Abstract

Cecil John Rhodes is on record as saying he had only met two creators in South Africa, one being himself and the other James Douglas Logan. The orchestrator of the 1901 South African cricket tour to England, J.D. Logan was born in Reston, Scotland on November 26, 1857. The son of a Borders Railwayman, Logan had emigrated to South Africa where, with an entrepreneurial mind, he quickly made his fortune within South Africa’s burgeoning colonial society. Affectionately referred to by the South African press as the ‘Laird of Matjiesfontein’, after the small Karoo town he had developed, Logan’s deep affection for cricket undoubtedly helped to popularise the game in South Africa. An important figure culturally as well as politically, Logan’s life and contribution to the game is the focus of this socio-historical study.

In order to explore the processes and events that shaped South African cricket between 1888 and 1910, a wealth of original data was collected from archives in the United Kingdom and South Africa predominantly. A range of secondary sources were also used. The study examines the links between the development of the ‘empire game’ in South Africa and the social and political environment of the time, with particular reference to the role of James Logan. In many respects, Logan’s involvement in politics and the early cricket tours reflected wider processes at work in South Africa’s colonial society. This pugnacious Scotsman epitomised the process of cultural imperialism forged between Britain and Her far-flung colonies. His is a story of sport, politics and opportunity and is a distinctive contribution to any history of cricket and colonialism in late nineteenth century South Africa.
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Acknowledgements

Firstly, I would like to thank my supervisors, Professor Jennifer Hargreaves and Dr. Marc Keech for all their help and assistance throughout the course of this study. Special gratitude goes to Professor Hargreaves whose support and guidance, starting at Brunel University in 2002, has been a major factor in this project. I have the honour of being her final PhD student.

My thanks also to the staff of the many libraries and archives I have used throughout the United Kingdom and South Africa. Particular mention must be made in this regard to the staff of the South African National Library in Cape Town as well as the librarians of the Special Collections Department at Stellenbosch University whose help and friendship have played such a big part in my research over the years – special thanks to Mrs Hanna Botha and Ms. Mimi Seyffert. My gratitude too goes to the late Major John Buist and his family who allowed me access to their private family collection. It has been a privilege to have been able to tell James Logan’s story.

This project has been the culmination of living and working in South Africa over the past decade. It has been a tremendous journey. To all my good friends in South Africa, particularly Carol van Vuuren and Ken and Lesley Pilkington whose hospitality and kindness have made my stay in South Africa all the more pleasurable. I would also like to thank Dr. Elizabeth Bressan who first allowed me the opportunity to study at Stellenbosch University all those years ago. Her guidance will always be appreciated.

To the new ‘Laird of Matjiesfontein’, Mr David Rawdon, a man of exceptional faith and generosity, and to all the people of Matjiesfontein – to whom this work is dedicated.

Finally, and certainly not least, my special thanks go to my parents Les and Gill and to Mandi, whose support throughout this long yet absorbing study has been unyielding. I could not have done this without you all.
I declare that the research contained in this thesis, unless otherwise formally indicated within the text, is the original work of the author. The thesis has not been previously submitted to this or any other university for a degree, and does not incorporate any material already submitted for a degree.

Signed:

Date:
Figure 1. James Logan
Figure 2. South Africa, 1899
Chapter 1

Introduction
Chapter 1 – Introduction

At the conclusion of his country’s tour to England in 1904, South African cricketer Ben Wallach recorded the following:

I do not think the public of this country and England fully realise the generosity of gentlemen like Mr. Bailey and Mr. Logan who finance these Cricket Tours, which bring the Colonies into closer and more friendly contact than any other means; but I can assure them that the men who have – thanks to them – fought South Africa’s cricket battles are greatly indebted to them, and no doubt the appreciation of the larger public will come in good time.¹

While the role of Abe Bailey has been recognised over the years,² very little has been written to date about the contribution of James Douglas Logan to the development of cricket in South Africa. Despite being described as “the second of the three great patrons of [South African] cricket”,³ there remains a dearth of information about James Logan and the influence he had on the game’s development at the end of the nineteenth century.

One hundred years have passed since Wallach made his plea, and this study aims to address the situation by investigating the life and times of James Logan as well as exploring the processes and events that shaped South African cricket during its formative years. Essentially a study of white, male-driven South African society at the turn of the twentieth century, the forces of colonialism and imperialism are explored within this thesis by focussing on Logan and the times in which he lived. The archetypal colonial, James Logan left the class confines of Britain during the 1870s to make his fortune on the frontiers of the British Empire and his untold history, including his contribution to the development of cricket in South Africa, is the inspiration for this project.

Kitson Clark considers the most important reason to conduct historical research is the hope of making “a valuable addition to knowledge on a subject which you believe to be … important.”⁴ Indeed, whilst much has been written about empire, imperialism, and the Anglo-Boer War in South Africa’s history, there is still much to be investigated regarding social and political events as well as the key individuals who shaped this era. James Logan was a man of his time whose contribution not only to cricket, but also to the wider processes of colonial society, has been largely missed by the pens of twentieth century historians. This study has addressed this void using a rich variety of sources from archives in both Britain and South Africa.
Cricket and Empire

The history of cricket in South Africa is about more than sport. Within the preface to his study of *The Games Ethic and Imperialism*, J.A. Mangan expressed the wish that he;

Would not like [the] study of cultural diffusion to be naively and erroneously catalogued under “Games”. It is concerned with much more: with ethnocentricity, hegemony and patronage, with ideals and idealism, with educational values and aspirations, with cultural assimilation and adaptation and, most fascinating of all, with the dissemination throughout the Empire of a hugely influential moralistic ideology.5

Arguably, nowhere more than in South Africa have such processes been played out through sport. The ‘cultural diffusion’ of which Mangan talks relates to the ideology of British Imperialism that arrived in South Africa during the nineteenth century, and Gemmell remarks in his recent book that the politics of South African cricket is about the game as it has reflected South African society. SA cricket has been concerned with what lies ‘beyond the boundary’6, drawing our attention to the period of British domination in South Africa – the late 1800s, of Victoria, of Empire – that laid the foundations upon which the sport and society structures of today are being contested. This study explores South African cricket and society during this important period.

Cricket is a sport that has received considerable literary attention during its history. Nevertheless, while there has been a plethora of works detailing tours, players and important matches, the actual significance of the game and what is has stood for within the British Empire has not been comprehensively addressed. In his landmark work of 1963, C.L.R. James was a pioneer in exploring the significance of cricket ‘beyond’ the playing arena,7 and since then, others, inspired by such insight, have followed his initiative.8 Only recently, Jon Gemmell, one of the most recent analysts to explore cricket’s significance in South Africa, exclaimed how, “The contest between bat and ball, with all its complexities, intrigue and insights into character, serves no purpose to the political scientist beyond mere aesthetics.”9 Certainly this rings true. For social historians of cricket, myself included, the primary concern is, after all, not with results or performances but with “what the game represents and its place in a model of society.”10

The period under investigation for this study is particularly relevant to an understanding of early colonial cricket in South Africa. Prior to the 1860s, cricket was supported by an enthusiastic but comparatively small proportion of the British population, tolerated at schools,
but not imbued with any notable social significance and often regarded as a meaningless distraction from the important matters of life. During the next twenty years or so however, everything changed. Cricket, as Morrah explains, became a national institution and part of the recognised training of an Englishman both abroad and in the nation’s schools and colleges. Interest in the game soared and in every part of the British Empire, first-class matches were reported by expert journalists who fed the public’s desire for news on leading players and results. Described by John Arlott and others as the ‘golden age’ of cricket, “the whole game exuded consciousness of a great destiny” during this time. This was the sporting climate upon which James Logan’s association with the game was based.

In order to analyse Logan’s influence one must therefore provide a background of the significance and role of cricket in both British and South African society during this time. Before this thesis explores Logan in greater detail, Chapters 3 and 4 first perform the important function of establishing the context for the study. Chapter 3, ‘The Imperial Game’, begins by investigating the social construction of cricket during the Victorian era and its portrayal as the archetypal ‘Englishman’s game’. The renowned cricket writer Neville Cardus once reflected how “cricket somehow holds up the mirror to the English nature” while novelist E.W. Hornung, himself a product of the Victorian age, declared in Kenyon’s Innings: “My dear fellow, it was only a game – yet it was life.”

“In the late Victorian period and for at least the first half of the twentieth century, cricket,” explains Jack Williams, “was taken to encapsulate the essence of England and had a key role in how the English, particularly the economically privileged, imagined their national identity.” Chapter 3 examines cricket’s link to Victorian society, with its issues of race and gender, and explores the key agents responsible for instilling the sense of ‘Englishness’ upon the game during its so-called ‘golden age’. Patrick Morrah encapsulates perfectly the spirit of the era:

Such … was the cricket of the last years of the nineteenth century and the opening years of the twentieth – gay, adventurous, elegant, dynamic. The immediate, tangible influences were the improvement of wickets, the new standard set by W.G., the emergence of the school-trained amateur. But the fundamental causes of the blossoming of golden cricket lay deeper – in the character of the age itself. The Victorian era was one of solidarity, the building up of British prosperity and security after the desperate struggle of the Napoleonic wars. As the age progressed its paramount characteristic became self-confidence. Britain was the most prosperous nation in the world; wider still and wider were the bounds of empire set; the upper classes were entrenched in power, and nobody questioned their right to rule.
Based on the rigid class system of Victorian society, cricket’s social formation during this time mirrored the hierarchies that existed within wider society. Chapter 3 goes on to explore the professional-amateur distinction that was so essential to cricket’s imperial character at the turn of the century. So strong was this ethos that it was transferred, along with the game itself, to South Africa as well as other realms of the British Empire.

The Victorian age was a period of expansion. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the British Empire contained around 460 million people and was spread over an area of more than 12 million square miles. Occupying nearly one quarter of the world’s area and including almost one quarter of its total population, Britain’s Empire was “by far the most enormous imperial system that the world had known.” According to Sandiford, “The Victorians were inordinately proud of this empire which they regarded as tangible proof of their racial and moral superiority.” As much to do with commercial and industrial growth as with race or morality, competition from newly industrialised European nations saw Britain accelerate its expansionist policy in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Coinciding with James Logan’s period of prosperity, almost 5 million square miles of additional territory and about 88 million new subjects were ‘acquired’ by imperialist Britain between 1870 and 1900.

The population explosion which the British Isles witnessed during 1750-1900 left room for mass emigration as British subjects, like Logan, sought, and were encouraged, to seek new opportunities in the colonies. By the time of Queen Victoria’s death in 1901, there were approximately 100 million people of ‘British stock’ occupying territories beyond the United Kingdom. As Britons moved abroad so did cricket. As Chapter 4 demonstrates, cricket in South Africa developed at a time of imperial expansion within the regions and, as it had done elsewhere, the game became intertwined with notions of empire throughout the country. As part of the cultural imperialism designed to cement ties between Britain and her dependants, cricket’s development in South Africa is shown in Chapter 4 to mirror the progression of British influence throughout the territories. Indeed, it was not long before South Africa was accepted into imperial cricket’s exclusive ‘club of empire’. As Williams explains:

Test cricket was played only between England and colonies or former colonies. As cricket was believed to express a distinctively English morality and as apologists for the Empire stressed the moral obligation to extend the benefits of British rule, the nature of cricket as an imperial game meant that cricket and imperialism became mutually supporting ideologies.
By the time of the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902), cricket was established as the English game of empire within South Africa. However, its development back in Britain during the second half of the Victorian age, had been the usual sporting mix of accident and design. “For a generation or more the game had been so dominated by the professional touring sides that at one time even the hegemony of the MCC appeared to be threatened”, suggests Brailsford. “County matches, though, which had for so long been part of cricket, proved in the end to be more to new sporting tastes than the old touring spectacles, and county clubs were established on a permanent basis.”

It was during this time, too, that a penchant for overseas tours took hold. Cricket’s influence was spreading to the colonies and there were those who wanted to take advantage of this development. A further aim of this study has been to investigate the organisation and significance of the cricket tours that took place between South Africa and England during the period 1888 to 1910. Chapter 4 highlights the role of these early cricket tours to South Africa in cementing English sporting culture throughout the regions. The role of the Marylebone Cricket Club (M.C.C.) and key individuals such as Lords Harris and Hawke are explored as part of this process, as is the spread of the ‘imperious game’ to groups other than the English in South Africa.

**James Logan**

“It is time,” according to Mangan, “that it was more widely recognised that by the late nineteenth century sport lay close to the heart of Britain’s imperial culture.” This study addresses Mangan’s concern by using a biographical approach - with particular focus on the influence of James Logan on the development of cricket throughout Southern Africa. For cricket, like other forms of British sport, “formed a distinct, persistent and significant cluster of cultural traits isolated in time and space, possessing a coherent structure and definite purpose. While it had many cultural functions, it had certainly become a means of propagating imperial sentiments.”

Certainly, the tours of the English cricket teams to South Africa at the end of the nineteenth century were “imperialist in nature” and intended, in some part, “to promote imperial ideology.” James Bradley views the sending of touring teams abroad as “the most important area of imperial cricket” for it,

Served the twin purpose of giving an opportunity for the hosts to re-affirm their faith in Britain and the Empire, and also of stimulating the game in the colonies by setting an example and a standard to be followed. The private tours, which became another expanding and important part of cricket in the 1890s, were an
important aspect of developing this bond, whether this was the intention of their organisers or not.32

Prior to the M.C.C. and South African Cricket Association (SACA) taking full responsibility for international tours between England and South Africa,33 it was left to the private enterprise of individuals such as Lord Hawke and James Logan to organise and fund these ventures. However, while Hawke shared the imperialist’s belief in the important role that cricket had to play in the Empire, his methods of taking cricket’s message overseas were somewhat less altruistic.34 Chapters 5 and 6 examine the tours of Lord Hawke and his English teams to South Africa during the 1890s, as well as the social and political context in which they occurred. James Logan was integral to these developments, and his role during this time as South African cricket’s principal benefactor is explored in detail within the remaining chapters of the thesis.

As this study shows, James Logan was a true entrepreneur, perfectly adapted to the ways of late nineteenth century South Africa. On the back of support for British imperialism, Chapter 5, ‘Cricket’s Laird’, explores how Logan effectively created his own personal empire by manipulating the social, political and cultural climate of the time. The Cape Colony, isolated geographically and dependant on Britain for direction, was still a developing society. It afforded Logan the ideal environment in which to operate. Prone to self-aggrandisement, Logan was continually aware of the importance of reputation and public image. Rarely distinguishing between acts of business and altruism, Logan cleverly manoeuvred himself into positions of influence in every sphere of his life. Sport, and cricket in particular, played a significant part in this process.

At the height of its imperial heyday Britain had developed an obsession for sport – an obsession that encompassed all parts of its society – both at home and abroad. “For the confident middle classes it was a secular religion, and for the entrepreneurs a potential goldmine.”35 James Logan was both. The archetype colonial, he could see the ‘value’ of sport on both an honourable as well as a profitable level. It was during this time that cricket, in particular, captured the public’s imagination. Baucom highlights the “mass celebrations” which greeted the news of W.G. Grace’s one hundredth first-class century in 1895, as an indication of cricket’s wider appeal during this period: “Through the swarming of cricket across the printed page, in conjunction with the sprawl of cricket fields across the surface of England and the empire, … the game,” he asserts, “and the disciplinary discourse of cultural identity which it represented, could extend its reach … [to] the agents and subjects of colonialism.”36
A main aim of this thesis includes the examination of James Logan’s role as an ‘agent’ in the development of South African cricket as well an investigation of his influence on politics and society during the period 1888 to 1910. Referred to as the ‘Laird’ of Matjiesfontein, after the small Karoo town he had developed, Chapter 5 reveals the background to James Logan’s ‘golden age’ of influence within South Africa’s colonial society and how it coincided with the emergence of cricket during this time. Indeed, within ten years of his arrival in South Africa in 1877, Logan’s name was well known throughout the Cape Colony and beyond. The Scot had acquired wealth quickly and with his ‘empire’ in the Karoo beginning to take shape by the end of the 1880s, it was important that Logan put his achievements on show. Entertaining on a grand scale; endless association with dignitaries and politicians, sportsmen and other cultural figures, and the lavish adornment of his properties at Matjiesfontein and Tweedside were all necessary factors if Logan was to achieve the successful transformation from rail worker to ‘Victorian aristocrat’ within colonial society. An emerging ‘South Africa’, free from entrenched class restrictions, could provide a society, unlike Britain, where entrepreneurs such as Logan could achieve their ambitions through social elevation. Logan’s rapid rise to prominence is explored in Chapter 5, alongside his involvement in imperial cricket during this period.

**War and Politics**

As this study shows, this was an era of huge significance in South Africa’s history. The Anglo-Boer War, which stemmed from the struggle between Britain’s imperialist government and the Afrikaner Republics, effected major transitions in every sphere of ‘South African’ life – in politics, in society and in sport. Significantly, the war came at a time of fundamental development in South African cricket. Benefactors such as James Logan had been promoting the game and its progression was rewarded by international recognition as well as a series of tours between teams from South Africa and the ‘Mother Country’. Chapter 6, ‘Matjesfontein, War and the 1901 Tour’, first investigates the period leading up to the war, particularly the involvement of Logan in Lord Hawke’s historic second tour of South Africa. The first-ever visit of an English cricket team to Rhodesia is explored alongside Logan’s contribution to the spread of cricket within this, Cecil Rhodes’, newest territory.

Like many accounts, this study traces the origins of the South African War to the events of 1896 and the disastrous Jameson Raid. As Winks attests, “The raid is the point at which many historians choose to begin the story of the Boer War, for it – like the sinking of the *Lusitania* or the explosion against the hull of the *Maine* – seemed to lead to an escalation of an already
The impact of the war, which eventually began in 1899, is examined in Chapter 6. The chapter also highlights how cricket, like most aspects of South African society, was affected by this most bitter of conflicts. Indeed, the impact and connotations of the Anglo-Boer War are still being widely debated over one hundred years since the last shot was fired. Van Hartesveldt wrote recently how, “In South Africa the war has significant nationalist overtones, while for the British, despite ultimate victory, it still engenders debate about what went wrong. Heroes and villains have been passionately attacked and defended on each side.” For the first time, Chapter 6 explores the affect of the war upon James Logan and his burgeoning cricket empire and investigates the important role the Scot performed for the imperial cause during the three year campaign.

At the end of the war in 1902, the following profile of James Logan appeared in *The Prominent Men of Cape Colony*: “In politics he is a staunch Progressive, in business he is distinctly canny, and in private life he is the ideal host.” His own village at Matjiesfontein was described within the publication as “a lasting monument to [a] man whose energy and enterprise have made it what it is.” Some years later, Swart wrote how, “Logan’s initiative was unlimited. He tackled all enterprises on a large scale and with untiring enthusiasm. Matjiesfontein had to be the most important town in Cape Colony.” As Chapter 6 reveals, Logan’s colonial reputation had been enhanced through his active contribution to the British cause during the war as well as his patronage of South African cricket – which culminated in his very own tour to Britain in 1901. While records of the tour, which was afforded first-class status by the M.C.C., have often been overlooked within cricketing histories, Chapter 6 shows how the significance of Logan’s tour during 1901 lay beyond cricket itself. As the pivotal achievement of Logan’s association with the game, the public response to the 1901 cricket tour is recorded here using contemporary sources. Coming as it did before the war had officially ended, the timing of the tour is also explored in Chapter 6, as is the controversy that it created.

Politics and cricket were never far apart during this period. For example, “The question of status in international cricket bears a suspicious correlation to varying colonial arrangements in the political arena.” Indeed, as English and colonial cricketers toured the Empire, jingoism abounded. As Birley has noted, “With Joseph Chamberlain, the dominant figure of Lord Salisbury’s government from 1895 to 1902, as Colonial Secretary, and Cecil Rhodes dreaming of an English Africa from the Cape to the Zambesi, imperial expansion was a central political issue.” For any socio-historic investigation of cricket during this age, an examination of the political arena is thus fundamental. André Odendaal explains how, “The development of sport
in South Africa during the nineteenth century was closely linked to colonial politics and reflected in many ways in microcosm the developing South African colonial society and social structures. This study shows the interrelation of cricket and politics at this time by examining the broader context in which they operated. James Logan’s interest in the game, his entrepreneurial spirit, and his growing involvement in affairs of government and imperialist culture embodies a perfect example of the nexus that existed between cricket, commerce and politics during this period.

For these reasons, Chapter 7, ‘Logan and the Political Arena’, examines the political environment of the 1890s. A pivotal period in South Africa’s history, the chapter explores the time leading up to the Anglo-Boer War – a period which, in many ways, defined the era and shaped James Logan’s contribution to the development of cricket in South Africa. Significantly, Logan’s involvement in the railway contract dispute as well as the Jameson Raid, two events that fundamentally altered South African history, will be examined here in detail. Principal characters such Cecil Rhodes and Sir James Sivewright are also explored in Chapter 7 as indicative of the new climate of ‘money politics’ that emerged during this period, and which enabled the growth of imperial cricket. As a backdrop to the promotion and development of the game within South Africa, the chapter traces James Logan’s contribution and significance to the politics of the era.

As a precursor to the detailed story of James’ Logan’s life and times, Chapter 2 deals with the issues involved in conducting historical research, as well as the methodological techniques used to gather and analyse the information used within this thesis. By exploring the archives, a wealth of data has been placed into the social, cultural and political context of the time and used in such a way to make sense of the detailed account of actual events by combining biography with history and society and avoiding descriptive story-telling. In what has been a very personal approach to the research and analysis, data for this study has been gathered from original sources in the United Kingdom and throughout South Africa, including the Logan Family archives at Matjiesfontein (to which I was the first researcher to be granted access). As well as detailing methodological concerns, Chapter 2 also provides an examination of the relevant sport and imperial historiography relating to South African sport and the British Empire.

By using many sources here for the first time, this study makes an original contribution to existing work focussing on sport and society in colonial South Africa towards the end of the nineteenth century. Chapter 8 provides an overview and conclusion to the thesis by placing the
contribution and influence of James Logan on the development of cricket in South Africa against the social and political landscape of the era. As this study shows, the late nineteenth century marked an important period in South Africa’s history, one where fundamental changes occurred in the realms of politics and society. By using a biographical approach to the subject, this thesis demonstrates how cricket became part of many social networks within colonial South Africa. Chapter 8 summarises the significance of the game at this time and the role played by James Logan in its promotion.

Additional Concerns
A few aspects of this study call for specific comment. The first involves translation. On occasion, it was found necessary to use quotations from original pieces written in Afrikaans. Whilst accepting the possibility that the nuance or subtly of a quotation or phrase may be lost in translation, this study has attempted, for the sake of fluency, to convey in English an accurate representation of the original.

The study’s use of the term ‘South Africa’ within the framework of the late nineteenth century requires specific explanation. As Figure 2 illustrates, the area that constituted present-day South Africa at the time of the Anglo-Boer War consisted of two British self-governing colonies (Cape Colony and Natal) as well as two Boer Republics (the Transvaal or ‘South African Republic’ and Orange Free State). There was no united ‘South Africa’ as such until the Boer Republics had been conquered and brought under British rule, culminating in the Act of Union in 1910. The use of the term ‘South Africa’ is, however, common within the contemporary literature as well as the historiography detailing the period prior to 1910, and its use in this study represents ease of description (from the perspective of today) and should not, therefore, be taken in any symbolic sense. For ease of reference, a ‘cast list’ of notable individuals within this study and a chronology of relevant events around this period, are included as appendices on pages 363 to 372.

In terms of race, this thesis is predominantly a study of South Africa’s white colonial society and as such the use of the words ‘Afrikaans’ and ‘Afrikaner’ also needs explanation. In South African historiography ‘Afrikaner’ commonly refers to Afrikaans-speaking whites in general. Employed in this way however, the term ‘Afrikaner’ obscures the constructed nature of Afrikaner nationalism, and perpetuates the myth of a monolithic Afrikaner tribe or nation. This study has used ‘Afrikaner’ in a historically specific sense, to indicate those Afrikaans speakers who came to see themselves as belonging to the racially and linguistically exclusive imagined
community of ‘Afrikanerdom’. References to the ‘Boers’ and the ‘Dutch’ are also used to represent this same group of people. The ‘Boers’ (or ‘farmers’) as they were commonly known at the time, were the majority of Afrikaners who were of rural existence, whilst reference to the ‘Dutch’ acknowledges the predominant ancestral background of the majority of Afrikaners. It should also be noted that the interchangeable use of the terms ‘Boer’ and ‘Afrikaner’, particularly in the context of the 1899-1902 war, is for literary purposes only and should not be viewed in any representative sense. In the late nineteenth century, the term ‘Boers’ refers predominantly to the Afrikaners of the two Boer Republics. Cape Afrikaners were ‘Boers’ mainly in the sense that they were farmers.

Finally, it should be acknowledged that historians and sociologists have referred to the 1899-1902 conflict using a variety of terms. These include the Boer War, the Anglo-Boer War and the South African War, and in recent times the choice of title has itself become a matter for debate. For the sake of fluency however, a combination of these names has been employed throughout this study and their use should not be viewed in any symbolic or reactionary sense.

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7 See C.L.R. James, *Beyond a Boundary*, 1963.
10 Ibid. This of course assumes that cricket and other sports are, as Gemmell states, “subject to the extensive dynamics that shape our social and political environment.”


Ibid.


Derek Birley has described how “a land-grab had developed with all the European powers competing. Markets; raw materials; reception areas for immigrants; Christianity; exploration – all played their part in making Africa and Asia skirmishing grounds for rival imperialistic ambitions.” D. Birley, The Willow Wand, 2000, p.85.


K.A.P. Sandiford, Cricket and the Victorians, 1994, p.144. This despite the fact that the numbers within Britain itself had increased from around 24 million in 1831 to about 41 million in 1901.

“Where the British flag went, so too went cricket” wrote Brian Stoddart. In other words, cricket’s “geographical spread matched that of British expansionists who were part of the direct and indirect British empire.” B. Stoddart, Other cultures. In Stoddart, B. & Sandiford, K.A.P. (eds.), The Imperial Game, 1998, p.135.

For a useful examination of sport and cultural imperialism, see A. Guttmann, Games and Empires: Modern Sports and Cultural Imperialism, 1994, pp.171-188.

J. Williams, Cricket and Race, 2001, p.1.


It has not been acknowledged until recently that cricket is a sport that historically involved all the people of South Africa. Testimony to cricket’s wider influence, Murray and Merret point out how it is “the one major sport that has been widely played by each of the country’s major population groups – African, coloured, Indian and white, Afrikaans-as well as English-speaking.” B. Murray, & C. Merrett, Caught Behind: Race and Politics in Springbok Cricket, 2004, p.3. This is explored within Chapter 4 of this study.


Ibid.


Sandiford has shown how Victorian cricket was never governed by the MCC to the same extent as soccer, for example, which fell under the control of the Football Association after 1863. Reluctantly taking charge of the county championship in 1894, it was not until 1903-04 that the first fully-fledged MCC team was sent abroad (to Australia). See K.A.P. Sandiford, Cricket and the Victorians, 1994, pp.73-76. As Chapters 4, 5 and 6 reveal however, the South African Cricket Association did have a higher degree of involvement in South Africa’s international tours during this period.

Lord Hawke was responsible for sending out a multitude of touring teams across the Empire. He himself accompanied G.F. Vernon’s teams to Australia (1887-88), and India and Ceylon (1888-89). With a taste for travel, along with his two tours to South Africa, he organised his own touring teams to India (1892-93), the West Indies (1896-97), Australia and New Zealand (1902-03, and was captain of the MCC team to Argentina (1912-13). See J. Bradley, The M.C.C., society and empire: A portrait of cricket’s ruling body, 1860-1914. In Mangan, J.A. (ed.), The Cultural Bond: Sport, Empire, Society, 1992, p.37.


I. Baucom, Out of Place: Englishness, Empire and the Locations of Identity, 1999, p.154. It was, according to Baucom, the mid-Victorian expansion of the popular press which made cricket a visible spectacle of ‘Englishness’ in all areas of the globe. Raymond Williams has shown how the expansion was fuelled, amongst other things, by the rapid increase of sports journalism during this period. See R. Williams, The Long Revolution, 1961, pp.173-213.

This is explored in detail in Chapter 7.


The Lakeside Press. The Prominent Men of Cape Colony South Africa, 1902, p.35.

Ibid.


Omissi and Thompson, in voicing their own opinion, allude to the difficulties this has created: “For many British contemporaries it was the ‘Transvaal War’, and runs of official British documents are listed under this heading in the UK archives, whereas in some Afrikaner versions of South African history it has been remembered as the ‘War of Independence’, or the ‘Second War of Freedom’ (the first being the conflict of 1881). Until recently, the most common scholarly description was the ‘Boer War’ or ‘Anglo-Boer War’; but even this can mislead, for the conflict was never simply one between Briton and Boer. All the inhabitants of South Africa – White, Black, Coloured and Indian – were involved in or affected by the war; there were a variety of international volunteers fighting with the Boers; and, particularly by the end, some Boer ‘Scouts’ were working with the British. The ‘South African War’, then, seems both the most neutral and the most accurate description.” D. Omissi, & A.S. Thompson, (eds). The Impact of the South African War, 2002, p.viii. Also see F.R. Van Hartesveldt, The Boer War. Historiography and Annotated Bibliography, 2000, p.1.
Chapter 2

Historical Research: Methods and Methodology
Chapter 2 – Historical Research: Methods and Methodology

Introduction
For purposes of methodological appraisal, it is important to define history – not only in order to show its value as a study and the various uses to which it may be applied, but in order to direct the course of research. As Vincent points out, “The choice of a theme of inquiry and the amount of attention which it deserves should be determined by the relation of the subject to the larger development of the nation or of society. However small the topic, the treatment should have in view its contribution to the larger history of which it is part.”¹ This study endeavours to do this with its treatment of James Logan – to show not only his contribution to the development of South African cricket but also how he was representative of the colonial executive that was so influential in late nineteenth century South Africa. In doing so, the thesis represents an original contribution to existing sport and imperial historiography relating to South African sport and the British Empire.

The life of James Douglas Logan – an important figure culturally as well as politically – and his contribution to the development of cricket in South Africa are central themes of this thesis and justification for the specific focus on Logan is provided within this chapter. In the main, primary sources have been used and in many cases original material, particularly pertaining to the personal archives of Logan, has been used for the very first time by any writer or scholar. This chapter discusses the methods used to collect the data and how the research was conducted over the five year period it has taken to bring it to completion. The chapter reveals the background to the study and considers its significance as an original contribution to the social history of cricket at the turn of the twentieth century. The chapter also examines the role of sport in history and focuses on the study’s place within the relevant historiography examining sport and culture throughout South Africa and the British Empire.

The research largely focuses on the two decades surrounding the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902). This was the time of the first cricket tours between England and South Africa and the period of Logan’s ‘golden age’ when his influence was felt most within the realms of South African society, politics and sport.² The war was highly significant during this era and therefore receives considerable attention within this thesis. The conflict represented the apogee of a dissension that existed between South Africa’s two major white factions and the issues raised by the war caused many to question the processes at work in both South African and British society. It was a time, too, when historians became more aware of the influence of social and
cultural factors in shaping a nation’s political development. Writing in 1911, American historian John Vincent proclaimed that:

> It has gradually dawned upon the world that the economic condition of a nation has a great part in its politics, whatever its form of government may be. Social, intellectual, and moral conditions have to be taken into consideration even in the history of politics, and much more so if a complete picture of a nation’s development is to be given.³

With this in mind, this study is socio-historical in nature focusing on social and cultural factors that have shaped the development of South Africa and its sport.

**Sport in History**

Both Christopher Merrett and John Nauright have alluded to the relevance of studying cricket as part of South Africa’s colonial past. Throughout their chapter within *The Imperial Game* they reiterate how “cricket in South Africa represented British imperialist ideology”⁴ and how the game “has long been part of the imperial dimension in South African history.”⁵ This study builds upon these claims by providing an important and original contribution to this area. In fact, Merrett and Nauright’s chapter (albeit briefly) provides the only reference within recent historiography to the contribution of James Logan to the development of cricket in South Africa. If justification of this study was needed, Logan’s place is acknowledged by Merrett and Nauright who refer to him as the “second of the three great patrons” of the game in South Africa.⁶

Yet sports history itself is a relatively new addition to the field of social history. In 1992, Dennis Brailsford wrote how “the social history of sport is still a young study, with many blank pages to be filled.”⁷ However, since then the socio-historic study of sport and leisure has developed at a rapid rate and has increasingly become an accepted and effective part of ‘mainstream’ social history. As Sandiford explains within his study of *Cricket and the Victorians*, “Historians now know that it is hardly possible to write intelligibly about work without also dealing intelligently with play; ... it is universally recognised that sport is one of the most important features in any society’s culture.”⁸ In addition, Harold Perkin advocates how “the history of sport gives a unique insight into the way a society changes and impacts on other societies it comes into contact with and, conversely, the way those societies react back upon it. In the case of Britain and its Empire in the last hundred years or so, sport played a part in holding the Empire together.”⁹ With this in mind, this study focuses on the ‘empire game’
of cricket within South Africa and Britain and its relation to the wider themes of imperialism and colonialism.

Moreover, successful sports history is, according to Martin Johnes, a “carefully constructed narrative of events based upon a survey of all the evidence and developed with an analysis of why things happened and what they meant.” Based on this premise, the motivation behind this study has been to make a significant contribution to the existing knowledge of South African sport and society by focusing on the life and times of James Logan. By using primary information from a variety of sources, including personal archives that have never been accessed, the contribution of Logan to the social history of cricket in colonial South Africa is explored here for the very first time. By using a biographical approach and examining the individual as an agent of change, this study adds to existing sport and imperial historiography by showing how cricket was integrated into all areas of South African society. It also provides valuable context to colonial imperialism. The originality of the study is a major strength.

If justification was needed for adding to existing knowledge by concentrating on an individual then we should look no further than to the words of Johnes who proclaimed recently: “If we are to assemble the wider collective biography that academic history seeks, then we should not be afraid of telling the stories of individuals and specific places. Only by doing so, can we start to even remotely see our past in the terms of those who actually lived it.” By focusing on Logan, as a form of microhistory, the wider context in which he operated can be appreciated and understood. C. Wright Mills for one recognised the inter-relation between society and the individual:

We have come to see that the biographies of men and women, the kinds of individuals they variously become, cannot be understood without reference to the historical structures in which the milieux of their everyday life are organised. Historical transformations carry meanings not only for individual ways of life, but for the very character – the limits and possibilities of the human being. As the history-making unit, the dynamic nation-state is also the unit within which the variety of men and women are selected and formed, liberated and repressed – it is the man-making unit.

The dynamic then between Logan, cricket and colonial society is the focus of this study and while Perkin contests that “the history of societies is reflected more vividly in the way they spend their leisure than in their politics or their work”, this study shows how it is a combination of all these factors that provides an accurate historical representation of the time. In agreement, Marwick has stated how, “Historians often have to cover what may
conventionally, if inadequately, be defined as the political, economic, and social aspects of their topic." As such, issues of economics and politics feature as readily as sport throughout this thesis in order to highlight the workings of both South African and British society during the period in question.

**South African Sport and Imperial Historiography**

In 1997 John Nauright acknowledged that the academic study of sport within South Africa was in its infancy and despite increased attention since then, many gaps still exist within the social history of South African sport. This study addresses the void using archives that have become more accessible since the dissolution of apartheid. As Nauright points out, because of the racially-driven nature of South African sport, there already existed a large and long-established popular literature on the dominant white male team sports of cricket and rugby and as a result these sports had been largely overlooked by social historians. In the mid 1990s however, Albert Grundlingh led a number of South African academics in publishing works exploring the significance of these traditional ‘white sports’ in the formation of South African cultural identity.

A constituent part of these studies has been an analysis of the sport’s colonial development and British heritage. While Grundlingh, Floris Van der Merwe and Robert Morrell have concentrated their efforts on South African rugby, André Odendaal, Christopher Merrett and Bruce Murray have since explored the development of cricket within the country. Producing *Cricket in Isolation* in the 1970s, Odendaal was in fact among the first academics to examine the history of black and non-racial cricket within South Africa and his 2003 publication, *The Story of an African Game*, marks a further advance in this area. Inspired by this, a small number of overseas scholars have recently examined the history of cricket in South Africa. Jon Gemmell’s book, *The Politics of South African Cricket*, contains significant reference to the imperial heritage of the game and follows the South African publication of Murray and Merrett’s *Caught Behind: Race and Politics in Springbok Cricket*. Produced in 2004, this book highlights the early colonial tours as a significant factor in the game’s development. Within *The Imperial Game*, Brian Stoddart and Keith Sandiford also recognise the link that existed between cricket and imperial politics in the late eighteen hundreds. As part of this collection, Merrett and Nauright examine the specific case of South Africa and detail how the game became associated with a British imperialist ideology during this period.
Other works examining the imperialist nature of Victorian cricket have been useful in providing a context for this study. Within *Cricket and the Victorians*, Sandiford illustrates how the Victorians, and especially those educated at the elite public schools, came to view cricket as an expression of Christian morality and representative of an exclusive and distinctive form of English character.\(^\text{27}\) The extensive works of J.A. Mangan have been fundamental in detailing this educational element in cricket’s development.\(^\text{28}\) Esteemed sports historian Derek Birley has also investigated the myths surrounding cricket in his book *The Willow Wand* revealing that cricket, in reality, often failed to match the ideals of its apologists.\(^\text{29}\) The game, Birley suggests, maintained a haven of Victorian values despite changes elsewhere:

> In the real world outside cricket the results of industrial advance included urbanisation, a more complex stratification of class, based on skill and earning power, the specialised division of labour, the co-operative movement and the trade unions. In its dream-world, cricket, by contrast, managed to avoid such harsh intrusions.\(^\text{30}\)

In another of his publications, *Land of Sport and Glory*, Birley regards cricket in comparison with other sports as “an older, subtler, more cerebral pastime” and, in terms of the Empire, *the sport which was “emblematic of what Britain believed she stood for.”*\(^\text{31}\) Jack Williams is another historian whose work has confirmed the link between cricket and Empire during this era.\(^\text{32}\) His cultural and social history of ‘Cricket and England’ explains the significance of this relationship:

> The nature of cricket as an imperial sport was vital to the assumptions that cricket was a distillation of English moral worth. Cricket was very much the sport of the British Empire. Test matches were played only against teams from the Empire … Cricket played between teams from Britain and other parts of the Empire was seen as a highly effective means of strengthening imperial loyalties.\(^\text{33}\)

Works examining South African sport in general are also relevant to this study. Despite its more contemporary focus, within *Sporting Colours* Mihir Bose recognises the entrenched nature of sporting identities in South Africa and how these stemmed from events at the end of the nineteenth century.\(^\text{34}\) Bose acknowledges the imperial background of South African cricket and how it developed as the exclusive game of the colonial British within the country.\(^\text{35}\) In *The South African Game*, Robert Archer and Antoine Bouillon also acknowledge how “sport is embedded in South African history” and how, after being brought to South Africa by British immigrants, “sport and British cultural values … were thereafter inseparably linked.”\(^\text{36}\) This British model for modern sport they suggest “coincided with the height of Empire” and gave
rise to an “ideology of sport [that] was in its turn assimilated by the ideology of colonialism.”

In a subsequent study of sport and apartheid, Douglas Booth describes in *The Race Game* how “Britain actively pursued a policy of social imperialism in South Africa in the last decade of the nineteenth century.” Based upon these findings, this thesis adds important detail by examining the role of James Logan within South Africa’s colonial context.

In designing this study however, the boundaries of the subject had to be defined. As John Nauright explains within his introduction to *Sport, Cultures and Identities in South Africa*:

> South Africa is perhaps one of the most complex of modern nations and made up of so many competing cultures, identities and ideologies that close analysis is always fraught with danger. Any study will be criticised from some angle as not being inclusive enough of this group or that group or issue, in particular sport and its role in identity-formation in South Africa is also a difficult topic to understand.

In his own words, Nauright’s book “is an attempt to explain and understand the various meanings that sport, and in particular team sport, has had in the diverse communities that comprise present day South Africa.” In doing so, the first two sections of Nauright’s work provide an historical background to the construction of modern day sporting identities within the country: Chapter one “providing a short, but very necessary, overview of South African history and the writing of social and sporting history in South Africa. The second section examines the rise of sporting cultures during the imperial and apartheid eras.” By focussing on South Africa’s white colonial society at the end of the nineteenth century, this study adds specific detail to general overviews such as this.

Themes such as the importance of war and masculinity to Victorian sport are also explored within this thesis. In *Manliness and Morality*, J.A. Mangan and James Walvin examine the ‘cult of manliness’ and its relationship to war and the spread of sport throughout the British Empire. “Between approximately 1850 and 1940,” they argue, “the cult of manliness became a widely pervasive and inescapable feature of middle class existence in Britain and America: in literature, education and politics, the vocabulary of the ethic was forcefully promulgated.”

According to Mangan and Walvin, the qualities embraced by ‘manliness’ include “physical courage, chivalric ideals, virtuous fortitude with additional connotations of military and patriotic virtue.” In agreement, Patrick McDevitt, in *May the Best Man Win*, investigates the “connection between the playing field and the battlefield” that characterised sporting endeavour across South Africa the rest of the Empire at the time of Anglo-Boer War.
late Victorian and Edwardian age, a dominant vision of athletic masculinity in the British Empire was characterised by the ideals of sportsmanship, strength and endurance.46 Both Mangan and McDevitt’s work have been used here to underpin an analysis of cricket’s development in South Africa at a time of intense conflict throughout the region.

Within the Oxford History of the British Empire, Robin Winks also recognises the importance of studies of manliness and sport to the future of imperial history47 while as part of the epilogue to Volume IV, The Twentieth Century, Judith Brown describes how shared sporting cultures represent a significant legacy of Britain’s Empire.48 Works relating to imperialism in general and the British Empire have thus been used alongside sporting historiography to provide a context for the study of James Logan and South African cricket. The Oxford History has been particularly useful in explaining “how varying conditions in Britain interacted with those in many other parts of the world to create both a constantly changing territorial Empire and ever-shifting patterns of social and economic relations.”49 The social and political tension in South Africa at the end of the nineteenth century is highlighted throughout the collection while William H. Worger provides a specific account of South African historiography in the century leading up to the 1990s.50

The significance of the 1880s and 1890s to the expansion of the Empire is discussed by Wm. Roger Louis.51 Describing “a scramble for remaining territory in Africa” and “a Darwinian atmosphere of survival of the fittest”, Louis, along with John Darwin, investigates a distinct ‘Britannic nationalism’ that emerged towards the end of the nineteenth century.52 A vibrant and jingoistic identity became associated, they suggest, with the Empire around the time of war in South Africa and provides context for this study in its analysis of cricket and imperialism. The political and commercial activities of James Logan during this period as well as the development of cricket in South Africa took place against a backdrop of an assured British nationalism that, in the words of Darwin, “rested upon an aggressive sense of cultural superiority as the representatives of a global civilization then at the height of its prestige.”53

Bayly also states within his examination of the Second British Empire how “Imperial history has always been intensely political.”54 Linked to this is the concept of power and wealth. Based on J.A. Hobson’s dictum that ‘finance is the governor of the imperial engine’,55 Cain and Hopkins’ account of British Imperialism 1688-2000 builds a new interpretation of British imperialism as the product of ‘gentlemanly capitalism.’56 Useful in an analysis of James Logan, the concept of middle-class capitalism is explored in relation to the Scot throughout the
thesis. Describing South Africa as the “turbulent frontier of empire”, Cain and Hopkins provide an indication of the dynamics at work during Logan’s period of influence in the Cape.57 Patrick Brantlinger’s *Rule of Darkness*, a study of British Literature and Imperialism, also sheds light on the concept of a ‘New Imperialism’ that emerged in South Africa towards the end of the nineteenth century.58 As Brantlinger explains, “Studies of British imperialism as an ideological phenomenon have usually confined themselves to the period from the 1870s to World War 1, in part because those years saw the development of a militantly expansionist New Imperialism.”59 With South Africa the focus of Britain’s imperial intentions towards the end of the eighteen hundreds, sources such as these have proved useful in providing the background for this study.

**Logan’s Papers: Constructing a Narrative**

In order to make sense of the original empirical data, narrative provides the main method of writing about the history and times of James Logan and the platform upon which analysis is based. Gottschalk suggests that, “Descriptions of past persons, conditions, and institutions or narratives of past events are the goals of historical investigations at the research level”, 60 and Collins alludes to the advantages of using the narrative approach, rather than a thematic one, in his history of rugby league football:

> There are a number of reasons for this, the most obvious being that the chronology of rugby’s rapid development … lends itself perfectly to the narrative format. Without wishing to exaggerate there is drama in the story. However, there are also methodological reasons for this approach. History is created by men and women pursuing their perceived interests in circumstances which are beyond their choosing. The danger of working in a thematic framework is that change, discontinuity and individual actions are ignored or underplayed in an attempt to uncover ‘long waves’ of historical development or to elaborate theoretical constructs. Periods separated by relatively short spans of time can be profoundly different, especially as perceived by the participants, a fact which is especially true of late Victorian sport. 61

However, in the case of this research, the narrative and thematic formats were not seen as incompatible. “In any kind of description or narrative, historical facts have to be (1) selected, (2) arranged, (3) emphasised or minimised, and (4) placed in some sort of causal sequence” 62, and in order to manage and organise what seemed originally to be a huge and unwieldy amount of information, and to facilitate analysis and understanding, this thesis is written in a narrative format within a thematic structure. The process itself was far from straightforward and, importantly, the final narrative product incorporates critical analysis (interpretation) which provides context and colour to the events of history. As Vincent claims, “it is by the proper use
of description that events and persons are visualized and set in motion, and it is the duty of the historian to give his matter life.”

Philip Brooks argues that, “The official records of an organisation … may provide the framework, the skeleton, of a historical narrative. Private correspondence or memoirs can enrich it with the flesh of personal feeling, opinion or interpretation.” In the case of James Logan’s story, information derived from official records, such as the minutes of the South African Cricket Association and the proceedings of the Cape House of Assembly, provided a backdrop for Logan’s personal papers from the Logan Family Collection at Matjiesfontein. It is the subjective character of a ‘human’ or ‘personal’ document that makes it a particularly useful source in a study such as this. The human document has been defined by the sociologist as “an account of individual experience which reveals the individual’s actions as a human agent and as a participant in social life.” The psychologist’s interpretation of a personal document has included, “any self-revealing record that intentionally or unintentionally yields information regarding the structure, dynamics and functioning of the author’s mental life.” For whatever purpose they are used, both forms of document (official and personal) do, however, share an essential characteristic: they function as a repository of attitudes. They are both of significant value to the social historian. However, as part of the research design for this study, the imposition of a pre-organised conceptual grid has been avoided so that it could develop according to the findings.

Personal correspondence and letters are of particular value to a socio-historical study such as this. In particular, if “spontaneous and intimate, [these] rank high in credibility” suggests Gottschalk. Unfortunately, despite access to the archives at Matjiesfontein, limited personal documentation about James Logan remains. However, newspaper reports and dispatches have proved invaluable, particularly those contained within Logan’s personal scrapbook. A form of reportage for the public, the time lapse between event and recording is usually short and so newspapers, in the main, are considered to be a reliable and accessible source of information. Editorials and letters pages can be among the best sources for gauging contemporary opinion. All forms of newspaper reports have been used throughout this study.

The use of newspapers alone however should be tempered with some caution as despite the claims of ‘factual reporting’, bias as well as inaccuracies will inevitably exist. “In fact,” says Kitson Clark, “there have always been, and still are, a good many people who do not recognize the important distinction between what it is reported that a man did say and what they believe
he must have said, or may have said, or may have thought.” A “reliance on newspapers,” warns Collins, “has its weaknesses: even in the late nineteenth century the sporting press had its own agendas and reporting was probably as selective and superficial as it is today. Any historian must be highly suspicious of such material.” This of course ties in with the whole concept of being critical of the sources and forms a major basis of the research process. After all, “if you are to try your hand at historical research you are doomed,” claims Kitson Clark, “to a continual and difficult struggle to maintain and improve your critical standards, and what perhaps is most needed is not great subtlety of mind or unusual detective ability, it is unremitting vigilance, watching carefully your own methods as well as the vagaries of the material on which you are working.”

A main source of primary data has been James Logan’s personal scrapbooks. The scrapbooks remain intact as part of only a small collection of miscellaneous correspondence. The scrapbooks themselves contain a number of artefacts and newspaper cuttings, both South African and British, detailing Logan’s personal, business and political exploits with detailed information on Matjiesfontein as well as the 1901 cricket tour. Beginning in May 1883, following his success in the contract debate, the books detail the career and life of Logan during the crucial period up to August 1901. Both books were meticulously maintained by Logan himself and somewhat insightfully, tend only to include articles which are either informative or complimentary of Logan and his affairs. As a result, newspapers such as the Cape Argus and South African Review which share Logan’s political viewpoint appear more regularly than periodicals of opposing views. The British press reports included within the scrapbooks also tend to be complimentary of Logan and his achievements in South Africa. This is especially true of the Scottish newspapers, such as the Berwickshire News, which were more than willing to report the achievements of the famous ‘Scotsman abroad’. Because of the apparent ‘selection’ of the articles, the material derived from the scrapbooks has therefore been subject to careful interrogation and comparison with other less ‘complimentary’ sources of information.

**Examining the Sources**

For ‘traditional’ historians like Arthur Marwick, the distinction between primary and secondary sources is fundamental: “Primary sources, as it were, form the basic ‘raw material’ of history; they are the sources which came into existence within the period being investigated. The articles and books written up later by historians, drawing upon these primary sources, converting the raw material into history, are secondary sources.” Whilst it is through the secondary sources that one becomes familiar with the field and aware of the gaps in knowledge,
it is through the use of primary material that real advances are made. “If you are planning to make an original contribution to historical knowledge, you are,” after all, “unlikely to make much of a stir if you stick strictly to other people’s work, that is, the secondary sources.” This has often been the case with past works on South Africa where a failure to explore the archives in that country has resulted in an overuse of secondary literature. There is “an urgent need,” asserts Collins, “to establish the historical record. Too much work on sport has been produced which relies on secondary sources and half-digested myth.” By using a wealth of original primary sources, this study aims to redress this imbalance.

Secondary work does, however, have an important function and should be used throughout all stages of the research and writing processes. This is especially true when the focus of using primary material leads one away from the main direction of the study. As Marwick rightly points out, “primary sources, numbingly copious in some areas, are scarce and fragmentary in others. Much has to be garnered indirectly and by inference. Historians do not rely on single sources, but are always seeking corroboration, qualification, correction; the production of history is very much a matter of accumulating details, refining nuances.” Primary sources, whilst providing the staple of any serious study, can indeed prove a challenge to the researcher and should not be viewed uncritically. It is the technical skills of the historian that therefore determine how the material is sorted, defined and used. Frequent reference to secondary work is imperative within this process and these been used throughout this study.

Although there is a dearth of research regarding James Logan, this study has found one or two secondary sources of particular use. Robert Toms’ *Logan’s Way*, while in no respect an academic history, did provide a biographical framework from which to start, whilst Viney’s Masters thesis, which deals primarily with the Logan Contract crisis, delivered many useful leads with regard to sources. *Logan’s Way* has been the only published work detailing Logan and Matjiesfontein and while it provides an initial overview of the life and times of Logan, it contains many of the flaws that are common to ‘amateur’ historiography. For example, a neglect to acknowledge the sources is compounded by the failure to link the different aspects of Logan’s life. By relying solely on Logan’s scrapbook, there is very little analysis and many of the more ‘controversial’ aspects of Logan’s life have either been missed or intentionally ‘avoided’. As Marwick suggests, this type of work may prove of use to some, but is best avoided by those who advocate rigorous historical methods: “It may be that the poetic desires … are best catered to through historical novels; and, of course, amateur historians sometimes prefer to tempt this audience with books which are colourful and romantic, and
unreliable, not rigorous and analytical, and firmly based in the sources, as genuine historical works should be.” However, in an area which has not been studied before even this kind of publication can, if used correctly, still provide some useful background.

As this thesis shows, James Logan was both a politician and businessman with complex relationships and agendas at all levels. The principles of historical criticism, described by Homer Hockett, provided a useful tool in dealing with the various papers associated with Logan and his times. “It is always wise,” notes Hockett, “to inquire whether the maker of a statement had a personal interest of any kind to be promoted by having his statement believed.” Logan was indeed a political ‘chameleon’ and a master of self-publicity. He was continually aware of the power of the press for example, and he knew how to work it to his advantage. “To what race, nation, party, sect, social set, profession, or other group” is another important question when testing the validity of a statement. Prejudice – or at least an element of bias – is prevalent in the majority of sources. Furthermore, according to Hockett, “the historian must expect to find all controversial matters treated with more or less bias.” The Logan Contract episode, explored in Chapter 7, is a case in point, with the testimonies of Logan, Sir James Sivewright and even Cecil Rhodes himself, being tempered here within this thesis against the strongly held views of the three liberal politicians.

The Victorian age has itself offered historians a plethora of opportunities due to an increase in information from that period. As Richard Evans explains:

Late nineteenth-century American, European [and South African] society was not only vastly more populous than before, it not only produced many more documents, reflecting both the increase of literacy and the rapidly increasing functions of the state, it also generated new kinds of sources, from mass newspapers to photographs and films.

The use of images and photographs within this study not only enhances what is written, but the pictures themselves represent pieces of valuable primary evidence. In particular, the private collection of James Logan’s photographs which were uncovered by the author at Matjesfontein in 2004, represent an original source that has never been exposed to the public before. Many of these photographs, along with images from a variety of other sources, have been arranged throughout the thesis to supplement the text. Arthur Marwick boasts of “a long record of using visuals … as genuine primary sources to be explicated, not simply as ornamentation.” Indeed, all visual sources that enhance a study should be considered.
Contemporary Literature

Alongside primary sources such as photographs, newspapers and private correspondence, this study has also analysed an abundance of cricket literature from the period in question. This has provided an insight into contemporary attitudes and opinions and has strengthened the findings of this study. As Sandiford points out, “during the last twenty years of the nineteenth century advances in telegraphy and printing spawned a massive sporting press of which cricket literature constituted a major part. Manuals, histories, biographies and match reports all underlined the philosophical objectives of cricket.” 87 It is our job as historians to be selective in the use of these sources. “While much of it remains hagiographic, sycophantic and self-serving, there is also a body of work,” suggests Brian Stoddart, “which carries compelling stories of people’s lives, socially reflective messages and ideals by which many more people might live.” 88 Moreover, by using the correct historical approach, an investigation of certain works reveals the importance of the game as a social and political tool in the expansion of British culture: “As modern textual analysis and literary theory instructs, contextual readings of such works and their contemporary reception suggest just how ideologically imposing they were.” 89

An investigation of contemporary cricket literature indeed reveals the significance of the game ‘beyond the pavilion’. “Any attempt to place cricket in a broader Victorian framework must begin,” suggests Sandiford, “with a synthesis of contemporary press reports and the countless books written by journalists ever since.” 90 Cricket coverage in the Victorian press was considerable and this compensates for the rather sparse records and reports of nineteenth century cricket at both English and South African clubs. As a result, “the cricket historian, in search of primary materials, is even more completely at the mercy of contemporary journalists.” 91 However, as Sandiford adds, “by far the greatest asset is the extensive body of cricket literature that is readily available. The game has generated more books, and better written books on the whole, than any other. These abundant secondary sources need to be synthesised and properly integrated.” 92 The use of contemporary books, once ‘secondary’ in their creation, thus contributes a large portion of the ‘primary’ data used throughout this study. Chapters 3 and 4, for example, contain many references to Victorian books on cricket. These alone provide a valuable insight into the significance of the game during the period.

Sandiford is correct when he says that:
Burrowing through the voluminous files of the Victorian sporting press is hard work, but it is also tremendously rewarding. These sources enable us to recreate a fairly composite picture of the nineteenth-century cricketing world – especially when they are judiciously used alongside the memoirs of such late Victorians as Sir Home Gordon, Sir Henry Leveson Gower and E.H.D. Sewell.93

Indeed the Victorians, in their earnestness, left a plethora of autobiographies and monographs. Those who were involved in cricket were no different in this respect from contemporary political leaders. Many players from the imperial age such as C.B. Fry, W.G. Grace, Lord Harris, K.S. Ranjitsinhji and Sir Pelham Warner, among others, left ‘recollections and reminiscences’94 from which a good deal of social history could be gleaned for this study. For the South African context, Luckin’s The History of South African Cricket, although published in 1915, proved an invaluable source in tracing the development of the game throughout that country in the late eighteen hundreds.95

Conclusions

As this chapter has shown, the type of information historians obtain from the past depends largely on which documents have been retained. As Evans explains, “Archives are the product of the chance survival of some documents and the corresponding chance loss or deliberate destruction of others.”96 Yet the survival or otherwise of historical information is, as Evans asserts, undeniably a matter of history itself. The record left for us by the past is fragmentary, and the process of selection not always arbitrary: “But historians have always known this, and have always thought it important to situate the surviving fragments in a broader context created by other remaining fragments, thus gaining some sense of the whole even where significant parts of it are missing.”97

Once the sources have been found and the information gathered, the next major step is to produce a coherent account of the findings. “Every historian is aware of the complexity of the facts, their irreducibility to a single linear narrative,” which, Evans reflects, represents perhaps the single most difficult challenge when writing a thesis.98 Even the most fundamental data is, after all, ineffective without purpose and structure. It may be of some comfort to know that “everyone writing a work of history … is confronted by the problem of how to separate out the still inchoate material collected … during research into a series of more or less coherent narratives and structural strands, and then of how to weave these strands together into a more or less coherent whole.” And, as Evans rightly concedes, “often the decisions taken have a material effect on the interpretation itself.”99
In the early 1980s, Eric Hobsbawm argued that sport was one of the most important new social practices of late nineteenth – early twentieth century Europe, and as such played a significant role in the creation of politically and social cohesive ‘invented traditions’. Since then Stoddart has observed how, “the evidence is now quite clear on just how central a social institution sport was in the development of British colonial rule.” Based upon this, this chapter has focussed on the relevant sport and imperial historiography relating to South African sport and the British Empire. It has also considered the methods used to collect the data and how the information has been accessed from a variety of sources both in South Africa and the United Kingdom.

Of course the manner in which findings are presented has a major bearing on how they are interpreted and understood. For this thesis there could never be any question of presenting a ‘simple’ chronological narrative – not even of Logan’s life – because there were far too many processes and events going on at the same time. Politics, sport and society were all intertwined and arranging a complexity of information purely in terms of chronology would have delivered a chronicle with little explanatory impact. The workings of Logan and the times in which he lived, required contextualisation and as a result, the structure of this thesis (Chapters 3 and 4 providing the background to the more specific topics covered in Chapters 5, 6 and 7) is the most effective way of communicating a mass of empirical evidence to support a series of causal arguments and hypotheses.

This study should be measured on its own terms and evaluated for its value in contributing to existing historiography relating to South African sport and the British Empire. According to Marwick, “A work of history should be judged by what it is setting out to do, by the level it is aiming to operate on. It is as pointless to criticise a PhD thesis for being narrow as it is to expect a work of popular history to present the last word in sophisticated scholarly analysis.” While the story of James Logan is fundamental to an understanding of the colonial history of South African cricket, telling it has required maintaining a balance between an original piece of historical research and the demands imposed upon it by an ‘apprenticeship’ in academia. There is scope of course for it to be developed.
35 Ibid., p.16.
37 Ibid., p.3.
40 Ibid.
41 Ibid., p.3.
43 Ibid., p.2.
44 Ibid., p.1.
45 P.F. McDevitt, *May the Best Man Win. Sport, Masculinity, and Nationalism in Great Britain and the Empire*, 2004, p.11.
46 Ibid., p.9.
57 Ibid., p.325.
59 Ibid., p.19.
60 L. Gottschalk et.al, *The Use of Personal Documents in History, Anthropology and Sociology*, 1945, p.47.
72 A. Marwick, *The New Nature of History*, 2001, p. 26. The distinction is further compounded by Robin Winks: “By a “source” the historian means material that is contemporary to the events being examined. Such sources include, among other things, diaries, letters, newspapers, magazine articles, tape recordings, pictures and maps. Such material may have appeared in print before, edited or unedited, and still be a source. The term is meant to be restrictive rather than inclusive, in that it attempts to indicate that works of secondary scholarship, or synthesis, are not sources, since the data have been distilled by another person.” R.W. Winks, (ed.). *The Historian as Detective*, 1968, p.xx.


76 Although many of my primary sources have never been used before in connection with Logan, it should be noted that this in itself does not guarantee originality of work. Individual influences as well as styles of approach and method all produce different interpretations of the same source, no matter how many times it has been consulted. As Marwick rightly points out, the “fallibility of history lies as much in the establishing of the facts as in writing them up” however, “given the same set of sources historians could still come up with different views as to what exactly the facts were.” A. Marwick, *The New Nature of History*, 2001, p.48.

77 Ibid., p.27.


82 Ibid.

83 Ibid., p.55.

84 See Chapter 7, pp. 270-284.


91 Ibid., p.6.

92 Ibid., p.6.

93 Ibid., p.11.

94 The title of Lord Hawke’s autobiography published in 1924.


97 Ibid., p.89.

98 Ibid., p.143.

99 Ibid., p.143.


Chapter 3

The Imperial Game
Chapter 3 – The Imperial Game

For Patrick Morrah, the ‘golden age’ of cricket came at the dawn of the twentieth century, spanning the two decades between 1895 and 1914. Beginning in 1895 with the burgeoning of the ‘Indian Summer’ of W.G. Grace, the game was as popular as ever in the home country while overseas cricket’s influence was spreading to all boundaries of Britain’s empire. The end of the era arrived in 1914 with the Great War and the gradual passing of the amateur influence. It was during this period, too, that South Africa, one of England’s most recent ‘cricketing colonies’, was experiencing major transitions in both society and structure. As this study shows, the golden age of cricket coincided with the Boer War era; a pivotal period in the social, cultural and political history of Southern Africa. Cricket, as it had done elsewhere, was set to play its part. It was a time also when the colonial James Logan was prospering through an association with the game. However, before any examination can take place of the role played by Logan or the processes at work in South Africa, the game itself, with its ethos and its origins must first be defined.

The development of cricket within specific periods of history has received considerable scholarly attention during recent times. None more so than the period encompassing the mid to late eighteen hundreds – a spell that exhibited a tremendous growth in the game’s significance. Within Britain and Her colonies, cricket came to symbolise the very essence of English, Victorian society. “It is difficult to underestimate the importance of cricket in Victorian life” explains Sandiford. “It was a ritual as well as recreation, a spiritual as well as a sporting experience. Its values were used freely by politicians, philosophers, preachers and poets.” It became the ‘imperial game’ and, above all else, it was an English creation.

Indeed the cricket phenomenon that infiltrated sport-playing societies across the world, from Australia to the West Indies, had its origins in nineteenth century England. Here it had been transformed from a simple, pastoral game into a powerful and symbolic force representing all that was deemed by the ruling classes to be worthy in the Anglo-Saxon character. “In a fiercely nationalistic era Englishmen regarded cricket, an exclusively English creation unsullied by outside influence, as proof of their cultural supremacy.” It was a time of complacency, security and opulent pride. Victoria had expanded her empire and cricket came to symbolise the civilising mission of the Englishman abroad. For Britons like Logan, the game epitomised the spread of British influence throughout South Africa whilst representing a tangible link with ‘home’. Reflecting on cricket’s place in the social history of England, J.A. Mangan has
suggested how the game “held up a mirror to society; it reflected its essential inequalities, snobberies and its essential harmony: but it did more, it successfully sustained all three.”

In order to explain the role of both James Logan and cricket in South Africa’s social and political development, this chapter must first investigate the establishment of the game within Victorian society and how, during its so-called ‘golden age’, it became infused with a symbolism and ethos that served a British imperial agenda across the globe. Politicians, educators and clergy will all be explored as perpetrators of this subtle, yet purposeful process of transforming cricket into the exclusive and revered ‘Imperial Game’.

**Cricket and Victorianism**

The history of cricket, being interwoven with the life of the people of England, can only be fully appreciated if it is set against a backdrop of social history. Certainly by the late nineteenth century cricket in England was as popular as ever, no longer confined to specific social groups or regions. Across the Empire, ‘Englishness’ had become synonymous with ‘Britishness’, and for Scots like James Logan the appeal of imperialism and the expansion of British influence across South Africa, included an attraction for Victorian (English) culture – cricket included. The game had become, as Holt explains, the English national sport via its spread from eighteenth century gentry to the growing Victorian middle classes and industrial workers of the cities. Whilst the winter sport of football remained divided from the outset into its ‘association’ and ‘rugby’ codes, cricket became the universal English summer game with great cricketers emerging as national figures in a way other sportsmen could never achieve.

While Queen Victoria did not take an active part in cricket, she did however grant the royal stamp of approval. As early as 1838, a cricket match between The North and The South was being played at Lord’s in honour of the Monarch’s Coronation and in 1850 the Home Park Cricket Club was founded after the Queen had donated ground at the foot of Windsor Castle to local residents. The Prince Consort also served as patron of the Marylebone Cricket Club from 1846 until his death in 1861. The Prince of Wales (the future Edward VII) followed his father’s lead and became patron not only of the M.C.C. but also the Surrey County Cricket Club. “No doubt her Majesty takes some interest in cricket as one of the pleasures of her people,” reflected cricketing aristocrat K.S. Ranjitsinhji in 1897. Indeed, Prince Christian Victor, a favourite grandson of Queen Victoria’s, had by then become a most accomplished
cricketer. Having played at Magdalen College, Oxford and throughout the empire as part of a distinguished military career, he died along with many fellow cricketers during the Boer War. The Prince, according to Pelham Warner in 1912, was “by far the best cricketer yet produced by the Royal Family”, while his sacrifice to Country during the war in South Africa was seized upon within the pages of Imperial Cricket, which proclaimed how he had been “buried in Pretoria, in the heart of the country he helped to win for England.”

