attempted to make cosmetic changes to stay in international competition through coaching clinics for black youngsters, but these public-relations gestures could not alter the bald realities of apartheid and isolation.

It was only in 1981 that the first black women's cricketer participated in the SARWCA cricket week. She was 22-year-old all-rounder Desiree 'Dee' Marneveld, who represented Western Province.⁶¹ However, it had by now become clear that only fundamental political change could bring normality to South African sport. It became too 'hot' for the Unicorns to visit the country and the inter-provincial competitions also stopped after 1985. SARWCA effectively became dormant.

Democracy and new directions, 1994–2008

In a similar way that the extension of the vote to women in England and other countries after the First World War had led to the formation of the first national organisations and the beginning of international women's cricket, the formal advent of democracy in South Africa in 1994 resuscitated women's cricket, which had collapsed in the last years of apartheid.

After the unbanning of anti-apartheid organisations and the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners in 1990, the African National Congress (ANC) encouraged the long-divided cricket bodies in South Africa, the South African Cricket Board (SACB) and the South African Cricket Union (SACU), to break old moulds and to form a United Cricket Board of South Africa (UCBSA). This took place in June 1991.

The UCBSA prioritised the development of cricket in previously marginalised areas and South Africa became fully part of world cricket for the first time. These developments also stimulated the revival of the women's game. It not only became racially integrated, but given the principles of redress and equality, including gender equality, enshrined in the constitution of the new democracy, it came to be regarded in a different light. The UCBSA recognised women cricketers as part of the high priority 'targeted groups' earmarked for 'accelerated advancement because of historical imbalances', together with black African and disabled cricketers.⁶²

Post-1994, a strong emphasis was placed on the development of women's cricket and women began to fill significant roles not only as players but also as administrators and coaches in UCBSA programmes.⁶³ By the early 2000s more

than 9,000 women from as many as 1,109 schools and 269 clubs were playing cricket in South Africa.⁶⁴ Girls now participate actively on a large scale in mixed teams in the Bakers' mini-cricket programme. The sport is also becoming increasingly popular in girls' schools. Johmari Logtenberg of KwaZulu-Natal became the first girl to play for a boys' provincial team when she competed in the under-13 primary schools tournament in East London in 2001–2, and was later made the captain.⁶⁵

The South African Women's Cricket Association (SAWCA) was established in 1996, replacing the dormant whites-only SARWCA formed in 1952. After a pilot tournament involving four of the five provincial regions, a formal inter-provincial tournament was begun in the 1996–7 season, followed by a similar under-19 competition. SAWCA affiliated via the UCBSA to the IWCC, and began competing internationally.⁶⁶

In 1997, the first women's national side since democracy was selected to tour Britain and Ireland. Later that year, South Africa reached the quarter-finals of the World Cup played in India. In the 2001 World Cup in New Zealand, South Africa reached the semi-finals; and in 2005 the Women's World Cup was held in South Africa. Another milestone was reached when Nolubabalo Ndzundzu from Border became the first black African to gain selection for the national side. Women have also moved into key positions in cricket. For example, Elise Lombard is the CEO of the Northerns' Cricket Union and Thandi Orellyn was the first woman to be appointed to the board of directors of Cricket South Africa (CSA). Women cricketers are now represented on the General Council of CSA.

In the early 2000s a decentralised inter-provincial league was launched, along the lines of men's competitions, replacing the centralised annual inter-provincial tournaments. A girls' under-16 national tournament was added to the existing under-19 national tournament and in the 2002 tournament for this latter age group, 61 black players participated, the majority of whom were Africans.⁶⁷ Today more than 50% of South African television viewers who follow cricket are women.

In a major step towards normalising women's cricket, the ICC and the women's IWCC decided in 2002 to amalgamate. This finally took place in 2005, bringing men and women cricketers under one global coordinating body for the first time. The base of women's cricket has subsequently expanded from the 15 countries affiliated to the old IWCC to 78 (out of 101) ICC member countries 'with some form of women or girls cricket'.⁶⁸

Although the progress of women in the mainstream of cricket has been relatively limited given the historical invisibility of women cricketers, pervasive male cultures of cricket and the huge disparities that exist worldwide in terms of socio-economic indicators between the sexes, amalgamation will in future be seen as a defining step forward. In a world where women's rights are growing and competition between sports is increasing, the ICC has realised that 'the universal involvement of women in cricket is vital to the continual growth of the game'.