The link between cricket, royalty and empire was discernible. Royal family members were regular visitors to the prominent Victorian cricket festivals, and contributed generously to the Dr W.G. Grace Testimonial Fund in 1895. Such royal validation was, according to Keith Sandiford, “of major importance in an age when aristocrats as well as commoners still followed the guidance of the monarchy in matters cultural.” Chapter 4 explores how royal patronage helped to establish cricket throughout the globe. In South Africa, as elsewhere, the game was being taken to a new level.

Along with royal approval, part of cricket’s appeal to the Victorians was its heritage and tradition. Historians were prone to emphasise the antiquity of the game and point to the fact that it pre-dated other team ball sports in the country. Indeed, early records of the game were fastidiously maintained and this helped create a rich heritage from which to draw inspiration. It was the early eighteenth century that saw cricket established in south-east England, its homelands being the villages of Kent, Surrey and Sussex. It was also well known in London. A match with a team purportedly representing the best cricketers of a county had been played as early as 1709. The old written rules dated from 1744, the year when interest in the game had reached such a level that spectators paid for admission to a match at the Artillery Ground in London. Around 1750, the famous Hambledon Club was founded under the captaincy of Richard Nyren and “modern cricket, as we know it” began in earnest.

Assumptions about the English nature of cricket and of the morality of the game were linked with perceptions of cricket as essentially a sport of the English countryside. True, the game had originated in the rural areas of the Sussex Weald and adjoining counties, but it was the Victorian cricket writers who were responsible for portraying village cricket as the epitome of English life. In fact, despite such notions of rural tranquillity, it was during the final decades of the industrial revolution when cricket most fully claimed the nation’s attention. Between 1840 and 1860 the number of county clubs almost doubled; between 1836 and 1863 the number of county games tripled and then, in the next thirty years tripled again; between 1869 and 1896
the Marylebone Cricket Club quadrupled its match load.\textsuperscript{20} Baucom suggests that the migration of workers into the cities and the final rounds of the enclosure movement during the industrial revolution meant that cricket’s popularity grew amongst all classes as a compensation for ‘space’ lost elsewhere:\textsuperscript{21} “Deprived of the land itself, England’s labouring classes, one might say, were offered the cricket field as a substitute common.”\textsuperscript{22}

Cricket had emerged as the national game during this period despite the fact that by 1890 only a third of the counties were recognised as ‘first class’ and were thus able to contend for the county championship. The championship itself had been an invention of the press years before it had had its official rules and in the period between 1890 and 1914, there were four different schemes for allocating points and deciding league placings.\textsuperscript{23}

However despite the slow development of the first class game, a definite hierarchy already existed in the sport’s structure during this period. Some years later, Edwardian cricket writer and eminent imperialist Sir Home Gordon, wrote how:

> English cricket may be compared to an imposing edifice. The spacious foundations are formed by village matches. On that is raised the charming ground-floor of club cricket. The more austere and less irresponsible super structure of county encounters appears majestic but severe. The cupola consists of Test Matches and is so elevated as to excite ambitious aspirations, but also so bleakly exposed as to lose recreative consciousness.\textsuperscript{24}

Despite its elevated position, Victorian cricket was not administered centrally. Not all county matches were coordinated within the championship structure while inter-town fixtures and those played among the aristocracy were arranged on a localised basis. Yet the Victorians revered cricket as they did the other established institutions of the time, such as Parliament, the Monarchy, and public seats of learning. It is this historicist element in English culture that gave cricket its moral worth\textsuperscript{25} and attracted Britons abroad, like James Logan, to the game.

According to one analyst, the Victorians occupied a world of constant social and political flux so, despite their superficial optimism and jingoistic displays of confidence, they did, in fact, harbour real concerns about their future.\textsuperscript{26} The industrial revolution had delivered massive technological changes and these too had instilled conflicting senses of pride and insecurity.\textsuperscript{27} According to Keith Sandiford, this social duality “formed the basis of instinctive Victorian conservatism which encouraged a devotion to crown and cricket, two quite different and
familiar institutions which, in their judgement, constituted the most powerful and appropriate agencies for promoting organic social harmony.”

To re-affirm its respectable, conservative image, gambling and corruption were removed from the game as the Victorians imbued cricket with their own puritanical values. Georgian laxity was frowned upon and cricket was played for spiritual and mental regeneration. The spectacular exuberance and panache of previous times was replaced by solid stroke-play and the most earnest of displays of sportsmanship. The game was being transformed.

Victorian devotion to cricket saw the game spread both in Britain and throughout the Empire during the last decades of the nineteenth century. In England, with the county championship institutionalised, 1873 saw 9 counties compete in 31 first-class matches. By 1899 the competition had grown to 15 county clubs competing in 149 games for that year’s championship. Games were also played over three days with increased numbers of spectators in grounds all over the country. Social patterns were established during this period which endured for almost a century.

The Making of a Golden Age

Despite the estimations of Patrick Morrah that cricket’s period of opulence began in the 1890s, a ‘golden age’ of cricket was being heralded decades earlier. In 1877, Charles Box proclaimed, in royalist tones, that

The sun never goes down upon cricket … From one end of the globe to the other tidings of the game come so frequently that its universality aught to be pronounced. If so, the reign of our beloved Sovereign, among its many attributes of glory and greatness, deserves in a cricket sense to be called the AUGUSTAN or GOLDEN AGE.

True, cricket was on the rise in Britain. The game’s popularity had grown in the years preceding the war in South Africa. Domestic crowds in the 1880s and 1990s were almost double those of the 1870s as star players began to emerge and key fixtures contested. League cricket, essentially a phenomenon of the Northern and Midlands industrial areas was flourishing as well, yet offered little threat to the county game which by the end of the century was entrenched as the custodian of cricket’s established tradition. County cricket exuded a glamour that attracted both gentlemen and players drawn perhaps to the myth of rural England. The game had become an ideological escape from the hardships of the industrial age.
According to Morrah, the development of cricket’s status at that time was due to a single family, and above all to a single man. The family was that of an obscure West Country doctor, Henry Mills Grace, whose passion for the game and cricketing sons blazed the trail for English cricket. Notably it was the fourth son, William Gilbert, born 18 July 1848, who was to carry this mantle for the rest of his life.

W.G. Grace became the talisman of cricket but more than that, “he was a pillar of English life.” “For decades,” as David Frith explains, “Dr. William Gilbert Grace had been perhaps the most famous man in England, rivalling Gladstone and the Prince of Wales.” Within his acclaimed *Beyond a Boundary*, C.L.R. James highlights the centrality of Grace’s role within cricket and society during the Victorian age. “Through W.G. Grace, cricket, the most complete expression of popular life in pre-industrial England, was incorporated into the life of the nation. As far as any social activity can be the work of any one man, he did it.” Grace became, as Ian Baucom testifies, “a hero of the Victorian age.”

The emergence of the Graces not only transformed the level of cricket, it also promoted the county game, giving their home county, Gloucestershire, a decided advantage during the 1870s. Expertise in the game had previously been driven by the professional touring teams and both Lancashire and Nottinghamshire were able to call on a number of talented professionals to make up their number in the early days of the championship. Indeed, Nottinghamshire won or shared the title no fewer than nine times during the period between 1873 and 1886.

Following its obscure beginnings in the 1860s, the seventies and eighties witnessed the county championship become the central feature of the season. And with the first visit of the Australians in 1878, international cricket also got underway. The first ‘Test Match’ in England (the name was not in use until some years later) was played at the Oval in 1880 and was won by England, whose team included three Graces. Then in 1887 came the Surrey dynasty, led by George Lohmann and Tom Richardson, two of the best-known bowlers of the late Victorian age. Lohmann’s eventual association with South Africa and James Logan is explored in Chapter 5 but during his playing years at home, Lohmann was a key fixture in both the Surrey and England elevens. Indeed, as the popularity of the game increased, so did the profile of its players, and Surrey were able to boast some of the most noted batsmen of the period, such as Robert Abel, William Brokwell, Maurice Read, Walter Read and John Shuter. With such an array of talent, the county notched up six consecutive titles at the Oval beginning in 1887. It was only after Lord Hawke had transformed Yorkshire in the early 1890s that a serious
challenge to Surrey’s dominance occurred within the domestic game. After George Lohmann had moved to South Africa and the decline in form of Richardson, Surrey’s weakened attack allowed Yorkshire to take the title in 1896 and 1898.39

The game’s balance was also changing. As the end of the nineteenth century approached, there were signs that the bat was acquiring too great a mastery over the ball. This was the period of experiments with marl, and some grounds-men were succeeding in creating wickets that, in fine weather, gave the bowler little chance. While South Africa continued with matting wickets at this time, there had been a vast improvement in first class pitches in England since the 1880s. Prior to this the bowler held the initiative on rough grounds, and watchful defence was the keynote of successful batting. Naturally scoring was slow. The 1890s not only brought improved wickets but also a flair to the game not witnessed before: “The distinctive amateur style, the lose-limbed grace that depended above all on wrist and expressed itself in the cut and the off-drive, had, among English batsmen, three pre-eminent exponents: L.C.H. Palairet, R.E. Foster and R.H. Spooner.”40

Cricket at the turn of the century had indeed witnessed a transformation in style. Aided by the pitches, there was a definitive Victorian ethos that placed batting achievements over bowling. When Surrey defeated the Australians at the Oval in August 1886, both Bobby Abel and Maurice Read for example received a collection from appreciative spectators after scoring centuries. Not a penny was collected however for Thomas Bowley and George Lohmann, whose remarkable bowling efforts had made the victory possible.41

First class cricket in England during the Boer War era had become the realm of the batsman. In 1949, cricket writer Neville Cardus reflected how:

As more and more marl was sown into our pitches, and as footwork in batsmanship became more and more plastic and swift, even the changeful flight of a Lohmann could not hold back our Haywards and our Frys from mastery. Round about 1899-1902 the bat was beating the ball again, save on rainy days. Drawn games became almost a national scandal.42

Cricket and ‘batsmanship’ reflected Victorian society and great stress was laid upon the beauty and meaning of the game. Logan and his fellow imperialists appreciated how cricket was symbolic of the age, how, “its aesthetic and its ethic went hand in hand”43 yet paradoxically, as Brailsford concedes, the first few years of the twentieth century saw cricket become more
methodical and systematic in character. Performance and results would soon eclipse the style and grace that had been the forte of the Victorian bourgeoisie.  

Not only would the Boer War affect fundamental changes upon the British psyche, its national game too was in a period of transformation. In 1906, Edwardian writer E.V. Lucas exclaimed wistfully; “not only has cricket lost many of its old simplicities, it has lost its characters, too.” The game, like the country, was moving on.

**Cricket and Society**

Although on the home front Britain had entered the war in South Africa at a time of rising urbanisation, poverty and diminishing trade, much of the aristocratic ‘old order’ remained. Recalling the Spring of 1896, Winston Churchill wrote nostalgically how:

> In those days English society still existed in its old form. It was a brilliant and powerful body, with standards of conduct and methods of enforcing them now altogether forgotten … The few hundred great families who had governed England for so many generations and had seen her rise to the pinnacle of her glory, were inter-related to an enormous extent by marriage … The leading figures of society were in many cases the leading statesmen in Parliament, and also the leading sportsmen on the Turf.

In an age when class distinctions were still universally accepted, sport played a significant role within late Victorian society. As custom preserved the old order, the structure of society remained fundamentally unaltered. As Morrah shows, “the sharp dividing lines between ‘a nobleman, a gentleman, a yeoman’, familiar to earlier ages, might have become blurred; but the gentleman never questioned his right to a position of social authority and to respect and subservience from members of the lower classes.” Chapter 5 shows how this was precisely the social order to which James Logan aspired within colonial South Africa.

Such hierarchies remained deep rooted back in Britain and a noticeable feature of Victorian sport was its tendency to become more strictly class orientated than the play of the past. Cricket became a game dominated by middle-class members of clubs and by middle-class morality. There was a new ethos ascribed to the game aided by the campaign against gambling, the abandoning of stake money, the better control of crowds and the tightening of the practices and timing of matches. According to Brailsford, this was in part symptomatic of the subtle changes that were taking place in the nature of spectator sport as a whole, bringing it into line with the changing expectations of what sport should offer, to both players and
onlookers. “It was, at its simplest, a change in taste from spectacle to competition. A zest for annihilation gave way to a taste for contention and emulation.”

This change in taste for sporting activity had witnessed the development of sophisticated team games with their rules and codes of practice which were far removed from the disorganised ‘mob’ sports that preceded them. The first industrial revolution had produced a more urbanised and disciplined society and the consequent need for exercise and relaxation within confined limits of space and time for leisure, had seen ‘rational recreation’ replace the bloodier and rowdier sports of the previous age. The emergence of Victorianism and its associated ‘moral revolution’ had created a more orderly, civilised society and cricket with its perceived codes and ethics, fitted this new model perfectly. Cricket, as the simple pastoral game, would be transformed during the Victorian age.

It was in fact the Victorians who bestowed upon cricket its aristocratic air. In previous times, the game was far from a pursuit of the bourgeoisie. “It was”, in the words of Keith Sandiford, “the hired hand who, in the service of the great patron, made the more telling contribution to the evolution of Georgian cricket.” It was only after 1850 that a spectacular increase in sport took place in Britain. Originating from a gradual improvement in the standards of living, the steady reduction of working hours and the impact of muscular Christianity, many societies and clubs were formed during this period which would influence the structure of British and colonial sport in the years to come.

So despite cricket’s pastoral image, and like other sports in the late Victorian era, the game was transformed by the ongoing process of urbanisation. Between 1871 and 1901 the percentage of the English population living in urban centres increased from 61 to 77, thereby producing an increased audience for commercialised sport. Real wages in Britain also increased by an estimated sixty per cent during the last three decades of the nineteenth century and thus allowed the working classes greater opportunities for attending sporting events. Cricket, for a time, became the game of the nation. But whose game was it?

Despite the working-class origins of the game, the gentry soon imposed their own authority over cricket by making it exclusive. A number of amateur clubs like I Zingari, Quidnuncs and Harlequins had already been formed in the eighteenth century with memberships that were restricted and highly elitist. This was a trend that would persist throughout the Victorian period. As late as 1914, fifty per cent of the M.C.C. committee still had aristocratic origins.
This characterised what was one of England’s most ancient and revered sporting institutions and had been a key feature since its foundation. On purchasing the land that is now Lord’s, the club erected a fence around the ground to prevent the ‘ordinary’ public from spectating for free. A contemporary account read: “The London masses do not care much for cricket, probably because they have little chance of exercising any taste they may have for the noble game; but if they did, the half-crown gate money [at Lord’s] would effectively keep them out.”56

The Professional - Amateur distinction

The social tiers of Victorian cricket were readily maintained. David Roberts argues that the early Victorians believed firmly in an authoritarian and hierarchical society in which the wealthy had vital functions and responsibilities as well as privileges.57 Certainly these privileges extended to the sports field and to cricket, where the distinction between the professional and amateur cricketer was indicative of the hierarchical system operating elsewhere throughout Victorian society. As Chapter 4 reveals, cricket’s social hierarchies were transferred to South Africa where the game experienced rapid expansion in the late nineteenth century.

Sport and class were inexorably linked during this period. As two leading American historians of the British Empire have observed, “the worship of the well-born amateur” pervaded every aspect of Victorian and Edwardian life.58 Cricket however was an enigma. Unlike many social activities of the Victorian era the different classes actually played the game together. Pride was taken in the fact that worker and master could find themselves batting together on the village green. Yet as a game that mirrored society, some form of social ranking was required.

This came in the classification system between the amateur and the professional player which purposively maintained the hierarchy of wider society. Cricket compounded social division and indeed most teams were evaluated on the balance between amateurs and professionals within their ranks. It was long believed for example, that “a leaven of amateurs should remain in each team to provide moral and tactical leadership”,59 while the professional cricketer, “rather like a good butler or a regimental sergeant-major, trod a narrow line between the authority due to his experience and the fact that he was essentially a servant.”60 As Chapters 5 and 6 show, both of Lord Hawke’s tours to South Africa during the 1890s contained the customary mix of ‘Gentleman’ amateur and ‘workmanlike’ professional.
“It is only in cricket that amateurs and professionals regularly compete against each other,” boasted Steel and Lyttelton in 1904, yet class distinctions were so rigidly preserved that amateurs and professionals used different facilities, dressed in different rooms and travelled in different compartments to away fixtures. Even the grounds themselves were designed to separate the elite from the multitude. Plush member’s pavilions, balconies, grandstands, and public areas – each denoting, through price and usage, a certain social status. Cricket personified the snobbery of the aristocratic and bourgeois elements of Victorian high society and despite gestures of benevolent paternalism, the game was run by, and served those who were among the most privileged in society. An ethos transferred to South Africa, this, in essence, was cricket’s attraction for colonials like James Logan who sought social elevation through an association with the game.

Recent analysis has suggested that the amateur games-playing ethos constituted a set of ideals and influences that had their origins around the 1870s. Games were played for their own sake, for personal satisfaction not material gain. “This distinction”, suggests Baker, “elevated the motivation and behaviour of the amateur over that of the professional.” A hierarchy within sport had been established and was compounded in the way that games were played: “The amateur played the game vigorously and intensely but never took the outcome too seriously; his was a contained competitiveness … there was an emphasis on team play over individual performance and on being a gracious winner and a good loser.”

For the amateur, appearance was everything; “sport not only had to be played in good spirit, it had to be played with style.” Casual and dashing, never ostentatious, cricket’s amateurs of the late eighteen hundreds embodied the manner in which sport should be played. Cricket soon became a matter of status; “They lunched and dined in style at their clubs. They went hunting and shooting and racing; Ascot was as much a part of their lives as Lord’s. They stayed in country houses and played country-house cricket” – activities to which James Logan aspired. Indeed towards the end of the century, most first-class amateurs belonged to one or other of the leading clubs, whose funds were sufficient to provide both for good cricket and for a convivial lifestyle. School clubs such as the Eton Ramblers and Harrow Wanderers and university associations like the Oxford Authentics and Cambridge Crusaders often boasted a list of dignitaries amongst their members. I Zingari, the Free Foresters and many other exclusive clubs were also run to sustain an environment in which the gentleman amateur could find solace amongst his own kind. “Vivid colours and esoteric rules and customs [merely] added to the gaiety of the … scene.”
The amateurs went on to dictate the spirit of the age with an ethic that ordained that cricket be played for enjoyment, not business. Amateur H.T. Hewett’s decision in 1895 to leave the playing arena on account of principle symbolised the conflicting attitudes within the game at that time:

The action recently taken by Mr H.T. Hewett in the cricket match played at Scarborough between Yorkshire and an England Eleven is likely to direct attention to the question of how far a gentleman, who plays a game for his own amusement, is a servant of the public and at the beck and call of a garrulous and uncomplimentary crowd … the incident has been called an unpleasant ending to a most successful cricket season, but if it serves to remind the crowd that there are gentlemen who will not, merely because they are attractive batsmen, submit to public and unmerited abuse, it is likely to possess a value of its own after all.71

According to Cunningham, the amateur ethos was a response to what were perceived as the undesirable characteristics of the sports practised around the time of the industrial revolution (c. 1780-1880).72 Victorian society was changing and with it the sporting habits of the nation: “For the organising bodies pursuing the regularization of sport, the application of the amateur ethos made an important contribution to the creation of a less threatening, more orderly, constructive and efficient use of leisure.”73 Physical violence and gambling, which had been a feature of sporting activity, were now being shunned in favour of regulated team games, where values were as important as results. With the establishment of rules and regulations, “sports became less like gladiatorial contests and more like scientific exercises in improvement.”74 If sport, as was believed, could have a stabilising influence within the broader society, then it was distinctly class selective, directed purposefully on the activities of the lower classes.75

The struggle between amateurism and professionalism became an expression of Victorian class conflict: “The amateur principle was,” according to Perkin, “a defence not only against social pollution by the ‘untouchables’ … but also against defeat by the highly skilled professionals who emerged from the working class in almost every sport.”76 By 1906 the professional cricketer was still viewed with indifference by many. Albert Knight in his account of the Complete Cricketer argued that the ‘Gentlemen’ of the game should instead consider “your professional player as a great artist, capable of far more than you now credit him with; don’t imagine the tip-hunting, hat-touching creature a professional at all. It is a miserable carping spirit which wants to know where a man gets his income from, and what his expenses are.”77
Cricket, however, was rife with contradiction. Many of the famous ‘amateur’ cricketers were in fact receiving a healthy income from the game. W.G. Grace, in his fifties, captained the Gentlemen against the Players in 1901, despite already leading his own team, London County, in his capacity as cricket manager of Crystal Palace. Other ‘amateurs’ who turned out for his team, which went to face Logan’s South African side in 1901, included C.B. Fry, the archetypal sporting and academic all-rounder, and Gilbert Jessop, who replaced W.G. as captain of Gloucestershire in the summer of 1901. Both cricketers were classified as amateurs according to the M.C.C. criterion, yet the ‘expenses’ they received on tours and to play representative matches often exceeded the fees paid to the legitimate professionals.

So despite Victorian attitudes towards cricket and its reputation for character-building there existed, in reality, an extraordinary capacity for self-deception. That archetypal amateur and doyen of ‘fair play’, W.G. Grace, had by this time become notorious for accepting ‘payments’ to play and was known, on occasion, for his gamesmanship during crucial matches. This was an era when the ‘Gentleman amateur’ ruled the game. Players like W.G. were known for intimidating umpires even if this violated cricket’s pious convention that the official should never be challenged. The county game was also controlled by the amateur captains with their public school ethos. Umpires were often professionals who had advanced little in status from their origins as servants of the early patrons of the game and so would fear a clash with the ‘greats’ of the game. Joe Darling, captain of the 1902 Australian team to South Africa, said it was common knowledge that English umpires were reluctant to give W.G. and other amateurs out – the celebrated Bob Toms was just about the only one who was reputedly not afraid to stand up to them.

The sanctimony was the greater for its double standards. P.C. Standing’s *Cricket of To-day and Tomorrow* devoted an issue to ‘The Religion of Cricket’ during 1902. Within it, the author acknowledged that there was some hearsay and backsliding but he was inclined to blame ‘the sordid side’ on ‘the professional element’. The amateurs were, of course, ‘above’ such behaviour.

While the Graces of Gloucestershire continued to claim their unusually high match expenses, the professional players as working-class men were the victims of Victorian snobbery. Financial conditions remained poor for professionals throughout the period and it was not until the intervention of two Yorkshiremen that matters improved. A.W. Pullin, a well-known sports journalist who operated under the pseudonym of ‘Old Ebor’, alerted people to the plight of
retired professionals in his two books; *Talks with Old Yorkshire Cricketers* (published 1898) and *Talks with Old English Cricketers* published two years later. Dismayed by these findings, Lord Hawke, in customary paternalistic manner, induced the county committee to introduce winter pay for professionals, £2 a week for regularly employed county players and a travelling allowance of £1 for anything over a hundred miles. Pullin himself, referred to Hawke as “one of the truest friends the professional cricketer possesses.”

At the time, most first-class counties paid their professional players around £5 for each county game at home and £6 for an away fixture, expecting them to pay travel and accommodation costs. In addition, for the fortunate few, the M.C.C. hired players as ground staff at Lord’s during the summer for between £2 and £3 per week. On average, a good county player in 1875 could look forward to an annual income of £100 and about £250 by 1900. A labourer’s wage, by comparison, increased only from £80 to £100 over the same period. As a result, competition for places on the professional circuit remained stiff.

Gradually though, increased prosperity brought an enhancement of status. “The social gulf between amateur and professional remained, but”, as Patrick Morrah explains, “the professional became a more responsible and more self-respecting being and was recognised as such.” With such an improvement in relations, Lord Hawke even declared the advent of the ‘gentleman professional’. “Higher praise cannot be given” he decreed. In 1897, cricket’s Indian aristocrat Kumar Shri Ranjitsinhji described how “a professional in former times was entirely the servant of his club, and in a servant’s position … A modern professional who represents his county is partly a servant of the club, partly a servant of the public, and partly a skilled labourer selling his skill in the best market.” Despite such rhetoric, however, the hierarchical relationship between professional and amateur continued well into the next century.

**Cricket Equality?**

In 1877, Charles Box wrote in the *English Game of Cricket* how “all ranks and conditions of society, either theoretically or practically, participate to some extent in the game.” Despite cricket’s intrinsic hierarchy, it was commonly portrayed as a game personifying equality. However whilst it was played, as Box suggests, within all levels of society, the upper classes and those in control chose not to dwell upon the game’s essentially exclusive nature. As Williams explains, “cricket was portrayed as a mirror of social cohesion, reflecting the
assumption of many from the privileged classes that social relations in England were characterised by harmony and cooperation.”

Of course, such cordiality was a façade. In reality, “few other cultural institutions made so clear the inequalities of economic status and social background or demonstrated to individuals their place in the social hierarchy.” Cricket egalitarianism was thus an elusion because cricket enforced barriers of class and did little to remove them. The reality in fact lay in sustaining exclusivity because the Victorian elite, both in Britain and colonial South Africa, remained determined to protect both their status and their privileges. A conscious investment, both financially as well as morally was thus launched by the bourgeoisie. Indeed, as Sandiford points out, “the political economy of Victorian cricket underlines [the] class segmentation and the social directives which drove it. Millions of pounds were spent on cricket during the last thirty years of the nineteenth century when the game underwent explosive growth at village, league and country levels.”

Cricket had assumed an importance within society as the new world of amateur sport became exclusive and emphasised the level of class discrimination. “For most of the social elite” explains Tranter, “sport was an opportunity for social differentiation not conciliation, and was used to restrict rather than expand contact with social inferiors.” The game will “never be understood by the profanum vulgus, nor by the merchant-minded, nor by the unphysically intellectual”, that famous amateur cricketer C.B. Fry was once heard to proclaim. Such notions were indeed propagated by the sportsmen themselves.

Where cricket was useful was in the area of moral training as the Victorians had become obsessed with the concept of ‘character’. Tremendous significance was attached to the fact that cricket involved a strict adherence to explicit rules and implicit conventions. For the Victorians, cricket was about self-discipline. It was a game that meant accepting the umpire’s verdict without question and thus developing a healthy stoicism. It meant contributing to a larger cause, that of team and country, without focussing too narrowly on the needs of oneself. The game, after all, was supposed to build character and produce other benefits that were highly valued by the Victorians. Despite its essential exclusivity, cricket and its ethos was encouraged throughout all levels of society and even if access to the game was not always available, its lessons in morality were apparent to all.
As early as 1882, the Reverend James Pycroft was extolling how, “games of some kind men must have, and it is no small praise of cricket that it occupies the place of less innocent sports. Drinking, gambling, and cudgel playing, insensibly disappear before a manly recreation, which draws the labourer from the dark haunts of vice and misery to the open common.”99 For moral protagonists like Pycroft, the game could confer untold benefits upon society. As a distraction from vice, “a cricket-field is a sphere of wholesome discipline in obedience and good order” he proclaimed, “not to mention that manly spirit which faces danger without shrinking, and bears disappointment with good-nature.”100 Chapter 4 shows how this ethos was effectively transferred to Southern Africa during the later part of the nineteenth century.

‘The Fairer Sex’
But where did women stand within this Victorian cricket revolution? Symptomatic of wider gender inequalities, despite the rhetoric concerning cricket’s essential equality, very little importance was attached to the women’s game during this time. Their only active role was in a support capacity for the male game.

Bound by social pressures, Victorian women did not actually play cricket until later in the century. While Georgian women had been active in the game, a pronounced and protracted slump occurred in female cricket from the 1830s until the 1880s.101 While other sports such as tennis and hockey were being encouraged, the ‘manliness’ associated with cricket contrasted sharply with the Victorian notions of feminine weakness and passivity. This was fortified within the schools and universities and up to 1914, in fact, none of the colleges at Oxford had ever produced a female cricket XI.102 However, rather surprisingly, a turning point evolved from aristocratic circles. Lead by the Marchioness of Willingdon, Lady Milner, the Countess of Brassey, Lady de la Warr and Lady Abergavenny, the ‘White Heather Club’ was founded in 1887 at Nun Appleton in Yorkshire. From only eight members at its inception, the club boasted a membership of over 50 within four years and included talented players such as Lofts, Catley, Hornby, Le Fleming and Miss Georgie Waters.103 Dame Ethel Smyth, the composer and suffragette, afterwards recalled that in 1889 cricket mania gripped all the young women in her circle.104

Inspired by this, in 1882, ‘The English Cricket and Athletic Association’ launched an initiative to show that cricket as a game was indeed a possibility for women. A modicum of support was shown for the initiative and in Lillywhite’s Cricketer’s Annual of that year the following notice appeared:
With the object of proving the suitability of the national game as a pastime for
the fair sex in preference to Lawn Tennis and other less scientific games, The
English Cricket and Athletic Association Limited have organised Two Complete
XIs of Female Players under the title of THE ORIGINAL ENGLISH LADY
CRICKETERS. Trained by W. Matthews, S.B. Lohman and qualified assistants.
Elegantly and appropriately attired.\textsuperscript{105}

Typically, the announcement contained a paternalistic note concerning the morality of the
venture: “N.B. – Every effort is made to keep this organisation in every respect select and
refined. A matron accompanies each eleven to all engagements. Private engagements of one or
both elevens can be arranged for a complete match or to meet lady amateurs.”\textsuperscript{106}

The ‘Original English Lady Cricketers,’ were a semi-professional group who played a number
of exhibitions around the country. As professionalism among ladies was considered grossly
improper, they had to play under assumed names. However, one of the reporters who followed
the group marvelled at the proficiency of the ladies, who “did not burlesque the manly sport of
cricket” but in fact played the game “in a thorough [sic] legitimate manner, having been
properly coached by some of the best leading professionals of the day.”\textsuperscript{107}

Despite positive comments within some of the press and an estimated crowd of 15,000 turning
up to watch their exhibition in Liverpool, the ‘Lady Cricketers’ disbanded after just one season,
declining an offer to tour Australia in the process.\textsuperscript{108} On the whole, male Victorian cricketers
seemed to view the experiment with some scepticism: “The New Woman is taking up cricket,
evidently with the same energy which has characterised her in other and more important
spheres of life” commented the journal \textit{Cricket} in 1895.\textsuperscript{109}

Medical opinion too was divided as to the merits of women’s cricket. In 1890 \textit{The Lancet}
warned of the dangers of sudden muscular strain and dislocated shoulders from throwing and
malignancy caused by blows to the breast. This last danger however, according to one doctor
who thought cricket otherwise a sport well suited to girls, could be obviated by the wearing of
a well-padded corset.\textsuperscript{110} Medical opinion was at the time split on women’s sport. Male-
dominated theories were often unscientifically based with a general concern for propriety and
the need to ensure that women did not seek to emulate men or encroach on their preserves.
Even W.G. felt compelled to add his considerable weight to the argument. In 1899 he wrote of
the ‘Lady Cricketers’ who had toured the country and played exhibition matches during that
season:
They claimed that they did play, and not burlesque, the game, but interest in their doings did not survive long. Cricket is not a game for women, and although the fair sex occasionally join in a picnic game, they are not constitutionally adapted for the sport. If the Lady Cricketers expected to popularise the game among women they failed dismally. At all event, they had their day and ceased to be.111

Richard Daft, another famous Victorian cricketer, was also pessimistic about ladies cricket in his weekly column in the Athletic News and “there is no doubt,” says Sandiford “that Daft and Grace spoke for the majority of Victorian male chauvinists.”112 The ‘old order’ was indeed being preserved, while in South Africa’s male-driven society, the women’s game was even further behind.

Ranjitsinhji and Issues of ‘Colour’

Racial inequality was another feature of cricket’s establishment that was readily transferred to South Africa during Victorian times. As part of their belief in the hierarchical ordering of society, “racism was,” according to Sandiford, “a logical extension of the Victorian concept of order and degree.”113 The same logic that dictated the amateur’s status above that of the professional also lead the Victorians to believe that Anglo-Saxons were racially superior to non-white peoples and were thus compelled to rule.114 J.A. Hobson, a renowned critic of imperialism, wrote in 1905, how the “Englishman believes that he is a more excellent type than any other man; he believes that he is better able to assimilate special virtues that others may have; he believes that this character gives him a right to rule which no other can possess.”115

This ethos had its origins prior to the war in South Africa when cricket remained the moral preserve of the Briton and his white compatriots within the colonies. Whilst non-whites had taken to the game in many parts of the world, their involvement was in fact viewed more as education rather than inclusion and racial separation remained a feature of the game during the late Victorian period. Condescension pervaded much of the writing by English whites about cricket being played by ‘other’ races and reflected assumptions of white moral and physical superiority. It was during this time also, as one contemporary recalled, that an M.C.C. member told him he would try to get him expelled for “having the disgusting degeneracy to praise a dirty black.”116

Although non-white cricketers were rare in Victorian England, the segregation was not as severe as in South Africa. White cricketers did in fact play with and against coloured cricketers whilst on tour as well as in England. In 1868 the Australian Aboriginal cricketers, the first
party of overseas cricketers to tour Britain, and the Indian Parsee touring teams of 1886 and 1888, played against socially prestigious teams of white cricketers. West Indian teams containing black as well as white players then toured in 1900 and 1906 and played against English county sides. They were followed by the All-India team in 1911 which included Parsee, Hindu and Muslim players. If cricket’s ethnic protégés were of suitable pedigree and could prove their schooling in the game, then interaction, it seems, was permitted. Cricket’s rulers of course understood that an ‘educated’ population was at its most compliant and was thus beneficial to the health of the Empire. Here, cricket again served its purpose.

Despite the English playing against non-whites whilst touring overseas, there is no evidence to suggest that any cricket club was formed in England for non-whites before the First World War. A small number did manage to play first-class cricket however. Perhaps the most famous of this select band was Kumar Shri Ranjitsinhji, a player who went on to epitomise the late Victorian ‘Golden Age’. Born at Sarodar, India, in 1876 Ranjitsinhji always called himself an Indian prince and was one of several claiming to be the legitimate heir to the ruler of Nawanagar in north-west India. In 1907 he became the Maharaja Jam Sahib of Nawanagar.

It was at Rajhumar College in India under the influence of an English tutor, that his love for cricket emerged. On moving to Cambridge in 1889 he developed his game and eventually represented the University in 1893 and 1894. However it was not until he started playing county cricket for Sussex in 1895 that he came to prominence. Between 1895 and 1904 he was the leading batsman in English cricket and never lower than fifth in the national averages. Whilst the Boer War raged in Southern Africa, Ranjitsinhji was enjoying his most successful spell. In 1899 he became the first batsman to score 3,000 runs in an English season and in 1900 again scored more than 3,000 runs. With a batting average of over 87 in 1900, he scored over 2,000 runs during 1901. He was not only a great compiler of runs but he scored with apparent ease and in a manner quite different from the traditional English style. Ranjitsinhji became one of the biggest stars of the late Victorian ‘Golden Age of English Cricket’.

With his public school background and because he had embraced all things ‘English’, Ranjitsinhji was immensely popular. In 1899 R.H. Lyttelton, the cricket writer educated at Eton and Cambridge and one of six brothers who played first-class cricket, noted how “the English public is a curious one, and one of its peculiarities is a readiness to deify a cricketer all the more because he is of a different colour. They would have admired Ranjitsinhji as a white
batsman, but they worship him because he is black.” As John Arlott explains, Ranjitsinhji represented “a compelling blend of the strangely contrasting concepts of Empire, the mysterious East and cricket.” He had imbibed cricket’s ideology and was proof that its message was indeed universal. Furthermore, he had become a fervent imperialist himself. Having dedicated his 1897 publication *The Jubilee Book of Cricket* to Queen Victoria, he later described cricket as “amongst the most powerful links which keep our Empire together … one of the greatest contributions which the British people have made to the cause of humanity.” He also became a close friend of leading white English amateur cricketers such as C.B. Fry and A.C. MacLaren and played alongside W.G. Grace for his London County Cricket Club. Crowds flocked to see him bat and he captained the amateur tour to North America in 1899 as well as his county, Sussex, for four years up to 1903.

Despite all his success, however, Ranjitsinhji’s cricket career remained blighted by racism. As Jack Williams insightfully points out:

A tone of self-regard pervaded much cricket discourse. It was implied that non white cricketers who practised the English tradition of sportsmanship were to be congratulated for having the good sense to recognise the superiority of the example that the white English had set them. Acceptance of white English cricket mores by those who were not white was seen as proof of white English moral excellence.

Having stood out as a cricketer at Cambridge, Ranjitsinhji had to wait until his final year before being awarded a ‘blue’ by F.S. Jackson. Despite undoubted ability with the bat, there was still controversy surrounding his selection. No Indian had ever played for his university, and colour prejudice, even against a ‘prince’ who was liked personally by everybody who met him, was still a strong influence. Many years later, Sir Stanley Jackson, when Governor of Bengal, confessed that he too might have blocked Ranjitsinhji’s selection for Cambridge had he not himself been to India with Lord Hawke’s team in the preceding winter and acquired a more enlightened viewpoint than was customary among his contemporaries. The trend continued, and during the Australian tour to England in 1896, Lord Harris and members of the M.C.C. had opposed his selection to the English Test side to appear at Lord’s on account of his colour. Whilst it was permissible to espouse the virtues of Queen and Country, it was clearly quite another thing to be seen representing that country at the home of cricket. Ranjitsinhji was not English and nothing could change that.
Cricket and Englishness

Thank God who made the British Isles
And taught me how to play
I do not worship crocodiles
Or bow the knee to clay!
Give me a willow wand and I
With hide and cork and twine
From century to century
Will gambol round my shrine!

Rudyard Kipling, 1898.130

“What gave [Ranjitsinhji] his distinctiveness,” reflected fellow amateur batsman C.B. Fry, “was a combination of the perfect poise and the suppleness and the quickness peculiar to the athletic Hindu.”131 Using terminology indicative of the racial stereotyping offered by English cricket writers of the time, Neville Cardus wrote of Ranjitsinhji how:

A strange light from the East flickered in the English sunshine when he was at the wicket … When he turned approved science upside down and changed the geometry of batsmanship to an esoteric Legerdemain, we were bewitched to the realms of rope-dancers and snake-charmers; this was cricket of oriental sorcery, glowing with a dark beauty of its own, a beauty with its own mysterious axis and balance.132

Cricket, that most English of constructs, was being described in a way that added mystique to its character. Never challenged or compromised, the core of cricket’s identity would remain unaltered as foreign exponents, like Ranjitsinhji, would be used by the writers to enhance its appeal via a myriad of rich and exotic descriptions. Cricket, so popular at home and in the colonies, could indeed now be seen to extend its appeal to those of different race and ethnicity. Its core, however, would remain profoundly English.

To E.W. Hornung and his Victorian readers, cricket was more than a game; it became “the quintessence and epitome of life.”133 In this high Victorian era cricket implied wealth, exclusivity and an aura of ‘good form’. High standards of honour, loyalty and morality were expected from its players and those who supported the game and as the game of virtue, cricket’s association with ‘Englishness’ had already been cemented. For Victorians, cricket was a virtuous pursuit, free from the vices that threatened society. Administrators and cricketers alike imbued their game with a sense of moral worth, claiming it could bring out the best in those involved. C.B. Fry, for one, thought that “there is something in the game that
smothers pretence and affectation, and gives air to character.” To Fry, cricket was a “form of recreation free from all tendency to degrade either those who play or those who pay.”

As early as 1840, Lord William Lennox, referred to cricket as the “national game” which “preserves the manly character of the Briton, and has been truly characterized as a healthful, manly recreation giving strength to the body and cheerfulness to the mind.” The ‘Champion’ himself exclaimed purposively in 1899 how “the game has taken deep root in the hearts of the British people, and wherever the English language is spoken, wickets are pitched and cricket is played.” Cricket, according to W.G., was the undisputed “game of games [and] the national pastime of the British people.” The eulogising was reciprocal. For his part Grace had become, according to the Bishop of Hereford, “the best known of all Englishmen and the King of that English game least spoilt by any form of vice.”

Cricket’s attraction to the Victorians came in its exclusiveness, its codes of practice and an ethos which made it distinctly ‘English’. Cricket was a product of Britain. Its customs and traditions had been shaped on these shores and as such, it was seen to reflect the enlightened superiority of Anglo-Saxon culture. For Britons like Logan, cricket played a key role in how they imagined the world viewed them and saw the game as an expression of their moral worth. In 1877 Charles Box produced The English Game of Cricket, in which he explained to the ‘outside world’ how the ‘manly and noble game’ of cricket is “a perfect physical discipline, an admirable moral training. It is food to the patriotic conviction, and fire to the patriotic soul … Even down to the minutest [sic] point it is in harmony with those conservative tendencies and habits which are as eminently English as the warm love of freedom is English.”

Such rhetoric compounded notions of superiority. “[Cricket] tends to make Englishmen what they are – the masters of the world” exclaimed one writer in Temple Bar. For Box also, cricket remained “an English game, and such a game that all others having any claim to nationality must be dimmed in comparison with it, if they do not suffer a total eclipse.” Not only did Victorian cricket engender a deep sense of white, elite, and distinctively masculine Englishness, it was also seen to be beyond the conception of those foreign to British tradition and culture. Those within the game, like the English themselves, and the exclusive ‘few’ within the colonies, had created their own haven of superiority and grandeur.

Much of the vitriol was directed towards England’s traditional rivals across the Channel. The powers of mainland Europe, the French, the Germans and Italians did not understand cricket.
and for this they were vilified. The ‘Englishness’ of cricket is deep rooted, wrote Pycroft in 1882: “The game is essentially Anglo-Saxon. Foreigners have rarely, very rarely imitated us … The English settlers and residents everywhere play at cricket; but of no single club have we ever heard dieted either with frogs, sour-kraut, or macaroni” he declared disparagingly.141 Xenophobia was rife in Victorian society. In 1877, a journalist of the Sporting Review wrote how cricket’s;

Very associations are English. Who could, for instance, picture to the imagination the phlegmatic Dutchman, with his capacious round stern, chasing or sending the ball through the air like a canon shot, and getting a run with the speed of a roebuck. The idea even appears beyond the pale of conception. The effeminate inhabitants of cloudless Italy, Spain and Portugal would sooner face a solid square of British infantry than an approaching ball from the sinewy arm of a first class bowler. Instead of the bat, their backs would be turned for the purpose of stopping it … foreigners, as a rule, are likewise slow in attempting to unravel the mysteries of the game.142

The English, unsurprisingly, were successful in keeping the ‘Englishness’ of cricket distinct from the rest of Europe. For the German Rudolph Kircher writing in 1928, cricket was indeed, “pre-eminently English … A phase of English mentality, a key to the Englishman’s soul, a product of English temperament” and “the most typical of all English games.”143 Fundamentally, in the eyes of the world, the game had become an expression of a distinctly English sense of moral worth. In the face of increased competition from overseas, Victorian society became preoccupied with aggrandising those institutions that were considered part of the Island’s culture and heritage. As the ‘nation’s game’ cricket became an important part of this process.

Cricket and ‘Englishness’ had become intrinsically linked, in much the same way that Parliament, the Church and Royalty had become associated with English identity. “These institutions appealed to Englishmen more because of their Englishness than their ability to fulfil any specific functions”, argues Keith Sandiford.144 Indeed, the Crown and Parliament were revered by the English for their long history of constitution and legislation, comparable to any world democracy. The Anglican Church was also unique in that it represented an English compromise between Roman Catholicism and various European forms of Protestantism.145 Cricket was much the same; a uniquely English creation, played and understood by a selective few. The game represented “an exclusively Anglo-Saxon contribution to modern civilisation … [that] stood as further evidence of English cultural supremacy.”146 For Victorians like Logan, cricket became an institution to be cherished alongside the other symbols of British society.
The English (and British in general) considered themselves a special people and cricket was considered a special game. It had been elevated to a position in society where it was as much about symbolism as it was about sport. Cricket was run by a ruling elite who had appropriated the game as part of their efforts to sustain hegemonic control within society. After all, as Sandiford points out, cricket had “failed to bridge the class gaps of Victorian England, [and] was a philosophically rather than economically driven institution, and emphasised symbolic models rather than realistic ones.”\(^\text{147}\) As the sporting expression of Victorian society it reigned supreme. Through it, prejudices could be enacted and age-old inequalities confirmed. It became, as Jon Gemmell explains, a reflection of the society in which it was practised.\(^\text{148}\)

**Cricket’s Institutions: Education**

The Victorians had transformed cricket into more than a game. As Keith Sandiford explains, the social centrality of Victorian cricket was fostered, nurtured and maintained by key institutions and agencies which regarded the game as a major cultural virtue and, therefore, worth promoting within society.\(^\text{149}\) The moral, social and physical attributes of sport were extolled in Victorian times. England had become a true world power and behind its success, many believed, was the national passion for sport:

> Much less than any other nation do the English need to be taught the art of preserving health. They are admitted to be the strongest of races – proof enough that they are the healthiest … Racing, riding, rowing, skating, curling, and among field sports cricket, with the like hygienic agencies, must, and do in great measure, quicken Englishmen, and make them to a great extent what they physically and morally are.\(^\text{150}\)

In fact it was the country’s elite schools where such lessons were being taught. In mid Victorian times both the public school and cricket became avenues of training for England’s next generation of the ruling class. The aristocracy and the landed gentry had become firmly convinced of the inherent social value of cricket, and along with the upper middle classes, who had emerged from the industrial revolution, there was a move to ensure that cricket’s ‘school of moral training’ would continue for successive generations. Commenting on the public schools’ matches at Lord’s during the 1850s, *The Times* stressed the importance of securing “a race of young Englishmen who in days to come … shall retain the grasp of England upon the world.”\(^\text{151}\) The country’s elite schools and colleges had already begun to fulfil this role.
For cricket’s scribes the game had become synonymous with ‘Englishness’, with rural tranquillity and with long luxuriant summers at England’s prestigious seats of learning. Cardus, for one, celebrated this association:

A delectable hour at Shastbury, two o’clock in mid summer. The school tower sent out its chimes; then all the jolly activity of the noon net practices finished; the fields were swiftly deserted. At one moment the air would be full of noise of cracking bats, of thudding feet, of voices shouting ‘Heads! Heads’ as the ball went sky-high. But with the first stroke of two o’clock every boy went into his house for lunch, and Shastbury was left, stretched in the burning heat. Over the vacant playing-fields you could look now to the meadowland beyond, gleaming in the light. Here was the richness of open-air England; great trees in their immemorial sleep and the low sound of summer making its throbbing music on the earth.152

Such notions were, according to Sandiford, in place from the mid eighteen hundreds with a ‘cricketing cult’ established in public schools from about 1830 onwards. By 1860 it was an essential feature of their curriculum.153 The alumni then took their cricketing prowess into the universities where institutions like Oxford and Cambridge had already inculcated their own culture of cricket and appropriate social behaviour. “At the universities, Cricket and Scholarship very generally go together” wrote the Reverend Pycroft in 1882. “Cricket wants mind as well as matter, and, in each sense of the word, a good understanding. Certainly, there is something highly intellectual in our noble and national pastime.”154 In 1880 Cambridge hired over a dozen coaches and by 1895, at least six more had been added.155 The universities also became the training grounds for eminent players and administrators. Sir Dudley Leveson Gower, Sir Francis Lacey, Sir Pelham Warner and both Lords Harris and Hawke were products of the university system as were M.R. Jardine,156 L.C.H. Palairet157 and F.S. Jackson158 – all to become established names in English cricket and part of its esteemed ‘golden age’.

The requirements of Victorian amateur cricket were being met by the public schools and universities. Between 1827 and 1854, for example, Eton alone produced 63 university ‘blues’, Winchester 43, Harrow 34 and Rugby 23 while the vast majority of amateur players for the County Championship came from a public school background.159 These institutions had become an important factor within Britain’s imperial agenda and were responsible for producing the future ‘custodians of empire’. In 1864 the Clarendon Commission commended the public schools for “their love of healthy sports and exercise” which had helped to teach Englishmen “to govern others and to control themselves.”160 Theodore Cook, writing in 1927, showed that this attitude still prevailed. The purpose of a public school education he explained, “is the formation of an elite, not for its own sake, not for its own glory, but for the
advancement and benefit of society at large.” This leadership would come from “men whose character and hearts have flourished in the sunshine of the fair play they are always ready to extend to others,” for it is a “fundamental fact of nature that some people are born to govern and others to work.”

The public school system thus compounded the class divisions already prevalent in Victorian society. “The class which mattered most, both to the national and international spread of the games and to the emerging and rapidly enlarging Empire was,” according to Perkin, “the class educated at the public schools.” Britain’s realm was expanding and there was a real need for men of ‘calibre’ to govern throughout Her Empire. The public seats of learning with their cricket squares and venerated codes of practice had become the training grounds upon which the next generation of imperial administrators could be moulded.

In 1883, C. Gurdon reflected on the importance of investing in a sporting education at England’s public schools:

A very slight reflection will convince us that our Public Schools are the nursery grounds of our cricketers, and that if we neglect to supply our plants with the requirements necessary for their growth and full development, we shall turn out in the end but a sorry stunted crop. Let us pay them every attention in their tender years.

He was, however, preaching to the converted. By this stage, team sports, and cricket in particular, had replaced scholarship, and in many cases, the pulpit, as the primary device used by the guardians of England’s public schools to write a cultural code upon their charges. J.A. Mangan has demonstrated that the cricket field became a place where boys were taught the virtues of loyalty, obedience, discipline, and conformity which were held to be the characteristic virtues of the English ‘gentlemen’. Such ‘virtues’ it was hoped would serve England capably throughout Her Empire.

As Taylor has shown, public school athleticism shaped the ideal of manhood and character, differentiating gentlemen from the ‘masses’ and creating the amateur-professional distinction that dominated British and colonial sport for over a century. “This high-minded moral guidance was routed in notions of self-discipline and virtue and was indicative of the puritanical strain in nineteenth century British bourgeois philosophy.” It found voice in Athletic News in 1876:

Moralists may well give this subject a portion of their consideration. Excellence in athletics is only possible to those who cultivate habits of temperance, and it is
the critical period between youth and manhood that habits and inclinations are formed which may influence a person's entire subsequent career. The young athlete is less likely to stray from the right path than those who have no such motive to control them, and hence a great social problem would be in a fair way to be solved.\textsuperscript{167}

The ‘right path’ was to serve one’s country and inevitably for many this meant a career in the military. At the time of the Anglo-Boer War, many speakers and preachers were visiting the public and preparatory schools to press home the imperial message. One such orator was cricketing enthusiast E.W. Hornung, author of the best-selling Raffles tales and brother-in-law of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle.\textsuperscript{168} At Uppingham, Hornung’s old school, a cadet corps was thriving. In February 1900 C.H. Jones, the commanding officer, left for active service in the Boer War, and his adventures in South Africa were reported in the school magazine in vivid detail: “We hear that Mr. Jones has killed five Boers single-handed. We congratulate him heartily on the exploit and hope that he will dispose of many more.”\textsuperscript{169}

At the time of the war in South Africa, approximately half the school were in the corps, and by 1905 over a thousand cadets had passed Uppingham’s ‘Recruit Drill and Fire Exercise’.\textsuperscript{170} To Edward Selwyn, headmaster, the corps was ‘one of the glories of the school’. To the visiting Lord Roberts – Commander in Chief in the Boer War – who came to open the school’s South African War Memorial – a gymnasium – Uppingham’s lead in military matters was an example to set before all public schools.\textsuperscript{171}

**Religious Approval**

A sense of duty to Queen and Country pervaded the land’s public schools and colleges and throughout the Empire old boys were serving the imperial cause. This ethic had been instilled by the educational institutions and reinforced by support from the established Church of England. Many clergy were in fact school masters and academics and as the religious doctrine of ‘fair play’ and ‘manliness’ spread, most of the Victorian educators became ardent apostles of ‘Muscular Christianity’ which dominated the late Victorian mind set.

Among the leading protagonists of this ethic were Bishop Fraser, Charles Kingsley, Thomas Hughes and Charles Wordsworth. Through their teachings, godliness became associated with fairness, vigour and manliness and by the 1870s such concepts had been cemented within the nation’s psyche.\textsuperscript{172} With notable churchmen serving as headmasters in the public schools, the relationship between Victorian cricket and religion was reinforced. “The Victorian clergy gave cricket their unqualified blessings. Churchmen of all persuasions played the game and
encouraged others to do likewise.” As the ideals of Muscular Christianity were taught to the next generation of imperial administrators, sports like cricket, rugby and rowing became important mediums upon which to convey the necessary virtues. So important had the physical aspects of Victorian secondary education become that Thomas Hughes, for example, was assigned to teach boxing, cricket and rowing, in addition to law and public health. In the words of Ian Baucom, cricket had become “the first C in a revised trivium of Cricket, Classics, and Christianity.”

From the 1880s cricket had become an integral part of church propaganda, so by the time of the Boer War, the game had become synonymous with Christianity for millions of Englishmen. In Green’s *Wisden Anthology*, English historian L.C.B. Seaman told how cricket had become associated with religion: “Just as freemasons referred to God as the Great Architect of the Universe, young cricketers were taught to think of Him as the One Great Scorer and almost to regard a Straight Bat as a second in religious symbolism only to the Cross of Jesus.” “So long as cricket holds its sway, there is not much wrong with England” exclaimed one Country Vicar, while the game’s most venerated clergyman eulogised how “in the cricket-field, as by the cover’s side, the sport is in the free and open air and light of heaven.” By the turn of the century, cricket morality and religion formed an integral part of the Victorian ethos as the publication of Reverend Thomas Waugh’s *The Cricket Field of a Christian Life* duly confirmed.

**Harris, Hawke and the M.C.C.**

With the promotion of cricket in the schools and in the churches the game’s iconic guardians, the Marylebone Cricket Club grew in significance towards the end of the nineteenth century. By the early 1900s, the M.C.C. was “perceived to be the Vatican of cricket, the very powerhouse of the game, controlling and arbitrating for Britain and its Empire.” In 1897 Ranjitsinhji wrote how, “the MCC is acknowledged to be the great cricket authority throughout the world … Its position is unique. As the leading cricket club, it is universally regarded as the supreme authority.” Lord Harris who became synonymous with the M.C.C. and its corridors of power at Lord’s, once referred to the club as “perhaps the most venerated institution in the British Empire.”

Cricket was flourishing and the club’s influence and reputation had grown through increased membership and revenue. In 1873, M.C.C. receipts amounted to £3,012. They rose to £15,065 in 1884, and reached £21,632 by 1890. The club’s total income in 1898 had risen to £82,565 –
including £37,200 from life memberships, £4,680 from gates and a further £6,905 from the stands. With the formation of the Board of Control for Test cricket in England in 1898, the M.C.C. took responsibility for all future tours by official teams from England. Its place at the heart of the ‘imperial game’ had been established.

In the years following the war in South Africa the role of the individual benefactor had diminished while the M.C.C. had become, as one old cricketer exhorted, “a national institution.” Yet the M.C.C. remained a private club and despite the formal hierarchy of its committee, like all clubs it contained its own cliques. James Bradley had shown that it was the social background of the committee members that defined the M.C.C.’s involvement in imperial cricket. The ruling group comprised ex-officio officers of the club and with a membership that was self-perpetuated (through the nomination of its own replacements) the policy of the M.C.C. was thus controlled by a limited number of individuals.

Following his duties in India, Lord Harris had become the dominant figure at Lord’s by the mid-1890s and had gathered around himself Lord Hawke, P.F. Warner, H.D.G. Leveson-Gower and the Hon. F.S. Jackson amongst others. Around this time, the M.C.C. and its Long Room at Lord’s became bastions of class privilege and political conservatism as the clubs attracted the economic and social elite. Lord Harris (pictured in Figure 8) is now revered as one of those individuals who shaped the M.C.C. “A conservative and an imperialist, Harris saw cricket as having a wider significance than that of a mere game.” From an imperial background – Harris’s father was governor of Trinidad and he himself served as secretary for India (1885-86) and Governor of Bombay (1890-95) – Harris came to epitomise the imperialist view of cricket.

In addition of course, he was a convert of cricket’s moral code. As a young man, Harris said of the game: “You do well to love it, for it is more free from anything sordid, anything dishonourable, than any game in the world. To play it keenly, honourably, generously, self-sacrificingly [sic] is a moral lesson in itself.” Harris epitomised the late Victorian concoction of public school, cricket and empire. Referred to by Morrah as “a wise if dictatorial administrator” prior to his appointment as Governor of Bombay, Harris was President of the County Cricket Council. 1890’s Wisden records how he departed for India with a final cautionary word about retaining the ‘honour’ of county cricket under the threat of professionalism:
County cricket was the one form of athletic sports at the present moment which was absolutely pure, and there was nothing beyond the honour of the game. He [Harris] could not help remarking that if honour and glory were enough for county cricketers, he did not see why anything else should be required by cricketers in the lower classes.\textsuperscript{191}

A supreme advocate of the amateur ethos, Harris became the regular chairman of the Cricket and Selection sub-committee whose duty it was to decide upon the laws of cricket, to make selection of the M.C.C. and other teams playing at Lord’s as well as other cricketing matters.\textsuperscript{192} In this role Harris was able to dictate the direction the game would take in the years following the Boer War. He was joined in this mission by Lord Hawke, a “bluff and abrasive Yorkshireman.”\textsuperscript{193} Between them they turned the M.C.C. into “a self-perpetuating oligarchy dedicated to ‘amateurism’ and determined to exercise control over the game.”\textsuperscript{194}

Like Harris, Hawke was also a conservative believing in the imperial dream and the maintenance of the class system. An ardent cricketer and Old Etonian, Hawke’s character has been interpreted as over bearing and egotistical by some analysts, particularly towards his Yorkshire professionals or ‘his boys’ as he called them.\textsuperscript{195} Overtly patriarchal in approach, Hawke made Yorkshire an undoubted force in domestic cricket. From an undisciplined group of cricketers, Hawke instilled a set of standards among his team of professionals and in turn offered them security. In 1904, coaching supremo Fred Holland wrote how, “the only way in which a captain can gain the enthusiastic support of his men is by superiority. He must be the best man in the team, and the men should know that he is a better player than they are.”\textsuperscript{196}

This of course did not apply to Lord Hawke. Hawke’s ‘superiority’ was imposed not through performances on the playing field but through class hierarchy and displays of benevolence towards ‘his’ professionals.\textsuperscript{197} Hawke concerned himself with such revolutionary ideas as winter payment, talent money, and the safeguarding of benefit proceeds for the player’s retirement. He demanded loyalty in return – and a proper code of conduct from predominantly uncultured men.\textsuperscript{198} In August 1897 he famously sacked his leading professional Bobby Peel for turning up drunk in a match against Derbyshire at Bradford. It lead to comparisons between the two principals of English cricket:

Hawke was an upright, well-meaning but not always tactful leader; he was not personally quite equal to his role of \textit{grand seigneur}. One feels that his Kent counterpart, Lord Harris, would in such a case have taken similar action, but with a greater air of authority. He would never have felt it necessary to justify himself subsequently.\textsuperscript{199}
Harris, some years Hawke’s senior, may have been the better cricketer and stronger personality but both men would influence, what W.G. Grace politely termed, the “politics of the game.” In fact in 1899 the Champion, failing to see (or admit) the link between cricket and politics wrote how: “It is the only bad thing I know about Lord Harris … [that he] permitted political ambition to interrupt a brilliant cricketing career.” But as this thesis will show, politics and cricket were indelibly entwined during this period. Under the guidance of James Logan, both of Hawke’s tours to South Africa during the 1890s were bound up in politics, while Harris himself was chancellor of the Primrose League, a Conservative-front organisation that argued for the unity of classes and the imperial cause of Britain. Many MPS were members of the M.C.C. and prominent administrators, like Hawke, F.S. Jackson and Pelham Warner, were also known for their support of Conservative policy. In terms of nationalism, imperialism and empire, the game had taken a distinctly political path.

**Conclusions**

By the 1930s *The Times* was proclaiming how “The Marylebone Cricket Club as a public, as an Imperial, institution is hard to surpass … It may well be regarded as a high honour to be elected to a club devoted simply and solely to an essentially British game, of which the very name has become identified with all that is straightforward and manly.” This whole notion about cricket had been cemented by the end of the nineteenth century. Indeed, as we have seen, the late-Victorians considered cricket to represent a system of ethics and morals that embodied all that was favourable in the ‘English’ character. These values were quickly adopted and promoted by politicians, writers and the popular press so that by the time of the war in South Africa, Lord Harris could claim that “cricket is not only a game, but a school of the greatest social importance.”

Such values stemmed from the institutions of royalty, private education and organised religion. They represented the belief system of the landed gentry, and, as such, were hegemonic. The political influence of the upper classes remained significant in late nineteenth century Britain, and through sport – via the public schools and the church – they were able to instil their own values and ideals of ‘gentlemanly’ behaviour on the populace. Moreover, through the military and cultural missionaries these values, as this study shows, were effectively exported to the colonies of Southern Africa, where, with the assistance of cricketing benefactors such as James Logan they were implanted, along with the ethos of the game, throughout the regions.
As both Field and Mangan have asserted, there existed an ethical preoccupation within Victorian society which meant that popular support for empire was based upon the value it brought society as a whole. Cricket was said to build ‘character’ and enhance certain ‘Anglo-Saxon’ qualities that were valued at the turn of the twentieth century. Late Victorians were committed to the Empire primarily because of the close association that it came to have with the inculcation and transmission of these qualities. Sport was viewed as a major medium for the development of character, particularly among the elite in society, and from this evolved the potent education ideology of athleticism. Athleticism, as Mangan has continually stressed, should never be under estimated in the context of the British Empire and remains “a vital element of British Imperialism.” This, and the role of cricket, will be explored in the context of South Africa within the next chapter.

2 In reality the distinctive features of the golden age had become blurred some years before the outbreak of war. See Ibid.
4 Ibid.
8 Ibid
9 For a useful overview of the Royal involvement in cricket’s early history see P.F. Warner (ed.), *Imperial Cricket*, 1912, pp. 31-46.
10 In 1865, ‘Felix’ (real name Nicholas Wanostrocht, ex president All England XI and Kent cricketer) revealed how “the late good Prince Albert, a noble patron of the Arts and Sciences, and a generous supporter of the pastimes and sports of Merry Old England, once upon a time visited Lord’s Cricket Ground. He came on horseback attended by some of the elite of the land; he was enthusiastically received, and was invited to see the Pavilion, and to inspect the implements of war, etc, peculiar to the noble game.” N. Felix, ‘Introductory Precepts for the Young Cricketer’ in *Lillywhite’s Guide to Cricketers for 1865*, 1865, p.5.
12 P.F. Warner (ed.), *Imperial Cricket*, 1912, p.41. It was in military and club cricket where the Prince made his mark. As captain of Sandhurst he headed the batting averages whilst in his first year in India he had an average of 68, making four scores of over a hundred. A member of the Surrey County Cricket Club from 1888, C.W. Alcock, then Secretary of the Club, wrote how the Prince “never failed to take an active interest in Surrey cricketers, whether they were amateurs or professionals … for he was a cricketer to the backbone.” C.W. Alcock, *Cricket*, quoted in P.F. Warner (ed.), *Imperial Cricket*, 1912, p.41.

17 Sir J. Squire cited in The Times (ed.) The M.C.C. 1787-1937, 1937, p.22. According to the National Book League, “it is impossible to over-estimate the part played by this small Hampshire village in the subsequent development of the game. From its formation about 1750 by ‘Squire’ Powlett until the M.C.C. came into being in 1787 the Hambledon Club was the supreme arbiter and included amongst its members all the principal patrons of the game”. National Book League, Cricket, 1950, p.24.

18 J. Williams, Cricket and Race, 2001, pp. 15-16.


21 I. Baucom, Out of Place, 1999, p.150.


24 See J. Williams, Cricket and Race, 2001, pp. 15.


28 Ibid., p.10.

29 Ibid., p.150.

30 C. Box, The English Game of Cricket, 1877, p.71 (emphasis in original). Box was cricket editor of The Times and an eminent writer on the sport during the mid-nineteenth century. He had written several earlier books on the game, notably The Theory and Practice of Cricket and The Cricketer’s Manual.


34 Ibid.

35 Ibid.

36 C.L.R. James, Beyond a Boundary, 1963, p.171.

37 I. Baucom, Out of Place, 1999, p.152.

38 Indeed prior to cricket’s ‘Golden Age’ and the advent of the amateur, the 1850’s and 60’s were dominated by the professional teams that toured the country. Single-wicket matches and betting was common during this period. See A. Lang, ‘The History of Cricket’. In Warner, P.F. (ed.), Imperial Cricket, 1912, p.65.

39 Between 1894 and 1914, county cricket in England was dominated by Yorkshire. During this period, only twice did the county fall below fourth place (in 1910 and 1911, when they were eighth and seventh), and in these twenty seasons Yorkshire won the championship on eight occasions. G. Ross, A History of Cricket, 1972, p.37.


41 Athletic News, 3 August 1886, p.1.

42 N. Cardus, Days in the Sun, 1949, p.41.


44 Ibid., pp. 106-107.


48 This had not always been the case. Although aristocratic patronage had launched cricket as a major sport, it had always been tempered by support from other classes. The list of members of the White Conduit Club (the effective forerunner of the MCC) in 1784 showed only a third of them with titles or military rank, and this process of dilution continued strongly with the MCC itself through the nineteenth century. D. Brailsford, British Sport. A Social History, 1992, p.90.

49 Ibid.


52 See H. Perkin, ‘Teaching the Nations How to Play’. In Mangan, J.A. (ed.), The Cultural Bond: Sport, Empire, Society, 1992. Birley has suggested that cricket was attractive to the Victorians because of its exclusive ‘code of honour’; “part of the punditry of cricket is that it has laws, not mere rules like lesser games. The high code assumes unquestioned adherence to these laws, written and unwritten, to the letter and the spirit.” D. Birley, The Willow Wand, 2000, p.20.


54 Ibid., p.34.

55 Ibid., p.54.

56 Of 111 presidents of the M.C.C. between 1825 and 1939, only 16 were neither knights nor peers. R. Holt, Sport and the British, 1989, p.112.


Ibid., p.170.


The strength of the amateur ethos relied heavily on the influence of the aristocracy within society. Cannadine’s The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy, describes how this influence may have waned but there was enough momentum to sustain a strong ethic of ‘amateurism’ going into the middle of the twentieth century. D. Cannadine, The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy, 1999.

See Chapter 5.


Ibid.

Ibid.


Ibid.


J. Hargreaves, Sport, Power, Culture; A Social and Historical Analysis of Popular Sports in Britain, 1986, p.45.

Ibid., pp.35-36.


Probably the most famous case occurred in the Test match of 1882 when England first lost the mythical “Ashes”. W.G., having fielded the ball, had pretended to throw it back to the bowler, and then, when the batsmen thinking the ball was ‘dead’, walked out of his ground to repair the pitch, threw down his wicket leaving the umpire no alternative but to give him out. The testimony of F.R. Spofforth, who was playing in the game but authorised publication of his views only after his death, is referred to in a letter to The Times 17 August 1926 by E.C. Sewell (reprinted in M.Williams (ed), The Way to Lord’s, 1983, pp.41-42). From D. Birley, Land of Sport and Glory. Sport and British Society, 1887-1910, 1995, pp.23 & 29.


P.C. Standing, Cricket of To-day and Tomorrow, [1902];

As early as 1879, the Athletic News spoke for the majority when it declared; “Both cricketers and the public have become tired of the abuse of terms which confers upon one man the title of gentleman and upon the other that of a professional, when the only difference between them is that the so-called gentleman takes money when he has no right to, and the professional who honestly calls himself such finds himself outbidden [sic] at his business by the mercenary amateur, who repudiates the title of professional whilst appropriating all the emoluments connected therewith.” Athletic News, 15 January 1879. Quoted in K.A.P. Sandiford, Cricket and the Victorians, 1994, p.84.


Cited in Ibid.

The social significance of these amounts can perhaps be best understood when compared to Home Gordon’s fees as a cricket reporter for the Daily Express. During Edwardian times, he received £20 for covering a first class match in London, and £30 elsewhere. He also earned around ten guineas for articles he submitted to cricket journals. See K.A.P. Sandiford, Cricket and the Victorians, 1994, p.85 (from H. Gordon, Background of Cricket, 1939, pp.36-39).


Lord Hawke, Recollections and Reminiscences, 1924, p.66.


C. Box, The English Game of Cricket, 1877, p.iii.

As David Frith explains in the *Golden Age*: “Class distinctions held firm, in cricket as in real life, though it has long been a prime claim for English cricket that it has brought all breeds of men together in a pavilion. This it may have done, creating an additional mystique, but it could never bring about any real fusion of species.” D. Frith, *The Golden Age of Cricket* 1890-1914, 1978, p.12.


The publication of Charles Darwin’s *On the Origin of Species* in 1859 had a marked impact on the Victorians. David Brown, for one, has shown how ‘Social Darwinism’ infiltrated Victorian sport and affected how it was both perceived and played: “Moral earnestness and compassionate gentility symbolized ideal qualities which it was deemed necessary for men to possess if they were to be perceived as ‘men of character’ and ‘decent’ members of society.” Through cricket this could be enacted. See D.W. Brown, ‘Social Darwinism, Private Schooling and Sport in Victorian and Edwardian Canada’, in Mangan, J.A. (ed.), *Pleasure, Profit, Proselytism*, 1988, p.216.

Revd. J Pycroft, *The Cricket-Field*, 1882, p.34. According to the National Book League, Pycroft was indeed the pioneer of all cricket historians and had also been a cricketer of some note. At Oxford he had been largely responsible for reinstating the Varsity match as an annual event. National Book League, *Cricket*, 1950, p.25.


Ibid., p.144.


Ibid.


The *Cricketer’s Annual, Illustrated London News and Buckinghamshire Examiner* offered the opinion that the experiment had “demonstrated that ladies could play cricket very well.” K.A.P. Sandiford, *Cricket and the Victorians*, 1994, p.45.


Ibid., pp.144 & 200.


K.A.P. Sandiford, *Cricket and the Victorians*, 1994, p.46. In 1879, the same year that Britain was at war with the Zulus in South Africa, Richard Daft was captaining an English cricket side to Canada and America. In 1893 he wrote *Kings of Cricket*, a book proclaiming the manly virtues of cricket as the ‘national game’. See R. Daft, *Kings of Cricket*, 1893.


Ibid.

Among these was the South African test cricketer C.B. Llewellyn, who was allegedly coloured and played more than 300 games for Hampshire. Ahsan ul Hak played for the MCC and in 3 matches for Middlesex in 1902. C.A. Ollivierre, a black West Indian, played 110 matches for Derbyshire between 1901 and 1907. Mehta, who had played for the Parsees, became a professional with Lancashire in 1903 though he never played for its senior teams. J. Williams, *Cricket and Race*, 2001, p.20.

In 1996 *Cricketer International* described Ranjitsinhji as “perhaps the most enduring emblem of that luxurious cricket before the carnage of the First World War.” *Cricketer International*, 1996, p.35.

A Rajput aristocrat, he had been adopted at an early age by the Jam Vibhaji of Nawanager as heir to the throne. But following an internal struggle he was ousted from the succession and sent to Cambridge to continue his ‘education’ overseas. See P. Morrah, *The Golden Age of Cricket*, 1967, p.31.


The Cricket-Field

The Golden Age of Cricket, 1877, p.75.

The Imperial Game, 1998, p.28.


Cited in C. Box, The English Game of Cricket, 1877, p.12.


Cited in C. Box, The English Game of Cricket, 1877, p.78.


Another servant of Empire, Malcolm Jardine became a professor of law at Bombay University before being appointed Advocate-General of Bombay. Returning to England, he served for several years as a Vice-President of Surrey CCC, of which his son (Douglas-of ‘bodyline’ fame) was long a distinguished captain. See Ibid., p.12.

Regarded a great stylist, Lionel Palairet was also an accomplished archer, hunter, footballer and long-distance runner. In 1907 he became captain of Somerset C.C.C., over which he also presided after 1930. He was a land agent for the Earl of Devon’s Estate. Ibid.

Sir Frank Stanley Jackson, one of England’s finest all-rounders, went onto make a name for himself in politics. He became MP for the Howdenshire Division of Yorkshire from 1915 to 1926, financial secretary to the War Office in 1922 and chairman of the Unionist Party in 1923. Then, in the last throes of Empire, he served as Governor of Bengal at the height of the Nationalist agitation there during 1927-32. Alongside Jackson in the Cambridge side of 1890 was C.P. Foley, who five years later had joined the army and participated in the Jameson Raid. His exploits in South Africa earned him the nickname of ‘The Raider’ and he went on to serve with distinction in the Boer War. A career soldier, he was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel and commanded the 9th East Lancashire Regiment during the First World War. See Ibid., pp.17-18.

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Anthony Kirk-Greene links athletic ability in the public schools to the shaping of the ideal British Imperial administrator. There is a “direct link,” he suggests, “between the rites de passage of a British public school and the self-discipline of fair play … between the system of school prefects and the principles of indirect rule … An important key is to be found in understanding the role and relevance of sport in the making of our-man-on-the-


167 From the *Uppingham School Magazine*, September 1900, p.265. Cited in M. Tozer, ‘A sacred trinity – cricket, school, Empire: E.W. Hornung and his young guard’. In Mangan, J.A. (ed.), *The Cultural Bond: Sport, Empire, Society*, 1992, p.17. This was typical of the cricket – war rhetoric preached within Britain’s public schools since the days of the Boer War.

168 In July 1914, less than a month before the start of the Great War, Hornung had characteristically chosen ‘The Game of Life’ as the title for one of his last school sermons; “...the way we played for our side, in the bad light, on the difficult pitch, the way we backed up and ran the other man’s runs; our courage and unselfishness, not our skill or our success; our brave failures, our hidden disappointments, the will to bear our friend’s infirmities, and the grit to fight our own: surely, surely, is it these things above all others that will count, when the innings is over, in the Pavilion of Heaven.” E.W. Hornung quoted in S.R. Chichester, *E.W.Hornung and his Young Guard*, 1941, pp. 31-37. Cited in M. Tozer, ‘A sacred trinity – cricket, school, Empire: E.W. Hornung and his young guard’. In Mangan, J.A. (ed.), *The Cultural Bond: Sport, Empire, Society*, 1992, p.17. This was typical of the cricket – war rhetoric preached within Britain’s public schools since the days of the Boer War.


171 From the *Uppingham School Magazine*, April 1905, pp. 41-51. Cited in Ibid.

172 See D. Newsome *Godliness and God Learning: Four Studies on a Victorian Ideal*, 1961. The success of their teachings must be viewed against the backdrop of a general decline in religious conviction. In 1851 for example a survey indicated that 40 per cent of Britain’s population were regular churchgoers. During the time of the Boer War, fifty years later, the figure had fallen to around 25 per cent and as low as 20 per cent in the cities. D. Birley, *Land of Sport and Glory. Sport and British Society, 1887-1910*, 1995, p.178.

173 K.A.P. Sandiford, ‘England’. In Stoddart, B. & Sandiford, K.A.P. (eds.), *The Imperial Game*, 1998, p.20. Most notably, the Reverend Charles Powlett was the founding member of the Hambledon Club while the Reverend James Pycroft, a curate of Dorset from 1856 to 1895, gave his long life to reading and writing about cricket after having played for Oxford against Cambridge at Lord’s in 1836. For thirty years he was a member of the Sussex County Cricket Club committee. Reverend Archdale Palmer Wickham was wicket-keeper for Somerset between 1869 and 1907 while Reverend A. R. Ward was hugely influential in the development of first-class cricket at Cambridge University. Cardinal Manning, before his ordination, also represented Harrow against Eton and Winchester. Strikingly, between 1860 and 1900, one in three Oxbridge cricket blues (209 amateur players) took holy orders, of which 59 played county cricket. M. Marqusee, *Anyone but England*, 1994, p.69.


178 Reverend James Pycroft, cited in Ibid., p.11.

179 See P. Scott, ‘Cricket and the Religious World in the Victorian Period’. *Church Quarterly*. 3 (July 1970): 134-144. For Keith Sandiford, “it is significant, in analysing the late-Victorian frame of mind, to notice that Waugh chose to write about cricket rather than soccer and thus his Christians were [virtuous] batsmen and not bowlers [Satanic and devious]. He adopted, in other words, the Victorian habit of glorifying the bat at the expense of the ball, while also supporting the popular view that soccer lead to too many emotional excesses.” K.A.P. Sandiford, *Cricket and the Victorians*, 1994, p.36.


68
Harris also denounced the dark days at Lord’s at the latter end of the eighteenth century when both betting and match-rigging were commonplace. See Reverend J. Pycroft, *The Cricket-Field*, 1882. In particular, ‘A Dark Chapter in the History of Cricket’. pp.127-138.

187 Ibid., p.35.
188 Ibid., p.35.

Figure 3. James Logan and family c.1899

Figure 4. Matjesfontein, Cape Colony c.1890
Figure 5. ‘Cricket’s Education’. Blairlodge School, Edinburgh First XI, 1895. (James Logan junior seated on ground front left)

Figure 6. ‘Cricket and War’. British soldiers in South Africa during the Anglo-Boer War
Cricket’s ‘Empire Builders’

Figure 7. Cecil Rhodes as a boy

Figure 8. Lord Harris
Chapter 4

‘Fertile Ground’: South African Cricket and the Expansion of Empire
Chapter 4 – ‘Fertile Ground’: South African Cricket and the Expansion of Empire

By the time war had broken out in South Africa in 1899, the total global area under British control was four times the size of Europe and had a population of around 400 million. Britain’s expansionist policies had accomplished control and influence throughout large areas of the modern world and now the focus was upon achieving the same effect within Southern Africa.2

The decision taken in 1807 to outlaw the slave trade had, after all, initiated a new era in Britain’s long-standing relations with Africa. Thereafter, a campaign was initiated to ‘regenerate’ the continent by promoting the ‘civilising’ values of commerce and Christianity. Characterised as economically backward and morally degenerate, Africa, to many, provided the ultimate test of the supremacy of Western culture and skills. By assisting emigration in 1819, it was expected that British settlers in the Cape would serve in the diffusion of Imperialist values and policy.3 From the outset, strategy and commerce were closely entwined, both as means and ends. A dependable colonial community was perceived to be the best long-term defence of the route to India with a prosperous and progressive colony that would remain dependable and would also promote trade, spread enlightened values, and ultimately become self-supporting.4

As thousands of individuals like James Logan chose to escape the confines of British society to seek their fortunes in Southern Africa, Britain continued to ‘Anglicise’ the colony by crossing the social values of the English gentlemen with the business ethic of the middle classes.5 As they had done elsewhere, English forms of sport and leisure – specifically cricket – would also perform an important role in the process. The previous chapter has shown how imperial cricket was imbued with a sense of ‘Englishness’, moral worth and exclusivity in the late Victorian era. This chapter explores how this ethos was transferred to South Africa during this period and by providing a context for the more detailed analysis of James Logan that follows, it also investigates the link between cricket and the expansion of the British Empire within the different regions.

“It has become an accepted fact”, declared one South African observer in 1915, “that where Englishmen are banded together, either by reason of duty, self-advancement or force of circumstances, there cricket will be played.”6 As Chapter 3 has shown, ‘Englishness’ was by
now synonymous with ‘Britishness’ and throughout the British Empire cricket had followed on the heels of exploration, military might and political intervention in establishing a British code of civilisation in foreign territories. After touring India with the Oxford University Authentic team in 1903, Cecil Hedlam famously wrote that the history of British colonisation was “first the hunter, the missionary and the merchant, next the soldier and the politician, and then the cricketer …” In conciliatory tone he concluded, “of these civilising influences the last may, perhaps, be said to do the least harm.”

Predictably then perhaps, a year after the first British occupation of Natal in 1843, the 45th Foot were introducing cricket to Pietermaritzburg; a few summers later the British settlers at Bloemfontein had established their own club, and before the end of 1860s matches between ‘Mother Country’ and ‘Colonial Born’ had become a confirmed part of the social calendar. British cricketing colonisation had arrived in South Africa.

This chapter explores the early development of cricket throughout the different parts of South Africa and investigates its link to British imperialism and colonialism. As this study shows, local agents such as James Logan were fundamental in this process of cultural transfer and assimilation, as were the strategies of the authorities in fostering social, economic and political ties between the ‘Mother Country’ and her dependents. Early cricket relations between England and South Africa are examined as sites of a burgeoning imperial ‘brotherhood’ set against a South African society still developing its own hierarchies of power and order. The British had, after all, introduced cricket to South Africa during a period of intense conflict over land and political control. The game, alongside warfare and politics, was set to play its part.

The Struggle for Supremacy

Writing in the 1905 *South African Cricketer’s Annual*, M.C.C. supremo the ‘Right-Honourable’ Lord Harris, declared how cricket was “not merely a game, but … a great educational medium” and how he ‘rejoiced’ “that cricket has taken hold as firmly as it has done in South Africa.” For Harris and fellow imperialists, the game was significant throughout the Empire in providing a cultural and sporting bond that could not only transmit the important scriptures of British civility but how, in Harris’s words, it had become “a strand in the elastic cord which unites the Colonies and the Mother Country.” It was hoped, and indeed expected, that through political, social and cultural coercion British control of Southern Africa could be established as effectively as had been done elsewhere. Within South Africa itself, however,
many integral struggles were being fought. The region was set to provide the British Empire with its most defining challenge to date.

For Cain and Hopkins, in their seminal study of British Imperialism, “nowhere does the weight of historiography press so insistently upon the study of imperialism as in the case of the partition of Africa.”\textsuperscript{11} Certainly, for any cultural investigation of sport, it is important to first investigate the history of the society and its people. For whilst Africans migrated south into present day South Africa some two thousand years ago and the Dutch began to settle in and around Cape Town from 1652, it was, according to Black and Nauright, “only with the arrival of permanent British control supported by the weight of British Imperial power in 1806 that economic, cultural and political power began to spread throughout the region”.\textsuperscript{12} As they had done elsewhere, the British believed themselves to be superior culturally, economically and politically when compared to other groups of people and this led to a promotion of things British, including sport, in the new regions of the Empire. This imposition of culture naturally alienated the rural Afrikaners, who, despite their own European origins, were now as much a part of South Africa as the other ‘tribes’ that inhabited this vast and varied land.

When Britain attempted to incorporate all the territories of Southern Africa into a federal system in the 1870s, it was simply assumed that Afrikaners would assimilate to the British way of life. But British Imperialism and hegemony alienated the Afrikaner intelligentsia in the Cape.\textsuperscript{13} Cape Afrikaners began to mobilise along religion-based cultural lines. Lead by Stephanus du Toit, a Minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, they formed \textit{Die Genootskap van regte Afrikaners} (the Fellowship of True Afrikaners). It was, according to Booth,\textsuperscript{14} Du Toit who was the first person to articulate the notion of Afrikaners as a ‘Chosen People’ and who first compared the Afrikaner with other covenanted races.\textsuperscript{15} A concept readily adopted by President Paul Kruger at the turn of the century, this view clashed with the imperial ethos of a Britain intent on securing its capitalist interests throughout South Africa.

Several studies have attempted to clarify the relationship that existed between the English and the Afrikaner during the nineteenth century. Notably, Streak suggests that the relationship hinged on the conflict between liberalism and conservatism and not simply a barrier dividing the ‘colonial south’ from the ‘republican north’.\textsuperscript{16} Religious beliefs played an integral part in this. On the one hand was the liberalism of the English, stemming as it did from the humanitarianism and philanthropy of the evangelical revival which swept Europe during the
second half of the eighteenth century; on the other was the conservatism of the essentially rural Afrikaner people whose religious traditions were based on Calvinism.\textsuperscript{17}

Probing the essence of Anglo-Boer relations is an essential precursor to any analysis of the place of sport, or any form of cultural expression, during the Boer War era. Indeed, when the English first landed in 1795 they came from a background of empire builders and not surprisingly this clashed with the interests of the Boers, who as the white pioneers of South Africa, held an outlook of an essentially conservative society. Any attempts by the British to integrate the Afrikaners into their own religious sanctums were heartily rejected as this also meant accepting the King and the Empire as part of God’s plan of salvation.\textsuperscript{18}

Following the permanent British occupation of the Cape Colony in 1806, antagonism had developed between the new imperial government and the established white settlers who were predominantly Dutch-speaking farmers. They resented the imposition of the English language, British officialdom and particularly the concepts of bourgeois-democratic liberalism in relation to slavery.\textsuperscript{19} The response from the Boers was the mass migration from the Cape of 1836-1854, in the first ten years of which over fourteen thousand of them crossed the Orange River into the interior and beyond.\textsuperscript{20} The ‘Great Trek’ consisted of a series of planned expeditions of farmers accompanied by their families, servants and all their possessions. The Boers did not seek to extend the frontiers of the Cape Colony; rather their purpose was to escape British rule and establish a ‘free and independent state’ beyond the borders of the colony.

However, their independence was short lived. British annexation and military occupation of Natal, the Boer’s first Republic, was followed in 1877 by the annexation of the Transvaal Republic, again under the pretext of Afrikaner maltreatment of black Africans. Although Pretoria and its surrounds prospered in the wake of British investment, farmer Paul Kruger, who was determined not to be subjected by the British again, mobilised commandos of Afrikaner farmers to remove them.\textsuperscript{21} This resulted in the first Anglo-Boer War (1880-81). After defeat at Majuba on the Natal border, the British colonial government abandoned the war and ceded independence to the Transvaal Boers in August 1881, at a time when James Logan was beginning to establish himself within the Karoo region of the Cape Colony (the significance of which will be explored in subsequent chapters).

As Booth explains, it was after the first Anglo-Boer War that Paul Kruger, now President of the Transvaal, propounded a revised history of Boer consciousness which consisted of a tabulation
of grievances, ‘injustices’ and ‘oppression’ and stories of clashes between the Boer and the ‘despicable and cowardly’ English. During this time, particular significance was attached to events such as the Great Trek and the Battle of Blood River, from which the Boer, it was hoped, could derive an element of pride and identity. The seeds of Afrikaner mythology were thus cast, which within fifty years would produce their own ethnic and nationalist ‘realities’.

Within Britain’s imperialist society, the Boers, according to Krebs, were seen as “backward, petty tyrants who sought to exploit British settlers in the gold mining districts of the Witwatersrand.” When war was declared in October 1899, it was generally believed in Britain that the ragged bands of untrained Boer soldiers could never mount a credible attack on the British army, and the war would be over by Christmas. But, as history proved, the South African war was set to continue for the next three years with the British public starved of the good news they were expecting.

May 1900 saw the relief of Mafeking by allied forces and an instant outpouring of celebration in the streets of Britain’s towns and cities. Seen as significant, this show of emotion “made jingoism safe for the middle classes by blurring the distinction between jingoism – working-class over-enthusiasm for the Empire – and patriotism, that middle-class virtue of support for one’s country against foreign opposition.” Yet it was a display that demonstrated the immense effect that this conflict, thousands of miles away at the Southern tip of Africa, was beginning to have upon the British psyche.

If any one generalisation may stand, it is that British Imperialism was based upon “a sense of superiority, upon a conviction of a superior economic system, a superior political code … (and) on a superior way of life.” Yet the war was fought at a time when the complexities of the ideology of imperialism were in question. Britain, at this time, possessed a culture in which empire was assumed and yet critiqued, was understood and yet always needed to be explained, and in the form of a South African conflict, was far away and yet appeared in the daily press each morning. Figure 9 demonstrates trivialisation of the hostilities through a cricketing analogy offered by Punch towards the end of the war. This was typical of much of the media at the time. British imperialism was, for once, being challenged.

Imperialism and South Africa

Patrick Brantlinger has suggested that South Africa was affected by a ‘New Imperialism’ that began in the 1880s. Intense rivalry had developed among the European powers during the
scramble for parts of Africa, Asia and the South Pacific, while the momentum of Britain’s imperialist policies during the late 1800s had left many questioning the rational of ‘acquiring’ new territories overseas. Not all politicians and tax payers at home wanted more colonies to govern, even ‘the men on the spot’, on imperial frontiers, may not have wanted them; but the exigencies of the moment kept forcing Britain’s hand. Brantlinger views the Transvaal in this bracket, but concedes that even the most reluctant imperialists were still imperialists, opting to annex new territories because they believed that expansion was the best or at least the most expedient way to defend the Empire that already existed. For men within the colonies, like Logan, it was hoped that Britain’s imperialist policies would indeed guarantee and sustain their prosperity going into the new century. The fragility of the situation was not apparent to all.

But what of Imperialism itself? According to Koebner and Schmidt, the term “imperialism” was only used through the 1860s with reference to the French Second Empire and the autocratic policies of Napoleon III. Between 1830 and the 1870s however, “the Colonies” and “colonial interests” were familiar terms, and throughout the period there was frequent discussion in the press and in Parliament about the condition of the “British Empire.”

An ideology of ‘Imperial Chauvinism’ had emerged during the 1870s based largely on the literary work of Anthony Trollope, a novelist who wrote extensively on Ireland, Jamaica, Canada, Australia and South Africa. Within a series of travelogues based on Britain and her Colonies, Trollope fed the late-Victorian fascination for the Empire and its expansion. As Brantlinger and other historians have shown, even though emphasis and theories about the Empire fluctuated greatly, “imperialist discourse, like the actual expansion of the Empire, was continuous, informing all aspects of Victorian culture and society.” Disagreement between liberals and conservatives failed to disguise the fundamental elements of an imperialist ideology that harboured a chauvinism based solely on loyalty to the existing Empire, both to the ruling nation and to its colonies. In advocating territorial annexation, many imperialists, also by association, advocated the use of military force to settle issues of foreign policy. Indeed, as Brantlinger shows, the glorification of the military and of war often crops up as a sub-theme of imperial chauvinism and although Trollope’s more liberal writings may have stopped short of supporting forceful means of control they did however advocate other important aspects of imperialist ideology.

For most Victorians, the British were inherently, by ‘blood’, a conquering, governing, and civilising race. Like Trollope, the majority of Victorian intellectuals and politicians believed in
Britain’s righteous mission, as the world’s greatest nation, to civilise Africa as well as other dark corners of the Globe.35 Perceived racial superiority of white Europeans (and of the English over all other Europeans) justified the subsequent annexation of foreign land and the imposition of British laws and culture. The introduction of cricket came as part of this process. Traditionally associated with conservatism, the ideologies of imperialism were adaptable and could just as easily consort with more liberal attitudes toward domestic issues. British racial superiority was, after all, constitutionally accepted and agreed. James Logan, and the ‘creation’ of Matjesfontein, personified this concept within the unlikely environs of the Cape Interior.

Theories of racial superiority were prevalent well before the development of Social Darwinism, and these theories were often used to explain Britain’s industrial and imperial pre-eminence.36 In The English and their Origin, Luke Owen Pike declared in 1866 how:

There are probably few educated Englishmen living who have not in their infancy been taught that the English nation is a nation of almost pure Teutonic blood, that its political constitution, its social custom, its internal prosperity, the success of its arms, and the number of its colonies have all followed necessarily upon the arrival, in three vessels, of certain German warriors under the command of Hengist and Horsa.37

If, superficially, Teutonic ancestry legitimised England’s duty to civilise Africa’s ‘Dark Continent’,38 then reality showed how imperial expansion was in fact driven by economic motives. The apologists for imperialism however continued to emphasise that the Empire was an exercise in morality; that England was responding to a moral obligation to extend the benefits of British civilisation throughout the world. Indeed Joseph Chamberlain began his spell as Colonial Secretary in 1895 by declaring how “it is not enough to occupy certain great spaces of the world’s surface unless you can make the best of them – unless you are willing to develop them.”39 And by 1897, his thoughts were of imperialism and world peace: “This great Empire of ours, powerful as it is, is nothing to what it will become in the course of ages when it will be in permanence a guarantee for the peace and civilisation of the world.”40

The benefits of such policies were two-fold. Chamberlain’s ‘Social Imperialism’ of the 1890s served not only to increase Britain’s influence in colonial South Africa but also served as a direct rival of socialism for the allegiance of the British working class. Cecil Rhodes, perhaps South Africa’s greatest imperial architect, recognised this when he declared:
My cherished idea is a solution for the social problem, i.e., in order to save the 40,000,000 inhabitants of the United Kingdom from a bloody civil war, we colonial statesmen must acquire new lands to settle the surplus population, to provide new markets for the goods produced by them in the factories and mines. The Empire, as I have always said, is a bread and butter question. If you want to avoid civil war, you must become imperialist.\textsuperscript{41}

Lenin later quoted this speech in his 1916 pamphlet on imperialism and, of course, did not disagree with Rhodes’s argument.\textsuperscript{42} Neither did that other great critic of imperialism, J.A. Hobson, who also recognised that the Empire was a political safety valve and a substitute for reform at home. “It has become a commonplace of history,” declared Hobson at the end of the Boer War in 1902, “how Governments use national animosities, foreign wars and the glamour of empire-making, in order to bemuse the popular mind and divert rising resentment against domestic abuses.” Through imperial fanfare and exploitation abroad, “the vested interests,” claimed Hobson, “at the same time protect their economic and political supremacy at home against movements of popular reform.”\textsuperscript{43}

\textbf{Cricket and Colonisation}

The struggle for control of South Africa came at a time when the maintenance of an increasingly demanding empire was beginning to tax an already burdened Britain. The military, the schools and the church became major tools in securing the foundations of hegemonic control in the colonies and were vital if British imperial influence was to be sustained. The British were aware, according to Green,

that if insurrection were to rear its ugly head at two or three outposts simultaneously, then their resources, already stretched to the limit, might snap altogether … The answer, they felt, lay in a combination of psychological warfare, discipline and decorum, good manners and plenty of churches, propaganda by polite pretext.\textsuperscript{44}

In South Africa, cricket increasingly played its part in this process, indicated by the significant number of cricket tours around the time of the Boer War. The relationship between cricket and the expanding empire was already well established by the 1890s, prompting the conservative Blackwood’s Magazine to imperiously exclaim in 1892 how “[t]he Englishman carries his cricket bat with him as naturally as his gun-case and his India-rubber bath.”\textsuperscript{45}

But on what scale did these British ‘purveyors of civilisation’ move overseas? While South Africa failed to attract the numbers moving to the United States for example, Dunae still estimates that 45,000 migrants of upper and middle-class origin settled in the Dominions
between 1875 and 1900. Many of course had a profound effect on the native population. From a West Indian perspective, C.L.R. James famously reflected how:

Our masters, our curriculum, our code of morals, everything began from the basis that Britain was the source of all light and leading, and our business was to admire, wonder, imitate, learn; our criterion of success was to have succeeded in approaching that distant ideal – to attain it was, of course, impossible.

Sport became an imperial bond of cultural encounters between the controlling British and subordinate groups in the colonies and nowhere was this typified more than on the cricket fields of empire. Encouraged by the sport’s ethos, middle-class colonials were steering their sons towards cricket in the hope of furnishing them with the same strength of character and upstanding morals that was being preached back in Britain. As early as 1862, a writer in Temple Bar laid claims to cricket being “a healthy and manly sport; [which] trains and disciplines the noblest faculties of the body, and tends to make Englishmen what they are – the masters of the world.”

Within the colonies, elite schools were established along the lines of Eton, Harrow and Winchester to propagate this message and British games were naturally part of the curriculum. By spreading the sporting gospel, tours from England cemented ties of imperial kinship whilst also affirming the superior status of the ‘Mother Country’. Lord Hawke, for one, was “certain that a properly-arranged tour does a good deal for the spread of Imperial Federation. Wherever Englishmen go they take cricket with them.” For the British rulers themselves, they considered the enjoyment of ‘our’ games for ‘our’ people to be an expression of the naturalness of empire. And, for colonists like Logan, British forms of sport of course provided that tangible link with ‘home’ and British society.

Yet, as Brantlinger has shown, in reality “Empire involved military conquest and rapacious economic exploitation.” Perhaps cricket was the ideal cultural expression of this? Birley may indeed have been right when he argued that “cricket, like the Empire itself, spread somewhat haphazardly and not always for the noblest motives.” In 1859, when George Parr led the first major overseas cricket tour of the England XI to North America, the commercial potential of such tours soon became apparent. Two years later H.H. Stephenson’s team had reputedly made over £11,000 from their first tour of Australia. Parr then succeeded William Clarke as manager of the All-England XI and toured Australia himself with a team of
‘professionals’ whose rapacious behaviour was said to have done more damage than good to early cricket relations within the empire.\textsuperscript{56}

It would be a while before the imperial motives of touring overtook the commercial incentives, and in many respects, these early cricketing tourists were reluctant missionaries. Birley, for one, describes the apathy shown towards touring in the 1870s.\textsuperscript{57} It was 1874 before W.G. Grace’s price could be met for his tour to Australia, whilst the first Australian team to visit England in 1868 were, in fact, a troupe of performing aborigines.\textsuperscript{58} With South Africa still largely insignificant and sporting links through empire yet to be established, the occasional contests with Australia were viewed, by most, with an air of indifference. Indeed, in March 1877, an Australian XI won a game that has retrospectively been celebrated as the first Test match, but its impact was in fact hardly felt within the corridors of English cricket.\textsuperscript{59}

In 1880 the Empire was, after all, not yet a fully articulated political concept. Cricket only came to realise its imperial obligations once positive affirmation of Empire was confirmed under Joseph Chamberlain, Lord Rosebury and younger Tories such as Balfour and Curzon. The spectre of competition from Europe threatened Britain’s status as a world power and coinciding, as it did, with Logan’s period of prosperity, the post-1880 era marked a strategic spell of expansionist trade and conquest across the Empire and beyond. According to Birley, “imperialism has the apparent simplicity of all great ideas: it was a splendid opportunity to combine self-interest with benevolent paternalism. For the cricket authorities it was a golden opportunity to enact the feudal ideal on a worldwide scale.”\textsuperscript{60}

This, however, was not immediately proclaimed. “It was nearly half a century after Parr’s first trip” suggests Birley, “before the M.C.C. acknowledged its duty to the Empire by organising an official Australian tour, and even then it was a reactive gesture.”\textsuperscript{61} Prior to this, tours had been left more to the enterprise (and self-interest) of individuals like Lord Hawke and James Logan. Once Lord Sheffield had persuaded W.G. to ‘fly the flag’ in Australia in 1891-92, it led the way for ‘amateurs’ to replace the professional as the staple of overseas tours. Figureheads such as Hawke, A.E. Stoddart and the imperious Archie MacLaren became synonymous with English tours throughout the empire as the game grew in significance. Representing the ‘Mother Country’ within its dominions became all important and from 1903-04, the M.C.C. “assumed the imperial burden” of responsibility for the tours.\textsuperscript{62}
The Imperious Game

The advent of the amateur influence compounded the exclusivity of cricket and this was often connected to the social politics of the day. As we have seen, justification for imperial expansion was commonly linked to ideas of racial superiority, with proponents of empire suggesting that the white English race had a natural moral capacity that made it ideally suited for the exercise of imperial power. Cricket and its traditions personified this. Within his 1899 review of the subject, Lawson Walton asserted that the “basis of Imperialism is race … Its genius will find scope in developing and, as duty or legitimate interest demands, in extending its possessions.”

From the outset, cricket has been associated with elitism and segregation in terms of social status as well as race. As Gemmell noted recently;

> If democracy is the opportunity of all – regardless of race, sex and economic status – to partake in the activities that compose social life, then cricket was certainly not democratic. Its ethos espoused dignity – rather than competitiveness – in contest, enforcing social status rather than actual ability as the key determinant to participation.

The amateur ideal was something that appealed to James Logan as cricket could be used in South Africa as a means of social elevation and exclusivity. This ritual was enacted right across the Empire. In India, for example, organised cricket was based upon exclusive clubs that were open to Europeans only and despite enthusiasm for the game from the Parsi population in particular, mixing of the races was never openly encouraged in these parts of the subcontinent. As the one-time Governor of Bombay, Lord Harris typified those imperialists who believed in the civilising mission of cricket, yet corroborated the hierarchical system compounded by the game. He viewed cricket as a game which had the power to unite classes and colonies whilst uplifting the native races. Within an 1885 edition of Cricket he said of sport:

> Pastimes serve good purpose in causing the young noblemen and gentlemen of England to rub shoulders with those who are lower than themselves in the social scale, but in the republic of the playground are, perhaps, their superiors, and so force upon the minds of the former a respect for industry, honesty, sobriety, and any other of the qualities that are necessary to produce an efficient athlete.

In other parts of the Empire local players had infiltrated the higher echelons of the game. In the West Indies for example, perhaps for reasons of necessity more than equal representation,
players of African descent were, by 1906, representing the national team. In fact, in the midst of the Boer War in 1900, a mixed race West Indian team were touring Britain. At a time when Britain was securing, somewhat forcefully, its dominance in South Africa, others at home could extol the benefits of securing colonial loyalty through sports instead. At a dinner given to the West Indian touring party by the West Indian Club at the Grand Hotel, Lord Selbourne, the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, explained how, “It would be impossible to exaggerate the importance to our Imperial unity which our Imperial sports might play … he would be a foolish man who denied that cricket, and our taste, as a race for sport, had had a real influence in harmonising and consolidating the different parts of the Empire.”

However, this was tempered by the fact that early West Indian sides were predominantly led by white captains and the leading batsmen were of European descent. In Philadelphia too, a hotbed of the game in the late nineteenth century, cricket reinforced the social status of those involved. Membership of the more prestigious clubs was by subscription only, thus attracting the higher end of American suburban society seeking ‘exclusivity’ as well as sport. Eighty per cent of the members in the major clubs held white-collar positions, while at some cricket establishments ‘social’ members outnumbered actual players by ten-to-one. Perhaps as a nationalistic response to the English, only the Australians rejected the prejudice of elitism. From its early days, Australia sought its own identity and its cricket was no different. The 1884 touring side, for example, refused to be classified in the traditional manner and asked for its players to be regarded not as ‘amateur’ or ‘professional’ but as ‘cricketer’. In another deviation from the aristocratic norm, both early state sides and the national Australian team were known to elect their captain democratically, although, given the lack of indigenous players in top-flight cricket, some of cricket’s racist ‘traditions’ were also adopted in Australia.

Given the complexity of the Empire, the sporting brotherhood envisaged by cricket’s imperialists was not always easy to establish even in white colonies where the task of maintaining the links between expatriates and the home country could be difficult. South Africa was, however, a young colony by 1900 and was still influenced greatly by ideas from the Mother Country. For cricket’s empire builders like Lord Harris, South Africa thus remained the prime overseas location to continue British expansion and tradition.
Harris, Cricket and Empire

After a short period in Lord Salisbury’s government, Lord Harris became Governor of Bombay in 1890. Born into a family tradition of military and colonial service – his father had been governor of Trinidad and Madras – Harris had a greater than normal interest in Britain’s overseas possessions. For him and those around him cricket was a matter of reverence and, as a disciple of the new-style imperialism, he had affirmed as early as 1885 the British undertaking “to educate oriental people on western lines, to imbue them with western modes of thought and to strive at western systems of government.”73 His was a mission of ‘cricket imperialism’ – to enlighten the world about the honourable game and the virtues of those who played it. On the eve of his departure for Bombay, Harris told friends that “he had done his best to further the interests of the noble game (in England) … and that he intended to extend his patronage to the promotion of cricket in India.”74 Throughout his life, Harris was to maintain that cricket had “done more to consolidate the Empire than any other influence.”75

As in other parts of the Empire, a generation of loyal subjects were educated for their imperial role in India. Those who were to exercise authority under British supervision were to be “brought up as a gentleman should be” by establishing “an Eton in India.”76 As education was vital to the process, many ‘British-style’ public schools were founded across the Empire during the last quarter of the century with the aim of inculcating “a healthy tone and manly habits” among future leaders.77 Throughout the ‘darker’ colonies especially, cricket became a means of moral instruction, rising above other team games to inculcate the desired virtues of patience, effort and discipline. The belief that sport was an allegory of life, and that life, like the body politic, was a matter of balancing individual rights and public duties was successfully conveyed to the children of the empire’s elite.

For cricket’s imperialists the game indeed held the key to Empire. In India, Harris saw cricket as the means to bridge the gulf between Anglo-Saxon and Indian, Anglican and Hindu while W.G. Grace himself had little doubt that it could advance the cause of civilisation and hold together peoples of differing backgrounds.78 Organised games were indeed at the heart of the public-service ideal, yet they perpetuated a hierarchical system within a multi-racial empire in which, as Perkin points out, “a tiny white minority maintained its ascendancy over a multitude of ‘the lesser breeds without the law’.”79

In South Africa, Britain’s main adversaries for control of the country were white with European ancestry. Yet here, like elsewhere in the colonial world, racism was inherent. As we
will see, cricket was actively played by many within the African population but was disregarded by the British along with the game being played by sections of the Afrikaans community. In Australia, despite having an aptitude for cricket, the Aboriginal game was gradually stifled after 1870 by the bigotry of white colonials, while C.B. Fry, another of cricket’s ‘scholars’, wrote in 1939 how the Maoris in New Zealand were also “equally undevoted to work and to worry” and essentially, therefore, unsuited to playing cricket. Only in areas where whites were completely outnumbered, it seems, was cricket and its ethos actively ‘transferred’ to the local populace. If the racist stereotype destroyed Aboriginal (and perhaps Maori) cricket in Australasia, it failed to affect Hindu, Muslim and Parsee cricket in India. Here, more than anywhere, the civilising notion of cricket was transmitted to the indigenous peoples in order to minimise potential threat. Socially and culturally however, South Africa was different – its racist orthodoxy and political climate served to keep cricket exclusively ‘British’ going into the twentieth century.

Ironically, the strength of cricket’s imperial ethos made it a catalyst for emergent nationalisms within the colonies. “Biases on the part of local whites”, suggests Sandiford, “represented a conscious desire to imitate the Anglo-Saxons at home. It was this transplanted Anglo-Saxonism that inspired the emergence of a vigorous and militant nationalism throughout the British Empire.” Despite a strong loyalty to Britain from white, English-speaking South Africans, elsewhere “cricket became, in effect, inextricably bound up with patriotic pride and national aspirations among the colonials from the start.” Nowhere more so was this displayed than in Australia, where a patriotic fervour had attached itself to Australian cricket since its early days. After Australian success in the 1897-98 Test series, the Bulletin, in typically ebullient mood, declared that “this ruthless rout of English cricket will do – and has done – more to enhance the cause of Australian nationality than ever could be achieved by miles of erudite essays and impassioned appeal.”

Despite the colonial desire for autonomy, in a typical show of self-aggrandisement the late-Victorians at home were able to take a vicarious pride in the achievements of ‘their’ Colonies. To them the cricket fields of empire represented the “spaces of imperial accomplishment.” C.B. Fry, for example, was able to justify English cricket’s temporary subservience by reflecting that the Australian “has rejuvenated the British race in a new world of his own without losing his attachment to the root qualities of the parent stock.” The credit, he infers, must be Britain’s.
“This attachment to Anglo-Saxon values”, suggests Sandiford, “was the ultimate triumph of Victorian imperialism.” Successful assimilation was achieved throughout all realms of the empire as the “Victorians had succeeded in indoctrinating a variety of communities, both white and other.” Although the South African War ended British hopes of imperial ‘co-operation’ with the Boers, in other parts of their empire they achieved greater success. British ‘subjects’ included Sir Conrad Reeves, the Barbadian jurist, and Ranjitsinhji, the Hindu Prince, both trained to think in English ways and to instinctively identify with the British Empire. Like the vast majority of Anglo-Saxons of their generation, loyal subjects like Reeves and Ranjitsinhji were convinced that cricket contained a magical power that would bring all the different people and cultures of the empire much closer together.

Within his 1897 *Jubilee Book of Cricket*, Ranjitsinhji used the game’s development in South Africa as an example of its appeal and close associations with England:

> I cannot help thinking that it is the spirit of cricket – of the game itself – that glorifies everything connected with it. No doubt when people play the game on a rough jumble of veldt-grass and mine-tailings in the outskirts of Johannesburg, half the pleasure they find is the result of association of ideas. The feel of a bat and its sound against the ball bring back memories of the green turf and cool breezes of England. Still, cricket is a gem fair in itself, apart from the beauty of its setting – a gem worthy of a niche in Queen Victoria’s crown.

As its figurehead, Royal approval was of course important if cricket’s influence was to spread throughout the empire. Within his book *Imperial Cricket*, Pelham Warner was keen to accentuate how “the Royal Family has, for many generations, manifested more than a passing interest in the game and its welfare.” Chapter 3 revealed how royal patronage was integral to the ‘imperial game’ back in Britain and as part of this, cricketing ties with the Colonies were especially important. In 1881 a young Prince George laid the foundation stone of the pavilion of the Melbourne Cricket Club, of which he became an honorary life member. James Logan attended the coronation of Edward VII and to commemorate the occasion cricket matches were played across many parts of the empire and beyond.

The eldest son of Victoria, Edward, was present at the Oval to welcome the visiting Australians in 1905. Although Herself “not keenly attracted to the game”, Queen Victoria’s third son, the Duke of Connaught had also been a member of the M.C.C. since 1898 and in 1912 accepted the Honorary Presidency of the Canadian Cricket Association. In January 1903, the Duke and Duchess of Connaught were present at a match in Afghanistan between
the Oxford University Authentics and Peshawar where it was considered necessary to
surround the ground with troops, “all present thereby realising how close they were to the
outskirts of civilisation.”
Royal patronage of cricket it seems had become a ‘duty of empire’ – however hostile the location.

Cricket’s Development in Southern Africa

It would be a while before royal or imperial attention would be cast upon Southern Africa. Cricket itself first came to the continent with the military between 1795 and 1802 in the earliest days of the British regime. Members of the garrison which occupied the Cape in 1806 found time to play cricket and two years later the first known reference to a cricket match being played in South Africa appeared in the Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser. However it was not until later that century, with the arrival of British settlers that the game started to spread beyond the Western Cape. Reflecting the British migration out of Cape Town, 1843 saw the first organised cricket club appear in Port Elizabeth, followed a year later by the founding of the Wynberg club back in Cape Town. Further north, the first ‘rush’ on the Diamond Fields swept cricket into the Kimberley region of the Cape, while the Orange Free State received its first cricket club in Bloemfontein in 1855. The first Transvaal club opened in 1863.

As elsewhere, cricket’s imperialists viewed the spread of the game as an indicator of a colony’s cultural and social development. English cricketers were seen as purveyors of the ‘enlightening’ process in far flung corners of empire and South Africa was no different. Pelham Warner, for one, associated South Africa’s evolution with the spread of cricket throughout the region: “Step by step we have forced our way up north, and the cricket-pavilions that have sprung up along our track may almost be called the milestones on the road of the nation’s progress”, he exclaimed in 1900. Despite this rhetoric, closer inspection reveals how organised sport in South Africa was still in its infancy at the time of James Logan’s arrival in 1877. Only a few clubs had been established in the larger centres like Cape Town, Pietermaritzburg and Port Elizabeth and with no regional or national associations having been formed there was little in the form of official competitions or leagues. South Africa was fertile ground for Britain’s empire builders to exert their cultural imperialism through sport.

Odendaal has shown how British sport became institutionalised in South Africa in the period between 1875 and 1885, coinciding with the rise of sport as a mass leisure activity in post-
Following the establishment of cricket, this decade saw the formation of the first rugby, soccer, athletics, cycling, horse racing (jockey), golf and tennis clubs in South Africa and the inauguration of regular competitions. Then from the late 1880s national associations started to be formed to place sport on an organised footing. The timing of all this is significant. As the personal fortune of James Logan was transformed in South Africa during this period, so too was the nature of sport by the discovery of the richest mineral deposits in the world. Thousands of European fortune-seekers were attracted into the interior, stimulating industrialisation, urbanisation as well as opportunities for imperial expansion. As Odendaal explains; “South Africa’s industrial revolution set the stage for the rise of sport as a modern phenomenon with mass appeal in much the same way as the British Industrial Revolution had done.”

The early history of cricket reveals that its imperial roots have dictated its pattern of development. However, Gemmell has also identified how local influences or ‘environmental factors’ in each of the colonies have influenced the progression of the sport: “In India, the role of the Princes, in the West Indies, sugar, and in Australia, the forces of nationalism. The ‘independent’ variable in South Africa” he explains, “was the mining industry.” As with Odendaal’s analysis of the influence of industrialisation on the spread of all sports, the mining industry’s role in the development of cricket should not be overlooked. As Gemmell has shown, the discovery of gold and diamonds within South Africa’s interior encouraged sport (and cricket) as an opiate for the workforce as well as creating competition of a higher standard within the mining centres. With the influx of mining operatives, Kimberley soon became one of the most important sporting centres in the country and produced teams of high calibre across a variety of sports. In 1889 Kimberley became the first recipients of cricket’s Currie Cup. Sport in this region was thriving.

In Luckin’s authoritative History of South African Cricket, Noble recounts the first known game in Kimberley being played in 1874 on a piece of land to the immediate west of the old De Beers Mine. The ground was later to become the Natal Cricket Ground, and later still the home of the Kimberley Cricket Club. Early conditions were primitive with games being played on a wicket of coconut matting which stretched along a cart track. Interest in the game was maintained by players who organised matches on Saturday afternoons despite the initial indifference of the local population. Gradually conditions improved. The Natal ground was enclosed by a wire fence, “thus stopping the passage of scotch carts with loads of maiden blue” and matches became more frequent, with facilities created for practice. William Ling,
“an honoured name in Diamondopolis”, was regarded as the ‘father of Kimberley cricket’ and became patron of Kimberley Cricket Club; serving as captain, secretary, committee, groundsman, player and treasurer during his time.\textsuperscript{109} According to Noble, 1877 witnessed an upturn in the game’s popularity and a series of regular fixtures were inaugurated that included Natal versus Cape Colony, Home-born versus Colonial and Married versus Single.\textsuperscript{110} In 1884, Kimberley made their first appearance in the Champion Bat Tournament played at Port Elizabeth.\textsuperscript{111} Cricketers now represented their region and the competition between the different centres signalled the development of South African cricket on a national scale.

Prior to the arrival of the first English tourists, a number of domestic tours took place that helped to promote the game between the various provinces. “One of, if not quite, the most important of the earlier cricket tours in South Africa took place in January, 1887, when a team composed of Kimberley players … visited the Western Province. A tremendous amount of interest was created, particularly in Cape Town, where,” according to Noble, “it was looked upon as an event of much importance, and undoubtedly the visit gave a decided stimulus to the game in that centre.”\textsuperscript{112} The tourists, calling themselves the ‘Stray Klips’, were “received with the greatest hospitality in Cape Town” and prior to their departure a dinner was given in honour of the team at the Royal Hotel, Plein Street, with the Hon. T. Upington, Q.C., M.L.A. in the chair.\textsuperscript{113} The political and cultural significance of the game had transferred to South Africa along with its ethos.

\textbf{Military Origins: Natal Cricket}

As was the case in Cape Town, cricket reached the shores of Natal following the arrival of the British military in 1843. “Does not the history of the game tell us repeatedly what splendid missionary work our soldiers and sailors have carried out in the cause of cricket”, declared H.E. Holmes (pseudonym ‘Cypher’) in the 1915 \textit{History of Natal Cricket}.\textsuperscript{114} Being the “glorious, manly, British game”, cricket was introduced into Natal by the 45\textsuperscript{th} Foot, stationed at Fort Napier, Maritzburg.\textsuperscript{115} The effectiveness with which the military transferred cricket around the world is highlighted by its introduction to Natal, with the game reaching this outpost of empire only a few years after its institutionalisation in England. According to Henderson, the first records of cricket in this part of South Africa date from 1848, just three years after the formation of the Surrey County Cricket Club and the famous I. Zingari’s first match.\textsuperscript{116}
The military’s influence was considerable, and by the 1850s a purposeful cricketing community had been established amongst the civilian population in Pietermaritzburg. The first club outside the military – the West End Cricket Club – was formed in the town on December 31, 1851 with the *Natal Independent* announcing the inaugural fixture: “Cricket Match. This day, Thursday, 1st January, 1852, a match will be played on the Market Square between two Elevens of the civilians of Pietermaritzburg. Wickets pitched at ten.” The *Natal Witness* provides a contemporary portrayal of the social aspects of the game and how cricket in South Africa, as in England, provided a temporary sanctuary from the pressures of life during those times:

The goodwill and cheerfulness visible in every face, the happy picnic and the active cricket match would lead strangers to suppose that the cry about hard times and financial difficulties had only its origin in distorted imaginations. On the Market Place – about ten acres in extent – the East End played against the West End, and a manly game came off to the satisfaction of the winners and the entertainment of the numerous groups of spectators.

Within four days of this first fixture another club was being formed – the Olympic Cricket Club – at a meeting at the Natal Society’s Building on January 5th. Cricket’s code of ethics and dress had also been transferred to the fledgling colony with one of the rules of the new club being that “members appear on the play days in appropriate uniform, the same to be fixed by the committee.” Six years later, following Pietermaritzburg’s lead, the cricketers of Durban staged their first match of any consequence, a game against players stationed at Verulam.

With the game’s popularity spreading in Natal, the first inter-town fixture was played at Durban on 2 May 1860. The event evoked immense interest and the Durban stores were closed at noon on the day of the match. The game attracted the important colonial figures of the day and the political nature of cricket was again confirmed as two of the Durban eleven, Harry Escombe and Harry Binns, later became Prime Ministers of the Colony. The *Natal Star*, a Durban periodical, gave a grandiose, fervently colonial account of the game:

The ancient Greeks were not more zealous in the enjoyment of their Olympian and Isthmian Games than the sons of Old England in their hearty love of the manly game of cricket. The game is thoroughly English in its origin and character, and latterly both Scotland and Ireland, and even America and Canada, have indulged in its practice to a considerable extent …

With the consolidation of its borders, the 1860s saw the growth of British forces in South Africa and subsequently cricket’s influence continued to grow in the Colonies. Cricket took
hold in the Natal outposts of Richmond, Pinetown, Ladysmith and York, while in 1870 imperial ties were further enhanced with the inaugural match between the Colonists and representatives of Britain’s public schools and universities.\textsuperscript{124} This match was significant as it again reaffirmed the burgeoning link in South Africa between cricket, empire and the British public schools. As Gemmell rightly states, cricket at this time “was viewed as a means of securing the legitimacy and ethos of the British Empire”, with the game becoming a significant part of the colonial education policy.\textsuperscript{125} English schools prepared the future officials and rulers of the colonies, whilst the education of the indigenous population comprised of being taught the values and norms of this ruling class.\textsuperscript{126}

Within the early days of Natal cricket, however, the military remained the main stimulus for the game’s growth. The Anglo-Zulu wars had ensured a strong military presence in the colony during the late 1870s and there were a number of distinguished cricketers among the ranks.\textsuperscript{127} Going into the next decade, Colonel Luard, Major Griffiths and Lieutenants Baker and Tristram, and Corporals Nash and Lawler of the 41\textsuperscript{st} Regiment are named by Henderson as the nucleus of the strong Maritzburg side of 1884. Another notable addition at this time was Major F.F. Crawford, who became closely associated with cricket in the region.\textsuperscript{128} 1888 also saw representative teams from Durban and Pietermaritzburg recommence their cricketing rivalry and marked the start of an annual contest interrupted only by the Anglo Boer War some eleven years later. Indeed Pietermaritzburg had already sent a team to compete in the Kimberley Tournament in 1886 and boosted by its rich cricketing community, became the leading centre for Natal cricket during the pre-war period. According to Holmes:

> In the ‘eighties and ‘nineties Maritzburg was a veritable cricket paradise. The Military, the Civil Service, and the ordinary civilian, from the highest to the lowest, were cricket mad and there were few days in the summer that did not witness some match or other on its picturesque Oval … We call Maritzburg “Sleepy Hollow”. Sleepy she may be, but she has a cricket record behind her which many a wide-awake town in the Old Country might well envy.\textsuperscript{129}

Cricket in Natal emulated the English game in every conceivable manner. The link between cricket and literature had been long-standing and on the back of the sport’s popularity a \textit{Natal Cricketers Annual} was produced in 1885, from which came the short-lived \textit{South African Cricketers Annual}, under the editorship of J.T. Henderson. 1890 also saw the formation of the Natal Cricket Union modelled on the English style governing body.\textsuperscript{130} However the ultimate commendation was received in 1888 when Natal played host to Major Warton’s touring side from England. Not only did the visit of the English accelerate the interest in the game, the fact
that two matches were played in Pietermaritzburg and only one in Durban is significant in showing the respective importance of the two towns during this period. Of course, Pietermaritzburg’s status was helped by the many first-class cricketers who came to the town with the British forces or to occupy positions in the civil service. As elsewhere, these were regarded as the town’s “gentlemen of leisure.” Major Warton’s English team, the first to tour South Africa, is pictured in Figure 11.

Because of the scarcity of English tours, inter-colonial contests were valued during this time as the primary means of securing top-class competition. Natal could be regarded as South Africa’s first real cricketing tourists after a representative side toured the Cape Colony for the second time in 1888. Two years later, J.T Henderson expressed the hope that the visits would be reciprocated and that Natal could host the “Cape knights of the willow.” The “Old Colony” it seems, was still revered as the natural ‘home’ of South African cricket.

**Cricket in the Cape**

The British had occupied the Cape since their arrival in 1806 and as the oldest Colony, cricket’s domination in the province stemmed from the assured combination of pastoral, military and educational influences. “It is difficult to say exactly when cricket was first played in the Western Province” wrote W.H. Mars in 1915, “but there can be no doubt that in the early (eighteen) fifties it was played at any rate at the Diocesan College, and in all probability also at the South African College.” Others agents he suggests responsible for the game’s development were the military and naval garrisons stationed at the Cape as well the English ministers and schoolmasters who had followed in the wake of British control in the region. “It is equally certain” adds Mars, “that the Colonials, Dutch as well as English, very soon took a keen and enthusiastic interest in the game, with the result that as early as 1862 the subsequently time-honoured fixture, Mother Country v. Colonial Born, was inaugurated.”

During this early period, Diocesan College in particular was producing many fine cricketers under the tutelage of the head, Canon Ogilvie, himself described as a player of “considerable merit”. Records of these times are rather scarce, but it is clear that these scholar cricketers were solicitous of the nature of the game and its strict code of ethics. The lessons to be learnt from cricket were as important as the result, as the game became revered in the Cape as an ideal arena in which to train the future stewards of empire. Whilst the first intercollegiate contest between Diocesan and South African College was played in 1869, Mars cites a report of a match that took place a year earlier between Mr. Atmore’s XVII Colts and the Reverend
Mr, Phillipson’s XI. It highlights perfectly the fundamental link between cricket and its sense of honour and fair play. After it had been discovered that a colts player had batted twice and that records had been falsified, the report was damning in its condemnation; “Such vernoeking [deception] is as foreign to the spirit of cricket as it is to the habits of a gentleman, and we were not surprised to hear several of the XI declare they would never play a similar match again.”

The symbiotic relationship between South African cricket and public school education was again apparent in the Border region with Dale College proving adept at producing a succession of cricketers throughout the 1880s. The Reverend F.J. Sutton had continued the work of the first headmaster at the College and was succeeded by his son, the Reverend Frank Sutton in promoting cricket as an important factor in the boy’s education. Again, the link between cricket, pastoral education and the military is evident with Clive Fuller explaining how, “in the early [eighteen] eighties Dale College could give both the C.M.R. (Cape Mounted Infantry) and Cape Infantry a very good game.” The strong military contingent around the time of the frontier wars meant that Border cricket was thriving and with success in the first Champion Bat Tournament, Kingwilliamstown “could boast of being one of the leading centres, if not the leading centre, of cricket in South Africa.”

Players such as Lieutenant Winslow of the Cape Mounted Rifles and Lieutenant R.B. Stewart, who had played for the first-ever South African team against Warton’s men, had experience of the game in England and were the stars of Kingwilliamstown during this era. James Logan’s close friend and political ally, Colonel Frederick Schermbrucker, reigned supreme as the region’s Member of the Cape Parliament and actively supported cricket in the area. His relative, E.P. Schermbrucker, was a member of the Border’s oldest cricket club – Alberts C.C. – and had represented Kingwilliamstown in the Champion Bat Tournament held at Grahamstown in December 1887.

The adoption of cricket was not successful in every region however. For example, the game experienced slow development in the Eastern Province at the turn of the century. “One cannot, with truth, say that cricket has progressed [here] as satisfactorily during the past fifteen or twenty years as one could have wished” exclaimed one cricket analyst in 1915. The fact that the Eastern Province Cricket Union was not very well supported in the country districts was held to blame for some of this. Comparatively large agricultural centres like Craddock, Graaff-Reinet and Bedford chose not to join the Union, instead preferring the “pernicious
It was deemed imperative for the health of ‘British South Africa’ that cricket be played at a national level and that competition between the centres create a sense of imperial ‘kinship’ throughout the colonial community. While physical restraints had thwarted the development of the game in certain areas, in others it was the presence of a less than sympathetic local population that did so. Within the Cape Province itself, the South West Districts had not been noted for producing cricketers. The fault, explained Morris, lay primarily within the Afrikaan’s schools:

Hardly a schoolmaster in the districts has played a game of cricket in his life, and it is not encouraged in the boys. Unfortunately, also, the population is principally Dutch, who, though they have taken up Rugby football with great success, do not care for cricket, consequently it is only amongst the English section that the game is played.¹⁴³

Despite these restraints, during the 1880s strenuous efforts were made by a number of retired civil servants to raise interest in the ‘English’ game. As a result, inter-village cricket became mildly popular and the efforts of the local administrators were boosted somewhat by the visit of Major Warton’s team to Oudtshoorn in 1889, where a match was played against 22 of the District.¹⁴⁴ The game however failed to capture the interest of the predominantly Boer population and, for once, cricket’s ‘cultural imperialism effect’ had fallen on stony ground.

**Cricket in the ‘Republics’**

The demographics of South Africa were complex in the period leading up to the Anglo-Boer War and it is certainly inaccurate to suggest that cricket was played only in the British Colonies during this time. Despite its history as an Afrikaner heartland, cricket had been played in the Orange Free State since the early 1850s indicating the strength of the game’s influence throughout the country. Around Bloemfontein in particular, a small but strong colonial community maintained cricket’s profile right up until the outbreak of the war in 1899. The history of the game in the Free State can be traced back to a notice which appeared in the *Friend* in January 1855 declaring that “a meeting of the Bloemfontein Cricket Club will be held at the Rifle Club Room on Monday, 5th inst., for the purpose of framing rules and regulations for the same. Members are requested to attend.”¹⁴⁵
This was truly cricket being played at the frontier. Once described by Sir George Grey as “The Remote Wilderness”, the population of Bloemfontein in 1855 was barely one hundred, yet cricket’s introduction into this remote outpost is again evidence of its centrality within the nineteenth century British settler’s psyche in South Africa. As Floyd suggests, some sixty years later in 1915, the fact that cricket was introduced at all, “proved how deeply ingrained the sporting element was in the lives of those pioneers” and how “[d]uring the intervals of peace when they were left unmolested by the Basuto these gentlemen found time to have a friendly game.”146 As elsewhere, this was a picture of the noble, cricket-playing Englishman defying forces of darkness in a far-off land he was born to colonise.

Eventually as the region was populated, the game became more organised and 1866 saw the Free State’s inaugural ‘Mother Country versus Colonial Born’ contest. Despite primitive conditions, in Smithfield, Winburg and Boshof cricket was progressing, and an interesting account of a match played in Smithfield in 1866 records how the game “was not played out owing to the only three balls left from last year’s practice successively coming to grief.”147 The game however received its customary boost from the churches and educational establishments that arrived on the heels of the British settlers. In Bloemfontein the game was introduced into the newly-created Grey and St. Andrew’s Colleges, “which kept the game alive during the feverish period 1870 onwards, when diamonds were discovered at De Beers, Du Toit’s Pan, and along the Vaal River.”148 The discovery of such mineral wealth may have transformed the region, but the public schools were nevertheless able to maintain cricket’s influence within the area. In 1873 Reverend Douglas McKenzie (afterwards Bishop of Zululand) was appointed Principal of St. Andrews College, and for the next twenty years this institution became the nursery of Free State Cricket.

The game continued to spread elsewhere during the 1870s as clubs were established at Hopetown, Fauresmith, Potchefstroom, and Kroonstad. 1880 saw teams from Kimberley and Bloemfontein travel to play in the inaugural Boshof Tournament and again, as it had done elsewhere, inter-town and inter-state competition provided the stimulus for provincial cricket. Prior to this date “only on rare occasions”, as Floyd explains, “did teams make long journeys to play the game. Consequently the clubs were dependent on overseas and Cape players who slowly migrated through Bloemfontein on their way to the Diamond Fields; further, they were restricted by the scarcity of cricket material and crude conditions under which the game was played.”149
Following the success of the tournament at Boshof it was decided to hold a competition week in Bloemfontein the following year. With the Reverend C.O. Mills as their outstanding player, Bloemfontein Cricket Club dominated against Kimberley, Boshof and Kroonstad. The tournament also marked the introduction for the first time of a coconut matting wicket. These tournaments stimulated the spread of cricket throughout the State and within a short time other clubs were formed in Harrismith, Bethlehem, Ladybrand, Rouxville, Smithfield, Philippolis, Fauresmith, Jagersfontein, Jacobsdaal, Winburg and Wepener. In the larger town of Bloemfontein, cricket’s influence grew as clubs were also formed amongst the Colleges, the Banks, the Press, Government Offices and Farmers. Few Free State teams ventured beyond the Colony however, and it was not until a touring Kimberley team, the ‘Stray Klips’, travelled to the Cape that Free State players obtained recognition in other parts of South Africa.

To host a touring English team was viewed as confirmation of a Colony’s cricketing development, yet the chance for the Free State to secure recognition amongst South Africa’s cricket community was missed when Major Warton’s side was denied the opportunity to play there in 1889. Certain financial guarantees had to be met before a Colony obtained the ‘privilege’ of hosting the English tourists and the £150 required proved to be beyond the means of the Free State authorities. Without an available benefactor such as James Logan, a section of the Free Staters, led by Sam Barratt, denounced the planned visit on the grounds of “crippling the resources” and that there was no enclosed ground in which to play the English. Warton took his team elsewhere. Two years later, however, W.W. Read’s team (which was financed in part by Logan), was touring South Africa and the Free State was determined to be involved. The railway had been opened up to the north and the English were entertained at Bloemfontein following the £150 that had been raised as a guarantee. The match ended in a draw, but the Free State had marked its place on the map of imperial cricket in South Africa.

Elsewhere to the north, another Afrikaans heartland would be transformed by the mining revolution as the Transvaal became the focus of Britain’s imperial intentions. With the goldfields opening late in 1886, Johannesburg’s growth was rapid in comparison to the older Provinces of South Africa and soon cricket was established as the premier sport as players migrated into the region on business. *The Transvaal Critic* regularly carried articles and comments on cricket within its pages during the period 1893 to 1898. The season was initially September to April as there were few football teams to compete with cricket for its
players. Within the country districts, Krugersdorp, “a Dutch stronghold”, was developing as a leading centre for cricket while the game also flourished at Kerksdorp, Potchefstroom, Pretoria and Barberton during the pre-war period.  

With the goldfields thriving, many of Johannesburg’s cricket patrons had newly acquired wealth to lavish upon the game. The arrival of Warton’s team in 1889 and the ‘prize money’ awarded, made a mockery of the amateur status of many of the players. Allsop describes how, for example, the Hon. C.J. Coventry was awarded around £70 for the highest ‘amateur’ score for Johannesburg against a Transvaal XV. Of the professionals, Bobby Abel was given nearly £200 for his 78 not out against a Johannesburg XXII.  

‘Cricket capitalism’ and the ‘shamateurism’ so insidious in the English game had reached South Africa.