Signs of the new directions in women's cricket were the first international Twenty20 match between England and New Zealand in 2004 and the inaugural women's ICC World Twenty20 tournament in England in 2009, where the top teams played in curtain-raisers in the famous cricket stadiums where the matches in the parallel men's competition were held. This brought more exposure than ever before and the standard of the top international teams – England, New Zealand, Australia and India – has increased to the extent that many players now play the game professionally.

‘A well conducted and serious approach to sport’

The primary goal of this essay is to provide a historical framework for understanding the evolution of women’s cricket and the involvement of South African women in the game over the past 200 years. It is based on a chronological narrative limited in its theoretical underpinnings and analysis, but which will hopefully open a window for historians and social analysts into a little-known area.

Contrary to almost universal popular belief there is a substantial record of women playing organised cricket for the past 100 years in South Africa. This took place on a small scale, but with clearly discernible patterns of participation and organisational development. As many as 40 inter-provincial tournaments held since 1952 alone are ample proof of this. I have found details and scores for most of these tournaments, and will thus be able to include the national women’s bodies in the organisational history of South African cricket, 1795–2011, that Krish Reddy, Christopher Merrett and I are currently preparing.

Statistics are in many ways the lifeblood of cricket, keeping fans and commentators debating endlessly on the merits of different generations of players and teams. Women of the past can now be included in the statistical discourses particular to cricket, which until the last few years has been a men’s-only domain. From being marginal (and often ridiculed) participants in the game, they can claim their own ‘history’ with integrity as they move increasingly into the mainstream of cricket and society in the twenty-first century. Perhaps this will hasten recognition, maturity and full citizenship for women in a game and country still heavily influenced by strong nineteenth-century inheritances of racism and patriarchy.

Women’s cricket has in many ways mirrored developments in South African society and in men’s cricket in the past 120 years. From the very ‘British’ early culture and class nature of the game; to its particular geographical spread; to the powerful influence of educational institutions in disseminating it and defining ‘appropriate’ behaviour and roles in a colonial setting; to the initial enthusiasm for sport by the black middle classes (who give it a distinct local culture); to their subsequent official exclusion as segregation developed into full-blown apartheid (which the whites-only sports bodies supported); to the international isolation of establishment sport because of this; and to the ways in which democracy promoted new egalitarian cultures, brought new opportunities and helped to start de-racialising the game.

The past ‘invisibility’ and current marginal status of women in cricket, I argue, is strongly linked to the fact that cricket – self-consciously constructed as ‘the gentleman’s game’ – is historically one of the most ideological of all sports, with a culture shaped directly by the strong currents of colonialism, social Darwinism and patriarchy which were at a highpoint in mid to late nineteenth-century Britain when the game assumed its modern character and spread to all parts of the world. Women could play hockey, golf and tennis, but it was ‘just not cricket’ to have them swinging bats. In keeping with dominant patriarchal values in the sport, the idea of women playing cricket was frowned upon for many years. The ideology of cricket did not permit men to accept women as co-participants. It has been argued that this would have directly challenged male control of sporting space and undermined all the values of manliness, muscular Christianity and the ‘imperial mission’, upon which the ethos of cricket was based.⁶⁹

Marginal figures in a men's world, women's cricketers grittily opened up a niche for themselves on the fringes of the game, but men had no intention of accepting them into the mainstream. As late as the 1960s, women in Cape Town approached the Western Province Cricket Union about possibly playing in the lower men's leagues. This after beating a lower league side, who observed that they were good enough to participate and encouraged them to apply. Christine Bald wrote to the WPCU asking their view, but 'We got a polite letter back saying that such an application would not be considered'.⁷⁰

Where it was able to take root, women's cricket had to sustain itself in a gender ghetto throughout the twentieth century, separated from and largely unacknowledged by the male cricket establishment. In South Africa the character and social milieu of the women's game up to the 1960s was a very particular one: clearly British-girls-school in origin, racially exclusive and linked to the urban, English South African cricket culture epitomised by well-known, affluent anchor clubs such as Wanderers, Ramblers and Alma.