By the 1890s, inter-town rivalry was healthy in the Transvaal with matches between Barberton, Johannesburg and Pretoria common place. At this stage there was no Transvaal Cricket Union in existence and contests were managed by a committee of Transvaal cricketers. It wasn’t long, however, before the formal Union was founded with the first meeting taking place at the Goldfields Hotel, Johannesburg, on 8 October 1891. This was significant in that it marked the beginning of Abe Bailey’s involvement in the administration of cricket in South Africa. Just as James Logan was beginning to exert his influence on the game in the Cape, Bailey was appointed Vice-President of the fledgling Transvaal Union, alongside H. Eckstein as President and G. Allsop as Hon. Secretary.

1891 also saw the formation of the Pirates’ Cricket Club under the leadership of A.B. Tancred and P.H. de Villiers, and healthy competition was established with the local Wanderers Club captained by F.W. Smith. These two premier clubs kept Transvaal cricket buoyant right up until the Boer War and many good cricketers had reached Johannesburg by the time W.W. Read’s team arrived in 1992. M.G. Williams, A.B. Tancred. J.A. Noble and P.H. de Villiers had all moved there from Kimberley, also W.O. Reid, a big hitter, from the Western Province had made the move north. J.H. Sinclair, who was to become a star of Logan’s 1901 side, was still a schoolboy at Marist Bros. College, yet he made his first senior appearance against Read’s team, catching the eye with some early promise.

**Rhodesia and the ‘Servants of Empire’**

Cricket had become a constituent part of Britain’s colonisation process and the development of the game had followed a recognisable pattern in its spread throughout the regions of South
Africa. The decade prior to the Boer war had witnessed the colonisation of Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) and with it the almost seamless introduction of cricket into the new territory. Even before the historic Pioneer Column of 1890 had reached Fort Salisbury they had, according to Winch, already played their first cricket match in the shadow of the hills that overlook the Providential Pass near Fort Victoria. The game took hold with many of the early pioneers having cricket connections, and by 1894 Bulawayo was in the position to issue a bold challenge to its rival Salisbury for an inter-town contest. Administration of the game was needed and in 1898 the Rhodesian Cricket Union was formed. Soon afterwards, as Chapter 6 shows, Lord Hawke brought the first English touring side and played two matches in the new country. Again, from its introduction by the military, to the playing of the ‘Mother Nation’, the process of ‘cricket colonisation’ had been enacted in Britain’s latest territory.

Rhodesia was indeed typical of how the game’s influence spread throughout areas under British control. A strong military presence had, from the outset, instilled cricket as part of life on the frontier and in 1896 the Matabele rebellion brought further impetus to the game with the arrival of such cricketing luminaries as Major R. M. Poore. Throughout its early history, the distinct link between politics, the military and cricket in Rhodesia is evidenced by the prominent players who moved to the region or stayed there while on active service. M.P. Bowden, the acclaimed amateur wicket-keeper of Major Warton’s team, stayed on in Rhodesia after arriving as part of the Pioneer Column while F.W. Milligan, of Yorkshire, was killed while serving with the Rhodesian Regiment in the relief of Mafeking during the Boer War. Even Sir John Willoughby, military commander of the Jameson Raid, had once, it is said, played cricket in the new Colony.

Perhaps the most influential figure in the development of Rhodesian cricket was Sir William Milton – a man who, like James Logan, personified the link between cricket, politics and the expansion of empire in Southern Africa. Like Logan, Milton was considered a ‘man of action’ and a trusted ally of Cecil Rhodes. Whilst Rhodes himself had been a keen cricketer as a boy and appreciated its educational value (see Figure 7 – Rhodes in his youth), Milton fervently believed in the sport’s power to instil the right qualities in the servants of empire. Rhodes had been instrumental in Milton’s appointment as Rhodesia’s first Administrator in 1901 and it was in this role that the former South African cricket captain would influence the game’s development in the new territory.
Milton’s part in helping to spread the domain of cricket across the Colony is aptly reflected by a comment in G.H. Tanser’s history of Salisbury: “Where previously one had to be a member of the ‘lad-di-da’ class to get a job [in the Civil Service], now one had to be able to beat the hide off a ball.” The men brought into Rhodesia by Milton were not only experienced civil servants but good sportsmen too and this jibe was directed at them. Sonny Taberer, a well-known South African cricketer, and Fynn, one of the best tennis players in South Africa, were appointed. Eyre was made Postmaster General; Orpen, a member of the Cape House of Assembly, accepted the post of Surveyor General, while Holland, Jeary and Colin Duff, who were to become the mainstays of the cricket teams as well as of the Company, also joined.

In a process reminiscent of others occurring across the Empire, South African cricketers promoted the sport in their role as civil servants. Having crossed the Limpopo and made their homes in Rhodesia they were fundamental in spreading cricket’s doctrine throughout the new territory. Herbert Castens, who captained the first South African team on tour to England in 1894, was a noted barrister in Rhodesia and ultimately a member of the Legislative Council. His vice-captain on the English tour, Godfrey Cripps, settled in Bulawayo and was a prominent figure in the town’s cricket league. A dashing right-hand batsman, Cripps had already played in one Test for South Africa against W.W. Read’s England team in 1891-92. Murray Bisset, who led Logan’s team to England in 1901, became Chief Justice of Southern Rhodesia, was knighted in 1928, and was acting Governor of the Colony when he died in 1931. Percy Sherwell, who was to play a leading role in the growth of Bulawayo’s cricket and became a Rhodesian selector, was one of South Africa’s finest captains and led the first touring team to Australia in 1910. The Taberer brothers, synonymous with the early success of Rhodesian cricket, both held high positions in the Native Affairs Department. Henry Taberer captained the first South African side to play a home Test against Australia in 1902, while ‘Sonny’ Taberer, a more than capable player, became Chief Native Commissioner for Mashonaland and was said to have recruited staff to his office based on their cricketing ability. Cricket’s link with the ruling classes was again reaffirmed. The game was clearly pivotal in the early construction of the Colony.

The Bulawayo Chronicle described Henry Taberer as “the best amateur cricketer in South Africa” and he certainly fitted the profile of the archetype ‘sporting servant’ of empire. Taberer had already represented Oxford, Essex and Natal when Cecil Rhodes, an admirer of cricket’s ability to produce the ‘right sort’, sent him to Rhodesia in 1895 as Chief Commissioner for Natives. Subsequently, during the later stages of the Boer War, Taberer was
transferred to the position of Native Commissioner of the Central Districts of the Transvaal and was appointed captain of the South African side to face Joe Darling’s Australia team at the Wanderers towards the end of 1902. The distinction between cricketer and civil servant was again blurred, but this would be his one and only Test appearance. James Logan’s contribution to the development of cricket in Rhodesia is explored in Chapter 6.

**The South African Cricket Association**

Southern Africa’s ‘imperial club’ of white cricketing Colonies had expanded to include Rhodesia into the South African Cricket Association (SACA) on 1 February 1904. The Association itself had been founded some fourteen years earlier after it became clear that a governing body was needed to co-ordinate the different centres. Formed in the “style of the M.C.C.”, draft rules of the new association were passed at the inaugural congress of delegates, held at Kimberley on Tuesday, April 8, 1890. “The object of the Association”, it was stated, “shall be to foster and develop cricket throughout South Africa”, with the onus on promoting cricketing links with the Mother Country. With its headquarters in Johannesburg, the Association from the outset expressed its specific duty in “the management of Currie Cup Tournaments, and the visits of English teams to South Africa, and South African teams to England.”

Cricket’s development in Southern Africa followed closely the path of British imperial expansion. The pioneer cricket officials in South Africa were successful in galvanising the different regions into a sense of shared identity through the sport in a difficult country to administer. Within its ‘Articles of Constitution’ the newly formed governing body (SACA) confirmed how;

The area of the Association shall be divided into districts defined by the Government surveys, as the Association in general meeting may from time to time decide, and that the following be recognised as districts for Unions:- Western Province, Eastern Province, Border, Natal, (including Zululand), Transvaal (including Swazieland), Orange Free State (including Basutoland), Griqualand West, Bechuanaland (including Rhodesia).

As politicians divided South Africa into manageable districts, cricket reinforced British administration through its organisation and competitions. As it had done in India, cricket would perform the important role in South Africa of imparting a sense of imperial kinship across an otherwise fragmented and disparate nation. Cricket’s volunteer administrators were
pivotal to this process and represented, as Baker suggests, an ethos which made cricket an ideal vehicle on which to promote the ideals of Victorian British society:

Closely connected to the amateur ethos of games playing was the principle of voluntarism in sports administration. Unpaid volunteers should run sporting organizations, from individual clubs to national governing bodies. Voluntarism, so it was believed, would assure that sports were run with the interests of the game foremost.  

South African cricket, influenced as it was by the English model, was thus administered by an Association comprising ex-players and volunteers who, as guardians of the game’s development, were strong proponents of cricket’s imperial purpose. G. Allsop, administrator of Transvaal cricket during these early years, was typical of the vast number of loyal volunteers who ran the game throughout the Colonies. For men like Allsop the development of cricket became their duty: “Many of my most cherished recollections are connected with the world of cricket” he wrote in 1915, “and so long as I am able I will gladly render whatever assistance I can to the promotion of the game which has for so long retained its proud position in the British Empire.”  

While foreign tours had to be funded at this time, private benefactors like James Logan were still obliged to operate within the jurisdiction of South African cricket’s governing body. The interaction between Logan and SACA is explored within the following chapters.

The African Game?

During this era cricket indeed reinforced a white, colonial exclusivity. The 1886-87 inter-colonial tournament included a white team from British Bechuanaland (now Botswana) and as we have seen, Rhodesia became a member of the South African Cricket Association having been admitted to the Currie Cup competition in the 1904-05 season. The inclusion of these white colonial teams from outside South Africa took precedence over non-white teams from within the country, leading Nauright to argue that “racial solidarity [became] more crucial … than national-based solidarities.”  

Certainly cricket’s colonial community preserved a privileged position within South African society. Surrounded by a large local population linguistically constructed as ‘uncivilised’, the ability to appropriate English culture and pastimes provided this group with a certain sense of moral power and superiority.

However, while English-speaking whites looked to ‘home’ origins for their cultural lead, aspects of this culture were inadvertently transferred to the local population. Cricket, as Sandiford claims, may have been a vital element in Anglo-Saxon culture, but it would be
incongruous not to explore how the game affected the other sections of South African society. In 1900, that great cricketing tourist Pelham Warner exclaimed how, “The natives of whatever race show no anxiety to learn the game, nor do the Dutch, save only those who, from their education, or from their contact with our residents, have grown to be practically Englishmen themselves.” Despite such rhetoric, there is ample evidence to suggest that cricket was also being played by different groups of the non-English population in the years prior to the Anglo-Boer War.

By the late nineteenth century distinct cultural groups had emerged within South Africa. Apart from the two dominant white groups – the English and the Afrikaners – there existed those of mixed race or ‘Coloureds’ predominantly found in the Cape; migrant workers brought to Natal from the Indian subcontinent, as well as the indigenous African peoples present throughout the country. Although there is relatively little known or recorded about the history of black cricket in South Africa, research by André Odendaal suggests that its origins date back to shortly after the inauguration of the white game in the country. In the Western Cape, the standard of cricket was such that a Malay team were awarded a little-known fixture against W.W. Read’s English side of 1891, while in the Eastern Cape cricket was particularly well developed amongst the African population after the game had been introduced by missionaries and the first British garrisons. Indeed, there were reports of Africans playing cricket in Queenstown as early as 1862, while the first African cricket club was founded in Port Elizabeth in 1869.

With increased levels of political organisation, black sports clubs became an important feature of African mobilisation and by 1884, the first African-controlled newspaper, *Imvo Zabantsundu* (‘Native Opinion’), was launched in King William’s Town and carried regular reports of black cricket being played in the District. Details of matches appeared under the headings of *Ibala Labadlali* (sports reports) and by 1887 a ‘sporting editor’ had been appointed to the staff. Advertising within the newspaper was soon directed specifically at African cricketers and clubs giving a further indication of the popularity of the game. Cricket “seems quite to hit the Kaffir fancy” was the derogatory response of the colonial *Port Elizabeth Telegraph*.

Set in areas of British authority, cricket was by far the most popular sport amongst the aspiring black bourgeoisie and mixed race contests were not uncommon during the imperial public holidays of the 1880s. Significantly in 1884, competition was placed on a more co-ordinated footing when African teams from the main Eastern Cape centres – East London,
King William’s Town, Queenstown, Grahamstown and Port Elizabeth – took part in the first of several inter-town tournaments. Based on the British model, these tournaments emulated those already established among the best white teams in South Africa and further enhanced the popularity of the game amongst the African population in outlying regions. Such was the interest in the sport there was even talk of sending a ‘combined’ side chosen from the best players at the African inter-town tournament on a tour of England. Although black cricket was not officially segregated at this stage, the concept of an all-African team touring Britain prior to 1894 (the year of the first white South African tour) does appear unlikely. Certainly such an initiative would have sat uneasily with the wider objectives of imperial, predominantly white, empire-based cricket.

While non-whites had proved their proficiency at the game, their involvement in first class competition was never seriously considered. International fixtures, especially, remained the realm of the gentleman tourist whose breeding and skin-colour were as fundamental as his cricketing ability. The early tours of empire were constructed to demonstrate a white, imperial solidarity over the ‘dark masses’, and nowhere was this more salient than in South Africa. Interestingly, after meeting Cecil Rhodes at Oxford University in March 1895, Pelham Warner recounts a conversation about cricket and the debate surrounding the talented coloured player Krom Hendricks. It shows the attitude and influence of Rhodes in the ‘selection process’ of the early South African teams:

I was fortunate enough to sit next to Rhodes, and the conversation turned on the first visit, during the previous summer (1894), of a South African team to England. Rhodes had had a good deal to do with the financing of this side, and he remarked, “They wanted me to send a black fellow called Hendricks to England.” I said I had heard he was a good bowler, and he replied, “Yes, but I would not have it. They would have expected him to throw boomerangs during the luncheon interval.”

As Chapter 5 reveals, James Logan was also involved in the Hendricks controversy but his opinion that a cricketer should be selected on merit alone was not in keeping with the stance of the ‘new’ imperialists of the time. Scientific arguments were used to sustain the racist ideology that whites were superior players and indigenous peoples should be excluded from the game. Indeed, the eugenicist Karl Pearson’s answer to the colonisation of Africa was to ‘remove’ the indigenous people out of the path of civilisation: “We shall never have a healthy social state in South Africa”, he exclaimed in 1901, “until the white man replaces the dark in the fields and the mines, and the kaffir is pushed back towards the equator. The nation
organised for the struggle [of existence] must be a *homogenous* whole, not a mixture of superior and inferior races."

The ‘dark man’ however was needed in the mines of South Africa to provide the labour for Britain’s imperial expansion and, as a result, coloured cricket was given an unlikely boost. In an attempt to assist productivity and social cohesion, the mines were supportive of organised sport amongst their workers. Sir David Harris for one, Chairman of the De Beers Consolidated Mines Company, presented the Barnato Memorial Trophy to the newly constituted Griqualand West Coloured Cricket Board in 1897. Up until 1926, when the disintegration of black collaboration began, the activities of all non-white cricketers were centralised around this trophy and it provided the focus of the early inter-provincial tournaments which began in Port Elizabeth in 1898. At the time the Griqualand West Board was the only black union in existence and it served the needs of Africans, Coloureds and Malays alike. In the Witwatersrand also, African cricket was supported by the Chamber of Mines with the establishment of the Native Recruitment Corporation Cricket League for the workers in the region.

For the black elite however, cricket served an explicitly political function. They were intent on using it as an instrument of ‘improvement’ and assimilation and far from imposing their own identity on the game, black cricket clubs frequently gave themselves imperial-sounding names. Indeed many middle-class blacks believed respectability could be gained by emulating the social role of practices such as cricket within the white community. “Despite the obvious contradictions”, suggests Odendaal, the black bourgeoisie “glorified things ‘British’ (the ideal) as against things ‘colonial’ (the reality).” Through sport they felt empowered to assert their own self-conscious class position while paying homage to the classic Victorian ideals of ‘civilisation’, ‘progress’, ‘Christianity’ and ‘Empire’. Despite such aspirations, the reality of colonial life was of course somewhat different. As Merrett and Nauright point out:

> [Any] paternalistic, assimilationist approach characteristic of Cape liberalism gave way … to concerns about the competitiveness of blacks which manifested themselves in segregationist policy. By the early twentieth century, social institutions were adapted to play a role not only of social control but also for purposes of exclusivity.

White hegemonic control was maintained through subtle coercion and the restriction of opportunities for the majority. Demonstrated by vast anomalies in education offered to the indigenous peoples, “the Black ‘elite’ were enticed with concessions by the ruling authorities
in exchange for support and co-operation.”197 African clergyman and teachers were trained in the qualities of ‘Englishness’ at Lovedale, Healdtown and St. Matthew’s Colleges while the sons of chiefs and political leaders played cricket at the better-resourced black schools and institutions.198 Such was the deification of the British ideal that when Major Wharton’s English side toured South Africa for the first time in 1888-89 the black sportsmen, in an obvious display of affiliation, cheered them on against the local white sides. When the tourists played in King William’s Town, Imvo Zabantsundu noted how “the sympathies of the Native spectators were with the English.”199

But what exactly were the indigenous population aspiring to? Perhaps C.L.R. James can again offer an insight into the perspective of the ‘native’ or the ‘colonised’. Within Beyond a Boundary, James collapses the cultural boundary between “Englishness” and what has been variously identified as external to it.200 In the South African context, James would view Englishness as an unbounded and unpossessed space available to reinscription and reinvention by the colonist as well as the other elements of South Africa’s cricket playing society. That those Africans who took up cricket at an early stage chose to emulate not reinvent the ethos of the game shows the strength of the English ideal within South African society at that time.

An example of early twentieth century work that explicitly sought to elucidate what was meant by ‘Englishness’ within the colonies was Ford Madox’s The Spirit of the People. For Ford Madox, Englishness was not a matter of race but one, quite simply, of place – of place and of spirit; “the spirit being born of the environment.”201 If this is true, then those like Ford Madox would believe that those wishing to emulate and create an ‘English’ way of life in South Africa were entitled to their righteous place in the Anglo-Saxon kingdom. Cricket, as ever, was an integral part of this. Recalling his own school days, and a young African cricketer whose cricketing excellence secured, in the minds of his team-mates, his ‘Englishness’, Ford Madox summarises his argument by commenting on the common Englishness of his schoolmates and this black youth:

We felt intensely English. There was our sunshine, our [cricketing] “whites”, our golden wickets, our green turf. And we felt, too, that Stuart, the pure-blooded Dahomeyan, with the dark tan shining upon his massive and muscular chest, was as English as our pink-and-white or sun-browned cheeks could make us. It may have been this feeling only. A spirit of loyalty to one of our team. But I think it was deeper than this. It was a part of the history engendered in us by the teachings of the history of the British Islands: it was a part of the very spirit of the people. We could not put it more articulately into words than, “He’s been to our school”. But I am almost certain that we felt that that
training, that contact with our traditions, was sufficient to turn any child of the sun into a very excellent Englishman.\textsuperscript{202}

For Ford Madox the place of birth is not important. Stuart is English not by virtue of having been born in England but by virtue of having come into contact with English traditions, English schools, and an English cricket field. Place here is not a mere expanse but something that contains and communicates a certain type of tradition. For Logan and the other exponents of the game in South Africa, cricket was an important tool in extolling the virtues of ‘Englishness’ in this corner of the Empire. Such lessons, however, were not open to all sections of South Africa’s society; only those ‘privileged’ enough to be included.

Having taken to the game, the majority of Africans were left to fend for themselves and to administer and develop their own cricket in the face of increased colonial arrogance and opposition. “That they did so at all” suggests Sandiford, “speaks volumes for the awesome power of cultural imperialism which, historically, has proved as capable of inspiring mimicry as enforcing obedience.”\textsuperscript{203} Inevitably, black participation in middle-class sport dwindled as a realisation descended that any aspirations of joining the white community as ‘equals’ would not be realised in sport or in any other sphere of life. White South Africa had created its own hierarchical structure and the native population had been disenfranchised within their own land.

Jarvie is right in saying that sport in this sense should “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.”\textsuperscript{204} Indeed, cricket in South Africa became the epitome of British imperial ideology and, increasingly exclusive in terms of race and class. “Britain’s economic and strategic interests far outweighed any humanitarian concern it may have felt for Africans” and by the 1890s segregation had become the norm.\textsuperscript{205} White cricket was entrenched in elitist schools and clubs whose purpose was “to demonstrate solidarity, superiority and apartness.”\textsuperscript{206}

As cricket’s influence increased in South African society towards the end of the nineteenth century, so did the concept of hierarchy; a feature which would of course attract James Logan and a plethora of imperialists to the game. Fraternising with blacks was now frowned upon and mixed matches became the exception, although when required Coloured players like Hendricks and Nicholls would still be involved as ‘practice bowlers’ for the white teams in the Cape.\textsuperscript{207} As Odendaal explains; “though white paternalism allowed for the odd sporting
encounter with blacks, social segregation was the norm, and whites had no intention of relaxing the barriers. Some mixing may have occurred in mission teams but clubs remained strictly segregated.”

Indeed, as Marks points out, “white attitudes towards Africans at the turn of the century were a curious blend of paternalism, fear and contempt.” In areas where whites were surrounded by a large local population, pursuits such as cricket emphasised their separation and an exclusive social and cultural realm. Given this, it is hardly surprising that the Anglo-Boer War, a conflict that emphasised cultural and racial distinctions within South Africa, heralded a decline in black as well as Afrikaans cricket. The game, more than ever, had now been classified as exclusively ‘English’.

**Boer Cricket**

Both sets of whites in South Africa maintained a distance from the ‘black masses’. While the English had their culture, their history and their heritage to distinguish themselves at the top of South Africa’s racial hierarchy, for the Afrikaner “a Calvinist doctrine of predestination” provided them with their ideological justification for racial superiority. Cricket, however, was not the preserve of all white men in South Africa. As Merrett and Nauright explain, “cricket was the imperial game par excellence, the epitome of British culture, morality and manners (and racism), and this dimension served to alienate Afrikaners … In particular after the South African War it found little favour in the Afrikaner community and its imperial characteristics limited its reconciliatory potential.”

This had not always been the case. Before cricket had been ‘anglicised’ by imperialist politics and the Boer War, Afrikaners had freely taken to the game. As we have seen, Krugersdorp was regarded as a leading cricket centre for the ‘Dutch’ while the game was also played at Pretoria, Barberton, and Potchefstroom. With any thoughts of the Jameson Raid still confined to the future, Afrikaners Arthur Ochse and Nicolaas Hendrik Theunissen appeared for South Africa in the first Test of 1888, as did Jacobus Francois du Toit and Charles Gustav Fichardt in the 1891-92 series (Fichardt played again in 1895-96). In the Republican heartland of Johannesburg, A.W. Wells has shown that the town’s first cricket team in 1886 was captained by a Boer and featured an equal number of Dutch speakers, whilst among the names listed by W.H. Mars as the ‘pioneers’ of Cape cricket in the 1860s were van Renan, van der Byl, Cloete and de Smidt. From these surnames and others it is clear that prior to its imperial indoctrination, cricket was far from monopolised by the English.
It required the intrusion of politics and the outbreak of the Anglo-Boer War to dilute Afrikaner interest in cricket. The game became associated with English cultural values and was thus despised by the Boers who were fighting to maintain their own identity and independence. The decisive event occurred in 1909 when South Africa secured its place within London’s newly formed Imperial Cricket Conference. Membership of this body, cricket’s regulating institution, was henceforth confined to cricket-playing countries who accepted the British Monarch as head of state. Not only did this have the general effect of stifling the spread of cricket in places like Holland, the Nordic countries and America, but it was particularly offensive to the Afrikaners, who as a people still recovering from a bitter conflict with British imperialism, were now most unlikely to adopt a game that had so explicitly chosen to identify itself with that same political ethic.

Imperialist policies throughout South Africa had indeed engendered cricket with an English identity from which the Afrikaners were far removed. Following the war, Test cricket between England and South Africa was considered an ‘Anglophile family affair’ and it was not until 1927-28 that Afrikaner Jacobus Petrus Duminy represented South Africa at Test level. Few Afrikaner schools played cricket or encouraged the game and most senior cricket was organised around Old Boys’ Clubs which recruited from the English-speaking community. In addition, no significant writing on cricket would appear in Afrikaans for 50 years. Cricket it seems, as the epitome of empire, was unlikely to attract those who considered themselves dispossessed within their ‘own’ country.

Conclusions

To the imperialists of the late nineteenth century, South African cricket represented a tangible link with the ‘Mother Nation’ and was indicative of the ‘progress’ being made at that time. “Our cricket has grown with our country” declared Abe Bailey in 1912. He was not alone in this view. In 1927, A.C. Webber, President of SACA and Chairman of the Board of Control, paid tribute to the ‘pioneers’ of the 1890s for having “laid the foundation” for the success of cricket in the country despite innumerable difficulties.

For the British to be successful in South Africa it was important, as we have seen, that the other elements of society be ‘persuaded’ to adhere to a British way of life. “Sport was an integral part of this whole process of assimilation and mobilisation” explains Odendaal. “British games, particularly cricket, which the Victorians regarded as embodying ‘a perfect
system of ethics and morals’, were taken almost as seriously as the Bible, the alphabet and the Magna Carta.”219 And eventually of course, these sports would “supersede traditional, pre-colonial forms of recreation in popularity” as Britain’s cultural and political influence became cemented in South Africa in the decades surrounding the Anglo-Boer War.

A cultural bond of the white imperial fraternity, cricket, in the words of Birley, became “the cornerstone of Empire; the citadel of true sporting values”.220 Providing a training ground for service to empire, the sport countered the insecurity of colonial society by elevating Britain as the source of all light while at the same time securing its place as a “sociological and psychological ‘road map’ permitting chosen inhabitants of empire to develop and maintain emotional ties within an ordered, secure environment.”221 South Africa had seen the sport develop since its early introduction by the military and by the end of the nineteenth century cricket had become an important social institution, fitting in with the structure and relations of the Empire. As elsewhere, cricket in South Africa retained an air of exclusivity with Afrikaner reluctance to adopt the sport, a pertinent example of the tensions inherent in all hegemonic relationships. The non-white population would of course be discriminated against throughout all realms of society – a feature not only of South African society but of British colonisation everywhere.

Such were the features of cultural imperialism. The spread of British sport and culture was galvanised in particular by the sports tours of the late nineteenth-early twentieth centuries. The role of the early cricket tours and their centrality in reinforcing the expansion of the British Empire in South Africa is explored in the next chapter, alongside an examination of James Logan. Indeed, imperialists, empire builders and sports enthusiasts all argued that cricket fostered emotional loyalties between Britain and those who settled in the colonies. In 1896, *The Field* claimed how:

> The value of international matches at various games between England and her colonies … will be found to be equal, if not surpass, as a factor in the manufacture of goodwill, any treaty, commercial or political, that ever was drawn up … our interchange visits for carrying friendly war into another’s country by means of bat and ball do eminent service in keeping alive the kindredship of blood.222

Cricket had assumed a new level of importance within the British Empire and for James Logan, it was time to capitalise.

1. See M. Tozer, ‘Cricket, school and empire: E.W. Hornung and his young guard’, International Journal of the History of Sport, 6 (2), 1989, p.157. In the fifty years after Victoria’s accession in 1837, one contemporary survey estimated that the area governed by the Queen, exclusive of Great Britain, increased from 1,100,000 to 8,400,000 square miles, the European population of the colonies grew from 2,000,000 to 10,000,000, and the ‘coloured’ native population rose from 98,000,000 to 262,000,000. See Lord Brassy, ‘Imperial Federation – An English View’. The Nineteenth Century, September 1891, p.480.

2. Harold Perkin refers to the Empire within “Britain’s century of 1815 – 1914.” A time in which Britain should be seen “less as a narrow Imperial power and more as an international super power, its political, economic and cultural tentacles reaching out to most corners of the earth.” H. Perkin, ‘Teaching the Nations How to Play’. In Mangan, J.A. (ed), The Cultural Bond: Sport, Empire, Society, 1992, p.214.


4. Ibid.


10. Ibid., p.5.


21. Born in the Eastern Cape in 1825 Kruger took part in the Great Trek as a child. He was three times President of the Transvaal and a strong opponent of British interests in South Africa. See H. Giliomee, The Afrikaners: Biography of a People, 2003.


23. Vastly outnumbered, on December 16, 1838 a group of Voortrekkers defeated a Zulu army deep in the heart of Natal. During the apartheid years, this date was celebrated by Afrikaners as the ‘Day of the Vow’, a public holiday honouring a covenant made by the Boers with God himself that if he granted them victory, they would hold the day sacred. See H. Giliomee, The Afrikaners: Biography of a People, 2003.

24. P.M. Krebs, Gender, Race, and the Writing of Empire, 1999, p.5.

25. There was complacency too amongst the British soldiers. In a letter home during August 1900, Captain F. D. Price of the 1st Durham Royal Engineers wrote: “None of us expected that the campaign would hang on so long as it has, and I agree that the primary cause of it all is in our under-valuing and underestimating Brother Boer”.


26. Field-Marshal Lord Roberts had himself written: “No episode in the present war seems more praiseworthy than the prolonged defence of this town by a British garrison”. Lord Roberts, Letter to the Secretary of State for War, Army Head-quarters, Pretoria. 21 June 1900. For an insight into the British view of the siege, read R.S.S. Baden Powell, ‘Report upon the siege of Mafeking’. Mafeking Mail, 1 March 1901.

27. P.M. Krebs, Gender, Race, and the Writing of Empire, 1999, p.2.


34. Ibid., p.8.
The struggle for Africa occurred largely in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, but intense public interest in the ‘penetration’ and ‘opening up’ of the supposedly Dark Continent began, according to Brantlinger, “seven or eight decades earlier with the abolitionist movement and culminating in Thomas Fowell Buxton’s ill-fated Niger Expedition of 1841. Sir Richard Burton and John Hanning Speke’s expedition to find the sources of the White Nile in 1856-58 and the publication of David Livingstone’s best-selling ‘Missionary Travels’ in 1857 initiated the final era of African exploration, which led to the carving up of the entire continent into European-ruled colonies and protectorates.” P. Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism, 1830-1914*, 1988, p.28.


“Imperialism”, wrote John MacKenzie, “was depicted as a great struggle with dark and evil forces, in which white heroes and heroines could triumph over black barbarism, and the moral stereotyping of melodrama was given a powerful racial twist.” J.M. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960*, 1984, p.45. Allied to this, the ‘myth’ of the Dark Continent according to Brantlinger, “defined slavery as the offspring of tribal savagery and portrayed white explorers and missionaries as the leaders of a Christian crusade that would vanquish the forces of darkness. Blame for the slave trade, which the first abolitionists had placed mainly on Europeans, had by mid-century been displaced onto Africans. This displacement fused with sensational reports about cannibalism, witchcraft, and apparently shameless sexual customs to drape Victorian Africa in that pall of darkness which the Victorians themselves accepted as reality.” P. Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism, 1830-1914*, 1988, pp.195-196.


Despite the success of Logan and others, South Africa did not attract a significant proportion of those of all classes wishing to leave Britain in the period prior to the Boer War. Between 1881 and 1901 nearly 5 million people left the United Kingdom to begin a new life abroad – over 3 million from England and Wales, 1.3 million from Ireland and nearly half a million from Scotland. The greatest magnet at this time was the United States: Over 60 per cent of the total and over 80 per cent of the Irish went there. Canada, then Australia lagged behind with South Africa and its instability seemingly the one colony failing to attract a significant number of British immigrants. See D. Birley, *Land of Sport and Glory*, 1995, p.153.

C.L.R. James, *Beyond a Boundary*, 1963, p.30. Emphasis in original. Described by Brian Stoddart as “magisterial”, James’ 1963 account of West Indian cricket has long been regarded as the benchmark in socio-cultural cricket writing. Within this work, James crucially sought “to reconcile a life dedicated to Marxism with a ‘magisterial’,” James' 1963 account of West Indian cricket has long been regarded as the benchmark in socio-


52 Nauright points out how, “British settlers all over the Empire referred to Britain as ‘home’ rather than the places where they lived. Deference in all matters cultural, including those in sport, was to Britain and British institutions and authorities.” J. Nauright, *Sport, Cultures and Identities in South Africa*, 1997, p.25.


55 Ibid.

56 Ibid. E.M. Grace was the one ‘amateur’ on the tour but like his more illustrious brother, he was known to take fees.

The Captains, both white, for the 1900 and 1906 tours were Archer Warner and H.G.B. Austin respectively. T. Jable, ‘Cricket Clubs and Class in Philadelphia’, *Journal of Sport History*, 18 (2), 1991. In the years leading up to the Boer War, the ‘Gentlemen of Philadelphia’ had already toured England on three occasions (1884, 1888 and 1897) and so, in many respects, were seen as more established than the South Africans on the international cricket circuit. Pelham Warner for one was particularly fond of touring America and took teams there in 1896 and 1897. The Americans of 1897 were far from Test Match standard, but they played most of the first-class counties and the universities during their visit. Despite only winning two of their matches, the team did contain some cricketers of genuine quality. G.S. Patterson, the captain, and J.A. Lester were fine batsmen and in J.B. King they fielded the best cricketer ever produced by America. See P. Morrah, *The Golden Age of Cricket*, 1967.

Cricket’s popularity had in fact dwindled in Canada since the mid nineteenth century when a British team toured from Britain with successive generations of ‘new’ Canadians being influenced as much by French and American concepts of sport, leisure and society as by British ones. The sporting ties with England had grown weak over the years and unlike South Africa’s colonials, the Canadians had shown little interest in adopting cricket or its ethos. Cricket’s popularity had in fact dwindled in Canada since the mid nineteenth century when a British team toured as early as 1859. D. Birley, *Land of Sport and Glory. Sport and British Society, 1887-1910*, 1995, p.17. The Governor-General of Canada, Baron Stanley, assiduously patronised sports designed to foster links with the old country – cricket, yachting, rifle-shooting – but ironically he achieved immortality by donating in 1893 the Stanley Cup for ice hockey. See D. Birley, *Playing the Game: Sport and British Society, 1910-45*, 1995, p.166. The Canadians went on to choose ice hockey as the national sport – a game which significantly had no comparable standing in Britain. Through sport, Canada had signalled its intentions of independence. *Cricket*, Vol.4, 1885, p.454.

No Aborigine has represented the land of his birth, despite the calibre of players such as Jack Marsh, Alex Henry and Eddie Gilbert. See A. Mallett, ‘Lords of the Bush’, *The Cricketer*, December 1997.


It was in sharp contrast to Canada for example. As the oldest colony, Canada had developed an independence from Britain with successive generations of ‘new’ Canadians being influenced as much by French and American concepts of sport, leisure and society as by British ones. The sporting ties with England had grown weak over the years and unlike South Africa’s colonials, the Canadians had shown little interest in adopting cricket or its ethos. Cricket’s popularity had in fact dwindled in Canada since the mid nineteenth century when a British team toured as early as 1859. D. Birley, *Land of Sport and Glory. Sport and British Society, 1887-1910*, 1995, p.17. The Governor-General of Canada, Baron Stanley, assiduously patronised sports designed to foster links with the old country – cricket, yachting, rifle-shooting – but ironically he achieved immortality by donating in 1893 the Stanley Cup for ice hockey. See D. Birley, *Playing the Game: Sport and British Society, 1910-45*, 1995, p.166. The Canadians went on to choose ice hockey as the national sport – a game which significantly had no comparable standing in Britain. Through sport, Canada had signalled its intentions of independence. *Cricket*, Vol.4, 1885, p.454.


Ibid., p.133. Williams is in agreement, stating that “a major aim of the public schools was to provide their students with the moral qualities necessary to administer the Empire. The game cult, to which cricket was central, was seen as essential for producing the character needed by imperial administrators.” J. Williams, *Cricket and Race*, 2001, p.16.


Ibid.

As Richard Cashman explains; “With its clear English and imperial associations cricket was the favoured middle-class team sport in Australia for much of the nineteenth century and became a significant element in the development of Australian nationalism … Success at cricket, matching and even defeating the English masters of
the game, was proof positive that British society, culture and institutions were flourishing in the Antipodes. Since Australian middle-class nationalism was initially so hesitant and defensive – colonial culture was accepted as an inferior to the metropolitan product – ‘thrashing the motherland’ at cricket … was an important colonial priority.”

R. Cashman, ‘Symbols of imperial unity: Anglo-Australian cricketers, 1877-1900’. In Mangan, J.A. (ed.), The Cultural Bond: Sport, Empire, Society, 1992, p.129. This was of course well in advance of the game in South Africa where the game was viewed more as a link, rather than a challenge, to England and Her supremacy. For the seminal analysis of ‘Cricket and Australian Nationalism’ see W.F. Mandle, ‘Cricket and Australian Nationalism in the Nineteenth Century’. Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society, LIX, December 1973.

84 Quoted in K.A.P. Sandiford, Cricket and the Victorians, 1994, p.155.
85 For a discussion on this concept, see I. Baucom, Out of Place: Englishness, Empire and the Locations of Identity, 1999, p.137.
86 C.B. Fry, Life Worth Living, 1939, p.382.
87 K.A.P. Sandiford, Cricket and the Victorians, 1994, p.156.
88 Ibid., p.158.
89 K.S. Ranjitsinhji, The Jubilee Book of Cricket, 1897, p.449. So strong was Ranjitsinhji’s support for cricket’s imperial ethos that historian Derek Birley has suggested that Ranjitsinhji regarded the Empire as “the world’s greatest cricket team.” D. Birley, The Willow Wand, 1979 edition, p.13.
90 P.F. Warner (ed.), Imperial Cricket, 1912, p.46.
91 Cricket’s ties with royalty were far reaching. From America came a message proclaiming how “the cricketers of New York … wish your Majesty a long and happy life and a long and glorious reign. – Arthur Rendle, President.” Quoted in Ibid., p.37.
92 Prior to his Coronation, as the Prince of Wales Edward had welcomed several Australian teams to England and according to Warner, he struck a popular note when, in 1895, he wrote an appreciative letter to W.G. Grace congratulating him on a successful season: “That the Prince appreciated the merits of the game is apparent from the fact that he had a ground laid out at Sandringham, at his own expense, by William Chatterton for the use of his tenants.” Ibid.
93 Ibid., p.38.
94 Ibid., p.38.
96 The notice read: “A grand match at cricket will be played for 1,000 dollars a side on Tuesday, January 5, 1808, between the officers of the Artillery Mess, having Colonel Austin of the 60th Regiment, and the officers of the Colony, with General Clavering. Wickets to be pitched at 10 o’clock”. Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser, 2 January, 1808.
99 P.F. Warner, Cricket in Many Climes, 1900, p.176.
101 Ibid.
104 J. Gemmell, The Politics of South African Cricket, 2004, p.79. In 1899 the Rand produced 27 per cent of the world’s gold; by 1913 it was 40 per cent. See W. Beinart, Twentieth Century South Africa, 1993, p.27.
105 Sport indeed became an important opiate. With up to 2,000 miners packed into a single building, the Reverend Ray Phillips – an American Board missionary – was keen to note “we must capture the physical and mental life of these young men during the six days of the week besides preaching the gospel to them on the seventh.” Quoted in T. Couzens, “‘Moralising Leisure Time’: The Transatlantic Connection and Black Johannesburg, 1918-36”, in S. Marks & R. Rathbone (eds.), Industrialisation and Social Change in South Africa: African Class Formation, Culture and Consciousness, 1870-1930, 1982, p.321.
106 Imperial ties at this time were strengthened through the presentation of various trophies by British companies involved in South Africa. G.A. Parker details the presentation of the cups in his 1897 South African Sports Handbook: “Kimberley secured the handsome cup given by Sir Donald Currie for the best performance against the English eleven [Warton’s team]. A.B. Tancred won the Union S.S. Company’s Cup for the best batting average.” G.A. Parker, South African Sports: An Official Handbook, 1897, p.19. Sir Donald Currie is pictured in Figure 10.
108 Ibid., p.37.


113 Ibid.


116 Henderson quotes the *Natal Witness* of March 24, 1848, for an interesting account of the cricket being played at Fort Napier: “Since we last had space to chronicle events of a more domestic character there has been no lack of activity in various public movements. A cricket match is said to have come off at the Camp, with not a little spirit. So much for sportive activity; and anything is almost better than sloth, for ‘Satan finds some mischief still for idle hands to do.’ And, while officers have been taking a little field exercise with bats, wickets and balls, instead of bullets, rockets and bombshells, some activity has been evinced in raising a Native Militia.” Cited in J.T. Henderson, ‘Early Cricket in Natal’. In Luckin, M.W. (ed.), *The History of South African Cricket*, 1915, p.85.

117 Ibid.

118 Ibid., p.86.


120 Ibid. This historic fixture was staged “on the flats near the Durban racecourse”. Reports of the match appeared in the *Natal Mercury* and *Durban Advertiser* on May 3, 1860. See M.A.M. Hart, *Bibliography on South African Cricket 1810-1953*, 1954, p.3.

121 As elsewhere, Natal cricket attracted many leading public men in the colony. For example, 1897 saw Natal enter the Currie Cup under the captaincy of C. Henwood who went on to become Mayor of Durban for four years and member of the Union parliament. The Colony had made its debut in the cup three years earlier in 1894.


126 Ibid., p.79.


128 Ibid., p.95.


130 Described by Thomson as “one of the most important events in Natal cricket” its Union was formed at Pietermaritzburg on 29 September, 1890. Many believe Benjamin Greenacre to be the driving force behind its formation. See D. Thomson, ‘One Hundred Not Out!’ in Natal Cricket Association, *Natal Cricket Association Centenary Commemorative Brochure*, 1990, pp. 2-3.

131 Ibid.


133 According to Henderson, “…the tour was interesting, inasmuch as it afforded some indication of the relative strength of the three chief centres of Cape cricket. Kimberley may be classed first, followed somewhat closely by Capetown, with Port Elizabeth an undoubted third.” Ibid., p.3.


135 Ibid. An important fixture in cementing ties with the ‘Old Country’, the first Mother Country versus Colonial Born fixture in the Cape was played on 22 January 1862. The Colonials triumphing over a Mother Country XI that featured three reverends and a colonel.

136 Ibid., p.37.

137 Ibid., p.37.

138 The Champion Bat trophy was presented to the cricketers of the Cape of Good Hope by the Municipality of Port Elizabeth in 1876: “This bat, a very handsome trophy, was the blue riband of Cape cricket until 1890, when the Currie Cup took its place.” G.K. Clive Fuller, ‘The History of Border Cricket’. In Luckin, M.W. (ed.), *The History of South African Cricket*, 1915, p.15. See also Editor of “Wisden”, ‘Test matches and Overseas Tours’, in *The Times, The M.C.C. 1787-1937*, 1937.
136 Ibid., p.138.
137 Ibid., p.138.
139 Ibid., p.15. Kingwilliamstown defeated Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and Grahamstown in the inaugural competition. With the frontier wars a factor, the tournament was closed by a game between Civilians and Military – “a favourable fixture in those warlike times.” Ibid., p.16.
140 The first representative South African XI had played against Major Warton’s English team at Port Elizabeth on March 12 and 13, 1889.
142 Ibid.
144 The chief proponents of cricket in the South West Districts at this time were George Hudson (who was at one time British Resident in the Transvaal under the Republic), Frank Barry and C. Streetfield. Ibid.
146 Ibid.
147 Ibid.
148 Ibid., p.57.
149 Ibid., p.56.
150 Ibid., p.57.
151 See Ibid., p.57.
152 See Chapter 5, pp. 140-146.
155 Ibid., p.126.
156 Ibid., p.128. The most influential on the committee included Messrs. C. Wimble, F.W. Smith, B. de R. Malraison and S. Smith. These were self-elected and had the power to add to their number.
157 Ibid., p.128.
158 Ibid., p.128.
162 Rhodes went on to play cricket for the Bishop’s Stortford XI of 1869.
164 A lavish compendium of colonial sport produced by the Cape Times in 1929, reflected how Milton “had little time for any man who did not really put his back into his work [and how he] was particularly partial to those who could play rugby and cricket.” Milton was also an English rugby international. See Cape Times (ed.). Sport and Sportsmen. South Africa and Rhodesia, 1929, p.145.
168 See South African Cricket Association, Minutes, 1 February 1904, S.A.C.A. Minute Book, 1898-1905, p.67. United Cricket Board Collection. AG 2912/A1. After an application letter dated 21 December 1903 was received from the Secretary of the Rhodesian Cricket Union, Rhodesia’s affiliation to SACA was approved “unanimously” by the governing body.
A letter to the *Cape Times* in August 1888 from ‘CEJ’ had suggested the formation of a ‘South African Cricketers’ Congress’ or a ‘Representative Union’. *Cape Times*, 28 August 1888.


See J.T. Henderson, (ed.) *South African Cricket’s Annual. Season 1889-90*, 1890, p. 140. The delegates met at Glover’s Athletic Bar in Kimberley and voted William Hopley to the chair. He was a respected figure, being a Cape Town advocate with a strong cricket background. Cricket writer and administrator Harry Cadwallader was elected as Hon. Secretary of the new Association.


Cited in Transvaal Cricket Union, *Yearbook* 1898-9, 1898, p.5.


Sandiford argues that apart from dress and language, some observers in the nineteenth century termed cricket as the most significant and most visible part of Anglo-Saxon culture. See K.A.P. Sandiford, ‘Introduction’. In Stoddart, B & Sandiford, K.A.P. (eds.), *The Imperial Game*, 1998, p.2.


The match was arranged as an ‘additional’ fixture on the itinerary of the tourists and remained the only match to be played in South Africa between a black side and a ‘white’ touring team until the African XI met Derrick Robins’ side in 1973. See A. Odendaal, *Crickets in Isolation*, 1977, p. 325.


The newspaper’s editor John Tengo Jabavu was himself a black churchman and educationalist who was involved in both cricket and tennis thereby distancing himself from the mass of Africans who remained within the ‘traditional’ framework. In 1891 he supported the Cape Bill designed to outlaw tribal amusements. See A. Odendaal, ‘South Africa’s Black Victorians: Sport and Society in South Africa in the Nineteenth Century’. In Mangan, J.A. (ed.), *Pleasure, Profit, Prosyelitism. British Culture and Sport at Home and Abroad 1700-1914*, 1988, p.197-198.


Quoted in *Imvo Zabantsundu*, 22 December 1884.

See, for example, editorial notes *Imvo Zabantsundu* 16 February 1885; 9 December 1885 and 21 December, 1887.


Details of a proposed tour can be found within the editorial notes of *Imvo Zabantsundu*, 3 November, 1884. See also ‘Notes on current events’ *Imvo Zabantsundu*, 4 October, 1888 and ‘Correspondence’ *Imvo Zabantsundu*, 11 & 18 October 1888 and 20 December, 1888. *Imvo’s* editor, the imperious John Jabavu, declared how a tour would “afford our friends there [in England] the opportunity of realising the tone that European civilisation gives to the society of Africans.” See A. Odendaal, ‘South Africa’s Black Victorians: Sport and Society in South Africa in the Nineteenth Century’. In Mangan, J.A. (ed.), *Pleasure, Profit, Prosyelitism. British Culture and Sport at Home and Abroad 1700-1914*, 1988, p.198 & 200.

Hendricks had starred for the Malay team against W.W. Read’s 1891 touring side taking 4 wickets for 50 runs in 25 overs and was said by English Test players George Rowe and Bonner Middleton to be one of the fastest bowlers they had encountered. Hendricks was first included in the final squad of 15 players from which the side for the first South African tour to England was to be selected, but later omitted as a result of “the greatest pressure by those in high authority in the Cape Colony”. See A. Odendaal, *Cricket in Isolation*, 1977, p.325 and ‘South Africa’s Black Victorians: Sport and Society in South Africa in the Nineteenth Century’. In Mangan, J.A. (ed.), *Pleasure, Profit, Prosyelitism. British Culture and Sport at Home and Abroad 1700-1914*, 1988, pp.203-4.

P.F. Warner, *Lord’s 1787-1945*, 1946, p.60. Rhodes was no doubt referring to reaction afforded the Australian aboriginal team that had toured England some years earlier.


See A. Odendaal, *Cricket in Isolation*, 1977, p. 392. After the Boer War had ended in 1902, the three centers which had participated in the inaugural Barnato tournament – Griqualand West, Eastern Province and Western
Province – formed the South African Coloured Cricket Board. The Transvaal joined in 1904 when the first inter-provincial tournament was staged in Cape Town under the auspices of the new body. The Board (also known as the Barnato Board) made no distinction in its early years between black cricketers of the different racial groups.

In 1906, Abe Bailey wrote how “the South African cricket team has been formed by the Cape governor, Sir George Grey, with the aim of ‘civilising’ the sons of chiefs. Cricket became so popular that by 1910, the mayor of Cape Town could identify “a time when the College had the best cricket team in the whole Peninsula.” Quoted in A. Odendaal, ‘South Africa’s Black Victorians: Sport and Society in South Africa in the Nineteenth Century’.


The first cricket team, formed in the year gold was found, was captained by O.J.J. van Wyk, and containing as many Dutch-speaking men as English”. A.W. Wells, South Africa: A Planned Tour of the Country Today, 1949, p. 131.


Some clubs, like the Johannesburg Wanderers, for many years actually excluded Afrikaners from membership. See R. Archer, & A. Bouillon, The South African Game: Sport and Racism, 1982, p. 87. Following the war rugby emerged as the popular alternative to cricket amongst the Boer population. For analysis into this see D. Allen, ‘Beating them at their Own Game: Rugby, the Anglo-Boer War and Afrikaner Nationalism, 1899-1948’, The International Journal of the History of Sport, 20 (3), 2003. In 1912, Abe Bailey wrote how “the South African national game is [rugby] football, in that it finds among its devotees the best of the youth of both races. Few Boers take to cricket, whilst they simply love football.” A. Bailey, ‘Cricket in South Africa’. In Warner, P.F. Imperial Cricket, 1912, p.312.

See W. Barnard, Amper Krieket Kampioene (Almost Champion Cricketers), 1956. It would not be until the 1960s that Afrikaners became more prominent in cricket. A weakening of anti-cricket ideology among the
Afrikaans population as well as identification with a wider, albeit white-dominated South Africa before the 1980s brought the game into the focus of this section of society. Again education played its part as increasingly Afrikaner students attended the elite schools where cricket was prevalent.

222 The Field, 27 June 1896.
Figure 9. ‘The Last Wicket’ – A cricketing analogy offered by *Punch* during the final phase of the Anglo-Boer War.
Figure 10. Sir Donald Currie – The ‘first great patron’ of cricket in South Africa

Figure 11. Major Warton’s Team to South Africa 1888-89
Figure 12. Abe Bailey. The ‘third great patron’ of South African cricket
Chapter 5

‘Cricket’s Laird’: J.D. Logan
Chapter 5 – ‘Cricket’s Laird’: J.D. Logan

LOGAN, THE HON. J.D., an enthusiastic supporter of South African cricket, died in August. It was owing to his generosity that the South African team of 1901 visited us. He was the Laird of Matjesfontein, where he had a private ground, and a member of the Cape Parliament.¹

James Logan’s death was recorded in the 1921 edition of Wisden’s, his obituary listed alongside reports of deceased players, administrators and other servants of the game. Twenty years had elapsed since his prized team of South African cricketers had toured the British Isles and it was somewhat fitting that this account should appear in cricket’s ‘bible’ – that a man who had strived to be part of the imperial game should have his contribution recorded in such a way. Yet, like most obituaries, it was a short, succinct summary providing little evidence of a lifetime just passed. For James Logan was no ordinary man.

Cecil Rhodes once proclaimed that he had met only two creators in South Africa. One was himself, the other was James Douglas Logan.² “If more men of the type of Mr. Logan came to South Africa, a few years would quite transform the colony”, declared The Westminster Gazette in the ‘Story of a Successful Colonist’.³ Ambitious, determined and opportunist, Logan had arrived in South Africa at a time when British imperial intentions were focussed upon achieving control of the region and he was set to prosper. As the previous chapters have shown, Victorian society was being redefined by the public schools during this age and cricket promoted as the ‘sport of empire’. The imperial mission for the colonies was the “export of the gentlemanly order” with an emphasis on individual effort and the values of order, duty and loyalty.⁴ This chapter shows that James Logan acted out this role with considerable acumen in South Africa’s late nineteenth century colonial society, adopting both the social origin and values of fellow ‘re-furbished gentlemen’ (to use Cain and Hopkins’ term) back in the metropole.⁵

In this period of transformation, men of Logan’s status “took to paternalism as squires to the manner born, and tried to recreate abroad the hierarchy which they were familiar with at home.”⁶ Despite his own modest working-class background, Logan aspired to climb the social ladder within colonial South Africa and as this chapter demonstrates he was successful in combining business and politics as well as cricket to achieve his aims. In many ways, James Logan epitomised the process of cultural imperialism forged between Britain and Her far-flung colonies. Indeed, the development of Matjesfontein and the creation of Logan’s own personal ‘empire’ is explored here as a backdrop to the influence this pugnacious Scotsman had not only
on the development of cricket in South Africa but also on the politics and wider history of the period leading up to the Anglo-Boer War. Before such analysis, this chapter first traces the background of Logan and the times in which he lived.

‘The Ideal Colonist’

James Douglas Logan was born in Scotland on 26 November 1857 at Reston, a small Berwickshire town close to the English border. Set against a working-class background Logan’s formative years were steeped in a strict family tradition instilled by his father, James Logan senior, who, like many of the working population of Reston, was employed by the North British Railway Company. Robert Toms, in *Logan’s Way*, describes a happy yet ‘resourceful’ childhood recounting how the Logan family income was supplemented by poaching – something to which the young James Logan appeared more than adept. “Mr. Logan’s family in Reston were rabbit trappers” recalled a local man many years later, “and I remember that Mr. Logan apparently got into trouble with the police and was due to appear in court on charges of poaching. He disappeared before court proceedings and went to South Africa.” An apocryphal story, perhaps, but an early indication of the controversial nature of a man whose destiny lay elsewhere.

Despite the hardships, James Logan was keen to progress and showed early promise at Reston House School, with his headmaster recognising the potential of his youthful charge:

> He is an excellent penman and a good arithmetician, besides being extremely smart and clever. I should rejoice to hear of him obtaining a good situation, and I have no doubt that he would discharge his duties to the satisfaction of his employers.  

Such confidence was vindicated when, after an audacious spell at sea as a cabin boy, Logan returned to Reston to join his father as a clerk of the Scottish Railways at the town’s station (pictured Figure 13). His aptitude for such work was noted by the management of the North British Railway company and he was soon marked for promotion. However, Logan’s ambitions had by now far outgrown the confines of the rigid class structure that defined Victorian Britain. Abroad, the British Empire was expanding and the colonies were offering the promise of a new beginning for Britain’s working class. In South Africa, as one analyst suggested, “money was the criterion … We didn’t have any class other than a money class. There was no aristocracy.” Inspired by this philosophy, James Logan, like thousands of others of his
generation, decided that opportunity and, more importantly for him, status, were easier obtained in British enclaves overseas.

In January 1877 Logan surprised his employers and parents by resigning his position and travelling to London with the intention of securing a passage to Australia. On the 23rd of that month he signed as an apprentice of the *Rockhampton*, a sailing ship of 437 tons, which regularly made the trip to the Antipodes. On 12 February 1877, with a general cargo and a number of emigrants aboard, under the ownership of W.M. Anderson and Company, the ship left the Port of London bound for Rockhampton in the British Colony of Queensland. Working the voyage was the nineteen year old James Douglas Logan.

It was fate that brought James Logan to the Cape. On 1 May 1877 the young Scotsman put foot ashore in South Africa for the first time after the *Rockhampton* had got damaged during a storm in Simon’s Bay and had to undergo repair work at the British Naval port of Simon’s Town. Frustrated by the delay, on 23 May 1877 Logan seized his opportunity by securing an official discharge from the ship’s master, Stephen Owen. He headed to Cape Town, which at the time was a strategic part of the British Empire and a thriving colonial outpost, to seek employment.

Years later the circumstances surrounding Logan’s arrival would become folklore and part of the legend surrounding the man. Some sources have suggested that his ship was wrecked by a storm in the bay and that Logan was lucky to swim to shore in just the clothes he was wearing! Another story states that on leaving the ship, Logan was forced to walk the thirty or so miles into Cape Town with just five pounds in his pocket. His daughter Gertrude Buist, always denied this claim, however, and it is to be doubted, given the availability of rail transport from Wynberg to Cape Town at that time. Nevertheless, such tales did little harm to the success and public reputation of James Logan in later years and throughout his life he was never drawn on the accuracy of these accounts. The fact that Logan had arrived in the Cape by ‘good fortune’ alone made his story all the more appealing.

By the 1870s Cape Town was a bustling port, a centre for trade and commerce with a rapidly developing infrastructure, and with the discovery of minerals in the north the country braced itself for transformation. As Chapter 4 has shown, this also coincided with the expansion of cricket throughout the territories. Swart is right in suggesting that, “Jimmy Logan’s career in South Africa started at a time when the land was marked by a flourishing economy. New possibilities and needs were created when diamonds were discovered at Kimberley”
urgent need was an improved rail and transportation system throughout the interior. The timing of Logan’s arrival in South Africa could not have been better.

The construction of Cape Town’s new railway station was nearing completion and having impressed Mr Dell, an official of the Cape Province Railways, Logan began work as a porter at the station earning little over 5/- per day. His progress however was rapid. At that time the transport-wagon was the only means of conveyance and railways became a necessity to take the place of this slow and expensive mode of travel. Until 1873, the railways which linked Cape Town with Wellington and the interior were in the hands of the private ‘Cape Town Railway and Dock Company.’ For the necessary expansion to occur, the Cape Government endeavoured to take over the running of the Railways in 1874. Ten years later, lines from Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and East London were linked at De Aar, reaching Kimberley the following year. Schemes of Imperial expansion were rife throughout South Africa and Logan’s timing was opportune. When he joined the Cape Province Railway Service in 1877, the South African Railway was still in the initial stage of development and his experience of Scottish Railway administration contributed to his rapid promotion within a week from porter to the clerical department of Salt River Station.

Further promotions followed when he was appointed Station Master at Cape Town’s newly completed station. Such was Logan’s competence in the position, it was not long before he was offered the position of District Superintendent of the railway section between Hex River and Prince Albert in the Karoo. He was to be stationed at Montagu Road. For Logan, however, the appointment carried with it an unexpected problem. The Karoo was isolated territory and the railway authorities, aware of this, decreed that the incumbent for the post must be married within three months of being appointed. Characteristically, Logan set about finding a wife and within months had proposed to and married Miss Emma Haylett, the well-connected daughter of Christopher Haylett, the proprietor of the popular White House Hotel in Cape Town. Her mother came from one of the oldest and best respected Dutch families in the colony – the de Villiers of Villiersdorp. As one contemporary wrote some years later; “Mr. Logan was fortunate in drawing this prize in the matrimonial lottery and in his wife has found a true helpmate in the early days of hard work and worry … By her goodness of heart she never failed to endear herself to those fortunate enough to be her friends.”
In his capacity as District Superintendent of Railways at the age of twenty one, the newly-wed James Logan moved to the Karoo for the first time on 5 August 1879. Robert Toms paints a poignant picture of the scene he would have faced:

The line even in those days threaded its way first through verdant valleys in which imposing farm homesteads nestled in lush farmlands on the lower slopes of the mountains. Sixty miles from Cape Town Jimmy Logan and his bride would have reached a small station called Hex River. From here the rail track became increasingly mountainous, twisting its way steeply upwards among craggy peaks, until suddenly the crags were behind them and they were moving through a strange semi-desert tableland covered with a variety of aloes and other succulents. A pitiless sun might well have shone on a landscape forged by time and fringed by distant, tinted mountains, mountains mutely proclaiming that they had stood thus for a million years. This was the Karoo.

The country appealed to Logan. He found familiarity in the wide open plains and the sense of space and freedom they offered was invigorating. It did not take long for him to establish himself at Touws River. Both his children were born there – James junior in 1880 and a daughter, Gertrude, two years later (Logan and his family are pictured in Figure 3). Alongside his rail duties, significantly, in 1882, he became caterer for refreshments at the station as well as the tenant of Frere’s Hotel. This would be the Scot’s first foray into the lucrative rail catering market. Alongside this position, Logan also held the post of deputy postmaster in the area for which he received £144 per annum. It was here in Touws River, according to Swart, where Logan began to lay the foundation of his great business empire: “This undertaking … which stretched eventually to Bulawayo from Cape Town was to place this former castaway in a strong independent position which could easily be compared with that of Cecil Rhodes.”

Certainly Logan was quick to see opportunities and his new location meant he was presented with an ever-increasing upsurge of rail travellers to the new-found diamond fields at Kimberley and the gold mines of the Rand. Having already negotiated the lease of the only hotel in Touws River, within a year Logan had resigned from the railway service to devote his full attention to his burgeoning catering activities.

**Personal Empire**

James Logan now sought, and quickly found, his own wider personal horizon. With expanding ambitions, his focus turned to Matjesfontein, a small railway siding 34 miles north of Touws River. The site consisted of little more than a solitary iron shed and a makeshift platform of loose Karoo stones. Remote and undeveloped, the price of land in this region was inexpensive and in 1883 Logan was able to purchase 3,500 morgen (about 7,700 acres) for the
sum of £400. Owning land for the first time in his life, Logan could now take his horse rides across his own stretches of the Karoo. South Africa was providing opportunities Logan could scarcely have dreamed of back in his native Berwickshire.

Against the prevailing background of a buoyant economy, Logan’s plan was to take full advantage of the increasing levels of rail traffic heading to the north and he needed a base from which to do this. After completing the transaction, the Scot established himself permanently at Matjesfontein leaving behind an astonished community at Touws River. The small town had served its purpose well and in a relatively short space of time, Logan had succeeded in making his mark in the area. Yet, from now on, it was at Matjesfontein, a remote rail outpost, where Logan was to establish a reputation that still survives to this day.

In 1885 neighbouring farms to the south of Matjesfontein were purchased by Logan as he sought to increase his influence in the area. The acquisition of three properties – Visagie’s Kraal, Besten Weg and Pieter Meintjiesfontein – was seen by the local community and by Logan’s acquaintances in Cape Town as a firm indication that he intended to make Matjesfontein and the Karoo his home territory. However, as Swart notes, Logan “started ventures the difficult way and the building up of Matjesfontein was no exception.” Shortly after moving it became apparent to the Scot that the lack of a reliable water supply would prove a problem in developing the area. The nearest water to Matjesfontein was a fountain over a mile away and according to one early account it was not unusual for Logan to pay passing engine-drivers for water from their locomotives. At the time it was also commonplace for local farmers to build dams to store rainwater, yet Logan recognised that this was impractical in a region where the annual rainfall rarely rose above 5 inches. His solution, against the advice of others, was to sink a borehole through the layers of solid rock. When boring commenced in 1886 few believed he would be successful. However, perseverance and characteristic good fortune resulted in a permanent water course being located at six hundred feet that could provide for local needs, with the exception of the railways.

The successful outcome consolidated public opinion that Logan was a determined man who could succeed in whatever project he attempted. Copious water in the Karoo was news and the name of James Logan was once more associated in the public mind with successful enterprise. Reflecting the shift in class relations in the New World associated with the acquisition and redistribution of wealth, Logan’s prosperity was crucial in terms of his influence among establishment figures in the imperial process. By now he had powerful allies
within the Cape Assembly and after some serious lobbying was able to obtain Government land around the station at Matjesfontein for further development. Significantly, on 27 May 1887, Logan purchased the freehold rights to the farm ‘Boelhoven’ which bordered the land surrounding his newly built house. Not only did Boelhoven lie adjacent to Matjesfontein, but the farm also offered the additional advantage of four permanent springs, each yielding excellent water. Logan had observed that the water supply at the station was unable to meet the growing demands of the railway and this was posing acute problems to government and local business interests. Within months the astute Scot had negotiated a deal with the railway authorities who agreed to pay £2000 for the water rights at Boelhoven as well as the laying of pipes from the farm to the station. Completed in 1888, the Matjesfontein Waterworks were opened amid the usual Logan publicity. “It is remarkable”, claims Swart, “the way Logan succeeded time and again to enter into profitable transactions with the Cape Province Government in connection with railway business.” Indeed, in a single transaction he had made profits far in excess of what he had paid for the farm.

While James Logan’s political associations are explored in Chapter 7, it is fair to say that the Scot’s overt profiteering from the Cape Railways did raise questions within some sections of Parliament. The debate within the Lower House surrounding the purchase of Boelhoven’s water rights involved members Merriman, Sauer and Innes and, significantly, was a direct precursor to the Logan Contract controversy of 1893. Nevertheless, for the time being, the belligerent Logan could do no wrong and would emerge victorious against the various working committees that were set up to investigate these transactions.