From the mid-twentieth century, women's cricket was relatively well organised and players' scrapbooks, newspaper reports and detailed surviving archives show a high level of interest and motivation on the part of the women cricketers, at least in the bigger provinces. Operating on the margins of the men's game, they were involved in a range of activities, kept efficient records, were creative in fund-raising (although forever in need) and were able to leverage facilities and some support from men's cricket and local government. Teams sometimes travelled by boat to coastal venues, tournament programmes were produced, newspaper coverage was organised and regular mayoral receptions and social events were held. Special song lists compiled for tours showed the strong social dimensions linked to playing cricket.

Despite the triple oppression of black women under colonialism and apartheid – race, class and gender – I have shown in *The Story of an African Game* that they too have been part of the game of cricket since the formation of the earliest clubs and inter-town contests in the 1880s. Although pigeon-holed into gender roles, they were never completely constrained by Victorian and African patriarchal mindsets.

This essay also tries to show that advancements by women in cricket/sport, both globally and in South Africa, have been uncannily (though not surprisingly) linked to political developments, in particular the extension of social rights and the franchise to women. In cricket, it was literally a case of 'ballot box to batting crease'. For example, the first national body, the Women's Cricket Association (1926), and the beginnings of international cricket followed within years of the extension of the franchise to women in Britain. Similarly, the black women interested in cricket in the 1880s were those associated with the small group of enfranchised black male voters in the Cape Colony, and it was after white women were given the vote in 1929 that the local cricketers linked up with the WCA and envisioned the first national women's cricket body. After democracy in the 1990s, women became more centre-stage in South Africa as well, with black players participating for the first time and official recognition from and incorporation into the previously men's-only body.

Women cricketers in South Africa and the colonies both challenged and reinforced dominant values in the game. The act of women playing was to a large extent subversive in itself, but at the same time the (politically conservative) women cricketers continued to romanticise the protocols of a game steeped in a conservative, classist and patriarchal culture. At the 1954 tournament, the SARWCA president Jo Field 'gently reminded players that cricket was a

“gentleman’s game” and that both on and off the field they should act as “ladies”; and the *Cape Argus* newspaper approvingly noted in response that ‘the “ladies” played like “gentlemen”’.⁷¹ Behind such plays on words were serious issues and questions.

This study raises interesting questions relating to gender and role definitions in sport. Laws, customs, fashions and ideas of ‘femininity’ constantly intersected with cricket. A top SARWCA official noted in the 1950s that in England the WCA constitution ruled that shirts had to be short-sleeved, no caps were allowed and ‘wicket-keepers whether from England or overseas are not permitted to wear slacks when keeping – I gather that both this and the no caps rule is so that they cannot be accused of copying the men’.⁷²

The SARWCA constitution laid down that only wicketkeepers were permitted to wear slacks, and long sleeves were allowed because of the harsh sun. However, the constitution was firm about maintaining a distinctly feminine touch: all unions were required to have blazers and to wear white pleated divided skirts, ‘to be not more than four inches from the ground when kneeling’, as well as ‘poplin’ shirts ‘with glad-neck’, white three-quarter length hose (socks) and white footwear.⁷³

Reflecting the heavily patriarchal societal values of the time, comments in newspapers and men’s cricket circles were often condescending or even outright sexist. After three provincial cricketers were pictured with black eyes in the 1954 tournament, letters to the press described women who played cricket as ‘unlady-like’,⁷⁴ a theme that recurred regularly. In 1965, the players were outraged by an irreverent article and tawdry photos in the *Sunday Chronicle* and asked that ‘an objection be lodged against such farcical representation of what we all consider and know is a well conducted and serious approach to a sport’.⁷⁵