Besides benefiting from its water, Matjesfontein would also offer an important catering facility for the railways. When Logan arrived from Touws River he could see the potential of Matjesfontein as an essential staging post and immediately planned a refreshment room there. On 1 March 1884, Logan was awarded the catering contract over the previous tenant, a Mr. Louw, and set about improving facilities at his own expense. The small galvanised iron building that had served as a railway office made way for an elegant new building which incorporated offices as well as, unusually, two different refreshment rooms – one first class; the other for second-class passengers. Using experience gained from his days on the British Railways, Logan, astute as ever, was clearly maximising the revenue potential for such a venture. In addition, because this was his own building, Logan paid only £75 per annum for the contract until this was reduced further by the Rail Authorities with the advent of on-board catering in 1885.
South African Rail expansion was rapid. By 1887 along 1600 track miles, 123 stations had been opened of which 23 had catering facilities provided. Out of these Logan had already secured the catering contracts at Touws River, De Aar and Kimberley.54 “Already at this stage”, suggests Swart, “it is very clear that Logan’s ambition was to have all the catering places of the Cape Railways under his control.”55 Indeed, Logan’s facilities kept pace with the spread and the development of the railways and his reputation was growing. By January 1893 when the last census was conducted, Logan had accrued ten facilities over a distance of 2253 track miles.56

Yet it was his achievements at Matjesfontein which received most attention. The village, pictured in Figure 4, became a shining example of what British colonial endeavour could achieve in the barren surrounds of the Karoo. “Mr J.D. Logan has made Matjesfontein, and it is a splendid monument of individual enterprise” proclaimed the Cape Illustrated Magazine in 1892.57 A year later, just two years prior to the arrival of Lord Hawke’s first English cricket team, there were more than five thousand sheep on Logan’s farms, as well as cattle and other livestock.58 He succeeded in planting extensive orchards of many varieties of fruit trees, including cherry and pear, and improved the aesthetics of the area with ornamental trees and shrubs. Australian gums were established to counter the prevailing winds which blew across the flat, unyielding plains.59

Within a few years Logan had transformed Matjesfontein into a fashionable resort and its development impacted upon the local community. In the 1950s, R.W. Brown, who was a vestry clerk of the Dutch Reformed Church at Touws River, recalled his days as a stoker on the trains to the North. Amongst his memories of the area at the turn of the nineteenth century, was how Matjesfontein, brightly lit by electrical and gas lights, would illuminate the Karoo evening as the train took the turning at Whitehill.60 The stark contrast of Victorian innovation and technology set against the dark, timeless Karoo gave Logan and his village their place in Cape folklore.

According to his daughter, it was the climate of Matjesfontein that led Logan to launch his development plans there.61 The clean, dry air of this region of the Karoo was revered for its healing properties and had already cured Logan of the chest complaints that had beset him since his youth. With characteristic entrepreneurial flair, Logan decided to promote his new village as the premier ‘health resort’ of the Karoo and to attract guests away from the much
larger town of Beaufort West 140 miles to the North. With this in mind, he set about building a
number of cottages where paying guests could be accommodated in great comfort. Catering
facilities were already in place so the recuperating patients took their meals at one of the
refreshment rooms at the station. The arrangement worked well and as its popularity spread,
Matjesfontein started to receive regular publicity especially with the arrival of prominent
personalities like Olive Schreiner and George Lohmann. This benefited from the dry climate
Matjesfontein could offer.

It was during this period that Logan invested a great deal of his capital into Matjesfontein.
Having just secured a wholesale wine and spirit store in Cape Town, he was now able to
concentrate his finances on developing the village. This was his own ‘empire’, a chance to
recreate facets of life back in Britain. A cricket pitch was carefully laid out while lamp posts
were specially imported from London. At the station and elsewhere the features resembled
more a British, Victorian suburb than a remote South African outpost. In promoting his village
abroad, Logan could now boast of providing all the colonial trappings as his endeavours had
successfully transferred a real feel of Victorian life to the Karoo. The significance of
establishing the physical artefacts of British culture within a remote, alien environment was not
lost on Logan. Indeed, the creation of Matjesfontein, with its ornamental streets, its gardens and
its cricket represented perfectly the appropriation and reproduction of culture so integral to the
success of imperialism within British enclaves around the world. As news of this fashionable
resort was digested in the gentleman’s clubs of London, cricket and other facets of ‘British
culture’ were playing a significant part in the constructed image of Matjesfontein.

Fiercely proud of his Scottish origins, a nostalgic James Logan made numerous visits back to
the Scottish Borders during adulthood. In 1885, with thoughts of Berwickshire and the River
Tweed, he had combined his three Karoo farms to form ‘Tweedside’ and this remained a
special retreat for Logan and his acquaintances throughout his life in South Africa. Indeed,
Logan was particularly astute in forming important associations. He could count individuals
like Cecil Rhodes, Sir James Sivewright, Jan Hofmeyr and Colonel Frederick Schermbrucker
amongst his closest friends (the significance of these individuals is discussed in Chapter 7).
Rhodes, for example, spent many weekends with Logan and overseas visitors, hunting and
swimming at Tweedside and could not have failed to marvel at what this Scotsman had created
in the Karoo. “An ideal Colonist” was how Men of the Times described James Logan in
1906. South Africa possessed “a man who throws his whole heart and soul into everything he
undertakes”, declared the Transvaal publication, “whose energy and enterprise will admit no impossibilities … in his indomitable perseverance to improve everything his hand touches.”

**Politics**

As Logan’s reputation and business-empire expanded he sought other ways of exerting influence over matters in the Cape and in 1888 took his first steps into politics when he was appointed Justice of the Peace for the Achter-Hex River Area. Four years later and with aspirations of greater authority, he stood as member of the Legislative Assembly as a “Progressive” eligible for the constituency of Worcester, but was unable to make an initial impression in this Afrikaner Bond stronghold. Not discouraged, however, Logan entered the next election held on 30 January 1894 and succeeded this time in defeating his previous opponent, Bond member J.I. de Villiers by 250 votes. De Villiers had held the seat for fifteen years and this victory was testimony to Logan’s growing popularity within this predominantly Afrikaans region. (The significance of Logan’s political career is explored in greater detail in Chapter 7).

Comparisons were being made between Logan and his friend and political ally, Cecil Rhodes. Swart notes how;

> [Both] originally came to South Africa without money and in a short time collected great wealth. Both realised the importance of the support of the Dutch speaking Afrikaner in their political aspirations, and both had a large number of supporters among this group who to a large extent helped to keep them in office. Moreover, their shrewdness and diplomacy brought both Rhodes and Logan personal benefits. Their material wealth contributed to their becoming prominent personalities and they could exert their influence in almost every field of … community life.

Certainly, by the early 1890s James Logan’s reputation had spread. In 1891, John X Merriman, then Minister of Agriculture, had opened an Agricultural Congress in Port Elizabeth at which he had advised the farmers to “go to Matjesfontein to see the achievements of one man.” He stressed “what 10,000 Logan’s could do for South Africa.” As Chapter 7 reveals, it was a statement he would regret making the following year but, for now, Logan’s achievements were admired on both sides of the House of Assembly. “Matjesfontein furnishes an object-lesson of what may be accomplished on the bare uninviting plains of the Karroo [sic]”, declared the Clerk of the House in 1893. “Before the advent of the railway, there was not a vestige of life on the spot; now it is a centre of production and trade, developed by the enterprise and industry of one individual [James Logan].”

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Despite the acclaim and obvious advantages, the interaction of Logan’s business and political career often attracted criticism. Up to 1893 for example, Logan had obtained all his catering contracts through his friend C.B. Elliot, Director-General of the Cape Province Railways. According to the prerequisite procedure, tenders for all the catering services were properly put out before the contracts were awarded. In the period prior to 1886, all contracts were issued for a fixed period of five years after which it became necessary to review them. After 1886 however, Logan’s contracts, at Elliot’s discretion, stipulated that he could keep the option after the expiry of the agreement for at least a further five years should he so wish. Logan was indeed benefiting from the professional friendships he had established, but they were also to bring him notoriety in the form of the contract debate of 1893. Ironically, this too, would deliver dividends.

Whereas the controversy surrounding the Logan contract eroded Cecil Rhodes’ political aspirations at the time, it did little to detract from the careers and reputations of both James Sivewright, Logan’s closest ally, and Logan himself. In the 1894 general election, Sivewright was re-elected as member of the Legislative Assembly for Griqualand East and in that same year, Logan was making his debut in the House of Assembly. As Chapter 7 reveals, the contract controversy had in fact given Logan’s political career a timely boost. The entire episode had been reported extensively within the press and Logan had, almost overnight, become a household name within the Cape. Never one to shirk publicity, Logan used this new found fame to his advantage and, alongside his increased involvement in cricket, was soon winning favour over political rivals. The fact that during the contract crisis Hofmeyr and the Bond, in co-operation with *Ons Land*, took Sivewright under their auspice, also indirectly meant protection for Logan.

In 1898, at the request of Rhodes, Logan resigned his position as member of the House of Assembly and stood for election for the Upper House (Legislative Council) of the North-Western division. This seat would then be contested for the first time in the interest of the Progressives. The confident Logan won the election with a majority of 3,519 against that of his nearest opponent and was thereby convinced that public opinion had not turned against him. This seat he held until 1903 when he was elected as representative of the Western Cape division in the Legislative Council (Upper House).
The ‘Laird of Matjesfontein’

Having detailed his rise to prominence, no analysis of James Logan would be complete without particular attention paid to the development of Matjesfontein. Indeed, the growth of James Logan’s business and political careers, as well as his support of first-class cricket, was established from this unlikely base in the Karoo. In 1900, Howarth described the region’s sense of remoteness and isolation as having “a weird, perhaps depressing effect on the imagination of the casual visitor; but to [those] who settle there … it becomes dear, familiar and homelike.”

Derived from the Hottentot word ‘Garob’, the name ‘Karoo’ means dry, unfruitful, uninhabited. Pioneer white farmers altered the name and in documents of the eighteenth century first mention is made of the terms ‘Carro’ and ‘Karoo’. There are, in fact, many Karoos in South Africa, and they form the most spacious plateau region in the world outside Asia. Nearest the ocean is the Small (or ‘Klein’) Karoo – a rich, valley landscape bordered by the Swartberg and Outeniqua Mountains. Beyond these mountains within the interior, the Great Karoo forms a desolate expanse of approximately thirty thousand square miles that continues onto the high northern plains of the Cape and Orange Free State. Matjesfontein lies in a level plateau on the border between the Klein and Great Karoos making it the symbolic gateway to the interior and, as the British found during the Boer War, an ideal staging post to the Northern territories.

It was the construction of the railways that opened up the interior to imperial expansion. Renewed optimism about Africa’s potential and Britain’s ability to push the frontiers of economic growth inland resulted in the railway and the telegraph becoming, in Rhodes’ view, ‘the keys to the continent’. Cricket, as Chapter 4 revealed, followed soon on the heels of imperial progress. By June 1876, Worcester was linked by rail with Cape Town and the interior was further opened up with the construction of a line through the Hex River Mountains. Many Afrikaans farmers opposed the coming of the railway fearing that it would bring a flood of undesirables into the territory and that their simple, rustic lifestyle would be decimated by this rail revolution. However, by the end of 1877 the Hex River mountains had been conquered and the line reached Touws River, then known as Montagu Road. Only two years later this same railway had brought James Logan to Matjesfontein for the first time. It had been built at a cost of less than half a million pounds.

Lawrence Green estimates that the settlement of Matjesfontein dates back to the early 1800’s and that records indicate that pioneers by the names of Coetzee and Strauss were farming the area at least fifty years prior to the arrival of James Logan. Matjesfontein itself takes its name
from a type of sedge, *Cyperus textiles* (common name *Matjiesgoed*), used by the Khoikhoi to make mats (*matjies*) employed in the construction of their huts.\(^91\) Englishman John Nixon had written about a place called ‘Maatjies Fontein’ he visited in 1877 and described the encampment as “a wilderness of scrub and stone” comprising just three simple wooden dwellings and a “miserable farmhouse.”\(^92\) “Miles upon miles of ugly grey stones … there was not a human being, or a habitation, or a tree in sight”, he wrote of the scene, “it was awful to think of being lost on such a waste without water and without food.”\(^93\)

Although the following year the railway had reached Matjesfontein, travellers were still faced with a five day journey to Kimberley aboard a Gibson and Red Star Line Coach.\(^94\) The rapid expansion of the line and Logan’s arrival, however, was to transform the area in a matter of years. By 1885, Logan had set about creating “a veritable oasis in the Karoo” with all the latest trappings of Victorian Britain.\(^95\) After commissioning the building of ‘Tweedside Lodge’, a 13-roomed house for himself and his family, work began on the village itself. The letters of Olive Schreiner, an early resident of Matjesfontein, provide an illuminating picture of the village Logan was creating. The day after her arrival in 1890, Schreiner wrote to her friend Havelock Ellis in England:

> There are no farms or homesteads; the only place is this. It consists of the railway station, Logan’s house, and a row of out-buildings or cottages of which mine will be one. There is not a tree in the veld, nor a bush in the mountains as far as the eye can reach. The water is brought from a long way off in iron pipes ... The event of the day is when twice in the twenty-four hours the railway train sweeps by. Once in the morning the Cape train on its way up to the Diamond Fields and Gold-fields stops about 9 o’clock and the people get out to have breakfast here, and they leave our mails. Again, about six in the evening, the train from the Diamond Fields passes and stops for half an hour. It is curious, and to me very attractive, this mixture of civilisation and the most wild untamed freedom.\(^96\)

Despite its isolation, Matjesfontein was beginning to attract attention. A master of self-publicity, each major development in the village was stage managed by Logan to such an extent that it warranted coverage in the press. Cape Town newspapers devoted columns in November 1889 to the opening of the Matjesfontein waterworks for example.\(^97\) Logan had invited scores of dignitaries, and when he entertained it was done in the grand manner. The train bringing Lady Sprigg, Colonel Schermbrucker and many other leading politicians and personalities arrived to find that the Scot had organised a cricket match, rifle shooting, billiards and tennis. To add to the occasion, the Worcester band played throughout.\(^98\) Logan had brought British culture and Victoriana to the South African Karoo and it made the news: “The luncheon
served in the decorated railway shed would have done credit to a first-rate London hotel”, pronounced one newspaper report while Colonel Schermbrucker declared that “Logan had made a paradise in the desert.” Another speaker suggested that the name of the place should be changed to Logansville. Logan, with typical modesty, replied that “it was not that he had done so much, but in the Karoo others had done so little.”

Ostentatious displays of wealth were now common at Matjesfontein and as Lord Hawke and his numerous teams could testify, Logan was renowned as a generous host and loved nothing better than to entertain in lavish style. Along with the visits of touring cricketers and the Queen’s birthday, two days of the year had particular significance for Logan and were celebrated with an array of public festivities. For his birthday each year on 26 November the whole village was granted an unofficial holiday while on New Year’s Eve the entire community was “liberally treated at long tables sumptuously laden under railway tarpaulins.” All elements of society were included and Mrs. Maritz, a resident during those early days, recalls how they were obliged to take part in various races and how both winners and losers were presented with prizes from Mrs Logan at the end of the day, while the “old Master” looked on.

At Matjesfontein the growing populace had already conferred on Logan the unofficial title, ‘Laird of Matjesfontein’. In part, this was undoubtedly a tribute to his Scottish heritage, although some would suggest that the accolade had originated from Logan himself. Whatever its source, there is no doubt that the title pleased him; and it was as ‘The Laird’ that he was to be popularly known throughout his later life. The link between Matjesfontein and Scotland was tangible. Apart from sending his son to public school in Scotland, most of Logan’s key employees in South Africa had previously been formally attached to the Scottish Railways. His private secretaries, S.M. Wright and later Mr. Kitchen, as well as his accountant, W.J. Masson, all came from Aberdeen. Matjesfontein’s doctor, J.A. Robertson, was a native of Whitsome, a village close to Logan’s Berwickshire home. All had followed Logan to Matjesfontein and set up home and office in the village.

Creating a complex sense of identity and belonging, Logan, like many British colonists, was surrounding himself with what was familiar. With cricket at the heart of his endeavours, Logan brought British craftsmen to Matjesfontein to undertake the work of transforming this once desolate outpost into a sumptuous colonial retreat. Murray and Merrett talk of a “Psychological security [that] required familiarity and the stamp of Britain upon exotic landscapes.” while
various writers mention “geographic assurance”, “contagiously English places” and “England’s authentic … architecture of belonging.” Such was the case with James Logan, as Oregon pine was imported from Canada for ceilings and floors while cast iron from England was brought in for intricate fences on balconies and around dainty gardens. “It has the appearance of a smart London suburb, and close by are the golf links, cricket ground, tennis and croquet courts and swimming bath fed by a sulphur spring”, observed one early visitor. Logan’s own residence was to be connected with his farm by the longest private telephone line in the country while the village became the first in South Africa to have water-borne sewerage, and the first to be lit by electricity.

Matjesfontein had become an extraordinary symbol within the Karoo of a way of life that emanated from another land thousands of miles away. The cricket green, the club house, the sound of willow, the wining and dining – Logan had created a seemingly authentic sense of belonging and ownership of things both English and Scottish. Logan remained nostalgic for the Berwickshire countryside which he wanted to be reminded of by means of his Karoo farms, but he had been equally comfortable in London and in his relations with key people there in the worlds of finance and cricket. Memories and established knowledge and connections from both places were transported by Logan to a previously inhospitable location, devoid of people and culture, in order to transform it into a place of economic, political and cultural significance that attracted members of the old (British) and new (South African) ruling classes.

By the 1890s, the Laird’s enterprise had paid off as a stream of celebrated figures made the journey to Matjesfontein. Within British High Society it suddenly became fashionable to make the sea voyage to the Cape and visit Matjesfontein and soon Logan’s name and village were known throughout the empire. Lord Randolph Churchill (father of Winston) was an early visitor to the village during June 1891, and he was soon followed by the Duke of Hamilton as well as His Highness Prince Seyyid Ali, the Sultan of Zanzibar. Other notable visitors included Lord Carrington and the Admirals Nicholson and Rawson as well as Sir David Gill, the astronomer. All these dignitaries provided Logan with tremendous publicity and kudos and enhanced his reputation as one of the Cape’s leading figures during the period prior to the Boer War.

**George Lohmann**

Coinciding with Logan’s rapid rise in fortune was, as this study shows, an increased involvement in the game of cricket in South Africa. A keen advocate of the game, Logan’s
original plans for Matjesfontein had included a full-sized cricket square and during the 1890s he went on to host the cream of England’s and South Africa’s cricket establishment at this most unlikely of venues. An hospitable sojourn at Matjesfontein soon became an established part of any touring side’s programme and brought both Logan and Matjesfontein public acclaim. However, it was as a benefactor of the game in South Africa that Logan received international acclaim coupled with an opportunistic association with one of the most famous Victorian cricketers of the time.

George Alfred Lohmann, the England and Surrey all-rounder, was widely regarded as the finest cricketer of his generation. “Lohmann was in a class by himself” wrote C.B. Fry; “perhaps the greatest medium pace bowler England has ever had.” In 1899 W.G. Grace himself described Lohmann as “not only one of the best all-round cricketers of his time, but one of the best I have ever come across during my thirty-five year’s experience of first-class cricket.” “He has a brilliant future before him”, Grace had written eight years earlier “[for Lohmann] possesses good health, strength and stamina.” Tragically, for Surrey and England, as well as for the player himself, W.G.’s predictions were not to be fulfilled as respiratory problems were set to blight George Lohmann for the remainder of his career.

Ironically it was Lohmann’s poor health that brought him to South Africa for the first time in January 1893 and led to him meet James Logan. Wintering in South Africa was not new for English cricketers and both Lohmann and his Surrey and England team-mate Maurice Read were sent to the continent by their county cricket association in the hope that the improved climate would benefit their health. Both were established names in world cricket. Read had been Wisden’s cricketer of the year in 1890 and been part of Major Warton’s first historic tour in 1888. Lohmann had, in fact, been considered for Warton’s tour to South Africa but because of illness had to withdraw. It left Cricket lamenting that his departure from the team “deprived Major Warton of one of his main supports … one of the most effective bowlers English cricket has produced of late years.”

Lohmann’s eventual arrival in South Africa was however heralded by the press, albeit for reasons other than playing. The periodical Cricket was amongst a number that regularly charted the cricketer’s progress:

As everyone knows, Lohmann has been ill, and on the advice of an eminent physician, he has wisely decided to go abroad in the hope that he may be able to take his place in the Surrey Eleven next season. The mild climate at Torquay,
where he stayed for the last fortnight, previous to his departure, appeared to do him a considerable amount of good and the salubrious air at Wynberg, in South Africa, where he is to make his first stay, at all events it is hoped, will work a great change in him. In Maurice Read, he will have a reliable and cheery companion, and the best wishes of every Cricket reader will go with the pair for their early return to England. It deserves to be recorded that the Surrey County Cricket Club defray the expenses of the two cricketers.

After arriving in Cape Town, the cricketers were advised that a move to the drier climate of the interior would be beneficial and for a while they were based at the new sanatorium at Ceres, a small agricultural town ninety miles to the north. It was not long, however, before the pair were invited by James Logan to relocate to Matjesfontein which by now had gained a reputation as a fashionable rival to the health resorts at both Ceres and Beaufort West. It was a move that would bring Logan copious publicity. Within weeks of the players’ arrival, reports linking the Laird with Lohmann were commonplace, and on his return to England in June 1893, the Cape Times’ ‘Home Edition’ was keen to report how Lohmann “speaks in high terms of the kindness he received at the Cape from Mr J D Logan, with whom he stayed for three months at Matjesfontein. The climate there, Lohmann says, is the best he has ever enjoyed, and he traces the improvement in his health to his stay in the district of the Karoo.”

Despite this optimism, Lohmann suffered a relapse and was forced to return to South Africa in August 1893, only two months after his arrival back in England. He did find time, however, to first visit Logan’s son, Jimmy, who was himself excelling as a cricketer at his public school in Edinburgh. It was a further indication of the personal bond that had developed between the two men. Lohmann would remain in South Africa for not only the rest of that year but for the whole of 1894 and while no mention had been made of James Logan during Lohmann’s previous arrival at the Cape, this time things were different.

Throughout his rise in fortune, Logan had purposively aligned himself with noted aristocracy, key politicians and influential businessmen. In Olive Schreiner, his network even included a famous writer. In George Lohmann, Logan had now secured what was missing in his ‘collection’ of associations – a world renowned sportsman. Significantly, Lohmann was a man whose opinions were sought and respected and whose profile meant that he appeared regularly in cricket columns around the world. Logan knew this. On his return to South Africa, the Surrey all-rounder was met by the Laird and taken immediately to his adopted home in the Karoo. As Logan’s new charge, Lohmann was “inseparable from his host”, declaring publicly to the Cape Argus how “Mr Logan’s kindness has contributed in a great measure to my health
being as near restoration as it is at present. He has a most genial heart and is one of the best sportsmen – in the proper sense of the term – in the world.”128 Plaudits, indeed, which did little harm to James Logan’s business and political aspirations.

Back in England, Maurice Reed, too, was extolling the support he received from Logan. When asked if “that gentleman [Logan] had done, and is doing, a great deal for the game out there?”, Read, in an insightful interview for English Sports, was eager to assert:

No one could do more. He is just one of the most genuine sportsmen I have had the good fortune to meet. Nothing is done at the Cape without Mr. Logan. He is the very first who is approached when any scheme is mooted or any money wanted, and he never fails. That is what I call a true sportsman! Many people endeavour to pose as such, but when an attempt is made to ‘touch the pocket’ then the shoddy nature of their composition is exposed. Yes, I shall never recall South Africa without thinking of the kindness and hospitality offered to both myself and Lohmann by that gentleman.129

While it was all welcome publicity for the Laird, the origin of Logan’s association with Lohmann remains unclear. The most likely connection was through Edwin ‘Daddy’ Ash, Secretary to the Richmond Athletic Association and an acquaintance of both Logan and George Lohmann. Ash had met Logan while touring South Africa and was a friend of Lohmann’s who wrote regularly to him during his early days in South Africa.130 Despite the Surrey Club’s offer to ‘defray’ the expenses of Lohmann and Maurice Reed during that first visit, with typical foresight, Logan could see the advantages of offering the two famous cricketers a free base at Matjesfontein. The pair moved to the village in February 1893 and while Read returned to England in time for the new season, for Lohmann it was the beginning of a high-profile association with both Matjesfontein and James Logan that would remain throughout the final years of his life.

**Cricket and Cash – The Read / Ash Case**

The attraction of cricket for Logan becomes clearer if we investigate the character of both the game and the man. Indeed, from an early stage Logan was aware of the distinct relationship that existed between cricket, business, and politics within the Cape’s colonial community. As we have seen, the game itself had become a symbol of Britishness and the role of empire and Logan recognised its use as a means of social elevation within colonial society. “Cricket’s elitist ethos” explained Gemmell recently, “ensured the involvement of men concerned with issues of status and stature. Similar ‘qualities’ probably enticed the same individuals into politics.”131
While James Logan fitted this profile he was certainly not alone across South African society. A feature for example of the early days of cricket in that other stronghold of British influence, Natal, was the interest displayed in it by “leading men”. The first match between Durban and Pietermaritzburg, as detailed in Chapter 4, typically featured Harry Escombe and Henry Binns, both future Prime Ministers of the Colony, while in 1887, C. Henwood, a future mayor of Durban and member of the Union Parliament, captained the side. In the Western Province too, early cricket matches were fashionable occasions and would be graced by the governor and other distinguished guests. “Cricket, then”, states Gemmell, “immediately forged a relationship with those sectors of South African society that would become the political and economic ruling class.” James Logan, with his finger on the pulse of colonial society, would have been keenly aware of this.

The Laird’s support of first-class cricket was part of an overall strategy of personal advancement. Like many of the game’s early benefactors Logan would finance cricket tours by advancing money that had to be paid back with interest on the tour’s completion. Not only did the sponsorship of these high profile tours bring financial gain to Logan but it delivered the publicity needed to promote his business and political interests. In June 1893, only a matter of days after the much-publicised settlement of the rail contract case, Logan was again in court. This time it was about cricket or, more precisely, the shady finances of the game.

Following the failed attempt to bring the full-strength Australian side to South Africa during the 1889/90 season, attentions were again turned to arranging a second tour from England. There were misgivings about the advisability of the tour given the financial failure of Major Warton’s side three years earlier and the fact that a British rugby tour had just been completed. W.G. Grace was also leading another side to Australia at the time and it was thought there would be little interest from the South African public. This proved to be the case and over a year later James Logan was in court contesting repayment of his investment in the tour. Under the headline ‘Cricket and Cash’, the Cape Argus described the action that was brought before the Chief Justice, Sir J.H. de Villiers, at Cape Town’s Supreme Court:

Mr. James Douglas Logan, of Matjesfontein, against Messrs. W.W. Read and E. Ash, well known in the cricketing world, for the recovery of the sum of £750, money lent. The defendants are resident in England, but gave security for the claim in the amount of £857. The plea of the defendants alleged that the £750 was paid by the plaintiff to the account of Ash, on the express condition that the sum was to be re-paid only out of the profits of the tour. The replication of the
plaintiff alleged that he knew of no such agreement, that the money was lent to the defendants at their request, and that he was to derive no benefit or consideration from the loan.\textsuperscript{137}

As Logan’s first high-profile involvement with an England tour, it is an episode that reveals contemporary attitudes towards cricket etiquette, finance and professionalism, and for Logan, who would use the judicial system throughout his career, it represented a situation where he “felt that his reputation as a sportsman was at stake.”\textsuperscript{138} On 10 December 1891, Logan had met William Walter Read, the Surrey amateur and captain of the tourists and Edwin Ash, the Secretary of the team, at the Royal Hotel, Cape Town, where he agreed “in the interests of cricket” to advance up to £1,000 towards the cost of the ill-fated tour.\textsuperscript{139} Ash allegedly offered to repay Logan 30 per cent of the tour’s profits to which Logan replied that “he did not make money out of sport, but only wanted his money back with reasonable interest” before the team left for England.\textsuperscript{140}

Logan, by then a prominent figure on the Cape’s sporting scene, had first met Ash earlier in 1891 when the latter toured South Africa with the British rugby team. On 30 December Read, Ash and the rest of the English cricketers arrived in Matjesfontein at the invitation of Logan and were entertained in lavish style before continuing their tour through the Eastern Cape, Transvaal and Natal. It was on the team’s return through Kimberley in March that Logan met Read and Ash again and was told that the tour had not been a success.\textsuperscript{141} Both men suggested that Logan take over responsibility of the tour and “should take a team to England to recoup them for their losses” but Logan, declining politely, was of the opinion that such a venture would not pay.\textsuperscript{142} Later, William Murdoch, the Sussex amateur and team mate of Read, would testify at a London commission on 16 February 1893 that he had heard Logan say that this “idea was a good one, and that he thought it would do him a great deal of good from a political point of view.”\textsuperscript{143} Clearly the link between sport and politics was being used to discredit Logan.

Following further correspondence and fearing that he would not be repaid, Logan had both Read and Ash arrested on their departure back to England on 23 March 1892.\textsuperscript{144} They were released on giving security pending an action.\textsuperscript{145} If ever evidence was needed of the financial motives behind these early tours then this was it, yet, in the ‘golden age’ of amateurism, this was never publicly conceded. Logan, for his part, had claimed that the money had been spent dishonourably on the tour’s “so-called amateurs.”\textsuperscript{146} He was also claiming moral victory for his motivation for offering support to the tour. Keen to distance himself from accusations of
impropriety and of profiteering from the tour, Murdoch’s claims were dismissed by Logan as pure “imagination”, while in a statement that provoked laughter in the court, Logan, with typical bedevilment, asked “what [does] politics have to do with cricket? ... I never talk of politics. I am not a politician.”

Read and Ash both gave evidence to the contrary, pointing out, that in their opinion, Logan had taken over the full financial responsibility of the tour from their associate, Mr. Bridgette, who had returned to England unexpectedly. “Logan came forward because he thought it was worth going into as a speculation”, Ash was to claim later; “I am sure Logan hoped and expected that the tour would be a financial success.” There was little proof of this, however, and by now, fresh from his victory in the government contract case, Logan was an influential figure within the Cape Courts. In a unanimous decision on 7 June 1893, the case was awarded to James Logan with full costs.

News of Logan’s latest triumph brought further plaudits within the press. “Another Victory for the Laird” was how the Diamond Field Advertiser reported his success while the Cape Times was glowing in its acclaim:

It is widely acknowledged that Mr. J.D. Logan has proved himself an invaluable and substantial patron of sport in South Africa and the Western Province as evidenced by his repeated acts of hospitality and ample guarantees towards Colonial cricket tournaments when there was no possibility of profits accruing to anyone. He has proved himself a sportsman if nothing more.

Notably, the South African Sportsman delivered the verdict in the form of a sardonic cricket scorecard under the title of ‘Single Wicket Match’: 

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>GENTLEMEN OF ENGLAND</th>
<th>SOUTH AFRICA</th>
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<tr>
<td>W.W. Read, c Sir H. de Villiers, b J.D. Logan</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.L. Murdoch, run out</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>107</td>
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<tr>
<td>“Daddy” Ash, retired hurt</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Bridgette, absent</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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<td><strong>857</strong></td>
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Innings declared closed
“The thanks of a dull colony”, declared the *Cape Register* “are due to the man of Matjesfontein for providing subjects of conversation to those who delight in ‘the idle chatter of irresponsible frivolity’ … We should imagine he can look back with considerable satisfaction on the past fourteen days’ work.” Logan’s success was also depicted in a press cartoon featuring his opponent Edwin ‘Daddy’ Ash (see Figure 27).

Apart from further publicity for Logan, the case had again raised the “much-vexed” professional-amateur distinction within cricket. At a time when cricket was establishing itself within the Colonies, colonials themselves were concerned that the amateur ethos of the game should be transferred in a pure, untainted state. Not only had Logan used a moral repugnance of ‘shamateurism’ to his advantage in court, but Read, Murdoch and the other ‘Gentleman Players’ suspected of receiving payment, were pilloried within the press.

“Everyone knows that the curse of sport at the present day … is the group of evils spoken of familiarly as professionalism”, declared the *Cape Argus* a day after Logan’s victory. In the future, “the Colony will at least be wary of men calling themselves ‘amateur’ cricketers”, added the *Cape Times*; “[men] who bargain for payment of up to £850 over and above all first-class touring expenses before they consent to come out to a young and comparatively poor sporting country like South Africa for a few months tour, while the acknowledged ‘professionals’ are only paid a hundred or so a piece.” The *South African Sportsman* was also keen to exonerate James Logan in its overt condemnation of the English so-called ‘amateurs’:

> Probably never in the whole history of sport has so scandalous a revelation of duplicity and mercenary tactics been made as in the case brought on Tuesday last by Mr. J.D. Logan against the so-called English amateur cricketer Mr. W.W. Read and his business ally Mr. E. Ash. Mr Logan is worthily known far beyond the confines of the colony as one of the most generous advancers of sport in the Cape, as an example of the thoroughly earnest sportsman, possessed of all the qualities of open-handed hospitality, and readiness in assistance which characterised the older and nobler type of that race, and as a man who would not allow his zeal in the cause, say, of cricket to be trammeled [sic] by the formalities of business methods.

Logan’s reputation as a true ‘sportsman’ had survived the court case and his contribution to the game was being lauded as an example of cricket’s more ‘honourable’ past. “There is too little of this genuine ardour existing in the nineteenth century”, the article reflected, “and any endeavour to take advantage of these qualities by speculators disguised as amateurs excites a shudder of repugnance … Mr. Logan has succeeded in exposing their reality, and for that he
deserves the gratitude of all sportsmen … So far, the Colony has kept its hands clean in this respect. We have not yet provided a vantage ground for the “sports” who find the rank of amateur more profitable than that of professional.”

Not only did the *South African Sportsman* reflect the impact the case had had on the ethos of sport in South Africa, but a number of British journals were also concerned as to its effect on international cricket relations. A month after the case in July 1893, *The Cricket Field* wrote of the “unfortunate lawsuit which … seems to have done a good deal of harm to the reputation of the English cricketers in the eyes of the South Africans.” Recognising the moral laxity of certain English tourists as well the limitations of the authorities, the journal concedes, “it seems almost a hopeless task for an apologist to attempt to justify to them [the South Africans] the system which permits amateurs to embark in the management of a tour as a commercial speculation.” In agreement, the *London Referee* suggests that “if our South African friends knew as much as some of us do about the rotten sham amateurism … they would long be tired of denouncing the humbug … As for talking about our M.C.C. taking steps in the matter, the Marylebone Club know well enough the game that has been played for years and years by some of their members.”

Despite criticism for imperial cricket’s central body, the organisation of overseas tours in the 1890s was still, as Chapter 4 explains, the responsibility of private benefactors and cricket’s ‘gentlemen tourists’. In the British press at least, James Logan’s involvement in the funding controversy was thus viewed with some suspicion. “It is difficult … to understand the verdicts given against Messrs. Ash and Read [when] their proceedings seem to have been, to say the least, far from transparently simple”, alleged *The Cricket Field*; “If Mr. Logan advanced the money for which he sued them as a mere loan, his way of doing it was effectually calculated to disguise his intentions.” In South Africa, however, Logan was being heralded as a moral crusader for the sanctity of sport. In its stance against the professional amateurs, the *South African Sportsman* declared how “[profiteering] is the worm which gnaws the core of every branch of sporting concerns, it converts the sportsman into a sham, and sinks the noblest recreation into the slough of pecuniary grabbing. Mr. Logan will have rendered few services to the cause he has at heart more valuable than this last exposure of duplicity.”

“It would have been much more pleasant if the visit of the English cricketing team had not been associated with an action of this kind” reflected the *Kimberley Independent* after the case had been settled. Fundamentally, though, Logan’s reputation had remained intact and despite
the controversial nature of the tour, cricket continued to flourish in South Africa during this period. By 1894 Matjesfontein had also become famous for Logan’s association with the game and in January of that year a new, improved cricket pitch was completed in the village.\footnote{167} Having guaranteed the expenses of the Western Province team in the Currie Cup Tournament in Kimberley the previous year, Logan was now in a position to offer his financial backing to the proposed first-ever tour to England by a South African team.\footnote{168}

**Colonial Tours**

Cecil Rhodes had offered his support to the tour and it was important that Logan, with political aspirations of his own, be involved in the project. Significantly, Logan had already pledged £500 by the time the following appeal appeared in *The South African Review* on 9 February 1894:

> With the public meeting of cricketers and others interested in the sending of a South African cricket team to England next season … it is hoped that Western Province sportsmen and public men and Cape Town merchants will rally round and show what the shank end can do … The Hon. Cecil Rhodes will set the example and has kindly undertaken to attend and preside, and give his support to the project. If the Western Province can raise £1,000 guarantee, and if the Transvaal Union keep their promise to raise another £1,000, the other unions should easily, between them, raise another £500, which, together with the £500 already guaranteed, will complete the required total sum of £3,000 to ensure full expenses of the tour.\footnote{169}

In preparation, Logan had offered his own cricket pitch as a practice venue for the 1894 tour. A month earlier, H.G. Cadwallader, Secretary of the recently-formed South African Cricket Association, had announced that “special opportunities for combined practice for likely members of the team should be given either on the new ground at Matjesfontein or at Newlands, under the coaching or watching of Mr G. Lohmann, if he should kindly consent.”\footnote{170}

By this stage Logan’s association with George Lohmann was well-known and any involvement in the coaching or management of the South African tours by the high-profile English cricketer usually brought its own benefits to the Laird.

As Chapter 7 reveals, Logan had timed his patronage of sport to coincide perfectly with ambitions of parliamentary election and personal expansion. On the eve of General Elections in the Cape and the announcement of South Africa’s first-ever overseas cricket tour, Logan’s achievements were again being heralded in the press. With affiliation to sport assured, Matjesfontein and its ‘Laird’ were now prospering and receiving considerable publicity. On 5
January 1894, the right-wing *South African Review* described Logan’s Karoo resort as a “model village” and enthused how:

This place, made now so attractive, owes its creation and development entirely to Mr. J.D. Logan, the canny Scotsman, whose enterprise as a Karoo farmer has been marked with exceptional success, whose energy and shrewdness in other projects have made him known throughout the length and breadth of the land, whose generous and disinterested patronage of sport entitles him to be termed the “Lord Sheffield” of South Africa, and who has every prospect of making a step into Parliamentary life next season.¹⁷¹

Increasingly, Logan’s ‘disinterested’ involvement in sport was receiving acclaim and with a firm colonial desire to maintain cricket’s amateur ethos, it was vital that Logan’s patronage should remain free of suspicion. His offers of financial support to cricket were portrayed as purely altruistic and hence his reputation as the ‘honourable sportsman’ remained unsullied. In spite of his stance of neutrality and altruism however, it is not surprising that Logan’s beliefs and actions benefited both his business and political interests. Presented as a modest, almost benevolent figure by the conservative press, Logan’s offer to secure the 1894 cricket tour typified his increasing influence in the game during this period.

Logan’s tour guarantee was ‘revealed’ in the *South African Review* of 9 February 1894 after it had been lodged in a shroud of mystery. Coming at the time of elections in which he was a frontrunner, Logan had ensured he would avoid accusations of political coercion by not publicly declaring his donation. His involvement, however, was widely known. With the game popular throughout South Africa, cricket’s benefactors enjoyed acclaim from both the colonial press and the electorate and whilst Logan recognised this, he was also aware that no individual should be seen to profit out of sport – a fact emphasised in the *Review*’s sanctimonious, yet deliberate announcement of Logan’s patronage:

Now that the General Election is over, the Honorary Secretary of the Cricket Association is at liberty to divulge the name of the Western Province sportsman, who so generously has guaranteed the sum of £500 and offers ready for deposit in the Bank. His name is J.D. Logan, of Matjesfontein. Mr. Logan made the offer purely through a love of sport, and specially desired that his name in connection therewith should not be published, because he did not wish to allow room for any suspicion that his action was dictated by political or other motives. Now that the elections are over, we trust that others will appreciate the desire of cricketers that their cause should be supported for its sake alone and the honour of the country, and not with any motive of bribery.¹⁷²
Logan was revelling in his role as South Africa’s latest sporting philanthropist and for being lauded alongside Cecil Rhodes as the instigator of the 1894 tour. Cricket was providing the social acclaim he was seeking. At the public meeting that heralded the tour Rhodes, elected to the chair, had proposed that those involved in team selection should be devoid of favouritism and how “unions of outdoor sports like cricket [as well as] commercial unions, and Chambers of Commerce … had led to a closer union in the country.”

Explaining his support for the venture, Rhodes felt sure that “the team, whether successful or otherwise would remember that they were a representative team from South Africa … that by their tone, their manners, and their conduct they would be a credit to that portion of the world which sent them (loud cheers).” Logan, not present at the meeting, had earlier sent a telegram to the Association’s Secretary indicating that he was willing to increase his guarantee to £1,000 if necessary and now that the polling was over his involvement could be made public. According to Cadwallader, it was Logan’s wish that “his name should not be disclosed until after the General Election was over, as he did not wish it to be supposed that politics would be mixed up with sport (laughter and cheers). Mr. Logan wished to have no political bribery in the concern.”

While there was much discussion as to the team’s chances against more capable and experienced opponents, the press continued to speculate on the motives of the various guarantors behind the venture. Typically, Logan, along with Rhodes, was depicted as offering his support for the ‘good of South Africa’ alone and devoid of any element of self-interest:

Mr. Barnato has perhaps as good a comparative knowledge of the various branches of sport, comparing English and South African sport, that is, as anyone, and he said: “You might as well send a team of washerwomen Home”, but contributed £100 to the guarantee fund nevertheless. Mr. Rudd expressed himself of opinion that the time was not ripe for sending a team Home, but contributed likewise up to three figures. Mr. J.D. Logan and Mr. Cecil Rhodes have contributed, I take it, more from the “honour of South Africa” point of view and the ultimate material advancement of sport than from any belief in the prospects of success of the team.

If Logan was unconcerned about the performance of the team, then this was not shared by others who pledged their support to South African cricket. “Perhaps the most sanguine of the big contributors is Mr. Abe Bailey”, declared the South African Review, “he is a Colonial, and glories in it, and doesn’t see why a representative South African XI. shouldn’t be equal to the leading English amateur organisations or the weaker county elevens.” Bailey would eventually take over Logan’s role as South African cricket’s main benefactor, but for now, in the years prior to the Boer War, James Logan’s influence in the game was unquestioned.
Guarantee Withdrawn

Significantly, James Logan’s offer of support for the 1894 tour was not without conditions. By guaranteeing the venture, Logan had hoped to ‘buy’ influence within the administration of South African cricket and as such expected some control over team selection as well as the management of the tour to England. However, the Cape’s cricket administrators were keen to retain control and had already angered Logan by not selecting the Coloured player, Krom Hendricks along with Charles Mills, the Surrey professional. After a meeting of the Western Province Cricket Union on 8 March 1894 it was announced that W.V. Simkin, ex President of the South African Football Board, would take control of team affairs. Logan again was not consulted. Logan had wanted his close ally within the Cricket Association, Henry Cadwallader, to be appointed and according to the Cape Times had offered his £500 guarantee with this condition attached.

Three days before the decision was announced, the Cape Argus described how Logan had allegedly sent a telegram to Cadwallader stating that “it was impossible for him to attend the meeting, and evidently his presence was not desired. He was heartily sick of the whole business, and if he were to have anything to do in the matter, must have his stipulation respected.” For his part, Cadwallader denied that Logan had specified that he should be manager, arguing that “his chief point was that he should be consulted in the matter.” While Logan denounced the claims of the Cape Times and denied sending the telegram, the Western Province Union were keen to immediately distance themselves from impropriety: “This meeting is of the opinion that no guarantee coupled with any condition can be accepted, and that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the Secretary of the South African Cricket Association.” Consequently, with no real influence in the tour, Logan’s response was to publicly withdraw his offer of support, stating that he “wished the team every success, but in view of his chief conditions having been passed over, must persist in his withdrawal.”

Logan’s principal condition had been that a Selection Committee appointed by the South African Cricket Association should seek approval from any individual guaranteeing a sum of £250 or more for the tour. By pledging his financial support, Logan had sought to gain influence over the venture and gain a foothold for control of future international tours. Despite motives of self-interest however, Logan’s bid still received acclaim from a section of the South African press frustrated by the selection process adopted by the Western Province clubmen.
The Cape Argus depicted the ‘Laird’ as a promoter of equal opportunity within South African cricket:

It is pretty well known that Mr. Logan is strongly in favour of the management being in the hands of the gentleman who has borne the brunt of arrangements up to the present, besides which, he expresses regret that Mills is not in the team, and accepts the strong advice of Lohmann and professionals that Hendricks, the coloured ‘demon’ bowler, should certainly go. He is strongly in favour of the best team that South Africa can send, of whatever class or colour, as most likely to ensure a successful tour.188

“I suddenly found myself dealing with people with whom formerly I had no negotiations on the subject of the guarantee”, Logan reflected later.189 “When I, the original guarantor, promised my £500 it was on the distinct undertaking, made of course with Mr. Cadwallader, that the very best team … should visit England … Hendricks ought to have been included … Whether a man is white, black or yellow makes no difference to me nor does his particular trade or profession. What I want to see is the crack player and the crack sportsman.”190 It was an issue that divided the Cape’s cricket community. There had even been a suggestion in the Cape Times that the colour issue might be neatly circumvented if Hendricks, referred to as a ‘Malay’, were to accompany the party as ‘baggage-man’.191 Hendricks was insulted by the idea and wrote the next day pointing out that he was not a Malay, that he was not consulted about his availability and if selected as a luggage-carrier “would not think of going in that capacity.”192 It was a response that angered South Africa’s champion batsman A.B. Tancred whose views, published in the Standard and Diggers News, were typical of much of the white establishment:

After his impudent letter, I should certainly leave him out. If he wants to go on the same footing as the others, I would not have him at any price. As baggage-man they might take him and play him in one or two of the matches when the conditions suited him. To take him as an equal would, from a South African point of view, be impolitic, not to say intolerable.193

Indicative of institutionalised racism within the international game, this opinion was echoed elsewhere. “I look forward to a friendly tussle between the English and South African cousins and, if we cannot do better, we can at least take a licking like white men” declared one correspondent in Johannesburg’s Star newspaper.194 For others, however, the decision was open to question. “Why has Hendricks not been chosen?”, asked a resident of Graham’s Town to the Editor of the Cape Times; “Without doubt, the best fast bowler in South Africa … but because he has a little dark blood in his veins, he is black-balled. I wonder how many are aware that P.C. Charlton, a member of the Australian team of 1890, is very much darker than
“Hendricks … yet he was welcomed on English cricket grounds.” 195 “It is a case of courting a disaster for the sake of prejudice”, added the Standard and Diggers News. 196 Within England itself the decision was also questioned, with the prominent magazine Cricket Field suggesting that “it is not unlikely that our visitors will regret before the end of the season that they were so particular as to the colour of their men.”197

As well as race, issues of class and status were debated as support was also received for Logan’s decision to propose Harry Cadwallader as tour manager. The South African Review was quick to criticise the selectors’ choice of a man who should be “of some social standing, address, and be able to make a respectable after-dinner speech”:

They accordingly demand that Mr. Social Standing Simkins be manager in place of Mr. Hard Working Cadwallader. They object to Mr. Cadwallader because he takes his cricket without champagne; and Simkin as every Anglo-Indian knows is the very name for that effervescent intoxicant itself … Does a single one of these champagne cricketers know what he is talking about? ... After-dinner speeches don’t win cricket matches, though good management like charity will cover a multitude of deficiencies. 198

To many supporters of the game Logan provided a credible alternative to the “Western Province Club clique” that had controlled South African cricket since its infancy. 199 Before his move to Rhodesia in 1901, William Milton was particularly influential in Western Province sport and was responsible for many of the decisions that shaped the 1894 tour, including the appointment of Simkins. 200 The role of Cecil Rhodes can also not be ignored. As highlighted in Chapter 4, Rhodes’ conversation with Pelham Warner at Oxford University in March 1895 testifies to his involvement in the decision not to select Krom Hendricks for the tour of England, yet crucially, this was never made public. 201

This was a difficult situation for Rhodes whose opinion that the tour should consist of “the best men, whoever they were”, 202 was compromised by his public association with the Afrikaner Bond. Chapter 7 reveals how Rhodes, like Logan, had achieved political success through support received from the Afrikaans community, but the Bond – their main political party – represented an avowedly nationalistic group opposed to equal rights of black South Africans. It was an unfortunate alliance. “As forward-looking, progressive, and far-seeing as Rhodes was”, wrote Robert Rotberg, “he soon found himself yoked to a political ox-cart which was by and large distrustful of new ideas and of a visionary’s dream of a united, greatly expanded South
Africa.” Although Logan’s politics and imperial associations would eventually alienate him from the Bond, Rhodes continued to tout their support during this period.

William Milton, as Western Province’s selector on the national panel, was also Rhodes’ parliamentary secretary and acutely aware of the implications of selecting a coloured player for the 1894 tour. His attempts to enlist Rhodes’ support however were also ill-timed. Rhodes and the government had only just overcome the threat of a Muslim teacher, Ahmed Effendi, being elected to the House of Assembly. The fact that Effendi was not white had presented an untenable situation for the Bond whose branches refused to admit members of colour. As a result, Rhodes had little option but to reject Milton’s request and a carefully-worded message was relayed to the cricket authorities, which prevented the Prime Minister from being implicated in any further discussions on the subject.

“Perhaps J.D. Logan might bring his influence to bear on this point,” wrote the Cape Times, “for the Laird of Matjesfontein tolerates colour and colour tolerates him as witness his magnificent majority at the poll due to the coloured vote.” Logan, like Rhodes however, had to carefully consider his public position over the matter. With political ambitions of his own, Logan opted instead to travel to England in 1894 to follow the tour, safe in the knowledge that his original offer of support had been well-publicised and that the decision to withdraw the guarantee had been morally absolved within the press. “It did strike me curious,” George Lohmann later explained, “that Mr. Logan, who planked down £500 in the first instance, and Mr. Cadwallader, who worked the thing up – in fact, the two men who were really responsible for the organisation of the affair – should at the finish be left out in the cold.” In reality though, Lohmann, like others, was aware that the episode had been ‘managed’ to herald Logan’s involvement in imperial cricket and that with characteristic tenacity the Scot would use the events of 1894 to further cement his influence within the game.

Lord Hawke

James Logan’s growing reputation had reached Britain by the time he arrived back there in the summer of 1894. “Mr. Logan will be away four months”, announced the Cape Times on 18 July 1894; “After transacting business in London “which demands urgent attention”, he will proceed to Scotland to his residence at Stoneshiel Hall, Berwickshire.” It was a trip that involved visits to his son at his public school in Scotland, as well as the annual holiday in the Borders, where Logan now enjoyed the trappings of the landed gentry – quite different from his childhood in the region. As reported, visits were made to London and the Oval specifically,
where Logan made acquaintance with Charles Alcock, Secretary of the Surrey Club, and other distinguished cricket people. In an interview published in the imperial magazine *South Africa* on 4 August 1894, Logan, described as “one of the most prominent public men at the Cape”, took the opportunity to describe both his political position as well as his controversial involvement in the 1894 tour. His business interests were also discussed, with particular reference made to his achievements at Matjesfontein and his association with George Lohmann. “I should prefer not to say anything, as it might look as if I were puffing my own wares”, the Scot declared with typical bravado, “[but] yes, I have derived very great pleasure from entertaining Mr. Lohmann, and if you like to put it in that way his recovery certainly does speak marvellously for the climate.”

It was also during his visit home that Logan made moves to secure influence over future cricketing tours between England and South Africa. With the game’s significance within the Empire growing, Logan could see the potential of being involved in these early sporting exchanges and was still angered by his failed attempt to secure control over South Africa’s first ever overseas tour. Using the association with George Lohamnn to his advantage, the Laird wasted little time in making contact with the principal cricketing tourists of the day – namely C.B. Fry and the influential Martin Bladen Hawke (or Lord Hawke as he was more commonly known) – with a view to securing the next English tour to South Africa. With plans clearly in place, Logan spoke freely of his hope for the Colony’s cricketing future and of the “younger South Africans born at the Cape some who are most promising, and whom, in a few years we shall be able to send home to uphold the honour of the country of our adoption.”

Ironically, while the 1894 tour had provided invaluable experience for the South Africans, it failed to capture the public imagination and was, in financial terms, wrote *Wisden’s* euphemistically, “extremely disappointing.” Expenses totalled £3,600, while receipts had amounted to only £500 and despite the initial backing of Cecil Rhodes and others, the venture was bailed out by South African supporters in England. Logan’s withdrawal of financial support certainly had had an affect. On the field, Natal’s C.O.H. Sewell impressed with his batting and George Rowe for his bowling, while the dependable E.A. Halliwell, a mainstay of Logan’s 1901 tour, took the plaudits for his displays behind the wickets. “Taking them as an eleven [however], there was nothing to lift them above the level of the commonplace”, was *Wisden’s* derisory verdict.
By the time of Logan’s return to the Cape, discussions on a tour of South Africa by an English team with Lohmann in a managerial capacity were under way.\textsuperscript{217} Lohmann, who had become a member of the Western Province and Cape Town Cricket Clubs and turned out regularly for Logan’s team at Matjesfontein, was now a valued member of the Cape’s cricket scene and as such was considered the natural choice to lead the next English tour to the Colony.\textsuperscript{218} Sanction however first had to be secured from Milton and the powers-to-be in Cape Town. “It is to be hoped for several reasons that the Western Province Union will enter into negotiations with George Lohmann \emph{re} the English team he is prepared to bring out”, declared the \textit{Cape Argus}, “Such a team could not be in better hands than the great Surrey professional’s.”\textsuperscript{219}

Lohmann’s involvement was of course pivotal to the ambitions of James Logan. With Lohmann at its head, Logan could at last exert his influence over a colonial tour and he wasted little time in formulating his plans for the visit of Hawke’s team. On 9 February 1895 Lohmann was invited by Milton to attend the Annual General Meeting of the South African Cricket Association in Cape Town at which time it was unanimously resolved that “subject to satisfactory arrangements being concluded between the Association and Mr Lohmann, that Mr Lohmann’s proposal to bring an English team to South Africa next season be approved.”\textsuperscript{220} By June 1895, arrangements for the tour were well in hand with the touring party scheduled to play matches across the whole of South Africa.\textsuperscript{221}

By the end of the year, James Logan’s name was being publicly linked alongside Lohmann’s with the arrangements for the tour. “The Laird of Matjesfontein … is so well known throughout South Africa for his business aptitude and keen sportsmanship … [and] he is largely interesting himself for the success of Lord Hawke’s Cricket Team”, wrote \textit{Country Life} in December 1895.\textsuperscript{222} According to the journal, Logan “had very much to do in England with its successful organisation” and had already made arrangements to host Hawke and his team at his base at Matjesfontein and to stage a game that would “uphold the honour of his oasis in the Karoo.”\textsuperscript{223}

Hawke himself became an important ally for Logan. Described by Pelham Warner as the “Odysseus of cricket” and the “first to preach the gospel of cricket throughout the Empire”, Hawke was the indefatigable organiser and leader of Yorkshire County Cricket as well as tours to Australasia, North and South America, the West Indies, India and Ceylon.\textsuperscript{224} As detailed within earlier chapters, Hawke was indicative of the new wave of imperial cricket; part of the select breed of amateur tourist who travelled cricket’s colonies imparting the ethos of the game and its English middle-class creators. Hawke, like Logan, was an opportunist. A cricketer of
average ability, he had developed a taste for travel that would feature throughout a long, if not exceptional, playing career. Whether the tours he undertook were part of a wider ‘imperial mission’ is however, open to question.

Despite Hawke sharing the political views and authoritarian outlook of Lord Harris and the M.C.C. establishment, his cricket tours were, fundamentally, hedonistic in nature. Hawke “plays the game in a big and generous fashion”, declared C.B Fry’s Magazine; “a plain, honest, vigorous-living Briton, [he is] keen on sport for the pure joy it affords.” Yet Hawke was of the ‘leisured class’ and as the journal conceded; “He hunts all the winter, sometimes five and even six days a week, and is playing cricket from the beginning of May to the end of September.” Hawke typified the amateur tourist whose “games were primarily for the benefit of the participant” and for whom cricket tours offered a privileged lifestyle of playing the game in exotic locations. For Birley, “Hawke’s imperialism was of a sentimental and self-centred kind – no share of the White Man’s Burden for him.” In many respects his self-interest mirrored that of James Logan. The two men could certainly recognise the benefits of their association.

For Logan to have influence on the game it was imperative that he established links with cricket’s imperial leaders. Both Lord Harris and Lord Hawke were “aristocrats of the cricket field” and wielded considerable influence over the colonial cricket tours of the time. Both recognised the value of selecting the ‘right sort’ to tour and the gentleman amateurs, alongside established professionals, were a key component of any overseas tour. As Morrah points out, “the typical amateur was an offshoot of the country gentry or the business world, with enough money to play cricket when he liked. Such was F.S. Jackson, whose father, a wealthy businessman and politician, became the first Lord Allerton.” Perhaps Logan modelled himself on these cricket aristocrats; “Jackson indeed never played regularly, but the reason was not lack of means but the variety of his interests.” Like Logan, Jackson combined cricket with business and a political career at both local and national levels. C.B. Fry and later, H.D.G. Leveson Gower, were others of the country gentleman category whose patronage and influence in cricket affairs were widespread.

C.B. Fry, the renowned Sussex batsman, was part of Hawke’s touring party that arrived in Cape Town to great acclaim on 22 December 1895. In an elaborate ceremony, the team were welcomed by the Mayor, Mr. Attwell, while James Logan, unable to attend in person, was ably represented by his close friend and political ally Colonel Schermbrucker. Evidence of
Logan’s interest in the welfare of the team ‘beyond cricket’ can be found in correspondence between the Laird and his associate. A day after the team’s arrival Schermbrucker, in replying to Logan’s request to ‘entertain’ the tourists, wrote:

My dear Logan,

I found your note re cricket team and shall be glad to give them every attention. I called on them today but they were in a great hurry to get off to Newlands to try the ground. I arranged for tomorrow morning to bring them round to Rhodes, Sprigg, Schreiner etc etc, also the clubs and principal merchants. Business increasing as you will see from my official letter.

Now, my dear chap a Merry Xmas and Happy New Year to all of you. 238

With Hawke’s team in place it would be a merry Christmas for Logan whose involvement in the tour meant that politics and commerce were as much on the agenda as cricket. Having made acquaintance with Logan’s political and business associates some of the team, who had completed their first three matches in the Cape, were invited to Matjesfontein on 4 January 1896 “where they enjoyed the hospitality of Mr. J.D. Logan at his famous place in the Karoo.”239 It would be the first of numerous visits to Matjesfontein by Hawke’s men and they must have been struck by what Logan had achieved during his time in South Africa. In his autobiography, Life Worth Living, C.B. Fry later described Matjesfontein in glowing terms referring to Logan as the “stocky Scotsman with a long rectangular face and a pugnacious yellow moustache – a blend of genial hospitality, business-like energy and latent pugnacity.”240 Logan is pictured with Lord Hawke and his team in Figure 25.

Political Disruption

Despite Logan’s best efforts, however, the tour was being overshadowed by the political crisis that was developing within the country. Logan was now involved in a game that had changed substantially from the ‘village green’ version to an increasingly bureaucratised, commercialised, politicised and manipulated form. Cricket had become a contested arena, where those with different vested interests and political persuasions were continually negotiating a stake in the game. Only a week into the tour, as Hawke and his team were being entertained by Cecil Rhodes at Groote Schuur, news was received that Dr Jameson had marched on Johannesburg in an attempt to oust Kruger’s control of the Republic.241 On the second day of the match against Western Province, further bulletins arrived confirming that Jameson had been arrested and that the invasion of the Transvaal had failed. This was a problem, not only for Cecil Rhodes, but also for Lord Hawke and Logan, as the next match was
scheduled for Johannesburg. “There is considerable doubt about the future movement of Lord Hawke’s team” declared the *Cape Argus* on 8 January 1896:

It was intended that they should proceed to Matjesfontein and play a match against a local twenty-two, Mr. Logan and the professionals, having already proceeded there; but it has been found impossible to raise a team, and Mr. Logan with the professionals have gone to Kimberley. Lord Hawke, with the remainder of the team, remain in Cape Town, until arrangements for the continuance of the tour are completed. In the event of affairs in the Transvaal settling down, they will proceed to Pretoria; otherwise they will proceed to Maritzburg, a fixture for the 17th having been arranged provisionally.

Hawke’s men found themselves treading wearily through the fallout from the botched raid. With the original itinerary suspended, the team were marooned in Kimberley and Cape Town while wild rumours circulated and Rhodes worked to defuse the situation. The waiting finally came to an end when Hawke was approached with a view to the possibility of employing his side to provide a distraction in the north. As C.B. Fry later noted, “It was deemed useful to send us to Johannesburg as an antidote to the inflamed melancholy of that distant city, then in the throes of not knowing what to do.”

Oblivious to the international repercussions of the raid, Hawke and his team left Logan and travelled north into the Boer heartland with “the complacent assurance of the English abroad.” However, the pretence that politics and sport could be divorced was shattered after their train was stopped by Boer commandos at Vereeniging, on the Transvaal border. With little respect for reputation, the Boers searched the team’s luggage and personal effects and levied duty on virtually everything, including cricket equipment. Sir T.C. O’Brien violently objected, a suspected revolver being carried by Hewett turned out to be a cylindrical toothbrush and all of Hawke’s tact and diplomacy was required to calm the situation. Eventually, after bats had been presented to the Boers as a gesture of goodwill, the team were allowed to continue their journey. It was a sign of things to come.

On arrival in Johannesburg, it was soon apparent that the city was in turmoil. Martial law had been imposed as armed commandos patrolled the streets. Abe Bailey, who was expected to meet the team, had been imprisoned along with other leading citizens suspected by the Boers of colluding in the raid. These included the President of the Chamber of Mines as well as the President and Secretary of the Wanderers Cricket Club. Two matches had previously been arranged but the first of these was cancelled due to what *Cricket* quaintly termed “the disturbed times.” However, displaying an aristocratic arrogance that paid little regard to political
sensitivities, Hawke joined Sir T.C. O’Brien and C.W. Wright in visiting Bailey and his associates in Pretoria Prison during which time they dined and played poker together. Later, in another display of insensitivity, the team sought and were granted permission to picnic on the battlefield at Doornkop, the site of Jameson’s attempted invasion.

As cricket’s imperialists socialised within the Empire’s most contested region, George Lohmann and James Sinclair both had outstanding matches in the one contest that was completed in Johannesburg. Despite the unrest, receipts of over £800 were taken over the two days, justifying the team’s visit in financial, if not diplomatic terms. However, this was not indicative of the rest of the tour. The political situation was blamed for the lack of response throughout the rest of South Africa with *The South African Review* indicting “the Transvaal crisis [for] having interfered with the original programme, lengthening the tour, and, of course, increasing the expenses.” There was sympathy, too, for James Logan: “All cricketers and, indeed, all sportsmen will commiserate with Mr. J.D. Logan and George Lohmann, on whom the financial responsibilities rest, on this dismal aspect of the tour.”

Such sympathy was misdirected. Logan’s objectives for the tour were not all concerned with immediate financial gain. For him, the tour and his association with Hawke had increased his profile as South African cricket’s leading benefactor and this alone would deliver benefits in political and commercial terms. “In the social sense the team has been a great success”, declared the press. The match played at Matjesfontein at the end of the tour was indicative of the purpose and sentiment of these colonial exchanges: “One might go a very long way without finding so enthusiastic a sportsman as the Laird of Matjesfontein”, proclaimed the *Cape Argus*, as Hawke and his team were entertained by Logan prior to their departure in March 1896.

Hawke’s side was accompanied by Colonel Schermbrucker to Matjesfontein where they faced a team of ‘colonial players’ selected by Logan. The twelve of England faced a Logan combination of twenty players that comprised representatives from the British military as well as local dignitaries and Logan himself. Murray Bisset, the captain of Logan’s 1901 tour and George Lohmann were also joined in the team by the Hon. H.B. Hawke, brother of Lord Hawke and serving in South Africa as Lieutenant with the Leicestershire Regiment. The match, which was drawn, was incidental however. “The lavish hospitality which was shown towards the guests was doubtless destructive of any brilliant cricket”, was the summary of the press writer who described Logan as “the life and soul of his team.”

“Colonel
Schermbrucker, too, was in his element, and although he declined to take any active part in a game which he had never played before, he kept things lively with his over-brimming mirth.²⁶⁰

Schermbruker’s role was complementary. He would accompany Logan and the party which toured England in 1901 and was doubtless aware of the significance of sport to the aspirations of his close associate. He had little knowledge of cricket, however, and his ignorance of the game was later highlighted in an amusing anecdote by George Lohmann:

I remember once bowling to Logan at practice and Colonel Schermbrucker, who had been in three ministries, was looking on. He was a great friend of Logan’s but knew nothing about cricket. So when I happened to bowl Logan out, he thought that the batsman had done something clever, and shouted out in great glee, “Bravo! Logan, that was good”: Logan, who is a very keen cricketer, was of a different opinion.²⁶¹

At Matjesfontein Logan was master and while his enthusiasm for the game far exceeded his ability as a cricketer, it was accepted that he would feature in all prominent fixtures played in ‘his’ village. This occasion was no different with the Argus reporting how Logan “was greeted with loud applause on his way to the wicket” before succumbing to the slow bowling of Lord Hawke for a meagre two runs.²⁶² For the competitive Logan, his brief innings would have been the only disappointment during an otherwise momentous day. Cricket later wrote of the fixture describing how the Scot had “played a very prominent part” in getting Lord Hawke and his team out to South Africa.²⁶³ It would not have been lost on Logan that through his own creation, Matjesfontein could now boast of hosting the English cricket team. It was kudos indeed.

The sumptuous after-match dinner provided all parties the opportunity to congratulate each other on a successful tour. Lord Hawke, supported by his senior amateurs, was first to commend Logan “for the greatest kindness and hospitality and … for the important part he had played in the tour.”²⁶⁴ Receiving the thanks, and responding to criticism over the payment of players, Logan pointed out that they “had done their best to uphold cricket in the way of amateurism” and that “when a team was sent to England it would be representative of South African cricket, and there would be no humbug about it.”²⁶⁵ Schermbrucker, with characteristic bluster, explained how the “greatness of the British nation [was] based upon games which they practised in their childhood” adding that “there was no game that was able to bring out the
good parts of men so well as the noble game of cricket." Logan’s persona as the benefactor of the ‘noble game’ had again been enhanced.

**1896 and Beyond**

Gilbert Jessop referred to cricket in the 1890s as the “most interesting period of his career”, an era when “giants of the past interlapped [sic] with great players of the future, and altogether [it] was a blissful time.” Representing cricket’s so-called ‘golden age’ this decade also witnessed a period of sustained success for James Logan who was, by now, intimately connected with the game in South Africa. “He has his hands full for some time to come, yet he retains his colour and – candour”, the *South African Empire* wrote of Logan in 1896:

> He has the English cricketing team in hand, together with his growing wholesale business, and is contemplating the erection of a leviathan sanatorium in place of the overcrowded one at Matjesfontein. He shortly enters upon his newly-gained contract for railway refreshments, station advertising, and bookstalls, and these alone should be sufficient to considerably allay his natural exuberance. He will not have much time for sitting down except in Parliament.

Later that year George Lohmann would return to England for one last season in county cricket. Having regained his form during Lord Hawke’s tour, Lohmann was also selected by England to face the Australians at Lord’s before an acrimonious dispute ended his long association with the Surrey Club. Seldom returning to England, his final few years were to be spent with James Logan in South Africa. The Laird’s reputation as ‘cricket’s altruist’ had been established. Writing in 1923, the Somerset amateur, S.M.J. Woods, a stalwart of Hawke’s team, recalled how “Mr. Logan looked after us splendidly during our trip, and as all the profits went to our dear friend George Lohmann who was suffering from weak lungs … we all returned thoroughly happy and delighted with our tour.”

With Lohmann’s departure, it wasn’t long before Logan secured another famous cricketer for Matjesfontein. John Edward Shilton had been a mainstay of the Warwickshire County Club since its formation in 1885, and arrived in Cape Town in April 1896 seeking a cure for his asthma. Paid an allowance by his County, it was planned that Shilton would be hosted by James Logan at Matjesfontein for a period of twelve months before returning to England to resume his playing career. Appearing regularly in the Birmingham press, it was an association that would, at first, bring positive publicity for Logan. Within his regular column for the Midland daily, *The Grasshopper*, Shilton explained how George Lohmann looked “the picture of health, thanks to Mr. Logan and the beautiful air of Matjesfontein.” It was during
Logan’s annual trip back to Britain however that things started to go wrong for the Warwickshire professional. Without the support of Logan and the backing that was available to Lohmann, Shilton soon found himself in financial difficulty and in November 1896 was charged with fraud after obtaining goods using counterfeit cheques. After pleading guilty, the cricketer was sentenced to twelve months’ imprisonment with hard labour. This was not the publicity Logan was seeking.

Charged with his care, Logan, using his network of contacts, campaigned for the release of Shilton on the grounds of ill health, which was granted in August 1897. The *Birmingham Gazette* commended Logan’s involvement in the case:

> Shilton, the ex-Warwickshire cricketer has been released from prison in Cape Colony … While in prison his health broke down, and the Government, acting on medical advice, granted him a free pardon, in accordance with which he was recently liberated. We understand that the representations which decided the action of the authorities in releasing him were chiefly due to the efforts on his behalf of Mr. J. D. Logan, the well-known South African patron of cricket.

Whilst demonstrating his influence, the case also brought empathy for Logan who had by now established a reputation as a generous supporter of worthy causes. It was a profile he nurtured. For as well as funding a school and other amenities at Matjesfontein, Logan was now involved in many of the community projects within his Worcester constituency. His name was linked to sports clubs throughout the colony and he was elected vice-president of Worcester’s football and cycling clubs amongst others. After spending £800 on the cricket ground at Matjesfontein, Logan donated 50 guineas and land to the “sporting communities” of both Worcester and Touws River for the establishment of their own grounds. There was also continued support for local cricket. At Cape Town Cricket Club’s annual dinner in 1896 Logan, accompanied by George Lohmann and Sir James Sivewright, presented at his own expense a Challenge Cup and gold medals to individual members of the team. As one of a series of gestures at this time to extricate themselves from links to the Jameson Raid, Sivewright, a close political ally of Logan, remarked “that although a great deal had been said and written lately about his relations with a neighbouring State [the Transvaal] … he had never been guilty of an action which would be considered unsportsmanlike on the cricket field.

Logan also hoped his association with sport could dissuade distracters from focussing on his commercial and political affairs. Throughout this period he joined both Sivewright and Rhodes on numerous charitable boards throughout the colony. Logan’s philanthropy included
donations to the Seaman’s Institute; the Sailor and Soldier’s Club as well as a variety of cultural societies across the various communities. Highly publicised, news of Logan’s benevolence even reached his native Scotland where many of the journals kept pace with news of their famous compatriot. “The Laird of Matyesfontein [sic] next to Cecil Rhodes, is the most active man in the Cape”, declared Glasgow’s *Evening Citizen* in 1893, while four years on the City’s *Herald* newspaper wrote of Logan: “He is now one of the wealthiest men in the country … and one of the most enterprising of colonists.” Described as a “local celebrity” by the *Berwickshire News*, Logan was eulogised during an interview with the journal in September 1898:

> It may be an interesting and by no means a trying occasion to interview a man who has been born great or who has had greatness thrust upon him, but it is more so in the case of one, to complete the Shakespearian triole, who has achieved greatness. James D. Logan is one of this class. His life so far reads like a romance – a page of “self Help” if you will…It does one good to discover a Logan, and that a Berwickshire man, in the category of Empire builders across the sea.

The *Berwickshire News* in fact carried regular features on Logan throughout the decade, often highlighting the contributions he made to his native community back in Reston. Regular donations were made to his old school in the town and a solid silver cup was presented to the local Volunteer Rifles. There was even sponsorship of the “South African Steeplechase” at Berwick’s race course during his annual visit in the summer of 1897. “Mr. Logan’s successful career is another example of the multitude of cases of the perseverance of the ‘canny Scot’ rewarded”, exclaimed Reston’s vicar after visiting Matjesfontein. Logan was as famous in the Borders of Scotland as he was in the Cape.

By 1898, Logan’s commercial and political acumen had brought its rewards. According to the *Port Elizabeth Advertiser* Logan was “worth over half-a-million sterling” in 1896. This was a conservative estimate. Two years later, the *Berwickshire News* was proclaiming how the Scot was “now a millionaire, and the owner of a small kingdom - 100,000 acres of some of the best land in the fertile Karoo.” Despite speculation that Logan had profited from shares in the gold and diamond businesses of the north, the ‘friendly’ press chose instead to focus on the constant stream of positive publicity that emanated from Logan and his base at Matjesfontein. The importance of the press to Logan is evidenced in March 1898 when, following a deal with the previous owner, F. Lindenberg, he took control of his own newspaper, *The Worcester Standard*. This ensured that not only were the local electorate
kept informed of his achievements within the community, but that he also had an outlet through which he could promote his continued involvement in the game of cricket.

The Return of Hawke

1897 saw the victorious Western Province team being entertained again at Matjesfontein following their victory in that season’s Currie Cup. For the South African Review, “the Laird’s hospitality on such occasions doesn’t count as anything extra. He has spoilt everybody to such an extent that a good old high junketing at his place is now like an inseparable part of a stereotyped programme.” If Logan’s patronage was taken for granted he was not concerned for his ambitions now lay in achieving the ultimate accolade for South African cricket. Not only was Logan planning the return of Lord Hawke to South Africa, but he was also planning the first-ever visit to the country of the doyen of imperial cricket, W.G. Grace. The South African Review sent him the following message: “Mr. J.D. Logan. If you get Lord Hawke and “W.G.” at Matjesfontein your cup of happiness will be full to the brim”.

However, as speculation began to mount about his latest project, Logan again chose not to ‘publicly’ declare his interest. It was all now part of a familiar ploy that was beginning to irritate even his most ardent supporters: “It is really difficult to understand the g.g.’s [generous guarantor’s] objection to having his name made known”, wrote the sports correspondent of the South African Review:

Rightly or wrongly, everyone says it’s J.D. Logan, Laird of Matjesfontein, etc., etc. I am of the same mind. If it is not Mr. Logan then he is getting the credit which g.g., whoever he may be, is entitled to. That is not satisfactory; so let’s have the name officially proclaimed and this theatrical modesty thrown overboard.

Logan’s ‘theatrical modesty’ was of course intentional and designed to avoid accusations of bribery in upcoming legislative council elections. Again his patronage of a high profile tour was timed perfectly to coincide with political ambitions of securing another term in the Cape Assembly. Although the possibility of W.G. touring South Africa was eventually dismissed, the early plans had created sufficient publicity for Logan and his latest cricketing project. The announcement of “an English cricket team for South Africa” was enthusiastically placed by the Cape Argus on 25 January 1898:

The decision of the Western Province Cricket Union to accept the splendid offer by an unknown gentleman to bring out a first-class cricket team for the season
1898-9 will meet with the approval of every lover of the national game. Of course the matter is not definitely settled and it has yet to receive the approval of the South African Cricket Union, but there is no reason to apprehend that there will be any difficulty and the proposal is such a generous and sportsmanlike nature that it defies refusal. The name of the gentleman who made the offer is not yet public property, but it was made known in committee last night, and evidently gave every satisfaction, for all opposition to the proposal was immediately dropped, and a vote of thanks was conveyed to the gentleman concerned.

The South African Cricket Association was now willing to allow Logan, as guarantor, full responsibility for the financial aspects of the tour while the Western Province Union were again charged with organising playing arrangements. At their meeting in Cape Town on 6 April 1898 Maynard Nash, the Western Province representative, reported on behalf of Logan, “that the terms required from the different centres were identical with those given to Lord Hawke’s team in 1895/6” and that “guarantees would be required from some of the smaller towns.” After accepting Logan’s offer, G. Allsop as Honorary Secretary was instructed to send Logan a letter conveying the “hearty thanks of the Association.”

By August, arrangements for the tour were well under way and Allsop was able at last to make public Logan’s involvement:

An offer has been received from that very good sportsman, Mr. J.D. Logan, of Matjesfontein, to bring out an English cricket team during the coming season, he guaranteeing all expenses, provided only that such terms are granted him by the different centres as were given to Lord Hawke’s team in 1895-96, and any profits made on the tour accrue to the Association. At a meeting held at Capetown during the [Currie Cup] tournament it was decided to accept this generous offer and to leave the arrangements of the tour with the Western Province Cricket Union, that body being more in touch with Mr. Logan than the Association.

Logan had ensured that the Association be relieved of any financial and organisational responsibility yet were entitled to profits made by the tour. It was, of course, an offer impossible to refuse. Logan had succeeded in buying influence within the game’s hierarchy and was now established as South African cricket’s principal benefactor. George Lohmann, who was still in South Africa having returned from a spell coaching in Johannesburg, would again be involved as tour manager and provide Logan the publicity he was seeking. Only factors beyond his control it seems could affect the grand plan.
A month after announcing the tour, however, the venture was again in doubt. In September 1898, the South African press raised concerns that a team of “English tourist cricketers” was still in North America. “As this will necessitate a couple of months’ journeying, it is rather too much to expect them to follow up with a visit here”, lamented one journal. \(301\) Logan, who was summering in Britain, was aware of the implications of sending a weakened team to South Africa and it appeared that his efforts to raise a worthwhile squad of players had been in vain. In October he wrote to the Johannesburg Star from his base in London:

> I am very much afraid that it will be utterly impossible for me to bring out a team this season. Of course I could bring one out, but I fear it would be one not acceptable to the cricketers of South Africa, and I think it will be better not to have one at all than one which would not come up to our expectations. I am going to have another interview with Lord Hawke and there might still be some small hope of my raising a team, but I am afraid the chances of my doing so are very remote. Dr Grace will not entertain the idea of going out, as he says he is getting too old for touring about. \(302\)

In the event, pessimism was unfounded. Despite failing to persuade W.G., Logan convinced Hawke that the tour was still viable and a suitable team was hastily assembled to arrive in Cape Town aboard the Scot on 20 December 1898. The tourists, “a good mix of socially acceptable amateur ‘gentlemen’ and professional ‘players’” were, according to Knowles, “the equivalent of a good county side.”\(^{303}\) Hawke’s influence on the team was again evident with the selection of his young protégé, Pelham ‘Plum’ Warner, and Middlesex’s Hugh Bromley-Davenport, who had both toured with Hawke before. Frank Milligan and Schofield Haigh were Yorkshire favourites while C.E.M. Wilson, another Yorkshireman, and A.G. Archer, were close friends of Hawke. \(304\)

On the field, the South Africans gave a better account of themselves than they had three years previously. Both Test matches were lost, but by narrower margins. However, as the next chapter shows, politics would ensure that the significance of this tour and the next three years lay beyond cricket. While the 1890s had been significant for James Logan, the Jameson raid and the perceived spread of British Imperialism had heightened tensions between Afrikaners and English colonists throughout this period and Hawke’s team again arrived amidst political turmoil within South Africa. The Anglo Boer war was imminent. The significance of this for James Logan, for cricket, and for South Africa is discussed next.
For an overview of class and sport during this period see R. Holt, *Sport and the British*. 1989. “His was not a temperament that could tolerate a humdrum existence” was how Logan’s desire to leave Britain was described in the 1902 *Prominent Men of Cape Colony*. The Lakeside Press. *The Prominent Men of Cape Colony South Africa*, 1902, p.35.


See J.D. Logan, Certificate of Discharge, No. 84. Major John Buist / Logan Family Collection, Matjiesfontein.

*Cape Argus*, ‘Shipping Movements’ 3 & 5 May 1877.

Ibid.

J.D. Logan, Certificate of Discharge, Dis. 1. No. 84. Major John Buist / Logan Family Collection, Matjiesfontein (see Figure 14). On the back of the certificate Logan was rated as “very good” under ‘character for ability in whatever capacity engaged’ and ‘character for conduct’. As one of the many legends that have been propagated, it had been suggested by a contemporary source that Logan took “French Leave” from the ship. See The Transvaal Publishing Company, *Men of the Times*, 1906, p.499.


The Cape Government purchased the railway for £773,000. The original track was of the European standard 4ft. 8.5 inch gauge but before long the government decided that extensions would be too costly. So the 3ft. 6 inch ‘Cape Gauge’ was adopted. See L.G. Green, *Karoo*, 1955, p.49.


With the arrival of the railways a small town began to grow up around the station and in 1883 the name was changed from Montagu Road to Touws River.


Significantly for Logan’s political aspirations, the Hotel, situated in Strand Street, was popular with members of the Cape Legislative Assembly. See R.N. Toms, *Logan’s Way*, 1997, p. 6.


Blue Book, A11, 1888, p.261


Blue Book, A3, 1893: Logan Contract, p.59. Logan hired Frere’s Hotel from the Railway at an initial cost of £300 per annum. However, in February 1883, The Railway reserved the use of the hotel’s dining room and six bedrooms resulting in Logan’s rent being reduced to £150. See Blue Book, A3, 1893: Logan Contract, p.65.


‘Matjiesfontein’ was the original spelling at the time of James Logan. See Endnote 91.


James Logan’s legacy is reflected in Touws River today with the names of Logan Street and the Loganda Hotel, which was in due course, to replace the old Frere Hotel.


Blue Book, A11, 1888, Railways 1884-1890, p.3.

See, for example, *Cape Argus*, 9 March 1898 and *Wynberg Times*, 27 August 1898.

For details of the extensive correspondence between Logan and the Commissioner of Crown Lands as well as the support Logan received from Sir Thomas Upington and Colonel Schermbrucker see *Cape Argus*, 22 June 1893.


See *Cape Hansard*, 1888, pp. 282-283; 343-344.


Logan had secured the freehold of Boelhoven at a cost of only £36 per year. Blue Book, A11, 1888, Railways 1884-1890, No. 1833, Surveyor-General-Commissioners Office, 12 July 1888, p.15.

This is discussed in Chapter 7, pp. 270-284.


Louw had secured the first refreshment contract at Matjiesfontein in 1882. In 1877 Louw, had along with his colleague Mr. Couton, rented another refreshment room at Wellington. It was one of only two in existence in the Cape at that time (the other being at Klapyunts under the stewardship of a Mr. J. Ward). See Blue Book, A3, 1893: Logan Contract, p.59.


From 1 May 1885 all passenger trains on the South African Railways network were fitted with kitchens so that passengers could be served refreshments on the trains themselves. This development did not oust the catering stations completely, but their competition was sorely felt. Consequently the railways administration decided to reduce the rentals for selected catering stops. After 1 May 1885 Logan paid £75 instead of £150 per annum for his Touws River enterprise (both the Frere Hotel and the Station), while at Matjesfontein the rental for his catering facility was reduced from £75 to £37 per annum. Blue Book, A3, 1893: Logan Contract, p.59.


Ibid. In January 1893, there were 175 railway stations in the Cape Colony of which 45 were provided with catering facilities.


See, for example, ‘Holiday and Health Resorts’ *The South African Review*, 5 January 1894 and ‘Matjesfontein described’ *Cape Times*, 25 May 1894.


Logan became part of a privileged band of colonists referred to in the press as the “South African swallows” because of their annual trip back “home” during British summertime. See *Cape Times*, 12 October 1898. A result of one of Logan’s visits to Berwickshire was ‘Karoo House’ - the home Logan built for his aged father. It still stands today in Reston High Street. Author’s own photographic collection and G.J.N.L. Home, *The History of Logan Family*, 1934, p.239.


After discovering water, Logan spared no expense in the development of Tweedside. This was a working farm but more importantly for Logan, it became a symbol of his own achievements in the area. From the road three luxury gates led to the house, which was built close to the mountainside and stood, set back, between tall pine trees. It was designed to make an impression on the visitor. J.D. Logan (jnr) interview, B.L.G. Swart, ‘The Logan Contract and its Influence on the Politics of the Cape Province’, 1952, p.4, The Transvaal Publishing Company, *Men of the Times*, 1906, p.499 and D.W. Krüger, *Dictionary of South African Biography*, 1972, p.411. See Figures 21 and 22.


Ibid.

C.O. 4289: Letters Received: Miscellaneous, 1886-1891, Logan – Colonial Secretary, 13 October 1888.


The following year Merriman became a vociferous critic of Logan and his associates during the contract debate. See Chapter 7.

J. Noble (ed.), *Illustrated Official Handbook of the Cape and South Africa*, 1893, p.223. John Noble was the Clerk of the House of Assembly for much of Logan’s political career.

C.B. Elliot concluded all of Logan’s contracts during this period except those for Kroonstad which A. Difford, the secretary, concluded on behalf of Elliot. See B.L.G. Swart, ‘The Logan Contract and its Influence on the Politics of the Cape Province’, 1952, p.27.


The Cape political system was rocked by news that Sir James Sivewright, in his position as Commissioner of Crown Lands and Public Works, had awarded Logan, his close friend, a lucrative government rail contract without calling for the appropriate tenders. This episode is explored in detail in Chapter 7.

*See The Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette*, 9 March 1894.

See B.L.G. Swart, ‘The Logan Contract and its Influence on the Politics of the Cape Province’, 1952, p.120. *Ons Land* (‘Our Land’) was the prominent Bond-backed Afrikaner journal of the period. Logan’s relationship with the Afrikaner Bond is explored in Chapter 7.

Government Gazette, 1 April 1898. It is interesting to note the continued Dutch support for Logan in this campaign. R.P. Malan of Porterville, an auctioneer and Bond member, in fact canvassed for votes for Logan during this election campaign.

*Cape Argus Weekly Edition*, 18 November, 1903.


Ibid.

There are even Karoos within the Great Karoo – Ceres Karoo, Tanqua Karoo, Bokkeveld Karoo, Roggeveld Karoo, the Gouph Karoo (under the Nuuwedel range) and the Mordenaar’s Karoo to the north of Matjesfontien. Ibid., pp.11-12.


Mr. W.G. Brounger, an engineer from England, was responsible for carrying the line on from Worcester into the Karoo. Appointed Cape Railway Engineer in 1873, it was Brounger’s field engineer, Mr Wells-Hood who reported: “After very considerable climbing about the Hex River Mountains, I have found a route that gives every facility for the construction of a cheap railway. No gradient is steeper than one in forty, and this only for a short distance. The most important work would be a tunnel of about ten chains in length which it would be impossible to avoid.” Cited in L.G. Green, *Karoo*, 1955, p.52.

Ibid., pp.51-53.

Ibid., pp.63-64.

Union of South Africa Department of Education Arts and Science, *Official Place Names in the Union and South West Africa*, 1951, p.215. In 1939, in keeping with the general change of Dutch names to Afrikaans, the authorities recommended that Matjesfontein be changed to ‘Matjiesfontein’ and it is by this spelling that the settlement is now known. See Union of South Africa, *Report of the Departmental Committee on the Form and Spelling of Geographical Proper Names*. The Government Printer, Pretoria, 1939, p.90. For clarity, the spelling used throughout this chapter is the previous spelling of ‘Matjesfontein’ to represent the village at Logan’s time.

These belonged to the engineer of No.3 district, his assistant and the local doctor. J. Nixon, *Among the Boers*, 1880, p.43.

Ibid., p.46.

Ibid., p.64.


*Cape Argus*, 20 November 1889; *Cape Times*, 24 November 1889.


Cited in Ibid.

Ibid., p.60.


Ibid., p.11.


Jimmy Logan attended Blair Lodge Academy at Polmont near Edinburgh.
The lack of public interest in the tour can be attributed to the lack of real competition.


Brockwell and Mills (later to be caught up in the 1894 selection controversy) of Surrey and Firkin of Worcestershire were in South Africa in 1889/90 and played for Kimberley against Natal in January 1890. *Cricket*, 27 February 1890.

For details about Major Warton’s tour see Chapter 4.


Ibid.


The historic 1891 rugby tour by W.E. Maclagan and his team was the first by a British side on South African soil. I.D. Difford, (ed.), *The History of South African Rugby Football 1875-1932*, 1933, p.15.


*Cape Argus*, 7 June 1893.

*Cape Argus*, 6 June 1893. Also present was a Mr. Bridgette who was responsible for financing the team. Even at this early stage, the group were waiting on £750 towards their “passage” which had not been paid in London.

*Cape Times*, 6 June 1893.

The lack of public interest in the tour can be attributed to the lack of real competition. *The Midland News and Karroo Farmer* wrote of the reaction of much of the press to the contests between the tourists and the local teams: “Some scathing criticisms have been penned on the match between the English team and twenty-two of the Colony. 109 At Logan’s prompting in 1898 Robertson took over the position of Justice of the Peace for Worcester. See *Berwickshire News*, 8 February 1898.


Typical of the kind of reporting, see *The South African Review*, 5 Jan 1894 ‘Holiday and Health Resorts’.

Significantly, Matjesfontein was featured within the *Union Line Gazette* – a periodical for sea travellers heading to South Africa. See *The Mediterranean*, 1 August 1894.


Lord Randolph Churchill (1849-94) may have visited Matjesfontein in 1891 on account of his deteriorating health. A staunch imperialist, he was Secretary of State for India, 1885-6 and Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader of the House of Commons in 1886. Prince Ali visited the village in March 1898. *South Africa*, 26 March 1898.


See Logan’s original plans of Matjesfontein in Figure 17. Major John Buist / Logan Family Collection, Matjesfontein.


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*Cape Argus*, 13 September 1893.


Ibid.


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The latter, in their two innings, only totalled 134, while four of the English team (two not out) made 201. The gate money on the last day amounted to thirty shillings – a striking proof of the public disgust.” 22 March 1892. Walter Read would also disappoint, his batting described as “far from pretty or graceful, in fact it might almost be termed slovenly.” *The Midland News and Karroo Farmer*, 8 January 1892.

In his evidence, Read also claims that Logan had said it was good idea for him to bring a team to England but “to keep it a secret and not to mention it to anyone in Cape Town.” Ibid.

Both men were held for 3 hours and the ship detained. Logan had sent his manager, Mr. Samuel Wright as ‘power of attorney’ to collect his loan. See Logan Letter to Read, 21 March 1892.

To secure release, a cheque was paid by the English team for £857 17s. 10d. £750 was the amount claimed, £100 security for costs, and £7 17s. 10d. for costs of the arrest. *Cape Argus*, 6 June 1893.

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**The Midland News and Karroo Farmer**, 8 January 1892.

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Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

While Bridgette cited ‘family reasons’ for his return home, W.V. Simkins in support of Logan claimed in court that the real reason was Bridgette’s failure to secure funding for the tour. See Ibid.

Ibid. The case was particularly hard on Ash, the weaker of the two men, and he resumed his acquaintance with Logan when the two met at Lord’s during May 1892.

*Cape Argus*, 7 June 1893; *Wynberg Times*, 10 June 1893.

*Diamond Field Advertiser*, 7 June 1893; *Cape Times*, 7 June 1893.

*The South African Sportsman*, 9 June 1893.

*The Cape Register*, 10 June 1893.

*The South African Sportsman*, 9 June 1893.

*Read, the Cape Times* alleged, had originally demanded £850 to appear on the tour. Murdoch, it was claimed, had been paid over £350 for his part. The average earnings of a professional on the tour came to little over £100. See *Cape Times*, 6, 7 & 10 June 1893. ‘Trebor’, writing in the *Wynberg Times*, is also critical of the inequalities between professional and amateur. See *Wynberg Times*, 10 June 1893.

*Cape Argus*, 7 June 1893.

*Cape Times*, 7 June 1893. In a letter to Mr. Bridgette dated 26 October 1891, Read had demanded £850 to captain the tour. Cited in *The South African Sportsman*, 9 June 1893. William Murdoch allegedly received £285 in addition to expenses for his part in the tour. *The South African Sportsman*, 4 August 1893.

Ibid.

*The Cape Times*, 7 June 1893.

The selection committee for players met at De Aar on 25 February 1894. William Milton was in the chair and had his way on virtually every issue including the non-selection of Mills and Hendricks and the postponement of naming a tour manager. See J. Winch, *England’s Youngest Captain*, 2003, p.266.

*Cape Times*, 6 March 1894. The claims were based on a telegram the *Cape Times* said Logan had sent Cadwallader, stating that he would withdraw his £500 unless the latter was made manager.

Cape Argus, 9 March, 1894.
Ibid. Also see Cape Argus, 14 March, 1894.
Cited in the Cape Argus, 9 March, 1894.
Cape Argus, 13 March 1894.
Ibid.
For example, see Johannesburg’s The Star, 14 March, 1894 and South African Review, 16 March 1894.
Cape Argus, 14 March, 1894.
South Africa, 4 August 1894.
Ibid.
Cape Times, 11 January 1894.
H. Hendricks letter to the Editor, Cape Times, 12 January 1894.
Standard and Diggers News, 14 February, 1894.
The Star, 16 January 1894.
Cape Times, 16 March 1894.
Standard and Diggers News, 2 March 1894.
Cricket Field, 31 March 1894.
The South African Review, 16 March 1894.
Ibid. For the 1894 tour, Western Province’s Herbert Castens was named as captain, and the colours of the Western Province Cricket Club were chosen for the team.
For an insight into Milton’s role in this episode see J. Winch, England’s Youngest Captain, 2003, pp. 259-273.
Cape Argus, 10 February 1894.
See Chapter 7.
A constitutional peculiarity had presented the Malays with an opportunity to ‘pool’ their votes to support one candidate, in this case Effendi. See J. Winch, England’s Youngest Captain, 2003, p.264.
Ibid.
Cape Times, 6 March 1894.
Quoted in The South African Review, 27 April 1894.
Cape Times, 18 July 1894.
South Africa, 4 August 1894.
Ibid.
Ibid.
For mention of Logan’s involvement in the planning of the tour during this visit to England see Country Life, 18 December 1895.
Quoted in Ibid.
S.H. Pardon, (ed.). John Wisden’s Cricketer’s Almanack for 1895, 1895, p.335.
Ibid.
Ibid.
Ibid.
See Cape Argus, 3 November 1894; Cricket, 29 November 1894.
Regular reports detailing Lohmann’s cricket in the Cape were featured in both the South African and British press. See, for example, Cape Argus, 21 October 1893; Sporting Life, 12 December 1893 and The Field, 21 April 1894.
Cape Argus, 3 November 1894.
Cape Times, 9 February 1895.
See Cricket, 6 June 1895.
Country Life, 18 December 1895.
Ibid.
Hawke first travelled with Vernon’s team to Australia in 1887-8 and a minor tour of India and Ceylon in 1888-9. He made no fewer than four tours in the 1890s after which he returned to Australia in 1902-3 and to Argentina in 1912-13 when he was 52 years old! D. Birley, Land of Sport and Glory. Sport and British Society, 1887-1910, 1995, pp.167-171.
Ibid., p.17.
Ibid., p.258.
Jackson was an M.P. for his Yorkshire constituency and later served the Empire as Governor of Bengal. See Ibid.

Hawke, together with Sir T.C. O’Brien and H.T. Hewett arrived separately a week later missing the first match of the tour – a defeat against Western Province. See Cricket, 30 January 1896.


The implications of this for the tour and Logan will be explained in detail in Chapter 7.


Hawke, together with Sir T.C. O’Brien and H.T. Hewett arrived separately a week later missing the first match of the tour – a defeat against Western Province. See Cricket, 30 January 1896.

C.B. Fry, Life Worth Living, 1939, p.128.


For a description of conditions during this time see Cape Argus 16 January 1896.


Cricket, 30 January 1896.


Cricket, 27 February 1896.


Cricket, 27 February 1896.


Cricket, 9 April 1896.

Cape Argus, 16 March 1896.

Cape Argus, 16 March 1896.

Birmingham Gazette, 4 August 1897. Interviewed later, Shilton would explain how he was once smuggled in and out of jail in Kimberley to play in an important cricket match with the De Beers Company. Cape Times, 18 October 1897.

Logan was a man of contradiction. Single minded and bullish, with a selfish determination to achieve his goals, he also liked to propagate the image of an altruist. Often appearing in the press for his contribution towards worthy causes, in private he welcomed the positive publicity this provided. Men of the Times, published in 1906, reported how; “Generous to a fault, Mr. Logan’s donations to charities and all sorts and conditions of objects amount to a small fortune every year, and it is only those who are intimately associated with him who realise the great amount of good he does in a very modest way.” p.500.

The School at Matjiesfontein was opened on 22 January 1896 at a cost of over £600 to Logan “without assistance, in a pecuniary sense, from the Department of Education.” Cape Times, 24 January 1896.

See Worcester Advertiser, 24 June 1893; The Western Standard Worcester, 31 March 1894. Also vice-president of Leander Swimming Club, Cape Town. Cape Times, 6 December 1897.

The Worcester Chronicle, 1 November 1893; Worcester Advertiser, 24 July 1897; Cape Times, 2 June 1897; 14 July 1897; 18 May 1898.

Cape Times, 15 May 1896.

Wyberg Times, 7 August 1897 and Cape Times, 7 October 1897. With an eye on prospective votes, Worcester’s Dutch Reformed Church and De Aar’s Musical society received financial assistance from Logan. The Worcester Standard, 11 April 1896; Cape Times 23 August 1897.

Glasgow Evening Citizen, 6 September 1893; Glasgow Herald, 2 October 1897. Other periodicals to feature news on Logan include the Berwick Journal, 18 August 1898; Berwick Advertiser, 26 August 1898; Lloyds, 28 August 1898 and The People, 28 August 1898.

Berwickshire News, 13 September 1898.

For example, see Berwickshire News, 1 September 1896; 25 May 1897; 12 April 1898.

Berwickshire News, 14 January 1896; 24 November 1896.

Berwickshire News, 3 August 1897.

Berwickshire News, 12 April 1898.

Port Elizabeth Advertiser, 29 April 1896.

Berwickshire News, 12 April 1898.

In particular, the Cape Argus and the South African Review were two of the ‘progressive’ publications that regularly wrote of Logan’s more ‘public’ achievements. Figure 26 shows Logan with other eminent ‘industrialists’ of the day alongside author Mark Twain (real name Samuel Langhorne Clemens) during the American’s visit to Cape Town in July 1896. More on how Logan made his money and its link to Cape politics will be discussed in Chapters 7 and 8.

The Worcester Standard, 5 March 1898; Cape Times, 9 March 1898.

Cape Argus 29 March 1897; Cape Times 30 March 1897; Friend of the Orange Free State, 30 March 1897.

South African Review, 9 April 1897.


Grace was now at the end of his playing career and chose instead to stay in England to prepare for the visit of the Australians in the summer of 1899 - his final Test series. See Logan’s comment The Star, 8 October 1898.


Ibid.


Friend of the Orange Free State, 10 October 1898.

The Star, 8 October 1898.


Figure 13. Reston Station, Berwickshire, Scotland, c.1870s

Figure 14. James Logan’s certificate of discharge, 23 May 1877
Figure 15. Cricket at Matjesfontein early 1890s

Figure 16. James Logan (second from right) family and friends, Tweedside Lodge, Matjesfontein, c.1885
Figure 17. Logan’s original plans for Matjesfontein Village (inc. cricket ground) c. 1884

Figure 18. The ‘Laird of Matjesfontein’ contemporary caricature
Figure 19. South African novelist Olive Schreiner – early resident of Matjesfontein

Figure 20. Olive Schreiner at Matjesfontein Station
Figure 21. Logan’s farm ‘Tweedside’ c.1886

Figure 22. The swimming pool at Tweedside
Figure 23. Match at Matjesfontein cricket ground early 1890s

Figure 24. The site as it is today
Figure 25. Logan with Lord Hawke’s first English cricket team to South Africa 1895-96
Figure 26. Logan with American author Mark Twain (seated middle second from right) and fellow ‘industrialists’ including Barney Barnato (seated fourth from right) and Abe Bailey (front right) on board RMS Norman prior to Twain’s departure 15 July 1896

Figure 27. The Logan versus Read and Ash court case – the newspaper verdict
Figure 28. Men of Matjesfontein. (Logan and Lohmann standing) c.1894

Figure 29. Logan the hunter c.1888
Figure 30. Matjesfontein artefacts 1. George Lohmann’s portrait and Surrey C.C.C. scarf

Figure 31. Matjesfontein artefacts 2. Bound cricket balls presented by Lord Hawke to James Logan to commemorate England’s matches at Matjesfontein during the 1890s.
Chapter 6

Matjesfontein, War and the 1901 Tour
Chapter 6 – Matjesfontein, War and the 1901 Tour

The life and times of James Logan perfectly exemplify the dialectical relationship between individual and society. Logan was a product of his times, influenced and limited by the institutional structures of power and constraint in late nineteenth century Britain and South Africa, and, at the same time he was, in many ways, a ‘master of his own destiny’, using the social systems and his connections to the ruling elites of both countries to his own advantage. His life confirms Raymond Williams’ rejection of a passive notion of social adaptation, arguing instead for the more active concept of ‘individuation’. While individuation acknowledges how the “self grows within a social process which radically influences it”, it also emphasises the ways in which “the individual can help change or modify the social process that has influenced and is influencing him.”

According to Williams, “individuals have varying innate potentialities, and thus receive social influence in varying ways … as the unique potentialities and the unique history interact, the very fact of the growth of self-consciousness produces a distinct organisation, capable both of self-scrutiny and self-direction. This ‘autonomous’ self grows within a social process which radically influences it.” Logan was both perceptive and dynamic, with the potential to shape his environment and work within a society which offered a multitude of opportunities to someone with his ambition. He epitomised the British ‘colonial spirit’ – exhibiting creativity, self-enterprise and entrepreneurship, whilst retaining a profound loyalty to Queen and Empire.

The previous chapter has shown that Logan’s influence during the latter part of the nineteenth century encompassed areas of politics, commerce and sport within South Africa’s colonial society. As this chapter reveals, the final year of the nineteenth century would also turn out to be a significant one for the fortunes of both James Logan and his adopted country. At Matjesfontein, 1899 was heralded with fireworks and the usual lavish New Year celebrations. Preparations were also under way for the visit of Lord Hawke and his English team. “I am sure that the ‘Laird’ felt very proud to see his people finishing up the old year so unitedly [sic] and so happily”, proclaimed the Cape Times. With his own empire thriving and a place within cricket’s establishment secured, everything, it seemed, was well in James Logan’s world.

However, the threat of unrest once again loomed menacingly over South Africa. The period of Logan’s prosperity and the tours of Lord Hawke had coincided with a sensitive and volatile period in South African society. The Afrikaners, once solitary and divided, were uniting in the
face of aggressive policies of imperialism. For many, the catalyst had been the damaging events of 1895. In August 1899, an article in *The Fortnightly Review* declared how “the Jameson Raid, and Mr Rhodes’ share in that mischievous and ill-starred scheme, has, beyond all doubt, greatly disturbed the minds of the back-country Dutch in all parts of South Africa. More than any other cause that Raid has served to re-unite Dutch Afrikander sympathies.” As this chapter shows, the impending conflict would not only affect cricket in South Africa, it would also impinge on James Logan’s plans of expansion and ultimately mark the end of his ‘golden era’ as South African cricket’s foremost benefactor.

Like many places, Matjesfontein was drawn directly into the conflict. Loyal to the Crown yet ever resourceful, Logan viewed the war as further opportunity for self-advancement and set about transforming his village into a prominent centre for the British forces. By offering his facilities, not only was he securing his property in a predominantly Dutch district, but his overt support for the war effort would also provide his ‘empire’ with continued publicity both in South Africa and overseas. This chapter highlights, for the first time, the importance of Matjesfontein to the imperial war effort and how Logan’s involvement in the campaign would ultimately mark a turning point in his personal fortune.

With South Africa now established as part of cricket’s imperial ‘brotherhood’, Logan’s intended tour to England during 1900, the second by a South African team, was also cancelled as a result of the continued hostilities. Underestimating the Boers and believing that the conflict would soon be won, the English cricket authorities requested that the tour be undertaken instead during 1901. Of course the war dragged on but Logan did take his team, leaving Cape Town on what was to prove a testing, if somewhat ground-breaking tour. Finally, this chapter investigates the background to the 1901 tour, the controversy it created, and the development of South African cricket during this time of war.

**Hawke and Rhodesia**

Since his last troubled visit to South Africa in 1895, Lord Hawke had toured the West Indies and spent just one winter at home, so it was testimony to the influence of James Logan that he had managed to persuade the obstinate Yorkshireman to bring out another team to the Cape. Continued expansion in the gold and diamond fields to the north had brought many changes since Hawke’s last tour. The railway line had been extended from Kimberley to Bulawayo in 1897 and two matches were to be played during this tour for the first time in Rhodesia. With players such as Jimmy Sinclair emerging, South African cricket had also shown a remarkable
improvement since the previous tour. However, South Africa’s political situation would again cast its shadow upon the tour. Cecil Rhodes had resigned as Prime Minister of the Cape Colony as a result of the Jameson Raid, but was again involved in Cape politics. Lord Alfred Milner, Governor and High Commissioner of the Cape Colony, was in London to discuss the Transvaal problem with the Colonial Secretary Joseph Chamberlain. The Anglo-Boer War was imminent.

At the turn of the twentieth century, the concept of English cricketers touring South Africa was still in its infancy. The country was regarded as primitive to many in Britain, and in most aspects not as developed as other colonies in the Southern Hemisphere. Ten years after Warton’s first tour to the region, W.G. Grace still regarded Hawke’s latest visit to South Africa as “a rash experiment.” It is true that the tour was beset with a number of difficulties from the outset. The political climate and insinuations about the status of his amateurs again overshadowed the arrival of Hawke and his team in Cape Town. “There was a good deal of unpleasantness in connection with the tour”, Hawke would later recall as he set out defending the financial arrangements behind the visit: “All the amateurs simply had their hotel and travelling free and paid for their own drinks and washing”, he felt compelled to declare. It became a matter of honour for Hawke and accusations of ‘shamateurism’ were stiffly refuted: “otherwise there would have been the impression that we were a commercial movement, a thing against which I have invariably set my face in all my tours, and which I have never allowed.”

On the field, the Englishmen again found it difficult to adapt to the matting wickets and the tour got off to an inauspicious start with a close fought victory against a Western Province XIII at Newlands. Under Logan’s direction, George Lohmann had been appointed manager for the team, yet South African cricket was at the time itself in organisational chaos. The Eastern Province Cricket Union had asked for nominations for the first Test scheduled for Port Elizabeth on 14, 15 and 16 January 1899. Transvaal however had declined to make any nominations on the grounds that the team should be selected not by the host union but by a committee representative of all of the unions. Whilst not disagreeing, the Eastern Province administration pleaded that pressure of time left them no alternative and that the fixture should proceed as planned. Added to the difficulties, the Western Province claimed that they were only informed of the arrangements a month earlier and would find it difficult to sanction a Test match at such short notice. In the event, with the lack of communication between the various centres, time ran out and the Test match did not take place, a hastily arranged match against a
Cape Colony side being played instead. The *Cape Argus* made no secret of its views on the whole episode:

The collapse of the first test match at Port Elizabeth is another evidence of the chaos among the different centres of South Africa. These continual bickerings and ‘developments’ can do no good to the sport, or those responsible for their origin. The slinging about of all sorts of insinuations, the application of boycotting, and the jealousness of some centres as against the others, are all things that leave a bad taste in the mouth … [In England] every one did his best loyally to support the national team as picked … Lord Hawke may well wonder what sort of sportsmen our cricketing world is composed of … In the meantime the tour will go on, and a succession of victories will give the impression in England that we are in a worse condition than ever, whereas with a little sacrifice of personal feeling a united front might have been shown to our visitors and something achieved worth recording in our cricket history. A more sorry and deplorable washing of dirty linen in public has certainly not been seen hitherto, and for our credit’s sake let an appeal be made urgently to sink all differences and remember the cricketing honour of South Africa is at stake.

From a performance perspective, South Africa’s ‘cricketing honour’ was retained as the English were struck by the all-round improvement in play. After completing their commitments in the Eastern Cape the tour party headed north where despite rising tensions, a Test match was again staged in Johannesburg on the 14, 15 and 16 February 1899. Murray Bisset, who would later captain Logan’s 1901 team to England, led the South Africans to a useful lead of 106 in the first innings. With the tourists on 173 for seven in their second innings, South Africa seemed certain to win their first-ever Test match. However, an unbeaten 132 from Pelham Warner on his debut and some masterful bowling from Middlesex’s Australian professional, Albert Trott, ensured that England clinched the match by just 32 runs. This was the closest Test match result to date between the two countries and for his efforts Warner was rewarded by an appreciative Hawke with the gift of a gold signet ring.

Insensitive to the scale of the political divisions that existed at the time (which will be explained later in the chapter), Hawke again invited President Kruger to the match against a Transvaal XV at Pretoria. Not wishing to be associated with the English and having little care for cricket, Kruger again declined the invitation. Following their spell in the Boer heartland, the squad then headed to Kimberley to play a match against Griqualand West on 20 and 21 February. Here they were met by James Logan who would join them on the long and historic journey north to Rhodesia. This was in essence ‘his’ team and with aspirations of extending his business empire to the north, he was not going to let this opportunity pass. Only months earlier when asked about Rhodesia, Logan was on record as saying he had “no doubt as to its future as
a great country, and an agricultural field of great value and importance … As a colonist, I believe in Rhodesia.”

Having carved its way through the wilds of Bechuanaland, the line from Kimberley had only been completed two years earlier. The journey nevertheless took a staggering 55 hours with Logan and the team leaving Kimberley at 9am on Friday and arriving in Bulawayo at 4pm on Sunday. While Rhodesia was developing at a steady rate, at the turn of the century it remained very much a small frontier post. The fact that cricket prospered was due primarily to the small band of imported players from British enclaves who came to work in the new territory. In 1899, the total European population for the Colony was estimated at between 8,000 and 10,000 and this was scattered across the various settlements. Salisbury’s population had not yet reached 1,000. “It seemed remarkable”, observed Winch, “that less than nine years after the hoisting of the Union Jack in Fort Salisbury, Rhodesia should be hosting Lord Hawke’s M.C.C. team.” Remarkable perhaps, but also typical of the relationship that existed between cricket and Britain’s imperial expansion. As Chapter 4 has shown, cricket had become part of the cultural spread of the empire within Southern Africa and now its influence had reached Rhodesia. “[Hawke] has materially assisted in extending the area of the cricket-playing world”, declared W.G. Grace in 1899. Rhodesia’s time had come.

Colonial sport, and cricket in particular, flourished in Rhodesia as an identity was sought amongst the colonial population. Marking a significant step in the recognition and development of the Colony, a representative Rhodesian team effectively began with the visit of Hawke and his English team during March 1899. Sixteen years later, Leo G. Robinson recalled the “keen anticipation” amongst the population and how cricket was given a timely boost by the visit of the tourists. Two matches were played in Bulawayo – the first involving a Bulawayo XVIII and the second, one day later, a ‘Rhodesia XV’ comprising, for the first time, the pick of playing talent from across the colony. The tour, as Winch testifies, “aroused tremendous interest and, through local endeavour, £500 was raised in order to guarantee the fixtures. In addition, the local Chamber of Commerce declared two public holidays in order to provide every facility for the public to support the games.” Mining magnate Abe Bailey, whose business interests had extended north, had also joined Logan in Bulawayo to offer his financial support to this important section of the tour.

As with South Africa, these early tours were as much (if not more) about imperial propaganda as they were about cricket. Alongside the matches, there were public appearances, political
outings and meetings with local dignitaries. On the last evening of the match in Bulawayo both teams sat down to a sumptuous ten-course meal where the usual pleasantries were exchanged.\textsuperscript{27} It was the duty of the tourists to spread the word of ‘England and Empire’ wherever they travelled. Lord Hawke recognised this and knew the calibre of man he required to perform this duty in Africa. As a result, both his South African tours in the 1890s included a higher proportion of ‘amateurs’ than professionals. This was deliberate. Africa remained a frontier, relatively undeveloped and prime for Britain’s imperial influence. If cricket tours were one way of instilling a favourable imperial impression then Hawke preferred to entrust this role to men of suitable ‘breeding’. Like him, they must have an appreciation of what touring entailed and show an interest in local matters. They were, after all, ambassadors for England.

Winch reveals how the \textit{Bulawayo Chronicle} found Hawke a “fascinating man to talk to because he was interested in such a wide range of subjects” and how “much of the interview was taken up with the prospects of Rhodesia and the character of its gold formations.”\textsuperscript{28} If talk was of business and personal opportunity then this did not extend to all members of the touring party. Revealingly, Hawke had told the press, “Yes, I like the country but I am afraid the professionals will find it rather dull.”\textsuperscript{29} This was typical of the amateur’s patronising view of the professional on tour, and the division between the two groups was one aspect of the English game that was vigorously endorsed by the early tourists to Africa. In Bulawayo, for example, Logan, Hawke and the gentlemen ‘amateurs’ stayed at the Grand Hotel whilst the players were housed at the less salubrious Palace Hotel. The distinction did not end at domestic arrangements. On their rest day the amateurs, mindful of their diplomatic obligations, were invited to Cecil Rhodes’ new estate at Sauerdale, whilst the professionals were entertained to a luncheon at the Umgusa Hotel.\textsuperscript{30} Were the professionals not suitable for ambassadorial roles or did their payment for playing cricket exempt them from such duties? The answer has more to do with class and power hierarchies than those making these decisions were ever likely to admit.

The Logan Cup
James Logan revelled in his association with Hawke and the English team and his reputation had by now reached Rhodesia. Described by G.H. Tanser in his early history of Salisbury as “one of the most liberal patrons of South African cricket”\textsuperscript{31}, Logan’s self-appointed role as host and advisor to each of Hawke’s touring sides had transformed the ‘Laird’ into a well-known figure throughout colonial Southern Africa. It was of course important for Logan and his
business interests that he was seen in Rhodesia at a time when sporting history was being made in the new territory.

Prior to the tourist’s arrival, heavy rains had caused havoc on the primitive roads and the link between Bulawayo and Salisbury was becoming increasingly treacherous. By March the Zeederberg coaches were being bogged down or held up at rivers and were taking ten to twelve days, instead of the usual four, to make the trip. Because of this five Salisbury cricketers – Henry Taberer, Eric Sharpe, Colin Duff, R.B. Beatson and G. Finch – had allowed themselves a fortnight to make the journey to play against Hawke’s team. The flooded Hunyani River, however, stood in their way. The exploits of these players to make the game has now gone down in cricketing folklore. Tanser provides a colourful description of events in his book *A Scantling of Time*:

> The only way for the men to cross was by establishing communications with the other side, for the wire rope which carried a skip had been broken. Taberer, who it was said could throw a cricket ball a hundred yards while standing in a barrel, overcame the difficulty by hurling a ball, to which a cord had been nailed, across the river. Then a stronger cord was passed over, then a rope and finally a wire-rope to which a skip could be attached. Each player, with his cricket gear, then pulled himself across. When the coach attempted the passage the mules were washed down away from the drift, and the driver had to struggle to get them to the bank. Wet and miserable, the cricketers had to wait until the Bulawayo coach arrived, when it was turned round and set off on the return journey. At Enkeldoorn, the coach became so deeply bogged that three spans, thirty-six oxen, were needed to pull it out. During much of the journey the players had to remain alert, ready to jump out and put their shoulders to the wheel to help the straining animals to keep the coach moving.32

The five men eventually arrived in Bulawayo on the morning of the match, shortly before play started. It is popularly thought that James Logan was so impressed by their determination that he at once asked Lord Hawke to purchase a cup on his return to England for inter-town competition. In due course an impressive silver trophy arrived and, known as the Logan Cup, became an important feature of Rhodesian cricket. The trophy is shown in Figure 36.

Logan had seen others (such as Sir Donald Currie) donate trophies to the game in South Africa and recognised the positive publicity this brought. At two feet six inches in height and made of solid silver, the cup carried the following inscription: “Presented by the Hon. J.D. Logan, M.L.C.,33 to the Rhodesian Cricket Association in commemoration of the first visit of an English team of Lord Hawkes’, March 1899.” The gesture was quickly being reported throughout South Africa with the *Kaffirararian Watchman* and Cape Town’s *Times and Argus*...
carrying the story.34 The Midland News was keen to proclaim the “handsome presentation of a challenge cup for competition in Rhodesia”35, and little time was wasted in delivering the cup to the new territory. Costing Logan one hundred guineas, the trophy was received by the Rhodesian Cricket Association in the weeks prior to the outbreak of the Anglo-Boer War.

Through the presentation of the trophy and his association with Hawke, Logan’s name became known throughout Rhodesia – a strategy designed to boost his commercial interests in the region. By the end of 1899 Logan was recognised as cricket’s main benefactor as well as an important ally to England’s imperial strategy in Africa, and with his own version of the Currie Cup now established, he could bask in the good fortune that his association with the game had brought.36 Significantly, within two months of his visit to Rhodesia, Logan had secured the contract for railway refreshments right through to Bulawayo, as the link between commerce and cricket was again reaffirmed.37

Logan’s Cup remained in Bulawayo for four years until the first contest, postponed by the war, was held in 1904. Cricket flourished in Rhodesia in the post-war period and the first official Logan Cup match was a semi-final between the home side, Bulawayo, and a visiting Salisbury team.38 The Cup had provided Rhodesian cricket with its own distinctive award and provided much-needed competition between the various centres.39 As ever, Logan’s timing was opportune. The following season, the Rhodesians were celebrating their inclusion in first-class competition in South Africa with an appearance in Johannesburg at that year’s Currie Cup tournament. An automatic entry was created at the semi-final stage as the new territory was accepted into the imperial cricketing fold.40

Following their sojourn in Rhodesia, Hawke’s team headed back to South Africa. A match had been arranged in Mafeking but the locals had been unable to raise a side, so yet another match was quickly arranged in Kimberley against Griqualand West on 11 and 12 March 1899. This time the Kimberley side gave the visitors the toughest challenge of the tour when the Englishmen found themselves reduced to 54 for nine before a last wicket partnership of 72 brought the score to 126. Brilliant hitting by A.W. Powell enabled Griqualand to reach 200, despite the Yorkshire professional Schofield Haigh recording figures of nine for 44. Only a thunderstorm that ended the match prematurely could save Hawke and his team from an embarrassing defeat.41
In the meantime James Logan had returned to Matjesfontein in preparation for the arrival of the English team for their customary stay at the village. More drama was to befall the team on their journey between Kimberley and Matjesfontein as a brake failure caused the train in which they were travelling to collide with another engine. Windows were smashed and the party was badly shaken. Despite some minor injuries to Trott and Milligan, the team were able to take the field against James Logan and his team of twenty-three at Matjesfontein on 17 March 1899.

The fixture again offered Logan the chance to entertain Hawke and his team in lavish style as Matjesfontein was once more the focus of imperial cricket. Eminent South African cricketers were invited by Logan to appear for his Matjesfontein team while his friends and business colleagues included the affable Colonel Schermbrucker who had become an ‘ever-present’ at these cricket gatherings (the party can be seen in Figure 33 gathered on the steps of Tweedside Lodge). Reinforced on the field by Jimmy Sinclair and Murray Bisset, Logan’s team gave a good account of itself making 242 in the first innings with Logan himself contributing 18 not out. Played in a convivial atmosphere, “good chance play was the order of the day”, declared one contemporary report, as Logan’s side went on to secure an unlikely 46 run victory. “A scratch game … being played in a most lax way”, was how Wisden’s reported the fixture. Gerald Pawle, writing in The Cricketer also suggests the fact that Albert Trott finished with 7 for 69 in such a total indicates that Lord Hawke, out of deference to his host and sponsor, must have taken his most successful bowler off for quite a long spell to allow for a period of ‘good chance play’. Logan however was not complaining and with victory assured for Matjesfontein against the English, it further added legend to the ‘Laird’ and cricket in his town.

Two further matches were played at Cape Town before the English team’s departure in April 1899. A Cape Colony side were outclassed by the bowling of Haigh and Trott before the second Test was played at the Newlands ground on 1, 3 and 4 April. Again there was some internal criticism of the team picked to represent South Africa, with a strong contingent coming from the Western Cape as well as the selection of Halliwell and Price who were both wicket-keepers. Murray Bisset, who had appeared for Logan at Matjesfontein, was chosen to captain the team and there was sensation when, having been 60 for one, England were dismissed for only 92 in their first innings. Jimmy Sinclair, another of Logan’s stars, took six for 26 and J. Middleton four for 18 as nine wickets fell for 32 runs. Sinclair then followed up his performance with a century, becoming the first South African to take five wickets and score a hundred in a Test match.
South Africa’s total of 177 gave them a lead of 85 and in unprecedented scenes the Cape Town crowd grew to 7,000 anticipating an historic victory. England however rallied in the second innings and with the Lancashire professional J.T. Tyldesley top scoring with 112 they were able to reach a total of 330. With South Africa requiring 246 to win, the difference in experience told as the colonials were dismissed for a paltry 35 runs in just 45 minutes with both Haigh and Trott again inflicting the damage. “Lord Hawke [should have] every reason to be satisfied with results”, reported *Wisden’s* on the team’s return to England;

For out of seventeen fixtures that made up the programme, the side won fifteen and left the other two unfinished, playing from the 24th of December to the 4th of April without once suffering defeat. It is true that they were beaten at Matjesfontein and also at Cape Town by eighteen of the Combined Colleges, but these [fixtures] were never intended to be regarded as properly belonging to the tour. Inasmuch, as only five eleven-aside matches were played, the trip was not one of great interest to the cricket public at home, but it was in every way successful, the players enjoying themselves thoroughly.

There is little denying that for those involved the tour had been a success. Imperial cricket had been successfully transferred to the new territories of the north, while the reputations of both James Logan and Lord Hawke had again been enhanced through the venture. An association that became beneficial to both parties, Hawke’s relationship with Logan was clearly based on friendship and mutual admiration. Both obdurate, outspoken and prone to self-importance, Hawke became Logan’s main ally within English cricket’s narrow corridors of power. On tour, Logan would provide a haven for Hawke in which his hospitality was legendary. The sojourn at Matjesfontein became a well publicised feature of both of Hawke’s tours during the late 1890s and, for a while, both men revelled in their period of importance on the imperial stage. “The overriding impression [of Hawke]” according to historian Derek Birley, “is that this mediocre cricketer believed he had outstanding natural gifts as a leader and that Yorkshire and the world were extremely fortunate to have him.” Perhaps supreme self-confidence and delusions of grandeur are indeed what linked Hawke and James Logan, and in cricket they had the idealistic means through which to achieve their personal ambitions.

**The Maud Stevens Case**

While James Logan was enjoying the acclaim of his association with Hawke and the English team, other events were taking place that had the potential to wreck both his personal and public reputation. No stranger to the judicial system, on 15 January 1899 Logan this time found himself the defendant in a high profile case at the City Police Court in Cape Town. Electing not to appear in the dock in person, Logan instead hired the powerful advocacy of the Hon.
T.L. Graham QC to rebut a charge of attempted rape brought by an eighteen-year-old chambermaid at his Poole Hotel in Cape Town. Unsurprisingly, the case represented a scandal in late nineteenth century society and with Mr. G.B. Williams, A.R.M. presiding, the court room was packed on all three days as details of the case were scrutinised by the defence and prosecution lawyers. Logan, his future in the balance, was in no doubt of the seriousness of the allegation.

Maud Stevens was an uneducated coloured woman with a dubious history who, at the instigation of her former employer, Charles Munday, had accused Logan of the attack in his room at the Hotel on Queen Victoria Street. The incident was alleged to have taken place on 10 November 1898 and followed an altercation between Logan and Munday on 31 October. As proprietor of the hotel, Logan had demanded that Munday resign his post as manager due to the “filthy state of the rooms” and having accepted Munday’s resignation the following day, declined at a later date to reconsider the decision. The Cape Times reported how Munday had allegedly said that Logan “would be sorry for it and that he would not gain much for the way in which he had treated him.” It naturally appeared that Munday had a grudge against Logan and though he denied it in court, was seemingly using the woman as a pawn in a quest for revenge. Despite a further hearing on 31 January, it came as little surprise when inconsistencies in the evidence and a powerful written rebuttal by Logan combined to have the case dismissed.

“The present case I can put down only to malice on the part of Munday and a deliberate attempt of compact between him and the woman Stevens to extort blackmail from me – nothing more”, exclaimed Logan within his statement; “The allegations by both Munday and Stevens against me are absolutely false.” Logan’s defence had centred on the fact that he was not even at the hotel at the time of the alleged offence but en route via his office in the Houses of Parliament. The defence counsel had used Logan’s statement which referred to appointments with Cecil Rhodes and Sir James Sivewright, both of whom had regular meetings with the Scot. Their powerful influence and the fragility of the prosecution case was sufficient to persuade Magistrate Williams to dismiss the case and for Logan to emerge triumphant to the congratulations of his peers. The Cape Times reported how “general applause greeted the announcement of the decision, but was quickly suppressed … Mr Logan left the court after numerous handshakings and general congratulations.”

If, on the surface at least, Logan’s reputation had survived the allegations, it is somewhat revealing that details of the original case are not included within his personal scrap book.
Subsequently, there is also no mention of the episode within Logan’s Way, which is based loosely on the complimentary material contained within the scrap book and the personal effects retained by Logan. This was clearly an uncomfortable time for Logan as his reputation had been questioned in public for the first time. As part of his defence, Logan had also let slip some revealing detail about the nature of the conflict between himself and his employee that highlighted his attitude towards his own status within society:

…the girl Stevens came upstairs and said that Munday was very much annoyed that I had rung the bell for her. I told her to ask Munday to come and see me, as I was not in the habit of receiving messages of such a nature from coloured servants … I left word with the barman to tell Munday to let me have full explanation when I arrived on Wednesday morning, as to why he dared to send messages to me by a servant girl.

Vindictively, Logan was not prepared to let it rest there. As he sought conclusively to clear his name, in April 1899 Maud Stevens was summoned to court, this time as defendant on a charge of perjury. Logan’s influence on the Cape judicial system was confirmed when Stevens was found guilty and sentenced to six months hard labour. For Maud Stevens the pendulum had swung completely. From complainant she was now victim. The Magistrate summed up by saying he “was sorry for the position the accused found herself in, as she did not quite know what she had been doing: but if persons like her were allowed to cast such statements no man would be safe.” The case had highlighted the power of James Logan within Cape circles as well as the male-driven nature of colonial society at that time. Details of the appeal, which was lodged a month later, appeared in The Wynberg Times on 20 May 1899. Not only was the sentence confirmed but this entry represented the one solitary reference to the entire case within Logan’s personal records. Clearly it was an episode he would rather forget.

**Plans to Tour**

Normality was resumed at Matjesfontein on 24 May with a general holiday celebrating Queen Victoria’s birthday. It had become custom that both Logan’s birthday and that of the Queen be celebrated with a day of sport and festivities culminating in a cricket match between the village and an invited team. The Cape Times, which carried regular reports on events from Matjesfontein, recorded how,

At 9.30 a.m. a move was made to the pretty cricket field where an interesting match was played between elevens representing Matjesfontein (captained by Mr. G.A. Lohmann) and the Civil Service (captained by Mr. A.W. Odendal). Owing largely to a masterly 85 (not out) by the famous ex-Surrey cricketer and
the deadly bowling of young Mr. Logan in the first, and by the Laird … in the second innings, the Matjesfontein eleven won handsomely by an innings and 46 runs. Promptly at twelve o’clock, the two competing teams, with the residents and visitors, assembled together, and a salute of twenty-one guns was fired.67

Surrounded by loyal friends and family, Logan’s spirits were sufficiently restored to turn his attention again to fulfilling his long-held ambition of taking a South African side to England. Despite the increasing political tension between Britain and the Boer Republics, it was a time in South African cricket when talk was of arranging further fixtures with not only England but, for the first time, Australia. White colonial cricket was, in many respects, masking the political realities in South Africa at this time by setting a scene of supposed ‘normality’. Colonial (cricket) culture created a bonding channel for the British colonials in Africa and appeared to be a powerful palliative to the tensions between them and the Boers. Indeed, at a meeting in Johannesburg on 16 February 1899, the South African Cricket Association had discussed a proposal from the Australian Cricket Council that they would like to send a team to tour South Africa during the latter part of the year.68 Following positive responses from the various Unions, guarantees were formulated on the 6 March 1899 and the Australians were contacted with an agreement, in principle, for the planned tour.69

With the emphasis now on hosting the Australians, the plans to support a South African team for England during 1900 were put on hold. At their meeting on 8 June 1899, approval was also given by the influential Western Province Cricket Union (WPCU) for the Australians, at that time touring England, to play a number of fixtures in South Africa on their return home.70 In view of the financial commitments, the WPCU delegate to the Cricket Association’s meeting at Johannesburg was instructed to say that the sending of a South African team to England in 1900 was not advisable.71 Only Logan it seems could save the plans for a tour to England.

After provisional fixtures for the Australians had been made for October and November 1899,72 the first indication that a benefactor had been found for the England tour was muted at the South African Association’s meeting on 12 June 1899:

The Honorary Secretary was instructed to communicate with the centres dissenting from the idea of sending a South African team to England during 1900, informing them that there was every possibility of the expenses of the visit being guaranteed without the various Unions being called on to subscribe and asking if this in any way affected their decisions as to sending of a team.73
James Logan was again being lauded as the saviour of South African cricket with his financial support seen as crucial to the future development of the game. In an interview that appeared in the Cape Argus on 17 August 1899, Logan made public his pledge to undertake the financial responsibilities of the tour and that with Lord Hawke’s assistance he would arrange a series of first class fixtures. “The happy faculty of this keen sportsman in rising to occasions of this nature with invariable success is so well-known,” declared the Argus, “that the expressions of doubt as to the truth or otherwise of the statement resolved immediately into the query: “Who will compose the team?”

Despite doubts from the Orange Free State Cricket Union that a South African team was ready to test first class English counties, Logan’s offer was officially accepted at the AGM of the South African Cricket Association at the Wanderers in Johannesburg on 31 August 1899. With peace between Briton and Boer now hanging in the balance, it was also agreed that the Association write to Lord Hawke, asking him to arrange a first class fixture list for the team at a meeting of the county secretaries in England. Politics aside, it appeared that Logan’s tour would become a reality.

Revealingly though, within days of this announcement, Logan felt compelled to defend his plans for the tour from within the sanctity of his ‘own’ newspaper:

It was never the intention of the Hon. J.D. Logan to select and run a private cricket team of his own to England next season. Mr. Logan is altogether too broad-minded a sportsman to have harboured such thoughts. It simply remains for the S.A. Cricket Association to find a thoroughly representative team, in accordance with the rational conditions suggested, and arrange all preliminaries by virtue of their power, assuming they agree to the project in the first instance. Then all that Mr. Logan undertakes to do, is to guarantee the expenses of the team; and a nice little “all” too. His enthusiasm for the national game wants no further testimony.

Fearing a repercussion of the controversy that blighted his last attempts to finance a tour in 1894, Logan was prepared on this occasion to fend off any allegations of self-interest. In early October 1899, in the days just prior to the outbreak of war, Logan arranged a high-profile cricket match at Matjesfontein to showcase not only his altruistic association with the game but his empathy for the ‘race question’ (between whites) which was enveloping the country. It had all the characteristics of one of Logan’s stage-managed events. “It is worthy to note”, declared the Cape Times “that amongst the twenty-nine players who took the field that day, the field in the middle of the Karoo, once a trackless waste, now through the sporting spirit of its
owner, a delightful cricket ground, were some of the brightest stars that have ever shone in the cricket world.” Alongside George Lohmann, in what was to be his last appearance as a player, was Australian John Ferris who had appeared for both England and Australia in Test matches and was the top wicket taker on W. Read’s tour of South Africa in 1891. Murray Bisset, by now a regular at Matjesfontein, was captain of the visiting side and described as “one of the best men of the day in South African cricket.” The greatest plaudits however were reserved for Logan himself, described as “the greatest promoter and organiser of cricket in South Africa.” Moreover the Laird, it was suggested, was instrumental in uniting the different ‘white’ races in the name of cricket:

Apart from its combination of leading lights in the cricket world, it was a combination of nationalities, composed as it was of Afrikanders, Scotchman, Englishmen, Welshmen and Australians, not forgetting a son of the Emerald Isle. As was remarked, it is a pity there are not more Logans in South Africa willing to bring the different nationalities together in friendly rivalry, which has a salutary effect in cementing the ties of British brotherhood, and of striking out for ever the bitter cry “race-hatred.”