Women in cricket were not merely passive recipients of a game, but active shapers of their worlds, giving cricket new meanings, redefining notions of femininity and fashion. From the outset they were challenging, implicitly and explicitly, the notions of cricket as purely a ‘gentleman’s game’. Responding to the stock imputations that women cricketers were ‘unfeminine’ and acting in contradiction to their ordained roles as wives and mothers, Dr Muriel Ritchie from Southern Transvaal, explained simply during the 1956 tournament:

I have never had the time to get married – but have had it to play cricket ... It is the best game that a woman can play. It gives you excellent exercise, without over exerting one. It is a physically and emotionally healthy recreation. It teaches you to concentrate, and it develops the co-ordination between brain and body ... it has no negative effects.⁷⁶

Women’s cricket in mid-century was a game mainly for single people or, as they were ubiquitously described, for ‘misses’. Only three out of the 70 players in the 1956 tournament were married and there was only one married woman in the 1954 Western Province cup-winning team. This aspect of the women’s cricket culture needs more investigation and analysis.

Another simple piece of logic women’s players applied in relation to the ideologically constructed ‘gentleman’s game’ argument was to point to comparative examples. As when Christine Bald said, ‘I see nothing unfeminine about cricket; it is no different from women playing tennis or golf’.⁷⁷

The numbers of girls and women playing cricket in South Africa peaked at about 10,000 after democracy, but the estimated figure of 400 participants in 1956,⁷⁸ of

whom some 70 took part in the annual inter-provincial tournament, is a more realistic indication of the numbers involved over the years.

The life stories of stalwart cricketers, including women such as Winifred Jeffrey, Clarrie Peirce, Vicky Valentine-Brown and Marjorie Robison, emphasise the exceptional yet relatively small social circle in which women cricketers operated. These individuals (a tiny minority moving upstream against strong societal norms), the social dimensions of their games, and how these have changed over time, can provide rich fields of further scholarly analysis for anyone interested in issues of history, gender and sport. In conclusion, this study opens a window into a whole new world of South African cricket, only indistinctly pictured until now. The time has come to add it to mainstream narratives of the game. Hopefully this will contribute to more inclusive cricket cultures in the twenty-first century.

Note on contributor

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Notes

1. This essay is based on work-in-progress since 2004 for a book on the history of South African cricket, 1795–2010, which the author is writing in collaboration with Krish Reddy and Christopher Merrett. Initial pieces resulting from this research include Odendaal, “‘Neither Cricketers nor Ladies’”, in *Women’s Cricket World Cup 2005 South Africa*; and Odendaal, “‘Neither Cricketers nor Ladies’: Towards a History of women and cricket in South Africa”. See also A. Odendaal, ‘A Women’s Place is Out in the Middle’, Western Province Cricket Association 19–21. Thanks to Marie van der Merwe, Janet Burger, Yvonne Austen, Keri Laing, Shan Cade, Louise Vorster, Rosemary and Jean Wilke and Colleen Roberts for sharing valuable material and insights. Douglas Booth, Chuck Korr at the University of Missouri (St Louis) and Dennis Northcott of the Missouri Historical Society were also a great help.
2. Kirsch, *The Creation of American Team Sports*, chs 2, 9; Mellville, ‘An Aspiration to Cosmopolitanism’, 16–21; Cooper, ‘Canadians Declare “It Isn’t Cricket”’; Gillespie, ‘Wickets in the West’.
3. See Odendaal, *The Story of an African Game*, ch. 42; Desai *et al.*, *Blacks in Whites*, ch. 1.
4. On this concept see Bundy, *Re-making the Past*, 69.
5. See Archer and Bouillon, *The South African Game*, 6–13.
6. See for example, Heyhoe-Flint and Rheinberg, *Fair Play*, ch. 1; Frindall, ‘Unveiling the Ladies’, 214–15. Two early books written from a participant perspective by women are Pollard, *Cricket for Women and Girls*; and Joy, *Maiden Over*.
7. Sandiford, *Cricket and the Victorians*, 1–2, 29.
8. See for example Odendaal, ‘South Africa’s Black Victorians’; Odendaal, *The Story of an African Game*, chs 1 and 2. For a superb recent study on the ethos of muscular Christianity and the associated political, social, class and racial attitudes, see Collins, *A Social History of English Rugby Union*.
9. These examples are from the pioneering study on gender in sport by Mangan and Park, *From Fair Sex to Feminism*. I found this a useful guide to the beginnings of women’s sport, especially the following chapters: McCrone, ‘Play Up! Play Up!’; Hargreaves, ‘Victorian Familism’; Fletcher, ‘The Making and Breaking of Female Tradition’; and Crawford, ‘Pioneering Women’. It also include Beckles, ‘A Purely Natural Extension’ and King, ‘The Sexual Politics of Sport’.
10. On the educational reformers and school sport, see McCrone, ‘Play Up! Play Up!’, 103–22, especially 113–14. For a full discussion of Bergman-Osterberg’s ideas see Fletcher, ‘The Making and Breaking of Female Tradition’.