Following the match, which resulted in a victory for the eighteen of Matjesfontein, the teams were treated to Logan’s customary hospitality and the chance to record yet more acclaim for the Scot and his role in South African cricket. In toasting the health of Logan and his family, Murray Bisset led the tributes by announcing that “no man has done more for cricket in South Africa than Mr. Logan. Wherever cricket is played, from the Cape to the Zambezi, it is associated with the name of Mr. Logan.” Aware of the planned 1900 tour, Bisset was also keen to affirm how “we know it was he who initiated the visits of Lord Hawke’s teams to this country, which has done so much for cricket, and we know it is he who will take a team to England next year.” This statement received loud applause from the audience and there was even time for Bisset to aim a subtle jibe at J.X. Merriman, one of Logan’s long-term political rivals: “A gentleman now high up in the political arena once said he wished there were ten thousand Logans, but I question if he would say it now … I am sure we all wish there were ten thousand Logans.” The Laird’s response was tempered with the usual excessive modesty but also a hint of self-defence:

Your kindness and the honour of your presence to-night made me think that after all life is worth living. I am afraid that I cannot take much credit for what I have done in the interests of cricket, but what I have done was done with an unbiased view. (Applause) … I must tell you that the man who is a cricketer is my friend, for I have always found a cricketer a good sportsman and a straightforward man, and above taking advantage of you. (Loud applause) We
are not here to talk politics, but I look to the good old English game of cricket to do much towards uniting the different classes in this country. (Cheers) I will do my best to advance the interests of the game in this country, where I intend to remain, and it is my ambition that the day will come when a team will go to England as good as they can send from Australia. (Hear, hear.) As for the team that I take home next year I know that I will make many enemies through it. And perhaps you will be told that I am doing it for pecuniary advantages; but wait … till all is known and you will find it to be in the interests of cricket and not of my pocket. (Applause) … I will take a second seat to no man on my keen interest in the game, and my desire to see it advance in South Africa. (Hear, hear)

If Logan’s sentiments appeared heartfelt, his plans were soon thrown into disarray by the political crisis that was engulfing the country. The policies of imperialism that had been so fervently supported by Logan would, ironically, upset his ambitions as only days after the match at Matjesfontein, the Cape Times headlines were of conflict not cricket. It was announced that the Boers had declared war against Britain. The Anglo-Boer war had begun.

Mistrust, Misunderstanding and Gold!

There already existed a deep mistrust of the British by the Boers by the time gold was discovered on the Witwatersrand in 1886. However, the discovery of such mineral wealth in the region would ultimately cost the Afrikaner Republics far more than anyone could have imagined. As a result of the gold rush, Uitlanders (‘outsiders’ or foreign workers – many of them British) poured into the Transvaal. Paul Kruger’s Republic was being overrun, every Afrikaner susceptibility ignored. Cecil Rhodes, then Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, did little to appease the situation and with intentions of imperial domination throughout South Africa had launched the ill-fated Jameson Raid in 1895. To President Kruger and his Boers it only underlined what they had already known all the time, that the British could never be trusted. Sure enough, following the failure of protracted negotiations between Pretoria and London regarding the rights of the Uitlanders, the Boers declared war against Britain on 10 October 1899.

The Boers, as Harrison points out, had fallen into the trap of presenting themselves as the aggressors. Kruger’s Republic had entered into a war in which it had everything to lose by fighting, purely because it sensed and deeply mistrusted British intentions. The perceived spread of British imperialism and the subsequent fear of losing internal independence had provoked a response from the Afrikaners in the form of a narrow and assertive nationalism. For the Boers they had no option but to take up arms and defend what they saw as rightfully theirs.
Analysts such as De Villiers suggest however that confrontation could and should have been averted. The personalities of influential British politicians and their lack of understanding of the Afrikaner and his situation were key factors prior to the outbreak of hostilities. “War could have been avoided” suggests De Villiers “had not the Colonial Secretary, Chamberlain, been prone to the jingoism of his time and had he not chosen the chilly personality of Alfred Milner for his South African representative”. For Milner, the test for South Africanism was loyalty to the British Empire. For such a man to conduct delicate negotiations with a ruler like Kruger, who was intimately connected with the central myths of a majority of his people, meant almost certain failure. In 1902, Kruger himself revealingly wrote: “Lord Milner is the typical jingo, autocratic beyond endurance and filled with contempt for all that is not English”.

To many imperialists like Milner, the colonies of Southern Africa represented the ‘Cinderellas of Britain’s Overseas Dominions’. They were primitive regions, difficult to administer, and areas where Downing Street found their populations, particularly the Boers, awkward people to manage. To Britons like Meysey-Thompson England had already made enormous sacrifices necessary to bring Southern Africa into a condition of civilisation fit for the occupation of her subjects and in doing so, had received little gratitude from the local population: “The unfortunate thing is, that by persons in the conditions of civilisation and mental development of the Boers, our forbearance is absolutely misunderstood.”

Yet significantly, the Boers were not the only party capable of misunderstanding. Markham, for one, typifies the conceited view of many pro-imperialists at the time when commenting how “the farmer Boers are in many cases kindly, hospitable men, but the treachery and deceit prevalent among many of their leaders is a painful fact. Their narrow experience has moved them to mistrust all but their own pastoral patriarchal way.” He goes on to conclude how “the Briton makes for progress; the Boer, left alone, would relapse into savagery. Therefore we say, and say rightly, that the Briton must rule the land.”

Despite an affinity with the local Dutch electorate, and keen to show allegiance to the imperial cause, in an interview he gave to the journal South Africa during October 1898, James Logan alluded to the level of antipathy that existed between the two white ‘races’ at this time. On the question of ‘Krugerism’ and the growth of Boer nationalism, Logan asserts how:
These illiterates, although they admit that they enjoy the greatest possible freedom under the British regime, have been induced, especially since Majuba, to think that they are strong enough to stand alone, and that foreign aid will in any case be available. The parsons of the Dutch Reformed Church have largely helped the spread of this idea until it had almost become a religious belief of the half-educated Dutch. That is one reason why the Progressive leaders were compelled to combat Krugerism, as they call it. We Progressives are really more British than you are. We will not tolerate external interference.

Significantly though, Alfred Milner and those loyal to the Empire never really understood two hundred years of Afrikaner retreat and withdrawal and the extent to which they were bound by ties of blood to the land they now inhabited. Unlike the British whose community relations were based upon rigid and antagonistic class divisions, the Boers operated within a communal economy that saw the land as central to their identity. The British, in the heyday of the Empire, foregrounded commercial interests and had, therefore, no direct link, materially or metaphorically, to the land. In addition, they never understood the Afrikaner’s “sacred” history or how group identity and solidarity in the face of outside pressure, had become part of their soul.

Nevertheless, evidence suggests that there was some support for the Boer cause amongst elements of the British Press. During negotiations and the early stages of the campaign, the Daily Chronicle for example, promoted peace by “supporting the Boer side against the diplomacy of Mr. Chamberlain”. Some politicians too, could see no avowable reason for war. Mr. H.J. Wilson, MP for Holmfirth questioned at the time “why could we not trust to the methods which had won the British Empire her freedom, instead of going back to the old barbaric methods of brute force?"

Within a speech to party delegates at Maidstone on 4th October 1899, Liberal leader Henry Campbell-Bannerman also proclaimed that,

the cardinal principle of good government in South Africa is the maintenance of the best feelings between the Dutch and the English elements. The results of a war between these two elements must be so grave that they gave strength to the appeal to the governments in London, in Cape Town and in Pretoria to avert so dire calamity brought about on grounds so wholly insufficient.

The grounds for conflict however, appeared to many to support the interests of the capitalists. Certainly, a feature of this troubled relationship was the stubborn uncompromising spirit displayed by each nation toward the other. “Two such antagonistic civilisations as that of
Boer and Briton cannot exist side by side without continual conflict”, remarked one commentator.106 “Neither the blunders of diplomacy, nor the gold-fields, nor Chamberlain, nor Kruger, can be said to play the chief parts in this drama; but the unchangeable antagonism of two forms of civilisation”.107 For Britain, her imperialist agenda had been obstructed by a small, yet determined nation that was not prepared to step aside.

Logan’s War

As news of the war reached Matjesfontein the village was gripped by the sense of anticipation that was sweeping the Colony. Reports from Britain were indicating patriotic support for the campaign and how Victoria was ready to exert British control in the region. With Milner proclaiming the Cape’s loyalty to the Queen,108 jingoistic accounts from the Cape Times relayed how over a million people had watched the departure of imperial troops bound for South Africa in “one of the most memorable scenes ever witnessed in the City of London.”109 The declaration of war has “sent a wave of intense excitement over the whole country”, proclaimed the journal, “and it is realised that at last a great blow will be struck once and for all.”110 With the British confident of securing a swift victory, James Logan was again ready to join in and reap the rewards of his imperial association.

As a gateway to the north, Matjesfontein represented a strategic position for the British forces on their way to the front and within weeks a busy remount camp had been established, with Logan’s approval, on the outskirts of the village (see Figures 40 and 41). As ever, it was a calculated move by the shrewd Scot. By offering his support in such a practical way, Logan had ensured that Matjesfontein was not only secure in a predominantly Dutch area of divided loyalties,111 but that he would receive further publicity and acclaim for his support of the imperial cause. As Lawrence Green recounts, “Matjesfontein’s most crowded months were during the South African War, when it was the headquarters of the Cape Command with 12,000 troops camped round the village. The Coldstream Guards, Seventeenth Lancers, Middlesex Regiment, all came to know Matjesfontein only too well.”112 Indeed it was the Anglo-Boer War that brought the great British commanders of the age to South Africa and Logan was ready to place Matjesfontein at their disposal.

As the village became established as a pivotal base for the British in the early months of the war, it played host to an array of noted figures within the military. Amongst those who experienced Logan’s hospitality was Lord Ironside, who commanded a field battery of the Royal Artillery based at Matjesfontein, as well as Major Douglas Haig, who had accompanied
Major-General John French to South Africa as Staff Officer.\textsuperscript{113} As senior-ranking officers, both Ironside and Haig were, for a time, billeted at the Laird’s private residence, while the newly completed Milner Hotel was temporarily the headquarters of the Cape Command and later used as a convalescent home.\textsuperscript{114} This grand, double-storied hotel, which was formally opened in January 1901, housed a machine gun in its turret and was used as a look-out post by the troops during the early part of the campaign.\textsuperscript{115} It was said of Logan that no soldier in uniform ever lacked a meal from his refreshment rooms – nor ever paid for one.\textsuperscript{116} As servicemen took the place of wealthy visitors, Matjesfontein and James Logan adapted to their redefined imperial role.

“This place is simply alive with wagons, carts, horses, mules, guns and men”, observed Logan, “There has never been anything like it here before.”\textsuperscript{117} The once sleepy village was transformed as troops and equipment continually passed through on the way to the front. The nostalgic portrayal by Green alludes to the Victorian pomp and militarism that had combined to create such an unlikely scene in this remote part of the Karoo: “Down a side street in the former laundry a Major Douglas Haig presided over a small mess, and Mr. J.D. Logan was invited to a champagne party … French, Ironside, Roberts all marched down that main street.”\textsuperscript{118} As the link between cricket, the military and imperialism was again reaffirmed within Logan’s domain, regular cricket matches were played between the villagers and the town’s garrison.\textsuperscript{119} Suddenly Matjesfontein, the creation of one man, had become the focus of British forces within the Cape.

During the early stages of the war much of the fighting took place along the main railway lines,\textsuperscript{120} so with his own business interests directly threatened by the conflict, Logan’s commitment to the imperial cause was unquestioned. Indeed, shortly after the British troops had arrived in Matjesfontein, the Scot had made plans to raise his own volunteer unit from the men of the village. The Matjesfontein Mounted Rifles were hastily assembled, comprising a troop of one hundred men equipped and commanded by Logan himself.\textsuperscript{121} (The contingent are pictured in Figure 45, while Figure 43 captures some of the men in jovial mood posing as ‘Logan’s Horse’). As reward for his support of the British forces, Logan was awarded the rank of major by the Imperial War Office and in November 1899, allowed to travel north with the officers to observe operations.\textsuperscript{122} Characteristically, Logan wanted to be involved and to be seen to be doing ‘his bit’ at a time when the support of the British colonist was viewed as integral to the war effort in South Africa. In January 1900, Alfred Hillier wrote how:
For the maintenance and final establishment of British supremacy, the British colonist in South Africa has shown himself ready to fight and die … In numerous volunteer and irregular forces they have served and are serving with gallantry. Their deeds will live in history and stand recorded side by side in the glorious annals of our own soldiers.\textsuperscript{123}

Despite the rhetoric however, the first phase of the war was, in reality, proving difficult for the British in South Africa.\textsuperscript{124} Logan had, like many others, made his way to the front filled with confidence that victory was assured and that the war would soon be won. His, of course, was a privileged passage. On 21 November 1899, he wrote the following to his wife:

\begin{quote}
We arrived here [Orange River] all right yesterday afternoon nothing the worse for our journey but the weather was awfully hot. I travelled part of the way with General French who seemed a very nice man and who will I think do good work in this part of the world. General Wauchope to whom I introduced you at Matjiesfontein travelled in my compartment from De Aar and had an apology for a luncheon with me. He is a very nice man although he would not assist me in any way in getting to the front.\textsuperscript{125}
\end{quote}

Logan’s eagerness to be involved had taken him to within miles of enemy lines and he was keen to see some action. Secretly however, the Scot found conditions somewhat demanding:

\begin{quote}
The main body of our forces here amounting to some seven or eight thousand men left at day break today but of course can only go some eight miles from here before tonight. But I learn that the Boers are in force about eight miles further on so that in all probability we will have a fight tomorrow. I have got a very good horse and intend starting tomorrow at day light when I hope to see some fun, but if there is no fighting nor any chance of getting to Kimberley before Friday I will come home on that day as promised … The heat here is simply awful and the comforts anything but great. Consequently I shall not be sorry when this wretched business is over.\textsuperscript{126}
\end{quote}

It has been recorded that Logan took an active part in a number of engagements, yet his exact involvement remains a mystery. In his 1955 account, Green records how Logan was “twice wounded and mentioned in dispatches”, while more recently, Toms goes on to state how Logan played “an important role in the battles of Belmont and Modder River … having his horse shot from under him on one occasion. He later received two medals with clasps for bravery.”\textsuperscript{127} There is, however, little evidence to support these claims\textsuperscript{128} and given Logan’s propensity for self-publicity, records of such heroic involvement would surely have featured within his personal records. It may be safe to assume that this was a legend again propagated by Logan himself. Figure 42 shows Logan posing for the camera prior to his departure for the front.
A day after he wrote to his wife, Logan did receive permission from the senior officer of the camp to cross the Orange River Bridge and proceed north with the troops. The next day, on 23 November 1899, he got his wish and was present to witness the engagement at Belmont, a minor victory for the British under Lord Methuen. Typically, Logan made the most of this opportunity and at once sent a telegram back to Matjesfontein to be distributed amongst the Cape’s newsrooms:

Was present this morning. Engagement near Belmont which lasted nearly three hours. The Boers were driven from their position and if the speed at which they left has been maintained they ought now to be nearing the Zambesi. Our men behaved splendidly, and any one in the future who says Thomas Atkins can’t fight must be a most accomplished Ananias.

His jingoistic report was immediately featured in a variety of periodicals both in South Africa and in Britain with the Cape Argus featuring the story the very next day: “The Hon. J.D. Logan, who has just returned from Belmont, states that there was a British engagement with the enemy this side of Belmont. Our artillery practice was magnificent, and the infantry carried the kopjes [small hills] at the point of bayonet, clearing the Boers out of their position.”

The reality was somewhat different. In his definitive account of the war, Thomas Pakenham has described Belmont as “a short, crude, bloody affair, a ‘soldier’s battle’ in which all tactical refinements were submerged in the simple, overwhelming urge to seize a hill and exterminate the enemy.” The hills were indeed secured, but, as elsewhere, British victory was incomplete. As “hundreds of Boers trott[ed] away across the veld, untouched by artillery or cavalry”, the thoughts of James Logan and his men were of returning to Matjesfontein to continue the ‘noble fight’ in more comfortable and familiar surroundings.

Logan’s exploits nevertheless continued to generate considerable publicity. Under the headline of “People Heard about During the War”, The Illustrated London News wrote of the Laird’s achievements in South Africa and his noted connection with English cricket. Another London publication, The Morning Leader, described a war-time rail journey through the Cape and a stop at patriotic Matjesfontein where the British flag is flown. News had even reached Australia where the Sydney Morning Herald commended the Scot for his ‘practical’ support of the imperial war effort:

An enterprising Scotchman named Logan, who lives at Matjesfontein, a little station in the Karroo [sic], a night’s journey from Cape Town, is reported to have a Maxim amongst his goods and chattels, so that if this example is
followed private enterprise, backed by the Imperial authorities, will do what the Cape Ministry seems both unwilling and unable to do.\textsuperscript{138}

If W.P. Schreiner’s handling of the conflict was attracting criticism within the Cape,\textsuperscript{139} then James Logan’s contribution was, by now, well known. On 24 November 1899 the Laird was contacted by a Mrs. Hanbury Williams of the Red Cross with a further request for aid:

Dear Sir,

I am engaged with others here in carrying out Red Cross work for the benefit of sick and wounded in the present war.

It is desired to form a connection with the Head Centre in Cape Town, which embraces the Good Hope Society, the St. John Ambulance Associations and the British Red Cross Society. Agencies at the places on the Railway, through which the sick and wounded will pass from the front to the base hospitals at Wynberg, or who may be detained as patients in hospital – with a view to affording them comforts at such places.

I should be glad therefore to receive the names of a small number of ladies and gentlemen say not exceeding 6, who would form themselves into a local Red Cross Committee, who will work in aid of the sick and wounded … and who will act as correspondents for the Head Centre, and as an Agent for receiving and distributing stores sent up from here.\textsuperscript{140}

Logan was of course compliant, and with Matjesfontein at the centre of the Cape’s military operations, had already written to Sir Redvers Buller, Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty’s Forces in South Africa, offering five of his villas in the village for the accommodation of wounded soldiers from the front.\textsuperscript{141} As well as a personal donation of two hundred pounds a month towards the cost, Logan also agreed that John Robertson, Matjesfontein’s doctor, would give his medical services free of charge.\textsuperscript{142} His offer was keenly accepted by General F. Walker, of Army Headquarters in Cape Town:

Dear Sir,

In answer to your letter to Sir Redvers Buller with regard to your very kind offer of 5 villas at Matjesfontein for the use of the wounded on their way down, I beg to thank you most heartily for such a generous and patriotic offer and to inform you that I have communicated with the medical authorities, with a view to ascertaining their opinion as to the most practical use that could be made of these houses and will inform you when I hear from them. I regard your offer of £200 per month, for six months for the purpose of obtaining all comforts, as a most generous one and thank you heartily for it.\textsuperscript{143}

Major-General Wauchope

While news of Logan’s generosity was widespread, it was events further north that would lead to perhaps his most noted enterprise during the war. As Lord Methuen\textsuperscript{144} prepared to move
against the Boer position at Magersfontein, he chose as the spearhead the newly arrived Highland Brigade commanded by the popular and professionally highly regarded Major-General Andrew Wauchope.\textsuperscript{145} At 53 years of age, Wauchope was an experienced campaigner having served in the Ashanti War as well as in Egypt and the Sudan before his arrival in South Africa. With these campaigns covered within the popular press, Wauchope was widely known throughout Britain and the empire and personified the late-Victorian concept of a ‘celebrity soldier’.\textsuperscript{146} According to Sibbald, the Midlothian officer “was a genuine Victorian hero; in the three previous colonial wars that he had fought in he had received severe wounds and survived.”\textsuperscript{147} Wauchope had also served as an imperial administrator in Cyprus as well as stood for Parliament in his native Scotland.\textsuperscript{148} Imperious, well-bred and extremely well-connected, he represented the privileged and landed gentry to which Logan aspired.\textsuperscript{149} Somewhat fortuitously the two had met barely a month earlier at Matjesfontein and then spent a short time together while travelling on the train journey north prior to the battle at Belmont (see page 204).\textsuperscript{150} Although brief, this meeting with Wauchope would again allow Logan to use a chance association to his advantage.

After the success at Belmont, Sir Redvers Buller was keen for the superior British force to make progress towards relieving Kimberley. At Magersfontein however, the Boers had blocked their passage and had dug in awaiting the British offensive. Lord Methuen, reluctant to move away from his line of communication along the railway and dismissive of Boer military prowess, decided on a night march leading to a frontal assault at dawn. It was a tactic that would ultimately lead to disaster. Shortly after midnight on 10 December 1899, Wauchope led the Highland Brigade into battle. Over three thousand men marched off into driving rain through mud, thorn bushes and clay.\textsuperscript{151}

The Boer troops were now blooded and Methuen’s opposing general, Piet Cronjé, was supplemented by one of the gifted amateurs that would transform the Boers into truly formidable opponents – Koos De la Rey.\textsuperscript{152} It was De la Rey, backed by President Steyn of the Orange Free State, who persuaded Cronjé to place his men in trenches at the foot of the hill at Magersfontein and not, as the British would expect, on higher ground. By doing this not only had the Boers withstood the immense artillery bombardment directed at the hill itself but once Wauchope and his men began their approach the trajectory of the Boer fire was devastating, sweeping the ground over which the Highlanders marched. Wauchope delayed dispersing his troops until he was within a few hundred yards of the trenches, thus providing a near perfect target. The fusillade cut down the Highlanders, and many officers, including Wauchope, who
rose to assess the situation, were among the first to perish. Some nine hours later, the remaining troops, who had spent an arduous day under a remorseless sun and relentless enemy fire, made a disorderly retreat and the battlefield was lost.  

No matter how this defeat was portrayed by the British press, Magersfontein represented the second disaster of ‘Black Week’. While James Logan would seize upon the popularity of Andrew Wauchope, his death fuelled fierce debate over British tactics during the engagement. Wauchope himself has been criticised for delaying the attack, while Arthur Conan Doyle, in typically imperious mode, asserted that the Highland Brigade could have carried the day had it just pressed on when the shooting started.  

Lord Methuen, as commander, came under the most severe scrutiny. “He was bitter, yet stoical”, declared Pakenham, “only bad luck, he believed – and Wauchope – had cost him the victory.” As James Logan had himself witnessed at Belmont, however, Methuen had proved that the Boers could be defeated by frontal assault and so, at Magersfontein, was guilty of the arrogance and complacency that typified the British hierarchy during the first few months of the war.

Wauchope’s death would, however, turn out to be significant. Late in the day of the battle during an amnesty, his body was recovered by his Aide de Camp, Captain Albert Rennie. He had been killed by a bullet over the left eye. As was custom, Wauchope was buried near where he fell. The ceremony, which took place on 12 December 1899, was conducted with military honours at the British camp at Modder River, just to the south of the battlefield. A fitting resting place one may think, yet James Logan had other ideas. Within days, the wily Scot had organised his own passage to Modder River. Arriving at the camp on 17 December 1899, the purpose of Logan’s mission is recounted by his late grandson, Major John Buist:

When J.D. Logan heard of the death of Wauchope he decided wisely, or unwisely, that it was inappropriate for this gallant, distinguished officer to be buried without due ceremony in so humble a resting place and obtained permission from Lord Methuen, who was then Chief of General Staff, to exhume the body and to have it re-interred at Matjesfontein. He also contacted Lady Wauchope in Scotland by telegraph, offering a vault at Matjesfontein for the burial of her husband. Lady Wauchope, possibly confused by the similarity of the names Magersfontein and Matjesfontein, is believed to have agreed to this at the time. Logan then travelled to Modder River by train himself, taking with him a handsome lead-lined coffin. He personally supervised the exhumation of Wauchope’s body, which was placed in the coffin Logan had brought and put in Logan’s compartment for the journey to Matjesfontein.
Whatever Logan’s motives, he knew he would be assured of a favourable press on his return to Matjesfontein. “A kindly act’’ was how the Cape Times described the gesture, while the Cape Argus thought Logan displayed “commendable foresight and patriotism” in approaching Lord Methuen for permission to bring the body to Matjesfontein.\textsuperscript{163} A message of sympathy from Her Majesty the Queen even appeared within the Cape’s newspapers alongside reports of the Laird’s generosity.\textsuperscript{164} Back in his native Berwickshire, Logan’s deed was being portrayed as an act of Scottish patriotism as comparisons were made between the two ‘great’ men: “The act on the part of the honourable gentleman is worthy of a Borderer, and patriotic, inasmuch as it is a fitting service to render to the memory of another distinguished Borderer. Both gentlemen, famed alike in the army and the State, hail from the Border. Hon. J.D. Logan is a man of remarkable enterprise, and … is in the midst of the present stirring events.”\textsuperscript{165} Logan had ensured that both himself and Matjesfontein were once more at the centre of imperial attention within South Africa.

On 19 December 1899, Major-General Andrew Wauchope was laid to rest at the remote cemetery just outside Matjesfontein amidst unprecedented scenes.\textsuperscript{166} “The ceremony this morning was of an imposing nature”, declared the Cape Times; “a funeral that will be long remembered in the history of Matjesfontein.”\textsuperscript{167} As contemporary photographs testify, no expense was spared by the Laird in ensuring that the occasion left an impression on the many hundreds who attended. Figures 46 and 47 show the contrast between Wauchope’s initial burial at Magersfontein and the ceremony afforded him by Logan at Matjesfontein. Significantly, it was another opportunity for Logan to consolidate his position amongst the imperial bourgeoisie, for among the mourners were high-ranking British officers and representatives of the British government in South Africa.\textsuperscript{168}

Those present included Captain Rennie, Aide de Camp to Wauchope, and Major Stuart, of the Royal Artillery, who had arranged the proceedings. Rennie, along with Chaplain Robertson, of the Highland Brigade, had accompanied Logan on the journey from Modder River the previous day.\textsuperscript{169} Logan was joined at the ceremony by his family as well as close friend and ally Colonel Schermbrucker. Many local inhabitants also came to pay homage to a soldier who in death had become a national hero. Logan had made the most of the Scottish connection and this was evident throughout: “A token of admiration and respect for one of Scotland’s heroes, from his fellow countrymen at Matjesfontein” declared one wreath, while another from the Logan family was “in memory of one of Scotland’s bravest sons”.\textsuperscript{170} As Conan Doyle put it, “Never has Scotland had a more grievous day than at Magersfontein. She had always given her best
blood with lavish generosity for the Empire, but it may be doubted if any single battle has ever put so many families of high and low, into mourning from the Tweed to Caithness shore.” 171 In the words of Wauchope’s biographer, William Baird, “the empire has lost one of its noblest and best, a hero has gone down to his rest ere his full life’s work was done.” 172 His association with Wauchope assured, Logan revelled in the reflected glory.

The burial was afforded full military honours with all the pomp and circumstance that had been missing from the original ceremony at Magersfontein. The escort consisted of 11 officers and 195 non-commissioned officers, together with men of various detachments, including some of the Highland Brigade. A pipe band of the Cape Town Highlanders had also been arranged. 173 The coffin was borne on a gun carriage, covered in wreaths and followed, dramatically, by the General’s charger bearing her departed master’s boots and spurs and led by his personal groom. 174 The sheer theatre of the occasion is encapsulated by a journalist of the Cape Times:

Soon the solemn order “Slow march” went forth, and simultaneously the indescribable stillness of the Karoo was broken by the strains of the band’s first notes of “In Memoriam”, and as we moved on the awful solemnity of the occasion was apparent on every face. Within a short distance the band silenced and the music of the “land of brown heath and shaggy wool”, the land of the lost one’s birth broke forth … Then to the strains of “Victoria’s Own”, we turned sadly away from the resting place of Her Majesty’s General, who lived and died in her servce. 175

As imperial pageantry enveloped this remote part of South Africa, the plaudits were for James Logan, who had borne all expenses of the occasion. 176 Within weeks, news of Logan’s generosity had been carried on the front cover of The Navy and Army Illustrated, 177 while two years later the Lakeside Press in America were still extolling how the Laird’s “thoughtful act won him the gratitude of the gallant leader’s family, the thanks of the troops and the encomiums of the public.” 178

Despite the eulogies, there remained some controversy regarding the wishes of the General’s family. Undoubtedly Logan, in recognising the opportunity, had acted in characteristic haste in obtaining permission to retrieve Wauchope’s body. Captain A.G. Wauchope, who later became Gen. Sir Arthur Grenfell Wauchope, High Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief, Palestine, was wounded alongside his elder relative at Magersfontein. He reputedly wrote: “We are I think, all of one opinion that the moving of his body from Magersfontein was an error of judgement. At that time I was in hospital and not consulted.” 179 In a letter Lady Wauchope, who was also not able to be present at her husband’s funeral, later confirmed: “The removal of
Some years later in 1906, after the cessation of hostilities, Lady Wauchope came to South Africa to visit her husband’s grave. Her impending visit aroused some apprehension in Cape Town among military and diplomatic circles, concerning her possible reaction to the internment of her distinguished husband in the remote surroundings of Matjesfontein. She was met in Cape Town by Logan as well as high-ranking military officers and civic dignitaries in a manner befitting the widow of one of England’s most esteemed soldier heroes. Any apprehensions were proved groundless, however, as the charm and charisma of James Logan once again proved persuasive. As a guest of the Laird’s, Lady Wauchope on visiting the grave is said to have taken a long look at the Karoo stretching about her and was moved to remark on its compelling beauty. “Indeed I am well satisfied that my Andrew rests here”, she reputedly confided.

Despite the testimony of his late Grandson though, it does appear that Logan did not wait for permission from Wauchope’s family to remove his body. In fact this is one of the many mysteries surrounding the whole episode. The legend that Major-General Wauchope is buried at Matjesfontein because the British Army confused the name with Magersfontein, where he was killed, is also apocryphal. What is clear is that Logan saw this as another opportunity for self aggrandisement. While it may have been a patriotic gesture to a fallen countryman, and portrayed as such, the astute Scot was aware of the kudos an association with Wauchope, an imperial icon, could bring. After all, this was the same initiative and opportunism that had brought George Lohmann and the English cricketers to the unlikely environs of Matjesfontein.

In addition, Logan was aware that a memorial to the acclaimed officer would provide sustained publicity for himself and the village. An impressive monument overlooking the cemetery was commissioned by Logan and designed and made by Aberdeen stonemason, W.M. Boddie (see Figure 55). The epitaph on the structure, which still stands resplendent today, reads: “In memory of Major-General A.C. Wauchope C.B., C.M.C. This monument is erected by his fellow Britishers throughout the Empire as a tribute to the bravery and gallantry of one who fell while doing his duty.” Logan had established his village as a site of imperial reverence, where visitors could pay homage to the glorious deeds of the sons of empire: “Matjesfontein possesses a mournful interest for Britishers” wrote the Lakeside Press in 1902, “for there rest..."
the mortal remains of the lamented Wauchope, the gallant chieftain who fell at the head of his
Highlanders on the field of Magersfontein.”

In war, as in peace, James Logan was still a master of self promotion. In fact, it was the war
itself and the imperialist imperative – that was in the press every day in both South Africa and
Britain, with constructions of stories about the rightness of the campaign, the horror and the
glory, individual heroism etc – that made it possible for Logan to get personal acclaim through
the Wauchope affair. Having sought and nurtured relationships with leading members of the
political and economic establishments before the war and then sought liaisons with the army
establishment during the campaign, it was through them all that Logan was able to align
himself completely with a sense of ‘colonial Britishness’. Indeed, Wauchope’s funeral
provided an ideal opportunity for Logan to promote not only his position as part of a colonial
executive but also to provide publicity for the planning and execution of his own future cricket
tours to England.

The Conflict and Cricket
First, however, the threat from the Boers had to be averted. Following the burial of Wauchope,
the last Christmas of the nineteenth century was an eventful one for Logan and Matjesfontein.
As the British under Methuen continued to make little headway in the north, the vulnerability
of Logan’s empire became apparent as Boer commandoes threatened to assert control of the
area around Matjesfontein. There was little doubt that the conflict, which had previously been
fought in other regions, had become a close reality within the district. On 29 December 1899,
the Times in London reported that the War Office had received the following telegram from the
General Officer, Commanding Lines of Communication in Cape Town: “General situation of
affairs at 9.30 last night. Boers south side of Matjesfontein opened very heavy fire for some
time. This morning naval gun fired at enemy west front of Matjesfontein. Cavalry brigade
reconnoitring north-easterly direction.” These were concerning times for Logan. His well-
publicised support of the imperial forces had marked him out in a district of divided loyalties
amongst the local Afrikaans population, while his confidence of British success was being
tested by the stout resistance of the Boers throughout South Africa. Eventually though, as their
superior numbers began to tell, the British troops had secured the area around Matjesfontein
and Logan’s thoughts could again turn to cricket and the issues that had arisen since the
outbreak of war.

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Despite the conflict, on 16 November 1899 the *Cape Argus* remained confident that Logan’s cricket tour planned for 1900 would still proceed: “Notwithstanding the war, it is now almost certain that a South African team will visit England during the next English season. Provisional team already selected.” However, the first few months of the war were not going as planned for Britain. Shock defeats to the Boers had seriously knocked the imperial agenda and despite optimism in the South African press and the English cricket programme for 1900 including the South African fixtures, by the end of 1899 it was difficult to see how this tour was now possible. By February of 1900, with the reality of the situation clear, the *Cape Argus* was forced to report how, “little or nothing further has been heard with regard to the South Africa team for England – it seems practically impossible for the team to be got together in view of the turn affairs have taken with regard to the war.” Following protracted discussions between Logan and the South African Cricket Authority it was finally agreed that the tour would be untenable and on 2 March 1900, Lord Hawke received the cable he had been expecting announcing that the tour by the South Africans would have to be abandoned.

It was a time too when domestic cricket had to take a back seat to the war effort. Along with thousands of workers of that period, as Chapter 4 revealed, many cricketers had also moved to the Transvaal following the development of the gold fields. With the war imminent, however, men living in the South African Republic were required to serve in the Boer forces. As a result, there was a flood of refugees who moved back across the borders into Natal and the Cape Colony to avoid conscription. The test cricketer Jimmy Sinclair was one of these and soon the local cricket clubs benefited by arranging matches against these ‘refugee’ players. On 7 December 1899 Cape Town Cricket Club played a refugee team which included the renowned A.B. Tancred, as well as Jimmy Sinclair, A.E. Halliwell and G. Devenish. Nine days later this same team took on the strength of the Western Province Cricket Club. For a brief period cricket in the Cape flourished due to the war, but with the call up of players this was not to last.

On 8 March 1900, the *Cape Argus* reflected how “Cricket in the Peninsular has fallen on evil times. For three Saturdays the premier club [Western Province Cricket Club] has not had a fixture”. For Cape Town Cricket Club the 1899-1900 season was also a failure with the war being blamed for lack of senior competition and the meagre gates at games. Not only was there a decline in public support for the game, but cricket grounds were at a premium in the Cape as the military took many of them over. Greenpoint Track for example, was soon being used as a prisoner of war camp. The *Cape Argus*, of 9 October 1900 declared: “We are at a crisis in the history of cricket … Either some steps must be taken to re-kindled the flame of
enthusiasm for our national game, or it will go to the wall completely and we shall be left with a number of second-class clubs struggling along season after season with no hope of advancement.” Only the fixture between Western Province and Cape Town Cricket Clubs attracted a modicum of interest, yet by March 1901 even this match had declined in significance: “With half the players away on military duty, the struggle lost most of its importance. Very few cricketers put in any practice – a marked deterioration in the style of play”.

Later that month South Africa College defeated both Western Province and Cape Town Cricket Clubs in the annual championship challenge. Under ordinary circumstances South Africa College would have had little chance of securing this distinction, but as the senior clubs were weakened due to prominent members serving at the front, the College team were able to seize their opportunity. Cape Town Cricket Club alone were without the services of Rowe, Kuys, Halliwell, Horwood and Jones for the fixture. At the club’s AGM on 16 August 1901, the chairman, L.B. Smuts, explained that there was no report owing to the unrest up-country, a result of which, a great number of members were absent during the season. Similarly, the Western Province Cricket Club reported at their AGM some ten days later, that the second invasion of the Cape Colony by Boer forces gave rise to a general call to arms and many of the club’s best players joined the forces to protect the Colony. This lead to some difficulty in carrying out the Club’s engagements, and mid-week fixtures in the latter half of the 1900-1901 season were abandoned.

**Matjesfontein and the War**

Cricket, like everything else, was being affected by the conflict sweeping South Africa. On 19 March 1900, as the rebellion in the north-eastern part of the Cape Colony had been suppressed by General Brabant and the Colonial Division, Cape Governor and High Commissioner Sir Alfred Milner (pictured Figure 57) began a week’s tour of the Northern Districts. Accompanied by Sir Richard Soloman, the Attorney-General, he visited Matjesfontein along with Victoria West, De Aar and Rensburg, as well as other towns in the region. This area, he remarked, “reeked with treason” and at each stop, his aim was to interview magistrates and commandants with the purpose of instilling co-ordination and method into the administration of martial and civil law. Matjesfontein was marked out for special attention by Milner and his familiarity with both Logan and the village resulted in him suggesting its use to Lord Roberts as a possible site for a prisoner of war camp:
There are at least half a dozen places in the Colony, having (a) water, (b) railway communication to bring up supplies, (c) lots of room, in which camps could be put many hundreds of miles from any possible roving commando. I once suggested Aliwal, but, if that is too near the O.R.C. [Orange River Colony], there are places like Matjesfontein and Beaufort West on the Western line.203

In agreement, Roberts responded: “I am in favour of your proposal to form a large camp at Matjesfontein or Beaufort West, whichever you prefer. I will find a guard for it, and will despatch it to whichever place you may select.”204 While the camp would eventually be located elsewhere, Logan’s practical support of the war effort had already endeared him to high ranking officials within the British administration. Amidst the usual lavish celebrations, Christmas at a war-time Matjesfontein had been an opportunity for Logan to extol the virtues of empire as well as service to Queen and country. The account of the Cape Times of 1 January 1900 clearly demonstrates his penchant for jingoistic oratory:

Mr. J.D. Logan rose and explained that speech-making would be tabooed as much as possible, owing to the heat, and the fact that a programme of sports for the children had to be carried out, but it would not be in accord with their loyalty as British subjects if they allowed themselves to go away from the festive board without drinking the health of Her Majesty the Queen. This expression evoked a round of applause, and after reading the following telegram from Her Majesty to her soldiers in South Africa: “I wish you and all my brave soldiers a happy Christmas; God protect and bless you”, the Laird briefly dwelt on our duties as loyal subjects to Her Majesty, and then loyally her health was drunk and the National Anthem sung. The next toast was that of the “Army, Navy, and Volunteers” by the Laird. He enumerated their excellent qualities, and explained that he was not speaking from hearsay but of what he saw at the Battle of Belmont, and his hope was that, if the occasion arose, every man in the room would be found with his rifle by his side ready to fight for Queen and country by the side of his brothers in the Army, the Navy, and the Volunteers. The toast was enthusiastically drunk, and “Rule Britannia” sung with downright earnestness.205

Despite Logan’s optimism, however, 1901 saw a concerted invasion of the Cape by the Boer forces and Matjesfontein and its surroundings were again affected. The war had divided communities and naturally, many of Logan’s Afrikaans neighbours felt allegiance to the Boer cause. At Hanover, a town to the north, a resident noted how “It was somewhat aggravating to the English minority to see the whole Dutch population streaming to church every evening of the week, to return thanks for Boer victories, and to pray for more.”206 It was a situation the imperialist South African Review felt needed addressing:
It is an insult which must and shall be wiped out somehow, and every loyal man is yearning for a share in the wiping out business. Otherwise, it might have been just as well to allow the Karroo [sic] farmers a little longer personal taste of the tender mercies of the gentry whom they have encouraged from a distance for so long. When men raise a Frankenstein monster, a little endurance of him is a salutary lesson.  

Amidst the fears of a Boer uprising, Logan went about his usual business of self-promotion and at Matjesfontein there were celebrations as his grand hotel was finally opened. “A large and distinguished company assembled at Matjesfontein last Friday to celebrate the opening of the Milner Hotel”, announced the same paper. It is “one of the many enterprises which Mr J.D. Logan, M.L.C., has conceived and carried out with the consummate success which attends all the Laird’s undertakings.” Named in honour of the Cape Governor, the unveiling of the hotel was another opportunity for Logan to display his allegiance and ingratiate himself within the imperial hierarchy. Colonel Schermbrucker was present to witness the official opening of a building that epitomised Logan’s desire to recreate British Victorian grandeur within South Africa’s interior. “The hotel is a most commodious building in all its various departments ... the village and railway station form what might justly be termed the brightest gem of the Western Karoo”, declared the *South African Review*, “and it is due to Mr. Logan’s keen business sagacity and progressive ideas that this prosperous though small settlement surprises and delights visitors from all parts of the world.”

Within weeks of the Milner Hotel opening, Britain and the Empire were reeling from the news of the death of Queen Victoria. It was at Matjesfontein, on 23 January 1901, that famed novelist and playwright Edgar Wallace, then a war correspondent, recorded the sombre news. His article *The Shadow over the Land* conveys not only the depth of national feeling but also the unique setting of Matjesfontein during this time of war:

> For many days has the shadow been over the land … To-night the shadow is deepening to gloom … In the stuffy little telegraph office on the railway station the blue paper snakes coil and twist and writhe from the polished brass sounders. The world that lies beyond the western hills is talking – talking jerkily of fears and doubts, and it hints – this chattering, soulless thing – of black sorrow and the shadow of death. It talks of bulletins and great physicians, and stops broodingly. Then its chatter starts again, and it is of troop trains and remounts and stores, and querulous observations of impatient staff officers, that it tells …
> There is still war in the land, although it is difficult to realise it now. Surely this bloody business will be stayed a while! It seems more than sacrilege that man’s hand should be raised against man’s hand at this moment. Northward to Calvinia the signal lamps of the converging British columns are winking to each other.
Southward and east, Grenfell and Haigh and Williams and Byng are putting a cordon round Kritzinger. We have forgotten all this for the hour …

An Australian patrol has come in from Damslaagte, and the men have trotted their horses up to the door of the office, the iron-shod feet of the tired ponies clattering noisily on the concrete platform. “Say - what’s the news? It isn’t really true, is it?” They are grimy, unshaven, and white with the dust of the trek. They are tired men who have ridden forty miles since “sun up”; but they have forgotten their fatigue, forgotten their hardships of the past week, forgotten even to report that they had been sniped at, oblivious to all things save that somewhere six thousand miles north, in a place they did not know, somebody whom they had never seen was passing into the shadow …

On the bleak hill slope north of the town are the silent tents of the Coldstream Guards, and one of their sentries paces the little square outside the railway station. A far cry to Osborne, and yet they form a palpable link with the royal palaces, these men who furnished the Queen’s guard before the war …

The messages have been coming through all night, and I who have been listening to the tape - talk the night through am almost as weary as the clerk. Horses are being sent from Kimberley to the remount officer – will the officer commanding troops at … send proceedings of court-martial on Private Jones, 1st Wessex, immediately? Urgently required – 4 up left Prince Albert road six hours late – the leave asked for by Colonel … cannot be granted – three men of Thorneycroft’s Mounted Infantry reported dead are prisoners in Brand’s laager – nominal roll of Somebody’s Horse forwarded by post – six trucks of forage consigned to the O.C. troops Matjesfontein despatched from Cape town by nine up – and then …

The clerk drops the festoon of tape, and listens to the instrument. He is reading by ear, and as the chattering sounder speaks he raises a tremulous hand to his lips to hide a tell-tale quiver. “Her Majesty died last night.”

Outside the wind has dropped, the veldt was silent and peaceful, and the eastern sky was gold and crimson. So I left the clerk with his bowed head on his arm, and went and told the men.210

While news of the Monarch’s death had shaken the Empire, concern remained that the Boers were beginning to exert control of the area around Matjesfontein and soon tactics were in place to repel the perceived threat. Earlier that month, the Times reported how, “Every precaution is being taken for the defence of Matjesfontein, where the Railway Pioneer Regiment is encamped, and all the male inhabitants there have volunteered for the defence of the Colony, wherever required.”211 Many of the women and children, including Logan’s wife and daughter, had moved to Cape Town while the threat of invasion persisted. Logan and his son remained in the village and were both involved in reconnaissance duties alongside the troops, although Logan’s concern, it seems, was more directed to the welfare of the officers in his charge. In a letter to his wife Emma, he wrote:

“We heard yesterday that the Boers were near Touws River so I was sent out with a scouting party to find out how things were around there … [I] slept in the house the first night but now I have the Col. Commanding and his A.D.L.
staying with me. They got breakfast in the morning but all the other meals outside. They are two splendid fellows, none of the “How How” about them.”

Although few documents survive, Logan’s letters to his wife during this period reveal his true feelings about the war and the impact the British forces had on life around Matjesfontein. For while the conflict had thrust Logan and his village into the imperial spotlight, the campaign had become tiresome for the Scot as the burden of his role with the military was affecting his personal and professional life. “I am getting very tired of this military life and shall be awfully glad when it is all over”, he confessed. “The place [Matjesfontein] is simply full of troops and we are all more than busy, but they are a splendid lot of fellows and do all they possibly can to make things go as pleasantly as possible.” Another letter indicates private unease at the rank bestowed upon him by the authorities: “I am afraid this game does not suit me. It takes me all day nearly touching my hat to everyone that salutes Captain Logan!”

Others in the family were revelling in the excitement of the war and for Jimmy Logan, the privileges of being the Laird’s son were evident. Allowed to join British operations in the area, Logan encouraged the involvement of his son and considered it part of his development to manhood: “Jim the young scamp went out as scout this morning and has not returned as yet”, Logan flippantly informed his wife, “the Col. got a wire for me saying he was all night last away beyond Sutherland and they don’t know when they will get back.”

The threat however was a very real one as there were indications of serious Boer activity in the area. On 15 January 1901, five hundred Boers were reported to have attempted to cut the water supply to Touws River, just thirty kilometres to the South West of Matjesfontein. With their intention of blocking water supplies to the railway there, one can only assume that Matjesfontein would be the next target for the saboteurs. Indeed, the village and its surrounds formed an area of huge strategic importance for the British forces during this time:

The Boers know that barring their passage (through the Colony) there are several columns under General Settle. These form a huge circle, beginning at Matjesfontein, where Colonel Henniker commands a mobile force. Coming round to the left, there are Thorneycroft’s and Bethune’s forces, while De Lisle forms the extreme left of the semi-circle, moving more or less by the sea, whence supplies are drawn.

The threat of course, came not just from the invading Boers but also from the Afrikaners of the Cape Colony who might be persuaded to join in the Republican cause. The arrival of General De Wet was particularly feared by the British, an opinion expressed by the Times special correspondent: “The Dutch farmers are sullen towards us, they never offer us any hospitality
… De Wet is their hero … I am convinced that none of the Dutch in this Colony could or would resist his personal call to arms. Should he evade General Knox and cross the Orange River he would undoubtedly be able to raise a large following.” However, it was not only the local population who were open to treason. On 24 January 1901, it was reported that two troopers of the Western Province Police were charged with opening despatches at Matjesfontein whilst another was reported for giving information to the enemy. All three received prison sentences of 12 months each.

Amidst fears of dissent in the area martial law was enforced by the British with local farmers being instructed to hand over all horses and guns to the authorities. “There is no doubt that a strong, if latent spirit of rebellion prevails among them” declared the Times. In response, Matjesfontein was made the judicial centre for the region and a military court hastily assembled in the village to deal with cases of treason and other serious offences. Within weeks, a number of farmers had been sentenced to terms of imprisonment, varying from 14 days to three months, for contravening martial law. A farmer from Sutherland, the neighbouring town, was reportedly court-martialled at Matjesfontein for using “seditious language”, while a hotelkeeper was placed in remand for “entertaining the Boers and calling them his brothers.”

With knowledge of the local populace, Logan was himself on occasion called to give evidence: “The farmers around here have got a terrible fright and will now I think give up their rebel tactics” he confidently predicted.

Eventually the sheer weight of the British forces began to tell and the threat of a Boer invasion in the area receded. By September 1901, with Logan away in Britain, a telegram from Matjesfontein reported that the raid by Gideon Scheepers’ commando into the south of Cape Colony had reached its limit. Pursued by the British under Colonel Alexander, and finding garrisoned towns on every side (supplied from the force at Matjesfontein), Scheepers had turned northward again after securing some recruits and horses. His entire troop was estimated at over 800, with 600 horses. The threat posed by Scheepers was such that rail services between Worcester and Matjesfontein had been temporarily suspended. Another commando led by Commandant Louw was still active in the Sutherland area however, and as late as 7 September 1901 an attack was launched on the British garrison in the town. The area was still vulnerable and following the discovery on 5 September that the telegraph wire between Sutherland and Matjesfontein had been cut, it emerged that Scheepers’ commando had laagerged at Schietfontein the night before. The British force at Sutherland consisted of a little over 100 men under the command of Captain H. Scott Harden, and immediate measures
were taken against a surprise attack. According to the *Times*, the town was ready to receive the rebels: “Local skilled labour was employed and men had worked day and night for ten days building blockhouses and making sandbags for windows.”231 Unlike at nearby Matjesfontein, there were no Royal Engineer stores available, and barbed wire had to be pulled down from gardens and galvanised iron commandeered from the houses for the defence of the town.

The expected attack began around 8am on 7 September with the Boers firing on the garrison from their position on the kopje overlooking the town. Despite the attack continuing until 5.30pm and telegraph communications being destroyed, no casualties were reported. Revealingly though, there were signs of support from the local population: “The enemy were reinforced during the attack by two parties estimated at 30 to 50 men, and their whole force was probably about 250. They were apparently well supplied with ammunition and used Lee-Metfords, Mausers, and Martini-Henry rifles.”232 Following the Boer withdrawal, two days passed before they again appeared on the outskirts of Sutherland. Under a white flag, Captain Scott Harden received the following letter from Commandant Louw. In superlatives indicative of this so-called ‘gentleman’s war’, it read: - “Sir, - Hereby I have the honour to ask you whether you intend fighting or surrendering in order to prevent bloodshed. In case your force be not adequate to retain your position I shall hold you responsible.” Scott Harden replied: - “Sir, - I have the honour to inform you that I have no intention of surrendering.”233 Evidently a bluff, the commando retreated to a farm six miles South West of Sutherland, and eventually, on 14 September, a convoy under Major Humphreys arrived to relieve the town.

This had, however, been a close call for the British. They were outnumbered and could have been outgunned in a region with a significant amount of Boer sympathy. At Matjesfontein Logan had astutely secured his estate by allowing the large imperial force to garrison there. The Boers would surely not attack a village with such fortification. On 24 September 1901, the *Times* reported a change of British command in the region. General Beatson returned to India, his prearranged term of six month’s service in South Africa having expired.234 Pending the arrival of General Stephenson, Colonel Ternan temporarily took command of the columns hunting Scheepers and his commando. On 14 October 1901, Logan received the news in Scotland that Scheepers had indeed been captured at Kopjeskraal, South of the village.235 As another episode in its rich history, the Boer commander would eventually be brought to Matjesfontein to be tried and found guilty of murder by the British military court. Executed at Graff–Reinet in January 1902, Scheepers became not only a martyr to the Boer cause, but, according to Schoeman, a myth as well.236
During the latter half of 1901 the reports about the war in newspapers came increasingly from Craddock, Middelburg and Matjesfontein, but gradually as the British pressed home their numerical strength in the region, the Boer forces in the South East became weakened and scattered. “We all very pleased and excited by the news we are getting from the front”, declared an exuberant James Logan. “I don’t think the Boer Rebels and their friends will be so cock a hoop now.”

The final resistance came late in the year when Jan Christiaan Smuts, the former State Attorney, led his commando on a futile invasion back into the Cape Colony. Smuts and his men crossed the railway line near Touws River and made for the North West, where Manie Maritz was holding out in the semi-desert with the support of a considerable number of local volunteers. Although skirmishes were reported in the hills around Matjesfontein, the town itself remained secure until the end of the war.

The 1901 Tour
As has been shown, a domestic cricket programme was maintained within the Cape, but the fact that organised sport had continued during a time of hostilities sat uneasily with a number of those involved. Dr. Francis Fremantle found time in his busy schedule tending the wounded at Wynberg General Hospital, to go and watch a game between the Refugees and the Western Province Cricket Club at Newlands. He wrote the following in his diary: “Saturday, January 27th: A quiet match like this in the middle of war is like the theatres in the French Revolution, when, as Carlyle puts it, the French nobility were going to the guillotine, and all the while the ‘fiddlers were tweedle-deeing on melodious catgut.”

This was of course early 1900, in the midst of the ‘conventional phase’ of the war when British casualties were high. With regards to Logan’s continued plans to take a South African team to England, Fremantle wrote that the Cape players felt the situation very deeply. Murray Bisset, the secretary and captain of the Western Province Cricket Club had, on several occasions, told him that quite apart from the absence of Jimmy Sinclair and other prominent South African cricketers at the front, it would be impossible to get a team to visit England – “the fellows wouldn’t go!” he reputedly said.

However, as the balance of the war began to swing towards Britain, Logan’s determination to organise his own tour was starting to have an affect. Disappointed that his original plans to finance the tour in 1900 had to be abandoned, Logan continued to negotiate with Lord Hawke about the possibility of leading a team to England during the summer of 1901 to coincide with
his annual trip ‘home’. The last meeting of the South African Cricket Association had taken place in August 1899, prior to the war, and they would not meet again until the end of 1902.243 This allowed Logan the opportunity to have full control of the tour and conduct much of the planning through his contacts in Britain. Despite the publicised reservations, a strong team was readily assembled by the Laird with close acquaintance Murray Bisset agreeing to captain the squad. Due to begin in May the following year, the 1901 tour was officially announced by Lord Hawke in The Times on 1 December 1900.244

Ten days after the announcement a meeting was held at Lord’s between the English first class counties where it was agreed that “if the South African team came to England in 1901 the matches with first class teams should rank as first class, and consequently be counted in the averages.”245 This gave Logan and his tour the credibility he was seeking. The one-time working-class Scot had succeeded in influencing cricket’s imperial hierarchy, an impressive feat in itself given the troubled background to the tour: “A good list of matches was arranged for the South African team, but the programme would no doubt have been even stronger if there had not been some lingering doubt as to the tour being carried out”, announced an incredulous Wisden’s. “It will be remembered that the South Africans – despite the war – announced in December 1899 their intention of coming here in 1900, and had to change their plans early in the Spring, after a full and in every way admirable programme had been secured for them.”246

Despite the discord in arranging the tour, Logan was careful to ensure that his 1901 team, pictured in Figure 50, contained the essential blend of socialite, gentlemen cricketers alongside the more skilled and industrious players. The tourists, referred to in the press247 variously as ‘the South Africans’, ‘the Colonials’ and ‘Logan’s team’ were led by the aristocratic Murray Bisset and contained the internationally-renowned wicket keeper E.A. Halliwell as well as South African all-rounder James Sinclair. At Logan’s stipulation, the team was managed by an ailing George Lohmann, in what was to prove his final tour. If proof was needed of the Scot’s personal control of the tour, among the fifteen players selected was his son, Jimmy Logan, who at that point had little experience of first class cricket.248 Another member of the squad was Johannes Jacobus Kotze, an Afrikaner and one of the fastest bowlers ever to appear in first-class cricket in South Africa.249

It has often been suggested in popular cricket history (when making the link between the war and Logan’s tour) that Kotze was in some ways representative of the Boer Republics within
South Africa’s colonial cricket fraternity. Christopher Martin-Jenkins for one, has described Kotze as the “Boer farmer who preferred cricket to war”, while for others the selection of an Afrikaner player has added extra significance to the 1901 tour. The claims of writers such as Martin-Jenkins are, however, misleading. Further analysis reveals how the inclusion of Kotze in no way influenced arguments about the colonial significance of cricketing exchanges between Britain and South Africa. Johannes Kotze was born at Berg River in the Hopefield District, Cape Province, on 7 August 1879, the eldest son of Mr. A.G.H. Kotze, a well-known farmer and horse breeder. The cultural distinction between Briton and Afrikaner so popularly depicted within the British press was not so apparent within the Cape. Of Afrikaans origin, Kotze’s father had attended Bishop’s College – that bastion of British colonial education – and had played both cricket and rugby for the school. Kotze himself was educated at Hopefield, playing both codes of British sports, after which he joined the Cape Civil Service in Cape Town.

His ancestry aside, Kotze was the archetype colonial – combining public service with a passion for English sports. The conclusive indication of Kotze’s allegiance however comes from beyond rugby or cricket, as during the Boer War he served with the Western Province Mounted Rifles against the Boers. During World War One he again enlisted and was commandant of the Hopefield District and had a force of eleven hundred at his disposal. Like Logan, and many cricketers of that period, Kotze went on to play a prominent part in the public life of his district. His political views mirrored his colonial convictions and he was a member of the Divisional Council of Malmesbury from 1918 to 1926 and in 1924 stood as a candidate for the Provisional Council, losing out to the Nationalist nominee. His captain during 1901, Murray Bisset, reported how the British press delighted in referring to Kotze as the “genial Boer” during that tour. Misrepresentative of Kotze’s true allegiance, this of course merely served to add interest to the 1901 team as well as mislead a generation of future cricket writers.

With the conflict in South Africa still raging, however, Kotze later acknowledged the difficult circumstances under which the tour took place. As the war continued into its second year there were doubts as to the wisdom of sending a team over in 1901. Some years later, Kotze revealed how, “it was suggested that the tour should be again abandoned and the English authorities were advised accordingly. The answer was that the team must come under any circumstances, or otherwise the entire county programme would be dislocated for the season.” Even the departure of the team from Cape Town was none too auspicious. Apart from the country being in a state of war, Cape Town was at the time affected by the bubonic
plague. On account of plague regulations in the docks area, the players subsequently left the Cape without even the customary send-off.257

Logan’s motivations behind the trip were as much social as anything and this was first highlighted during the journey northwards. A variety of sports and festivities were enjoyed by the team with “the Laird naturally enough well to the fore.”258 As expected, close friend Colonel Frederick Schermbrucker had been invited by Logan to join the party and he soon became an integral part of the tour and its numerous social events. “If a vote had been taken on the question of the most popular person on board, I make bold to assert that the poll would have been declared Colonel Schermbrucker first, the rest nowhere”, announced one correspondent. “The Colonel was simply immense. His dancing in the lancers, his courtly grace to the ladies, and the zest and enthusiasm with which he entered into everything, delighted everybody.”259 Logan had rented Dalguise Castle in Scotland for the duration of the tour (see Figure 53) and planned to stay on in Britain, with his family, until the shooting season was over.260 Not surprisingly, Schermbrucker and the players would be his guests on several occasions.

The team arrived at Southampton on 3 May 1901,261 and went on to play twenty five matches over the next three months. Despite a poor start, in which they lost their first five matches,262 the tourists went on to record a total of thirteen victories, nine losses and three draws in a tour which took in Scotland and Ireland as well as the major English regions.263 Included was the highest total ever made by a South African team in first class cricket – 692 scored against the University at Cambridge.264 Captain Murray Bisset, interviewed at Cardiff, described the tour as having successfully popularised cricket in South Africa, with his side improving immensely due to the experience gained:

The thing which struck us more than anything else … is the solid, business-like way in which everybody settles down to make runs … another thing with which we have been greatly struck in England is the excellence of the umpiring. In South Africa we so often have to pick up any enthusiast who happens to be on the ground.265

Despite the controversial timing of the tour, Logan and his players received lavish hospitality. There were race meetings, theatre visits, Henley boat races and many other diversions.266 The first victory for the tourists was against the London County Cricket Club (as described in Chapter 3) who fielded the likes of W.G. Grace and W.R. Murdoch.267 The London Club marked the occasion by making the South Africans honorary members and entertaining them to
an after-match dinner at the Crystal Palace. Other such invitations were received from the M.C.C. at Lord’s as well as the various counties. For Logan, the match against the Marylebone Cricket Club was the most prestigious of the tour. Despite their defeat, Logan’s team had given a good account of themselves at the ‘home’ of imperial cricket – a fact not lost on the correspondent who accompanied the team: “Two of the greatest ambitions of the sports-loving youth of South Africa … those who love cricket and the Sport of Kings … have been to play at Lord’s and to see the Derby. Well, eleven of us have realised both of these ambitions and are prepared to die happy!”

Although the South Africans achieved a good proportion of victories, it cannot be said that the team’s presence in England meant much to the cricket public. Like other travelling teams in England, they were regarded not sufficiently near to the Australian standard to command attention, and their matches were merely viewed on a par with county cricket. Individually however the players did receive recognition. Kotze’s fast bowling impressed whilst E.A. Halliwell’s displays at wicket-keeper endeared him to the spectators. “The South Africans have reason to congratulate themselves” was one cricket writer’s response. Indeed the tourists had been strangers to turf wickets prior to the tour and were undoubtedly stronger at the end than at any other period. For James Logan and his players the tour proved vital to the development of the game in South Africa. Not only had they raised the profile of South African cricket, but more importantly, they had managed to complete the tour against a backdrop of criticism from some of Britain’s most influential voices.

**Conan Doyle and Controversy**

At the time of Logan’s tour, one of the most vociferous supporters of imperialism, opposed to W.T. Stead and other anti-war voices in the British media, was cricket enthusiast Arthur Conan Doyle. The creator of Sherlock Holmes is not the first Victorian writer we associate with the promotion of the aims of Empire. Rudyard Kipling, with his South African association, and Rider Haggard, come to mind more readily with their tales of adventure in India and Africa. Doyle’s fiction is, however, often about war, and it is because he was concerned about Britain’s campaigns abroad that Doyle becomes an important public figure in support of British imperialism during the Boer War era. According to Krebs, “no British literary figure was as engaged with the fate of his country at the turn of the century as Doyle, who spent months fighting an enteric epidemic in a field hospital on the battle front and who would be credited with turning much foreign public opinion around on the question of British conduct in the war.” Rather than supporting the policy of imperialism, it was Doyle’s
conception of the link between personal honour and national honour that pushed him into the role of public spokesperson for Britain. It was in this role, that he sparked the controversy surrounding Logan’s 1901 cricket team.281

For serving his country through propagandising on its behalf during the Boer War, Doyle earned a Knighthood in 1902. Yet early in the war he had yearned for a more practical role when, at the age of forty, he had tried to enlist. After writing to The Times to suggest the use of mounted infantry, Doyle had felt “honour-bound to volunteer”: “What I feel is that I have perhaps the strongest influence over young men, especially young sporting men, of anyone in England bar Kipling. That being so, it is really important that I should give them a lead.”282 Despite not being accepted into the military, he was able to reach the fighting by another route. Resurrecting his dormant qualifications a physician, he went out to South Africa as senior surgeon of a hospital for British soldiers funded by a friend, John Longman.283

After Doyle’s return to London in July 1900, he remained deeply concerned about the war and the growth of anti-war propagandists, not least among elements of the foreign press. 284 This began what Doyle called his “incursion into amateur diplomacy”,285 a stance that was to produce very public views on the things he cared about – not least cricket. Logan’s 1901 South African tour to England began in controversial circumstances. Lord Hawke’s formal announcement of the tour in the Times during January of that year provoked a passioned response from elements of the public. 286 G. Lacy, of Sandgate, felt compelled to write:

I observe that a team of cricketers is about to leave South Africa for this country. At a time like the present, with the call for young men to put an end to the deplorable state of affairs there, and when we ourselves are sending out the best of our manhood for that purpose, it is, to say the least of it, the most wretched of taste for these young men to leave it on a cricket tour. I trust the British public will take this view of the matter. Next year we should be delighted to see them, but today it seems quite monstrous.287

The war in South Africa was proving more difficult than many Britons had expected and passions throughout Britain ran high. As Logan and his team were departing from Cape Town, Doyle, himself a keen cricketer,288 was declaring angrily in the press:

Sir, - It is announced that a South African cricket team is about to visit this country. The statement would be incredible were it not that the names are published, and the date of sailing fixed. It is to be earnestly hoped that such a team will meet a very cold reception in this country, and that English cricketers will refuse to meet them. When our young men are going from North to South to
fight for the cause of South Africa, these South Africans are coming from South to North to play cricket. It is a stain on their man-hood that they are not out with rifles in their hands driving the invader from their country. They leave this to others while they play games. There may be some question even in England whether the national game has justified itself during this crisis, and whether cricketers have shown that they understood that the only excuse for a game is that it keeps a man fit for the serious duties of life. There can be no question, however, that this South African visit would be a scandal. I trust that even now it may be averted.289

The letter provoked hearty agreement from the editor of *The Spectator*, who wrote:

Unless there are some circumstances unknown to us which put an entirely different complexion on the proposal against which Dr. Doyle protests, we heartily endorse his protest … the time for South African cricket has not come yet. The men who held Wepener for the Empire showed us that the South African British could stand up to any team in the world in something much nobler and better than cricket.290

The timing of the tour was unfortunate. When the tour had been arranged, it had not been anticipated by Logan or anyone that the war would drag on for so long. Pressure was also placed on the South Africans by the English cricket authorities who did not want their programme for the season disrupted by a cancellation.291 While Logan’s own position had been strengthened by the South African Cricket Association’s decision to disband during the war, the players themselves were naturally sensitive to Conan Doyle’s criticism. They pointed out to the press in their defence that eight of the fourteen players had seen active service, whilst others had been members of various town defence forces.292 It was stressed that Captain Murray Bisset had himself been a sergeant in a Cape Town Guard that became colloquially known as the ‘Cricketer’s Corps’ because of the number of eminent sportsmen who made up the ranks.293 Logan’s own ‘involvement’ during the battle of Belmont was also cited by the *Times* in defence of the Laird’s decision to bring a team over during this time.294 Furthermore, the 1901 team’s colours – red, blue and orange – were deliberately identical to those of the South Africa War medal ribbon. Logan, it seems, had foreseen the danger. The permission of General Sir Forestier Walker had been especially obtained in order that these could be adopted.295

In Logan’s native Berwickshire, there was justification for the tour within the local press: “Mr Logan has, with the majority of his team, fought steadily through the campaign for eighteen months. He raised a company of rifles at Matjesfontein in the Karoo, and has obtained leave of absence from his command for three months.”296 The Scot’s involvement in the war, like his
player’s, was being embellished to exonerate the timing of the tour. In an article for *The History of South African Cricket* published later in 1915, bowler J.J. Kotze wrote; “I wish Conan Doyle had done his fair share of fighting instead of starting a controversy in the press”. It was an unfortunate statement to have made considering Conan Doyle’s contribution to the war effort, but one born out of the frustrations faced in embarking on the 1901 tour. Acting in the diplomatic role as team ambassador, Captain Murray Bisset attempted to explain the *raison d'être* of the tour, upon its conclusion in August 1901:

Two years ago Mr. Logan arranged with Lord Hawke for the tour of a South African team in England, but the war came and upset everything. Later, when Lord Roberts left South Africa and said that the war was practically at an end, Mr. Logan again arranged a tour. Then came the second invasion of the Cape Colony, and we did not know what to do. But most of the team volunteered for military duties and when the invasion was repelled, and everybody thought that there would be no more trouble, we promised to go with the team. All arrangements had been made in England for the tour, and we did not see how we could back out of it, especially as announcements were continually being made by the authorities, that the war, as a war, was over.