11. See Sandiford, *Cricket and the Victorians*, 43–8.
12. Williams, *Double Century*, 100.
13. Holt, *Sport and the British*, 128.
14. McGirck, ‘Neither Cricketers nor Ladies’, 196.
15. Holt, *Sport and the British*, 129.
16. McCrone, ‘Play Up! Play Up!’, 119–20.
17. ‘Cypher’, ‘The History of Cricket in Natal’, 63–5; Odendaal, *The Story of an African Game*, 27–28.
18. Reid, ‘The Western Province Cricket Club’; and Jeppe, ‘Early Days of Cricket in the Transvaal’, 363, 810.
19. Odendaal, *The Story of an African Game*, 44–8.
20. ‘King Williams Town NCC vs East London NCC’, *Isigidimi sama Xhosa*, 16 Jan. 1884.
21. ‘Izimiselo ze kroki’, *Isigidimi sama Xhosa*, 16 June 1884; *Isigidimi sama Xhosa*, 1 May 1884; Archer and Bouillon, *The South African Game*, 101. According to the latter source the first tennis club in South Africa was founded two years earlier, in 1882.
22. ‘Ibala labadlali – ibhola eBhayi’, *Imvo Zabantsundu*, 18 Jan. 1888.
23. St Matthew’s SPG mission, Keiskama Hoek, Visit of the Lord Bishop of Grahamstown and a short account of the mission, May 1884, 10.
24. Mager, *Gender and the Making of a South African Bantustan*, 201.
25. The three quotes that follow are from Winch, *England’s Youngest Captain*, 71, 76.
26. All these examples and quotes are from Winch, *England’s Youngest Captain*, 64, 71, 76, 80, 85, 117–118, 125
27. *Ibid.*, 64.
28. Winch, *Cricket in Southern Africa*, 270.
29. Quoted in Winch, *Cricket in southern Africa*, 270.
30. Drawn from early reports provided by Jean Wilke and the school librarian.
31. Sparks, *The cricketer’s Compendium or Cricket from a country Angle*, 117.
32. Report in *APO*, 24 May 1909.
33. McCrone, ‘Play Up! Play Up!’ and Hargreaves, ‘Victorian Familism’ . 117, 131–144.
34. King, ‘The Sexual Politics of Sport’, 73.
35. Frewin, *The Boundary Book*, 218–19; ‘Australia’, ‘New Zealand’, ‘Holland’ and ‘South Africa’, in Swanton, *The World of Cricket*, 347–9; Pollard, *Cricket for Women and Girls*, ch. 2.
36. Winifred Jeffrey Collection: Handwritten notes by W. Jeffrey, n.d.
37. Girls High School Wynberg, *Diamond Jubilee*.
38. S.C.H., ‘When Girls Entered for Tug-o-war Events’, *Cape Times*, n.d. 1942.
39. *Ibid.*
40. E. Kingswell, ‘Women at the Wicket’, *The South African Ladies Pictorial*, May 1934, 29.
41. *Ibid.*
42. Odendaal, *The Story of an African Game*, 129.
43. *Ibid.*, 139.
44. Finlayson, ‘Foreword to the 2003 Edition’, 7.
45. Jordan, *The Wrath of the Ancestors*, 170.
46. D. Stent, ‘Feminine Talent Sprouts at the Wicket’, *Cape Times Weekend Magazine*, 26 Feb. 1972.
47. ‘History of Women’s Cricket in South Africa’, 16.
48. Chettle (ed.) *South African Cricket Annual 1951–1952*, 245–246.
49. ‘Cape Town women form own cricket union’, *Cape Argus*, 27 September 1951.
50. Chettle, *South African Cricket Annual 1951– 1952*, 246.
51. D. Behrens, ‘SA Vroue raak dol oor krietet’, *Die Huisgenoot*, 26 Feb. 1956, 54–6.
52. Chettle, *South African Cricket Annual 1955*, 197; André Odendaal Collection: D.E. Tope, Hon. Secretary SARWCA, to ‘All Secretaries’, 4 Oct. 1956, enclosing ‘Report to the South Africa and Rhodesia Women’s Cricket Association on discussions with the Women’s Cricket Association in England’.
53. For details see Heyhoe-Flint and Rheinberg, *Fair Play*, chs 3–5 and 175–87.
54. H. Butler, Western Province Womens Cricket Union Archives, undated newspaper cutting. Handwritten profile, n.d.
55. *Ibid.*

56. Amanda Botha, 'Nuwe lewe in WP se vroue-krieket', *Die Burger*, 10 Nov. 1965.
57. Maureen Payne Collection: Herman Le Roux, 'Agteruitgang te bespeur in vrouekrieket', *Die Volksblad*, n.d., Jan. 1966.
58. *Caught and Bowled* 6, no. 3 (March 1972) and 8, nos 2–3 (Feb.–March 1974).
59. Maureen Payne Collection: Herman Le Roux, 'Agteruitgang te bespeur in vrouekrieket', *Die Volksblad*, n.d., Jan. 1966; 'Girls in a Spin', *Cape Argus*, 8 Oct. 1968.
60. South Africa and Rhodesia Women's Cricket Association, *Official Souvenir Programme of the Inaugural Visit by a Netherlands Women's Cricket Team, 1968/9*; South Africa and Rhodesia Women's Cricket Association, *Official Tour Programme of the Inaugural Visit by a New Zealand Women's Cricket Team, 1972*; *Cape Argus*, 25 Feb. 1972.
61. Sam Mirwis, 'Desiree Breaks Race Barrier in Provincial Cricket Week', *Sunday Express*, 4 Jan. 1981.
62. André Odendaal Collection: Transformation policy of the UCBSA, adopted by the General Council of the UCBSA on 13 Sept'. 2002, 11.
63. Odendaal, *The Story of an African Game*, 302–309.
64. 'Cricket and Nation Building', Report by the United Cricket Board of South Africa to the Parliamentary Portfolio Committee on Sport, 11 Sept. 2001, 12.
65. Desai *et al.*, *Blacks in Whites*, photograph and caption between 234 and 235.
66. Bryden, *Protea Assurance South African Cricket Annual 1996*, 495.
67. Gerald Majola, CEO, Interim report, 'Transformation: 2002/3 Season'.
68. See International Cricket Council, *The Development and Integration of Women's Cricket*.
69. McCrone, 'Play Up! Play Up!', 117.
70. P. McKenzie, 'Women Cricketers are Battling to Survive in WP', *Argus*, 30 Jan. 1971.
71. 'They Kept their Eyes on the Ball', *Cape Argus*, 6 Feb. 1954.
72. Tope to 'All Secretaries', 4 Oct. 1956.
73. SARWCA draft constitution as amended at the special council meeting held at Bloemfontein on 17 and 18 Nov. 1956, 11–12.
74. 'They Kept their Eyes on the Ball', *Cape Argus*, 6 Feb. 1954; 'Dislike Women's Cricket', letter from C Berkely Prest, *Cape Argus*, 11 Feb. 1954; 'Not an Admirer of Women's Cricket', Letter from 'anti-amazon', Western Province Cricket Union Archives.
75. Winifred Jeffery collection, *Sunday Chronicle* article 1965 with attached handwritten letter by Winifred Jeffery.
76. Behrens, 'SA vroue raak dol oor krieket'.
77. McKenzie, 'Women Cricketers are Battling to Survive'.
78. Behrens, 'SA vroue raak dol oor krieket'.

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