The timing of the tour was not the only controversial aspect. The press also criticised the team because it was not a fully-fledged South African side. It was, as some suggested, essentially a private venture organised by Logan made up of players largely from the Cape, including of course, his own son. It is significant to point out though that unlike the 1894 team, this side was granted first-class status by the M.C.C. The team went on to win five and tie one of its fifteen first class matches. Had they begun the tour with minor matches in order that they could adjust to the turf wickets, they might have done even better. Five of the opening six first class matches were lost, a record that weighed heavily against the ultimate success of the tour.

More importantly, though, Logan had emerged from the tour again with his reputation enhanced. Indeed, criticism of the tour and its timing had provoked a passionate defence within sections of the imperial press. “The Hon. J.D. Logan, M.L.C., who has been among us with his cricket team representing South Africa, is a man of many parts, and shows the loyalist of that country in his best form”, declared an admiring *Golden Penny*: “He controls post-carts, mines, wine and produce business galore – in fact, it is hard to know with what in South Africa he is not connected.” Described as the “South African Millionaire” and “most liberal patron of sport”, Logan’s contribution to the war effort as well as his achievements at Matjiesfontein, were continually lauded. “It is his [Logan’s] presence in that neighbourhood which has
made it what it is, one of the most successful of Cape Colony, and a lasting lesson to the Dutch of what industry and enterprise can accomplish.”

Prior to his departure back to South Africa, Logan presented Lord Hawke with a silver plate “on behalf of the Colonials as a token of gratitude for the arrangements made for the tour.”

Ever the politician, there were fabrications too within the press from Logan in subtle defence of the tour. The imperialist journal *South Africa*, recorded how, “In the course of conversation before the *Briton* sailed Mr. Logan said that His Majesty the King had expressed a desire to present personally war medals to the members of the South African cricket team who had taken part in the present campaign, but owing to the different dates of departure this was impracticable,” but there is no evidence to support this claim. A month or so earlier, *Sporting Life* was also keen to report how the Transvaal’s James Sinclair and C.M. Hathorn were anxious to return home to Johannesburg “to do a bit more fighting.” Evidently, the players themselves had been briefed. On the playing side, “Mr. Logan said his team had done much better than he expected, and they had received the greatest kindness from everyone. He looked forward to the time when he would be able to bring over a side to play first-class matches alone with a fair chance of success.”

Given the relative success of the venture, in November 1901, *The South African Review* was already eager to address future arrangements for tours to the ‘home country’. The war not intervening, it clearly recognised the importance of Messrs Logan and Bailey in the imperial cricket process:

> It is understood that Mr. Abe Bailey has entered into arrangements with Lord Hawke to follow the example set by the Squire of the Southern Karoo, and engineer a team of players to the United Kingdom in 1904 … Competition is so keen in these bustling times that tours have to be booked a long time in advance. Five different branches of the great firm of John Bull and Co. nowadays send representative teams to visit the head office, so to speak, namely, - Australia, Philadelphia, India (the Parsees), the West Indies, and South Africa … Under the circumstances it is very gratifying to find that there are public spirited men and enthusiastic sportsmen, like Messrs. Bailey and Logan, able and willing to sacrifice time and treasure to furthering the advancement of the noble game.

James Logan, the ‘Squire of the Southern Karoo,’ returned to South Africa having achieved a long-held ambition. By leading his own cricket tour to the home of the ‘empire game’ Logan’s place was assured among the imperial bourgeoisie both within South Africa and in Britain. In July 1902, the Scot received the ultimate accolade when he and his wife were invited to the
coronation of King Edward VII and Queen Alexandra at Westminster Abbey (see Figure 65). There were invitations too to the Colonial Reception at St James’ Palace hosted by the Prince and Princess of Wales and attended by royalty and an array of dignitaries from around the Empire. Logan’s contribution to British affairs in South Africa had been formally recognised. By the end of the Anglo-Boer War, James Logan’s social elevation was complete.

**Lohmann’s Death**

There was some bad news for Logan, however, shortly after his return to South Africa. On 1 December 1901 the cricket world was stunned by news of the sudden death of George Lohmann. He was 36 years of age. Like Logan, Lohmann had played his part during the war acting as a press censor for the military whilst he was based at Matjesfontein. After arriving from Britain, where he had toured as manager of Logan’s team, the Surrey cricketer spent some time in Cape Town before returning to Matjiesfontein where it was hoped his health would once more improve. It was here, days later, where he died of phthisis pulmonatis and cardiac failure. He had been tended by Logan’s own doctor, John Robertson. Logan received the news by telegram while he was staying with the Wright family in Sea Point, Cape Town and as the *Cape Times* reported, was “very much cut up at the news but immediately made suitable arrangements for his friend’s burial.”

The funeral took place the next day on Monday 2 December 1901. Logan, with other mourners, had travelled back to Matjesfontein on the night train and brought with them wreaths from the South African Cricket Team, Colonel Schermbrucker, Mr S.M. Wright, and Dr. J.A. Robertson amongst others. Obituaries immediately appeared in both the British and South African press after Reuter’s Agency in Cape Town had cabled the news to London the previous day, in time for it to be printed in *The Times* the next morning. The cricket fraternity felt the loss particularly deeply. Lohmann was regarded as one of the finest players of his generation and was symbolic of the game during the late Victorian era. In *Cricket*, E.A. Halliwell spoke for many of Lohmann’s team-mates when he wrote “he had his faults (and who has not?) but at heart he was one of the best and I feel his death muchly.” Robert Sheard, the rector of Worcester, conducted the intimate ceremony at the graveyard where two years earlier Major Wauchope had been laid to rest. The memorial to the famous cricketer would add to Matjesfontein’s significance as a place of imperial homage. As Keith Booth explains:

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Few, if any professional cricketers – or anyone else for that matter, barring royalty, archbishops and the aristocracy – have been finally pavilioned in such splendour as George Lohmann. The memorial is in white marble with an elaborate inscription, verging on the hagiographic. It is flanked by two iconic columns surmounted by a laurel wreath to denote victory and a broken wicket symbolising the end of an innings.322

After hearing of his death, Lohmann’s ex-colleagues at Surrey County Cricket Club decided to erect his gravestone at their expense which began an undignified and unseemly wrangle between the Surrey Club and Logan.323 Surrey had instructed the Western Province Club to make arrangements for the elaborate memorial and an order was placed with Robert Cane of Cape Town, the leading monumental mason in South Africa.324 The County committee wanted the memorial erected “by the Surrey County Cricket Club”, yet Logan, annoyed that his contribution had been overlooked, proposed that “and his friends in South Africa” be added.325 Such an inscription was entirely appropriate. Lohmann had spent much of his life in South Africa and towards the end, his friends in South Africa had been a more important part of it than his former employers. Surrey were not impressed and wished “the tombstone at least to be erected by the Surrey Club alone.”326 The funding had initially been agreed as £25 by the Club and £25 by Logan. When the Laird increased his contribution to £125, the weightings in the negotiating equation had changed.327 Logan’s wealth once more proved influential and the Scot eventually had his way. The memorial, erected in 1904, still stands resplendent today (pictured in Figure 55).

Conclusions
Having completed the 1901 tour to England Logan’s name was now synonymous with South African cricket. His association with Lord Hawke’s tours and his publicised support of the game as well as imperial policies in South Africa had brought plaudits from peers and media alike. The year 1902 saw the end of the war and seemingly, Logan at the height of his success. It lead the Lakeside Press to exclaim:

Probably no single individual has done more on the behalf of good sport, and particularly cricket, in South Africa than the Hon. James Douglas Logan, member of the Legislative Council for the Northwestern Circle of the Cape of Good Hope. Mr. Logan’s name is a household word amongst cricketers throughout the length and breadth of the land. And well it may be. Not only has he consistently striven to raise the standard of the game by active personal participation, but he has been mainly instrumental in bringing to the country some of the best available English teams, notably two captained by Lord Hawke, and has given unstintingly of his great wealth to the same end.328
Despite his public displays of modesty, such praise could only enhance Logan’s political and business careers. Cricket had been good to him and his association with the game had raised his profile on all levels. His public reputation was that of a sportsman; a true colonial and there was little reason for anyone to question either his success or his motives.

However, closely related to the question of historical causation in this study is the question of human motivation. To comprehend and explain the actions of James Logan and his contemporaries, one must strive to understand what motivated them. In the 1940s, historian Louis Gottschalk proposed that:

> Those who believe in the economic interpretation of history must necessarily have a great confidence in man’s consistent action for reasons of self-interest. Those who believe in predestination must also believe in a driving force derived from inner grace; and those who believe in free will must posit a human desire to do good works.\(^{329}\)

Whichever theory of motivation one advocates, it is hard to look beyond reasons of self-interest as the main motivator of James Logan. “Those who believe in liberty”, added Gottschalk, “often share Rousseau’s confidence in man’s altruism and his faculté de se perfectionner.”\(^{330}\) Despite his apparent displays of altruism, his publicised charity and strongly held values, Logan’s desire to achieve, remains, I believe, a product of self-interest alongside an immense confidence in his own ability to succeed.

Logan’s love of cricket was most likely a personal idiosyncrasy, but because it became (as previous chapters have shown) a blatant symbol of Britishness and the role of empire, he could combine his love of the game with another personal ambition to be up there with the elite members of the establishment. In peace, cricket was an example of the cement that made possible the sense of mutuality between Britons visiting South Africa from home and those, like Logan, who became established in the colonies. There was both togetherness and rivalry between the two groups on the cricket field, but the overwhelming sense was of a corporate, national group identity which embodied a belief in superiority over the Boers and the indigenous Africans.

The Anglo-Boer War brought more ‘visitors’ from the homeland – this time in the form of soldiers to fight the ‘others’ – and a closer liaison was established between them and those already in South Africa, as was evidenced in Matjesfontein during this time. Indeed, the cricket that continued to be played during the conflict, including Logan’s own tour of 1901, acted as a
temporary antidote to war, a palliative; a way of demonstrating the level of civilisation of the imperialists. Logan had astutely manoeuvred himself into a position of influence within this setting, which allowed him to prosper not only in spheres of sport and culture, but also in the realms of politics and commerce as well.

Whatever Logan’s motivation, there is little doubt however of a change in emphasis in the years following the Boer War. Logan’s involvement in cricket waned; he was replaced by Abe Bailey as the country’s foremost benefactor, and his business and political interests were readdressed and eventually scaled back. The economics of the post war period were dictating a change in strategy for many and Logan was not alone. Cricket had served its purpose, so too had politics, and as the great pragmatist, Logan was able to recognise that the time had come to step aside.331 The war had changed South African society for ever, the commercial and political landscape irrevocably altered, and for James Logan a new period of consolidation lay before him. ‘Logan’s golden age’ was effectively coming to an end.

While debates regarding the causes of the Boer War still abound, few would argue that politics and the policies of British imperialism in the years preceding the conflict had played their part. As this study has shown, this period of political unrest coincided with the development of cricket within South Africa as well as the first cricket tours between South Africa and England. The next chapter explores the political arena of the 1890s as a backdrop to the relationship that existed between cricket and politics in South Africa during this time. Crucially, it investigates the part that James Logan – businessman, benefactor and politician – played in the process.

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2 Raymond Williams quoted in J. Higgins, (ed.). *The Raymond Williams Reader*, 2001, p.74. According to Williams, “the social function of … individuality is that, in the changing world in which the society lives, the individual, by using his own resources, can help to change the pattern, in order to meet new problems.” Ibid., p.73.
3 Ibid., p.74.
4 *Cape Times*, 14 January 1899.
5 By 1895 the Afrikaners and British were locked in a white power struggle for South Africa. The imperialism of Cecil Rhodes and others and the politics leading-up to the ill-fated Jameson Raid are explored in Chapter 7.
10 Ibid.
11 Ibid.
14 According to Knowles, Hawke “expressed his disappointment at a smoking concert held at the local Drill Hall, while [fellow amateur] Bromley-Davenport entertained the guests to songs at the piano.” R. Knowles, *South Africa versus England. A Test Cricket History*, 1995, p.33
15 Cape Argus, 11 January 1899.
18 Ibid.
19 Ibid.
22 Ibid., p.6.
29 Cited in Ibid.
30 Ibid.
32 Ibid.
33 Member of the Legislative Council (M.L.C.).
34 *The Kaffirararian Watchman*, 6 March 1899; Cape Times, 2 March 1899; Cape Argus, 3 March 1899.
35 *The Midland News*, 4 March 1899.
36 The significance of the Currie Cup to South African cricket is discussed in Chapter 4.
37 For an announcement of this deal see Mafeking Mail, 20 May 1899.
39 The year following the war had seen a number of fresh cricketers move into the colony principally as members of the civil service: “F.G. Brookes, one of the most promising batsmen in England, came out from Bedford Grammar School, and soon followed his three brothers, W.A., Frank and L.A., H.S. Keigwin, a fine bat and excellent fieldsman turned up, and cricket received a long-wished-for fillip.” L.G. Robinson, ‘Cricket in Rhodesia’. In Luckin, M.W. (ed.). *The History of South African Cricket*, 1915, pp.347 & 353.
42 *The Times*, 20 March 1899.
43 Ibid.
45 S.H. Pardon, (ed.). *John Wisden’s Cricketer’s Almanack for 1900*, 1900, p.466.
51 S.H. Pardon, (ed.). *John Wisden’s Cricketer’s Almanack for 1900*, 1900, p.466.
52 Even C.B. Fry found the inner sanctums of English cricket restrictive during the 1890s: “The upper reaches of cricket” he wrote in his autobiography, “and especially the well-fenced area known at Test Match cricket, are inhabited by familiar names that appear to be its natural denizens.” Lord Hawke, as one of these, was
reportedly none too pleased when Fry, as a comparative newcomer, was co-opted by W.G. Grace onto the selection committee. C.B. Fry, *Life Worth Living*, 1939, p.45.


54 *Cape Times*, 14 & 18 January 1899.
55 *Cape Times*, 18 January 1899; 1 February 1899.
56 *Cape Times*, 1 February 1899.
57 Ibid.
58 Quoted in Ibid.
59 The relationship between Logan, Rhodes and Sivewright is explored in detail in Chapter 7.
60 *Cape Times*, 1 February 1899.
62 Quoted in *Cape Times*, 1 February 1899.
63 *Cape Argus*, 7 April 1899.
64 Ibid.
65 The piece read: “The appeal raised in the Supreme Court by Maud Stevens, who was sentenced to six months’ hard labour for perjury in connection with the Logan case, was dismissed on Thursday and the sentence confirmed.” *The Wynberg Times*, 20 May 1899.
66 As previously mentioned, Logan had a propensity to retain (mostly) positive news items about himself and his affairs within his private scrap book.
67 *Cape Times*, 31 May 1899.
70 *Cape Argus*, 9 June 1899.
71 Ibid.
73 Ibid.,p.13.
74 *Cape Argus*, 17 August 1899.
75 *Cape Argus*, 1 September 1899. According to Logan’s offer, the Cricket Association would select the team. The finances would then devolve upon Logan who, in a move reminiscent of 1894, again stipulated that he should appoint the manager. At the same meeting it was pointed out that a sum of between £60 and £70 was being paid to the association by Logan as a result of Lord Hawke’s recent tour. Logan, it was reported, “kindly promoted the visit...on the basis of all losses on the trip being borne by himself and all profits accruing to the association.” Also see *Cape Times*, 7 September 1899.
78 In the lead-up to the Anglo-Boer War, political power was maintained by the white population groups – Afrikaners and English-speakers – while the black population remained largely the underclass within South African society. The ‘race question’ at this time relates largely to the strained relationship between the two white factions. For further analysis of this see Chapter 7.
79 *Cape Times*, 6 October 1899.
81 *Cape Times*, 6 October 1899.
82 Ibid.
83 Ibid. See Endnote 78.
84 The sumptuous menu which included caviar, Foie Gras and a selection of cooked meats, was reproduced in the *Sporting Times* of 28 October 1899: “I hope the Matjesfontein sportsmen will not forget the boiled turkey and ham if the boys in khaki come their way” commented the journal.
85 *Cape Times*, 6 October 1899.
86 Ibid. This was reference of course to the statement made in 1892 by John Merriman, then Minister of Agriculture. See Chapter 5.
87 Quoted in *Cape Times*, 6 October 1899.
88 *Cape Times*, 11 October 1899.

Ibid.


It should be noted again here that the use of the terms ‘Boer’ and ‘Afrikaner’ is for literary purposes only and should not be viewed in any representative sense. In the late eighteen hundreds the term ‘Boers’ refers predominantly to the Afrikaners of the two Boer Republics and not Cape Afrikaners - who were Boers only in the sense they were farmers.


Ibid.


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Ibid.


Encyclopaedia Britannica, Volume 19, 1911, p.560.

Daily Chronicle, 7 October 1899, p.7.

Ibid.


Ibid., p.16.

Cape of Good Hope, Government Gazette, No. 8170a. 11 October 1899. Milner threatened treason against any person from the Cape caught fighting or plotting against British forces during the conflict.

Supplement to the *Cape Times*, 11 October 1899.

Ibid.

The majority of the population in the area around Matjesfontein were Afrikaans farmers which led to tensions between the two white ‘races’ during the war. An account by Somerset Playne, written in 1910, describes the delicate situation that existed in the Cape at this time: “the misunderstandings and racial jealousies which had continued for years, culminated in the terrible three years war. The position of the Cape Government was a very difficult and delicate one during the war, for many colonists of Dutch descent sympathised with the two Boer Republics, and the northern districts of the Colony were over-run by the burgher commandos, and became the scene of some of the hardest fighting.” S. Playne, (ed.). *Cape Colony (Cape Province). Its History, Commerce, Industries and Resources*, 1910, p.34. For an examination of the relationship between the two white races of the Cape Colony see Chapter 7, pp.260-263.

L.G. Green, *Karoo*, 1955, pp.61-62. The 2nd Battalion Coldstream Guards were the first to arrive in Cape Town on 12 November 1899. Taken immediately by train to Matjesfontein, the countryside left little impression on Lt. E. Longueville, an officer serving in the regiment: “I cannot say that we were much impressed with the Karroo [sic] ... it looked all bottle ends and stones; for nothing is more dreary or dirty than a South African railway wayside station.” Papers of Lieut. E. Longueville, 7711/113, p.5. National Army Museum, London.

Field Marshal William Edmund Ironside, 1st Baron Ironside (1880 – 1959) played a significant role as commander of British forces in Persia in 1920-1921 and went on to serve as Chief of the Imperial General Staff during World War Two. Field Marshall Douglas Haig, 1st Earl Haig, (1861 – 1928) was Field Marshal during World War One. He received notoriety as commander of the British Expeditionary Force during the Battle of the Somme and the Third Battle of Ypres. R.N. Toms, *Logan’s Way*, 1997, pp.117-118.


Letter. James Logan to his wife. Tweedsie Lodge, Matjesfontein. ‘Friday’. Undated. Major John Buist / Logan Family Collection, Matjesfontein


See, for example, *Cape Times*, 9 August & 17 September 1901.

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Both André Wessels and Thomas Packenham talk of the war in distinct ‘phases’ – namely the Boer offensive (November 1899-February 1900); the first British offensive (November 1899-February 1900); the second British offensive (February-November 1900) and the guerrilla phase (March 1900-May 1902). See A. Wessels, The Phases of the Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902, 1998 and T. Pakenham, ‘The Anglo-Boer War, 1899-1902’. In Cameron, T. (ed.), An Illustrated History of South Africa, 1986.

J.D. Logan letter to wife, Orange River, 21 November 1899. Major John Buist / Logan Family Collection, Matjesfontein. As will be shown, this meeting with Wauchope would prove to be significant for Logan. See pp. 206-212.

J.D. Logan letter to wife, Orange River, 21 November 1899. Major John Buist / Logan Family Collection, Matjesfontein.

L.G. Green, Karoo, 1955, p.62 & R.N. Toms, Logan’s Way, 1997, pp.116-117. The battle at Modder River occurred on 28 November 1899 and it is possible that Logan had remained in the area at this time. We do know however, that he had returned to Matjesfontein by early December (see correspondence regarding Wauchope’s funeral). The Berwickshire News also reports how Logan “returned to Matjesfontein on the Saturday after the fight, and, except for a broken rib, was none the worse for his exciting little excursion.” Berwickshire News, 2 January 1900. The first mention of Logan’s valorous acts appear in 1910 within Somerset Playne’s fanciful account of the Cape Colony. S. Playne, (ed.). Cape Colony (Cape Province). Its History, Commerce, Industries and Resources, 1910, p. 167.

Within the definitive Times History of the War in South Africa there is no mention of Logan or the Matjesfontein Mounted Rifles at either Belmont or Modder River. L.S. Amery (ed.), The Times History of the War in South Africa, 1900-1909. The piece on Belmont – Vol. 2, pp.325-333; the piece on Modder River – Vol. 2, pp. 342-361. Logan is also not listed within South African War Honours and Awards, 1899-1902: Officers and Men of the Army and Navy Mentioned in Dispatches, 1971. Published by the Arms & Armour Press, this is a comprehensive list of awards issued during the war and includes civilian honours. In connection with the 1901 cricket tour, The Times mentions that Logan “bore arms” during the war but adds no detail while the Transvaal Publishing Company writes in 1906 of Logan’s “active part in the war” but again does not mention any commendations. See The Times, 4 May 1901; The Transvaal Publishing Company. Men of the Times: Old Colonists of the Cape Colony and Orange River Colony, 1906, p.500. There is also no official record of the Matjesfontein unit within the Archives of the Colonial Defense Force Headquarters Staff: CAR D/D 1/71.


T. Pakenham, The Boer War, 1993, pp.105-106.

G.P.O. Telegram from Logan to Reading Room, Matjesfontein. 23 November 1899. Within J.D. Logan personal scrapbook. Major John Buist / Logan Family Collection, Matjesfontein.

Cape Argus, 24 November 1899. The same account was carried by London’s Daily Telegraph, 27 November 1899, Plymouth’s Western Evening Herald, 28 November 1899 and the Berwickshire News, 2 January 1900. It was also featured in the Cape Times, 29 November 1899.


Ibid.

According to the Berwickshire News, Logan returned to Matjesfontein soon after the battle. See Berwickshire News, 2 January 1900.


The Morning Leader, 7 November 1899.

Sydney Morning Herald, 5 December 1899.

W.P. Schreiner was Prime Minister of the Cape Colony when war broke out with the Boer Republics. He was criticised by imperialists for retaining strong links with the Afrikaner Bond. See A. Hillier, ‘Issues at Stake in South Africa’. The Fortnightly Review, Vol. LXVII, N.S., January 1900.

A.G. Hanbury Williams letter to J.D. Logan, Government House, Cape Town, 24 November 1899. Major John Buist / Logan Family Collection, Matjesfontein.
Tribute'. Cape Register
Jarbinbah and Ordashu during the Ashanti war of 1873-74 and at Teb and Kirkeban whilst serving in Egypt.


Andrew Gilbert Wauchope was born at Niddrie Marischal, Midlothian, Scotland, 5 July 1846. His father was Andrew Wauchope and mother Frances, daughter of Henry Lloyd, County Tipperary. The Wauchope family had been associated with Niddrie for many centuries and were well respected as the Lairds of the region. See W. Baird, The Highlanders: The History of the British Army, 1815-1914, 1979.

Andrew Wauchope served in the Highland Brigade which consisted of regiments of the Black Watch, the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders and the Highland Light Infantry. See T. Pakenham, The Boer War, 1993.

For evidence of this see the portrait of Maj. Gen. Wauchope within Commander C.N. Robinson, Celebrities of the Army, 1900. Although Andrew Wauchope had become a wealthy man, having succeeded to the family fortune in 1884 upon the death of his elder brother, Major William Wauchope, he continued with his military career, returning to Egypt in 1898 and serving under General Kitchener in the successful battle of Omduman. He was enthusiastically welcomed upon his return to Britain and received an honorary doctorate from Edinburgh University. E. McPherson, 'General Andrew Wauchope of Niddrie Marischal. A Character Sketch and Brief Historical Tribute'. Militaria, 21 (1), 1991.

The term used to describe the British defeats at Stormberg, Magersfontein and Colenso on 10, 11 and 15 December 1899 respectively. According to Pakenham, “the public’s reaction to Black Week was a spasm of astonishment, frustration and humiliation.” T. Pakenham, The Boer War, 1993, pp.136-137. These successive defeats ultimately led to the replacement of Redvers Buller by Lord Roberts as commander of the British forces. Roberts embarked for South Africa on 23 December 1899. ‘Black Week’ itself was a phrase first coined by British Liberal Party politician Herbert Asquith after the Government came in for heavy criticism. See E. McPherson, ‘General Andrew Wauchope of Niddrie Marischal. A Character Sketch and Brief Historical Tribute’. Militaria, 21 (1), 1991.

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each regiment of the Brigade preceded the body, on a stretcher borne by four Highlanders of the Black Watch.” R.N. Toms, *Logan’s Way*, 1997, pp.121. See Figure 46.

160 Pass to Modder River and back. Signed Major R. Haking, Commandant, De Aar. 15 December 1899. Within J.D. Logan personal scrapbook. Major John Buist / Logan Family Collection, Matjiesfontein


162 Cape Times, 19 December 1899; Cape Argus, 20 December 1899.

163 Cape Times, 19 December 1899; Cape Argus, 20 December 1899.

164 Cape Times, 19 December 1899; Cape Argus, 20 December 1899.


166 Cape Times, 20 & 23 December 1899.

167 The picturesque cemetery, still visible from the national highway to Johannesburg, is located at the base of a small hill on Logan’s land at Pietmeintjesfontein four miles to the South of Matjesfontein.

168 Cape Times, 20 December 1899.

169 The Navy and Army Illustrated, 17 February 1900. Vol. IX. No.159. See Figure 48.


171 Cape Times, 23 December 1899.


173 Cape Times, 20 December 1899.

174 Cape Times, 23 December 1899.


176 See *Cape Times*, 20 December 1899.

177 Said to Logan’s secretary, ‘I have just seen your telegram and am very much grieved to learn that Wauchope’s remains have been consigned to the flames’. B. Domnisse, & A. Read, ‘Captain Robert Wauchope R.N. (1788-1862) and Maj. Gen. Andrew Gilbert Wauchope (1846-1899)’. *Bulletin*, 2002, p. 54.


181 Wauchope Monument, Matjiesfontein Cemetery, Western Cape.


184 Cape Times, 16 November 1899.

185 First match scheduled 21 May 1900, versus Hampshire at Southampton. Final match 23 August 1900, versus MCC and Ground, at Lord’s. *Cape Argus*, 19 & 29 December 1899.

186 Even the *Cape Argus* was forced to reassess the situation: “If the present position of affairs in South Africa continues it is difficult to see how it will be possible to get together a combination worthy to represent South African cricket, but much may happen, before the middle of March, when the team is due to leave.” *Cape Argus*, 29 December 1899.

187 Cape Argus, 2 February 1900. Just weeks earlier the *South African Review* had conceded that, “every day that passes seems to increase the improbability of the tour being undertaken. Impossible indeed is perhaps the correct word to use, and even were the war over tomorrow, the wisdom of sending the team would still be open to grave doubt.” *South African Review*, 19 January 1900.

188 The Times, 5 March 1900. According to the *South African Review*, Logan had communicated with Lord Hawke on the possibility of the tour still going ahead but had agreed that 28 February should be set as a deadline for a decision to be made. *South African Review*, 19 January 1900.

189 Cape Argus, 7 December 1899.

190 Cape Argus, 16 December 1899.

191 Cape Argus, 8 March 1900.


193 Cape Argus, 9 October 1900.
Reaction to the derby match at Newlands on 9 March 1901 which Western Province won by 5 wickets. *Cape Argus*, 14 March 1901. A large advertisement for the fixture (along with entertainment from the Band of HMS Doris) had appeared in the *Cape Argus* the day before. *Cape Argus*, 8 March 1901.

Cape Town Cricket Club Minute Book. 20 March 1901. Western Province Cricket Association, Cape Town.


*Cape Argus*, 27 August 1901.


According to the report, Logan also “addressed the children, and forcibly reminded them that they were British subjects, and exhorted them to show their loyalty on all occasions.” *Cape Times*, 1 January 1900.

A. Howarth, *‘The Boer at Home’*. *Cornhill Magazine*, July 1900, p.123.

*Cape Argus*, 14 March 1901.

*Cape Argus*, 8 March 1901.

*Cape Argus*, 16 August 1901.

200 Western Province Cricket Association, Cape Town.


204 Letter. Lord Roberts to Sir Alfred Milner 3 September 1900. Cited in Ibid., p.89.

205 According to the report, Logan also “addressed the children, and forcibly reminded them that they were British subjects, and exhorted them to show their loyalty on all occasions.” *Cape Times*, 1 January 1900.

206 A. Howarth, *‘The Boer at Home’*. *Cornhill Magazine*, July 1900, p.123.

207 Ibid.

208 Ibid.

209 Ibid.


211 *The Times*, 7 January 1901.


216 *The Times*, 16 January 1901.


218 *The Times*, 24 January 1901.

219 *The Times*, 26 January 1901.

220 *The Times*, 8 February 1901.

221 Ibid.

222 *The Times*, 14 February 1901. In a letter to his wife, Logan described Matjesfontein as being “alive with Boers” and how some were in the “Trunk” having been dealt heavy sentences. Letter. James Logan to his wife. Tweedside Lodge, Matjesfontein. ‘Tuesday Evening’. Undated. Major John Buist / Logan Family Collection, Matjesfontein.

223 *The Times*, 8 February 1901.


225 Ibid.

226 *The Times*, 6 September 1901.

227 Ibid. Scheepers’ intention along with the other Boer commanders was at this stage not to fight but to recruit the Cape’s Afrikaners to their cause. Clearly they hoped to benefit from the divided loyalty of the Dutch in the region of Matjesfontein. The *Times* reported the experiences of Mr. Cloete, magistrate at Steytlerville, who was a prisoner with Scheepers’ commando for 13 days: “He says most of the members of the commando are young colonial rebels. Scheepers is now between Matjesfontein and the coast; he takes care to avoid any encounter.” *The Times*, 12 September 1901.

228 See letter James Rose Innes to Mrs J. Rose Innes, 8 September 1901. Cited in H.M. Wright, (ed.). *Sir James Rose Innes Selected Correspondence (1884-1902)*, 1972, p.290.

229 See *The Times*, 11 September 1901.

230 *The Times*, 14 October 1901.

231 Ibid.

232 Ibid.

233 Cited in Ibid.

234 *The Times*, 24 September 1901.
The early part of the war was marked by traditional ‘set battles’ before being replaced by the guerrilla phase. For an analysis of the different phases of the war, see A. Wessels, *The Phases of the Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902*, 1998.


See South African Cricket Association, *Minutes*, 17 December 1902. S.A.C.A. Minute Book, 1898-1905, p.19. At the next meeting on 2 January 1903, the Honorary Secretary recorded that “owing to the war … [and] the disorganised state of the country by which cricket, with other sports had suffered, there was nothing of moment to report.” South African Cricket Association, *Minutes*, 2 January 1903. S.A.C.A. Minute Book, 1898-1905, p.21.

*The Times*, 1 December 1900.


Ibid., p.469.

See, for example, *Cape Times*, 15 & 19 June 1901; *Cape Argus* 18 & 21 June 1901; *The Times*, 3 July 1901; *Nottingham Daily Guardian*, 12 July 1901; *Birmingham Gazette*, 16 July 1901; *The Scotsman*, 18 July 1901; *The Yorkshire Post*, 2 August 1901; *Sporting Life*, 7 August 1901. Logan Jnr. went on to play in eight first-class innings during the tour, averaging just over 12 runs. *Cricket*, 22 August 1901. “Jim is as fit as a fiddle, dresses himself nicely and is especially liked by every one of the team,” Logan wrote to his wife during the first month of the tour. Letter. James Logan to his wife. Hotel Metropole, London. 18 May 1901. Major John Buitst / Logan Family Collection, Matjesfontein.


Cape Times (ed.), *Sport and Sportsmen. South Africa and Rhodesia*, 1929, p.280.

Ibid.


Ibid.


Ibid.

Ibid.

Logan had rented the castle from a Mr. C. Rubé. See *Today*, 15 August 1901 & R.N. Toms, *Logan’s Way*, 1997, p.143. The social nature of the trip was alluded to within *Today* when describing Logan’s stay in Scotland in military metaphor: “Jim Logan,” as he is universally known throughout the length and breadth of the sub-continent, is regarded by his innumerable South African friends as emphatically “one of the very best,” and is the life and soul of sport in his adopted home “down south”. He has rented Dalguise Castle … and is accomplishing long treks over the heather at the head of a commando of brother colonists and friends from nearer home. The “second in command” of Mr. Logan’s column has been entrusted to the “Grand Old Man of the Cape,” that war-torn veteran, the Hon. Colonel Schermbrucker … This fine old German gentleman, and loyal subject of our King, must be close upon his eightieth birthday, yet in this year of grace he holds his hammerless modified choke, quite as straight, and foots it over the purple heather with almost as light a step, as does his sure-shooting host, who has hardly reached half his years.”

*The Times*, 4 May 1901.

England. See invitation to both Sinclair and Halliwell to play for his London County side shortly after their arrival in practice when he became a literary success in the early 1890s. "The move was made to witness the great spectacle on Epsom Downs. The Laird put each man a sovereign on the steed of his choice."

Wednesday was Derby Day, and with barely an exception a small but select company foregathered, with the Earl of Jersey as chairman ... The evening previous P.F. Warner invited several of the team to the Empire Theatre, where they met Sam Woods and Lionel Palairet, and other well-known giants of the game ... Wednesday was Derby Day, and with barely an exception a move was made to witness the great spectacle on Epsom Downs. The Laird put each man a sovereign on the steed of his choice."

The match was played between 20-22 May 1901. See Figure 54. For a description, see The South African Review, 14 June 1901. This was the first victory by a South African side abroad in a first-class match. G. Hughes, The veil of war, in South African Cricket Union, The Springboks at Cricket, 1888-1960, 1952, p.14. The cordial relationship between the two sides is exemplified by W.G. Grace’s invitation to both Sinclair and Halliwell to play for his London County side shortly after their arrival in England. See The South African Review; 31 May & 7 June 1901.

Marylebone Cricket Club, MCC Minute Books Main Committee June 1892 – June 1907, p. 1664. Marylebone Cricket Club Library, Lord's. The M.C.C. team contained Grace, Murdoch, Trott and Ranjitsinhji amongst other star players. According to The South African Review the South Africans “nearly beat them! A little luck would have turned the scale, and the pride of the British Empire, Englishmen, Australians, and Indian — a regular Imperial group — would have bitten the dust.” The South African Review, 28 June 1901.

The social side of the tour was reported at length within The South African Review in particular. For example, the 28 June 1901 edition carried details of the reception at the MCC as well the visit to Epsom: “A small but select company foregathered, with the Earl of Jersey as chairman ... The evening previous P.F. Warner invited several of the team to the Empire Theatre, where they met Sam Woods and Lionel Palairet, and other well-known giants of the game ... Wednesday was Derby Day, and with barely an exception a move was made to witness the great spectacle on Epsom Downs. The Laird put each man a sovereign on the steed of his choice.”

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Marylebone Cricket Club, MCC Minute Books Main Committee June 1892 – June 1907, 27 May 1901, p. 1664. Marylebone Cricket Club Library, Lord’s. The M.C.C. team contained Grace, Murdoch, Trott and Ranjitsinhji amongst other star players. According to The South African Review the South Africans “nearly beat them! A little luck would have turned the scale, and the pride of the British Empire, Englishmen, Australians, and Indian — a regular Imperial group — would have bitten the dust.” The South African Review, 28 June 1901.


Cricket, 22 August 1901.

Ibid.

P.C. Standing, Cricket of To-Day and Yesterday, s.n., p. 56. L.J. Tancred, a member of Logan’s squad, later wrote how it was “with this 1901 tour the marked advance in South African cricket really began.” L.J. Tancred, ‘Cricket’. In Swaffer, H.P. (ed.), South African Sport, [1914], p.30.

Writing in 1960, Canynge Caple failed to acknowledge the controversial aspect of the 1901 tour and instead chose tp pay tribute to the “enthusiasm of South African cricketers” for making the tour happen. S. Canynge Caple, The Springboks at Cricket, 1888-1960, 1960, p.27.

Anti-war propagandist and radical journalist W.T. Stead had been regarded as the “loudest voice in the pro-Boer movement” of the period. A. Davey, The British Pro-Boers 1877-1902, 1978, p. 87. An opponent of Doyle and an avid supporter of women’s rights, Stead’s anti-war work was a huge undertaking. War Against War, sixteen pages of newsprint, came out weekly from 20 October 1899 until 26 January 1900 and included regular articles from Stead as well as new summaries and transcripts of speeches about war issues.

P.M. Krebs, Gender, Race, and the Writing of Empire, 1999, p. 85.


Quoted in J.D. Carr, The Life of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, 1949, p. 86.

P.M. Krebs, Gender, Race, and the Writing of Empire, 1999, p. 86. Conan Doyle had abandoned his practice when he became a literary success in the early 1890s.

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P.M. Krebs, Gender, Race, and the Writing of Empire, 1999, p. 86. Conan Doyle had abandoned his practice when he became a literary success in the early 1890s.

M.F. Marix Evans, Encyclopaedia of the Boer War, 2000, p. 80.


The Times, 15 January 1901.

The Times, 26 March 1901.

The Spectator, 20 April 1901.

Ibid.


See The Times, 4 May 1901.

Commanded by Lieutenant Feltham (late Protectorate Regiment), the Cricketer’s Corps were started with the aid of a £100 donation by Abe Bailey for transport equipment. As well as Murray Bissett, other well known players in the Corps were: T.W. Bell, E. Yates, G. MacFarlane. J. Rushton, D. Howe, C. Bartlett, E. Warren, E. Gill, H. Wrensch, C.M. Neustetel, J. Graham, K. Hunter, F.R. Brooke, L.H. Frripp, W. Reid, H. Stidolph, S. Horwood, A. Baker, W. Marshant, J. Fehrns, R. Solomon, I. Difford, H. Reid and L.J. Tancred. For an account of the Cape Town Guard see L. Creswicke, South Africa and the Transvaal War, 1901, p. 141.

The Times, 4 May 1901. See also Today, 15 August 1901.

The Times, 4 May 1901. Lt Gen Sir Frederick William Edward Forestier Walker (1844-1910) was Commanding Officer for the British Lines of Communication in South Africa during the war.

Berwickshire Advertiser, 7 May 1901.


Cricket, 1 August 1901.

The Times, 4 May 1901 and J. Winch, Cricket In Southern Africa, 1997, p. 46. Logan had combined the tour with his annual holiday to Scotland and the social side of the visit was well documented within the press. In a ‘mock’ interview with Colonel Schermbrucker, The South African Review alluded to the hospitality shown by the Laird at his Scottish castle during the tour. It was certainly not all about cricket: “A good time? Ach, yes, my friend. Our party in Perthshire was a jolly one, I can tell you. As you know, Logan is a prince of good fellows to make his guests comfortable, and we had as convivial [time] … as we could wish. What with shooting, fishing, eating, driving … I tell you we had fine times.” The South African Review, 25 October 1901.

See Marylebone Cricket Club, MCC Minute Books Main Committee June 1892 – June 1907, 10 December 1900, p. 1635; 7 January 1901, p. 1641; 13 May 1901, p. 1662. Marylebone Cricket Club Library, Lord’s.

Golden Penny, 7 September 1901.

Ibid. See also Today, 15 August 1901.

Golden Penny, 7 September 1901.

South Africa, 28 October 1901.

Ibid.

Sporting Life, 22 September 1901. R. Graham was the only player to remain in Britain long term after the tour had been completed. A civil servant, he obtained a transfer to the office of the Agent-General for the Colony in London. See The South African Review, 6 December 1901.

South Africa, 28 October 1901.

The South African Review, 15 November 1901.

See original invitation, Marie Rawdon Museum, Matjiesfontein (pictured in Figure 65). The Logans rose to the occasion in finery fashioned for them by a court dressmaker in London and a master tailor of Scotland. For the ceremony Logan wore an extravagant black velvet tailcoat trimmed with marcasite buttons complete with knee breeches ordered from William Anderson of Edinburgh. D. Bale, ‘Lavender and Old Lace’. Fair Lady, 1970, pp. 80-81.


Daily Mail, 17 August 1901.

The South African Review, 6 December 1901.


Cape Times, 2 December 1901. S.M. Wright was Logan’s manager. Lohmann too had stayed there on his visits to Cape Town.

Ibid. Other wreaths were from Messrs Harry Attridge, George Parr, Harry Newsome, William R. Morgan and A.W. Waddington as well as Logan and his family.

See The Times, 2 December 1901; Cape Argus, 2 December 1902.

The South African Review paid tribute to Lohmann by describing him as “the finest all-round professional cricketer that has ever lived, second only of all cricketers to the great W.G.” The South African Review, 6 December 1901.
320 Cricket, 30 January 1902.
324 South Africa, 7 May 1904. It has since been suggested that the elaborate nature of the memorial stone was such that it might have been beyond the capacity of Cane’s team and that the work was undertaken by Harold Adams Acton, a London sculptor, who was working for Cane at the time. See R.R. Langham-Carter, ‘Lohmann of England: A Lonely Grave on the Karoo’. Quarterly Bulletin of the SA Library, 1983, p.261.
326 Ibid.
327 Ibid.
328 The Lakeside Press, The Prominent Men of Cape Colony South Africa, 1902, p.35.
329 L. Gottschalk et.al., The Use of Personal Documents in History, Anthropology and Sociology, 1945, p.56.
330 Ibid.
331 Personalities of course change; ideas grow and become different. Variability of personality is an issue facing all historians but here in Logan’s case, the environment had changed and not necessarily him, so it was time for him to adapt. For a discussion on this, see L. Gottschalk et.al., The Use of Personal Documents in History, Anthropology and Sociology, 1945, p.58: “The sophisticated historian needs but to look upon his own development to perceive that a static portrait of the personality or ideas of any historical figure may be a good likeness for only a brief span of his life.”
Figure 32. Logan (middle, second left) with Lord Hawke (seated centre) and the English cricket team in South Africa 1898-99

Figure 33. Logan entertains Lord Hawke’s team 17 March 1899
Figure 34. Lord Hawke’s 1898-99 English side in action at Matjesfontein 17 March 1899

Figure 35. Logan’s Matjesfontein team which faced Lord Hawke’s England (Logan front right; George Lohmann seated middle, second from right)
Figure 36. The Logan Cup

Figure 37. James Logan in the ‘nets’ at Matjesfontein c.1899
Figure 38. Matjiesfontein artefacts 3. Trophy presented to Logan by Lord Hawke in appreciation of his hospitality during the 1895-86 English tour of South Africa

Figure 39. Matjiesfontein artefacts 4. Trophy presented to Logan by Lord Hawke following the 1898-99 English team’s visit to South Africa
Figure 40. British Military Camp, Matjesfontein c. Nov 1899

Figure 41. A British Regiment at Matjesfontein Camp
Figure 42. ‘Major’ James Logan at Matjesfontein prior to leaving for the Battle of Belmont c. Nov 1899

Figure 43. ‘Logan’s Horse’
Figure 44. British troops attend Sunday service at Matjesfontein c.1899

Figure 45. The Matjesfontein Mounted Rifles c.1900 in front of the new Hotel Milner
Figure 46. The first burial of Major-General Wauchope, Magersfontein 12 Dec 1899

Figure 47. The re-burial of Wauchope, Matjesfontein 19 Dec 1899
Figure 48. Matjesfontein on front cover of *The Navy and Army Illustrated* 17 Feb 1900

Figure 49. Logan meets Field Marsall Lord Roberts Matjesfontein Station c.1900
Figure 50. James Logan’s 1901 South African Team

Figure 51. Team prior to departure *RMS Briton*, Cape Town 17 April 1901
Figure 52. Logan (front left) with 1901 team, England May 1901

Figure 53. Logan’s rented home. Dalguise Castle, Scotland Aug 1901.
Figure 54. W.G. Grace’s London County v Logan’s South African Team,
Crystal Palace 20 May 1901
Figure 55. Memorials to Imperialism. Matjiesfontein Cemetery today (Top: George Lohmann’s gravestone. Bottom: Memorial to Major Gen. Wauchope)
Chapter 7

Logan and the Political Arena
Chapter 7 – Logan and the Political Arena

Late nineteenth century South Africa was a land of opportunity and James Logan epitomised what was required to become a success in the colonies. He recognised at an early stage that through persuasion and political manoeuvring, as well as an involvement in cricket, he could ensure his place amongst the colonial elite. Using a broad understanding of politics, this chapter explores the political life of James Logan during the important period leading up to the Anglo-Boer War – a period which, in many ways, defined the era and shaped James Logan’s contribution to the development of South African cricket. Significantly, Logan’s involvement in the contract dispute (of 1893) and the Jameson Raid, two events that fundamentally altered South African history, are examined here in detail.

The politics relevant to this study is not wholly to do with the role of government and organisations, but, rather, it is to do with relations of power and influence in life and society. “Any society is a diverse unit,” suggests Gemmell, “with interested parties contesting the scarce resources … Politics, for its part, is a means by which individuals seek to influence others towards a particular stance or point of view.”¹ Politics, then, is “essentially ‘power behaviour’, not confined to particular governmental institutions or forms, but present in any social situation.”² Concurrent with the argument that politics is about power, Logan’s whole life, it could be claimed, was politically driven. He knew he depended on others for his success and sought out associations with members of the white colonial elite in South Africa and members of the British ruling class at home, seizing upon opportunities at every turn and manipulating relationships for his own advantage.³

“In essence,” suggests Gemmell, “politics is a study of society, because it is a crucial component in the day-to-day activities of all social units.”⁴ “Politics has to be about how we conduct our social affairs”⁵; it is principally a social activity and is continually changing throughout time.⁶ Unlike institutionalists, who believe that “politics is [solely] concerned with the role and function of the state”,⁷ this chapter demonstrates that sport, as part of society, is prone to the same influences of self-interest and manipulation as other constituent parts. As this chapter shows, the politics of men like James Logan, Sir James Sivewright and Cecil John Rhodes offer insight into past society – specifically, a period in the history of South African society and cricket, that demonstrates that sport and politics did mix, and in fact created many of the sporting structures we see in place today. As the previous chapters have shown, the early cricket tours between South Africa and England were emphasised at a time when imperial
links were being created through sport throughout the empire and the role of benefactors like James Logan was crucial to this process. Set in the specific historical and political context of the time, his motivations are investigated within this chapter.

**Economic Power**

The intertwining of politics and economics shaped much of South Africa’s colonial history. As Gemmell testifies, “ownership of the major productive resources not only determines the structure of power and decision-making in society but also, in turn, dictates the customs and traditions of the people. Conflict arises when there is scarcity of requirements or when individuals or groups make demands that are incompatible.” Nineteenth century South Africa was rife with such conflict and the Anglo-Boer War stemmed from the struggle for economic power. Because conflict emanates from economic inequality and politics dictate the distribution of power, ‘Boer War South Africa’ thus represented a highly politicised society.

James Logan had achieved economic power in a relatively short period following his arrival in South Africa. Matjesfontein and Logan were thriving at a time when entrepreneurs from Britain were encouraged to go forth and prosper in the colonies. Cain and Hopkins, in their investigation of British imperialism, refer to it as a form of ‘gentlemanly capitalism’ which was being promoted at the ‘sharp end’ of Britain’s empire. Expansion was linked to imperialism and businesses operating in frontier conditions readily acquired political connections and often official status too, both of which were helpful in reducing risk and suppressing competition. Matjesfontein’s role during the Boer war, as shown in the previous chapter, revealed an established network of connections for Logan within the imperial hierarchy and of course by this time the Scot was no stranger to the political scene in the Cape Colony. However, as this chapter reveals, Logan’s involvement some years earlier in the government contract controversy would also testify to the level at which Logan operated as well as the interaction of politics and self-interest during this period. This, along with other examples of collusion and political manoeuvring will be investigated here.

The men who created colonial businesses were adventurers as well as entrepreneurs. Like Logan, they were rarely gentlemen by birth, and their willingness to cut corners on the frontiers of empire was often frowned upon in London. Nevertheless, they took readily to the imperial mission, and as ‘gentlemen in the making’, helped to rejuvenate the diffusion of British principles and culture abroad in the second half of the nineteenth century. According to Cain and Hopkins, many who carried this ‘gentlemanly code’ into Africa saw themselves as
engaged in a civilising mission and performing a patriotic duty, which in turn expressed their loyalty to the crown – and hence their acceptance of the social order it represented.” Cricket, as the archetype imperial game, played some part in the civilising mission, but was, more importantly, used in South Africa to maintain the exclusive social position of the white, British colonial.

James Logan used politics, sport and personal fortune – mixed with an unwavering determination to succeed – in order to climb the social ladder. He also displayed the toughness and resilience required by anyone hoping to prosper in South Africa’s harsh environment. Crucially, like many of the ‘Randlords,’ he did not care who he upset on the way: “‘Hit him First’ was for long the leit-motiv of South African veld diplomacy. It was not always the richest or the most powerful who came out victorious, but he who got his blow in first many’s [sic] the time carried away the prize.” If this was true, then James Logan was a prize fighter of the veld; an expert exponent of the noble art; a key member of an exclusive group of opportunists who “drew aside the veil from the Dark Continent.” Logan, in essence, was part of a select group of individuals who used not only sport, but the commercial and political climate of 1890s South Africa to dictate its future course.

**Race, Rhodes and a Background to Cape Politics of the 1890s**

In Cape politics the competition between the two white groups was based primarily on ideology and questions of ‘race’. As Chapter 6 highlighted, the Afrikaners and the British in South Africa were set apart not only by their respective cultures, but by other, more fundamental differences. Indeed, when the British first landed in 1795 they came from a background of empire builders and not surprisingly this clashed with the interests of the Afrikaners – who as the first white pioneers of South Africa, held essentially conservative and evangelical views. Any attempts by the British to integrate the Afrikaners into specifically British cultural and religious sanctums were heartily rejected as this also meant accepting the Crown and the Empire as part of God’s plan of salvation. Cricket arrived later, but with its stamp of ‘Englishness’ and exclusivity, the game also had a limited impact on the Afrikaans population (see Chapter 4). Throughout the Empire, the British had become accustomed to dominating the local political and economic systems and from their predominantly urban base in South Africa had fervently advocated free trade and the liberal treatment of ‘natives’. By contrast, the Afrikaners, more than 90 per cent a farming people, opposed the ideals of a free market and were concerned primarily about the control of black and coloured labour.
As Hermann Giliomee explains, “the Afrikaner-British clash over power and group status was played out predominantly in the field of politics”, and within the Cape, as with other regions of South Africa, the white ‘race’ issue, as well as economic imperatives’ was to the fore. Indeed, during the formative period of the Cape Administration, the prospect of power for the numerically superior Afrikaner population was feared by English-speakers almost as keenly as the prospect of black empowerment. On the eve of the Cape’s responsible rule in 1872, John X. Merriman, then an ardent British imperialist, wrote: “The difficulty in the way of self-government here is the mixed population: there is a great danger that we should become a Dutch republic under such a regime.” Ten years later, the Port Elizabeth Telegraph was still expressing similar concerns:

If the Afrikaner Bond is to be well beaten it will have to be done by the assistance of the black vote. Look at the question as we may, we always come back to the fact that the Dutch in the colony are to the English as two to one, and that if they combine they can outvote us, and inflict upon us all the absurdities of their national and economic prejudices.

By this time the British had realised the importance of the black vote as a necessary means of combating the threat posed by the Afrikaners and were prepared to offer Africans more rights in return for their support at the ballot box. It was an issue that would cause serious political tensions between the white factions. In 1887, the Afrikaner Bond, afraid that an influx of African voters would side with the English, backed a Parliamentary Bill effectively restricting the number of Africans who were eligible to vote. One Dutch newspaper described the move as originating in a “righteous and honest instinct of self-preservation.” The Bill, by limiting the black franchise, had highlighted the distinct racist nature of the South African political system on both sides of the white divide.

For many English-speakers, attempts to limit the African vote was not so much an attack on liberal values, but an Afrikaner effort to weaken the British support base. The result, Giliomme argues, was that “much more heat was generated in white ranks by infringements of black liberties than would have been the case if the dominant group had been culturally homogeneous.” Despite the British claims of fair treatment of natives throughout the empire, in South Africa there was little doubt that both white factions ascribed to a notion of racial superiority. It was merely the fact that English-speaking whites tended to justify white supremacy in different ways from their Afrikaans counterparts. While the British drew largely on Darwinian theories of hierarchy, Afrikaners were more likely to disregard biological explanations in favour of an “idealized picture of paternalism, depicting the white master as
caring for faithful servants, and punishing them when they erred.”25 Either way, the social and political system within the Cape left little room for the vast majority of native Africans.26

Despite the differences between Briton and Boer regarding the native question, there still existed a necessary if uneasy alliance between the two white factions. Indeed, at the dawn of the 1890s the success of any Cape Ministry relied to a large extent on the co-operation of its prime minister with Jan Hofmeyr, leader of the Afrikaner Bond. The Afrikaans population remained a significant part of the Cape electorate and their influence was recognised by everyone with political aspirations in the region. Throughout his career, James Logan was aware of the importance of the Afrikaner Bond in Cape politics and he was continually mindful not to alienate its members. A view he shared with Cecil Rhodes. Accordingly, Liberal politician J.W. Sauer, although eager to form his own ministry in 1890, had felt that it would be in the better interests of the country if the ministry were entrusted to somebody “who might be able to combine in his government a wider representation of the several parties in the country.”27 With this in mind he advised the Cape Governor to send for Rhodes.

Part of Rhodes’ success in receiving the co-operation of the Bond was due to his friendship with Jan Hofmeyr. Initial suspicion had been replaced with respect as they found a basis for a common internal policy. Paul Kruger’s isolationist economic policy within the Transvaal had caused him to lose the sympathy of many Cape Dutch and Rhodes’ vision for the north, although not suiting all Bond members, was at least reconcilable with Hofmeyr and his ministers. Rhodes’ biographer Thomas Fuller explained this unlikely collaboration:

Mr. Rhodes had too commanding an influence in the interior, where the Dutch had always been supreme, to be left alone by so astute a politician as Mr. Hofmeyr, while Mr. Hofmeyr's influence with the Dutch throughout South Africa was too great to be left out of Rhodes’ calculations. Both believed in compromise; both had the idea that by keeping together, and perhaps modifying each other’s programme, they could work together for the welfare of the country and the union of the races.28

Crucially, the alliance was aided by the intercessions of James Sivewright (pictured Figure 59), a stout Bondsman and shrewd businessman and Rhodes’ right-hand man in his railway schemes. It was in this political role that Sivewright would form a close friendship with James Logan and in turn, through Sivewright, Logan’s association with Rhodes would be cemented. Rhodes had always claimed that there were no clear lines of political divisions in the country,29 and in forming his first Ministry on 17 July 1890, he seems to have endeavoured to prove his
point. Subsequently described as “a Ministry of all Talents”, at one end of the political spectrum were supporters of the Bond, such as Sivewright and P.H. Faure, whilst at the other end were the more ‘liberal’ John. X. Merriman, James Rose Innes and J.W. Sauer.

The inherent weakness within the cabinet was not, however, simply a matter of the differences between liberals and conservatives. Fundamentally the split lay in the two sets of political ideals which characterised Cape Politics at the time. On the one side stood Rhodes representing the new brand of politician – shrewd, expedient and perhaps not primarily concerned with moral scruples. James Logan fitted this mould. For men like Rhodes and Logan, politics, as with life, was a business where the final results were what mattered and how these were achieved was of minor importance. By contrast, politicians such as Merriman represented the old Liberal Whig tradition of politics in which a sense of honour and justice based on mid-Victorian moral ethics was the guiding principle. Inevitably these two contrasting philosophies were due to clash.

Undoubtedly Cecil Rhodes was a man of remarkable vision and talent and his devotion to the British Empire was unbounded. In his first Will of 1877 he left his fortune, which he had yet to win, to the establishment of a society whose aim and object was “the extension of British rule throughout the world ... the formation of so great a power as to hereafter render wars impossible and promote the best interests of humanity.” In a rare moment of self-reflection, Rhodes had written:

It often strikes a man to enquire what is the chief good in life. To one the thought comes, that it is a happy marriage, to another, great wealth and as he seizes on his idea for that he more or less works on this [for the] rest of his existence. To myself thinking the same question, then I wish to render myself useful to my country ... I contend that we [the English] are the first race in the world and that the more of the world we inhabit the better it is for the human race.

Despite its extraordinary naivety, this testament may be regarded as a confession of faith from which Rhodes never substantially departed. Indeed, Rhodes’ devotion to the ideals of empire would ultimately shape the direction of his entire political career as well as lay the foundations for the spread of imperial cricket throughout South Africa.
‘Money Politics’ and Cabinet Division

Cecil Rhodes had made his fortune by the 1890s and he perceived that the talent of making money should be a trust for public uses and envisaged the extension of the empire by means of “Chartered Finance”. Back in Britain the overt collaboration of business with politics was still deemed incompatible according to mid-Victorian ethics. Yet as this study has shown, individuals like Logan were now flourishing in South Africa’s ‘new’ society unbridled by the bureaucracy and class distinctions of ‘home’. Men like Logan and Rhodes were true pioneers, who created their own rules and manipulated the rules of others. For example, it seemed ludicrous at the time to insist on the insertion of a clause in the De Beers Trust Deed enabling a diamond mine company to blossom out, if necessary, into a government in the African interior: “Barnato protested that it was “not business”, and as a businessman he was quite right: it was politics. But it was Rhodes’ mission to inject politics into businessmen and business into politicians.” In Logan he had already found a convert.

The liberal faction of the Cape administration, led by John Xavier Merriman, was opposed to this new ‘money approach’ to politics. Merriman, pictured in Figure 58, had been a member of the Legislative Assembly since 1869. His acquaintance with Rhodes originated in the early days of the diamond-rush in Kimberley. Recognising one another’s ability, the two were drawn together, and in his biography of Rhodes, Basil Williams claims that Merriman was wont to recall his companion’s remarkable interest in politics and the early pact they both made to take part in public affairs – the only intellectual pursuit, as they agreed, open to a colonist. Merriman’s political values were, however, like his moral values, very largely derived from English mid-Victorian Liberalism, which, with the advent of the new brand of ‘Logan-esque’ politics, was slowly becoming outmoded. Inevitably, a split began to appear within the Cape Assembly.

South Africa’s politicians, like everybody else, had to adapt to an immature and divided society – one which was harassed by issues of race (between English-speaker and Afrikaner) and colour (between whites and blacks) and forced suddenly to adapt itself to economic and social revolution brought on by the discovery of diamonds and gold in the north. For some, this meant an opportunity for personal gain while, for others, the situation represented a fundamental question of morality. Writing to close friend J.B. Currey shortly after the Logan controversy, Merriman reveals his unease regarding the corruption prevalent at the time in Cape politics:
Now that the whole thing is over one feels a sense of relief at being free not only from the Penman associations... but also from the Rhodes-Hofmeyr way of doing business – the lobbying, the intrigue, and utterly cynical disregard of anything approaching moral principle in the conduct of public affairs. After twenty years of political life my conscience – or what is left of it – is pretty tough but it has been stretched a good deal lately.

For many liberals the distrust of economic imperialism had turned into revulsion following the Jameson Raid. Yet for Merriman there had long existed a deep-seated antipathy for the likes of Rhodes, Sivewright and Logan whose brand of politics was such anathema to him. It is further possible that this antipathy was not just a little tainted by envy at what was being achieved by ‘other means’: “The fact is”, he wrote to his wife, “[that] like myself you do not understand the great modern art of booming yourself, which is a gift, like making money or anything else.” Merriman was aware that Logan, like Rhodes, was a principal proponent of the art of self-promotion and distrusted the Scot as much as his ‘progressive’ colleagues within the Assembly. No doubt Logan’s highly publicised involvement in cricket would also have been the subject of Merriman’s vitriol. In Merriman’s opinion, Cape politics had become tainted by those ‘politicians’ who sought self-aggrandisement as well as financial gain from their involvement in the colony’s affairs.

The division within the Cape Assembly was thus well established going into the 1890s and there were problems with Rhodes’ first ministry long before the involvement of James Logan and his contract. Merriman, for one, could foresee potential issues arising and his early lack of ease in office is well illustrated in a personal letter he wrote in October 1890: “We have settled down in our ministerial nests with our noses to the Treasury crib, but I cannot say that I feel either proud or pleased and both Sauer, Innes and I have a good many things to gulp down. I therefore hardly like to predict a very long life for our craft.” A year after its creation, the strain was indeed growing within the fledgling Administration. A.J. Herholdt, a member of the Cape Legislative Council, wrote to fellow Bondsman Thomas Te Water in June 1892, declaring; “I don’t think the Ministry is as safe as some people fancy, in fact I am quite convinced that before many days a change must come, for there is such internal dissension with them that it is simply impossible for them to live together.”

The first controversy to beset the Ministry involved their handling of the so-called ‘Strop Bill’. Introduced by farmer and Bondsman P.J. du Toit in 1890, the Bill’s objective was the authorisation of corporal punishment of labourers. Directed in essence at the control of black and coloured workers the Bill was indicative of the racially-driven policies of the white Cape
Administration. Rhodes at first supported the Bill, possibly with the intention of appeasing the Dutch-speaking sector. This was an early indication of Rhodes’ attitude towards the race issue which would of course emerge again during the non-selection of the coloured cricketer Krom Hendricks in 1894. Naturally the liberals in his cabinet, as well as the vociferous Olive Schreiner, were vehemently opposed to any law approving corporal punishment. The potential cabinet crisis was avoided by the decision to leave the matter to a free vote. The Bill was defeated at its second reading by thirty-five votes to twenty-three.

Merriman was not the only liberal of Rhodes’ cabinet to voice his discontent at developments prior to Logan’s contract controversy. Early in 1892, James Rose Innes, the Attorney-General, was also considering his future in light of the new ‘brand’ of politics being introduced. “I shall be glad to be out of office again”, he confessed to Merriman. “As a private member one breathes pure political air, as a member [of the cabinet] one lives in an atmosphere heavily charged with carbonic; there are so many things to be considered apart from one’s own honest opinion, that the latter is sometimes perforce crushed into the back seat.” ‘Money politics’, employed principally by James Sivewright and nouveaux riches entrepreneurs like Logan that he associated with, had come to represent all that the three liberals distrusted and abhorred. On the back of the wealth created by Kimberley’s diamonds, South Africa was entering a new phase of economic growth and with that growth emerged a new kind of ‘businessman politician’. Rhodes had on his side all the charm, power and influence to reconcile diverse interests that Sivewright lacked. But in conjunction with Davenport’s theory that Rhodes himself was in favour of a cabinet reshuffle, it would be foolish to underestimate the role that Sivewright, and his close friend James Logan, had in the eventual demise of the Ministry.

Rhodes, however, should take his share of blame for the controversy which ensued. It was part of his make-up, after all, to be the conceiver and evolver of great plans and to leave the working out of detail to others. Sivewright was useful to Rhodes. Not only was he attractive because of his business acumen, as a Bondman he also represented a powerful political ally within the Afrikaner camp. Such associations were essential to Rhodes’ wider, long-term plan of imperial expansion throughout Southern Africa. Significantly, in 1891 Sivewright had concluded an agreement with Transvaal President Paul Kruger enabling the Cape to carry its railway on from Bloemfontein to Johannesburg and to fix the rates on all its length until the end of 1894. Negotiations were delicate, but Sivewright succeeded in securing the deal in return for a loan which enabled the Netherlands Railway Company to raise sufficient money to
complete the Delagoa Bay railway. Rhodes was delighted with Sivewright’s achievements and came to use him as his right-hand man.\textsuperscript{52}

Despite the unpopularity of Sivewright amongst the liberal members of the cabinet, Rhodes was fully aware that he performed a function more important than mere, localised politics. The railway was the principal medium upon which the empire could grow and here Rhodes had a man who could help him achieve his plans for expansion. James Logan of course had already recognised the importance of the railways to the ‘new’ South Africa and had staked his claim to be part of its growth. His motives however were self-centred. More the entrepreneur than ‘emperor’, Logan left the grand planning of nations to the likes of Rhodes and concentrated instead on building his own personal empire. Indeed, both Sivewright and Logan had found common ground in achieving their fortune by combining business and politics. The comparisons did not end there.

**Logan and Sir James Sivewright**

An examination of his close association with James Sivewright reveals the essential nature of Logan’s business relationships and his ability and success in financing and developing his cricketing connections and opportunities. While this chapter essentially explores the link between political and economic power, previous chapters have shown how cricket was important to Logan in providing the cultural element so vital in the three-pronged nexus of power – politics, economics and culture. Logan’s relationships at all levels were forged upon the need to establish influence within South Africa’s colonial society.

Like Logan, Sivewright came from a Scottish family of moderate means, but through immense drive and talent had also succeeded in climbing the social ladder. Born in 1848 in Fochabers, Elginshire, Sivewright was the son of William Sivewright, a local builder and respected member of the Free Kirk.\textsuperscript{53} Taught by the local dominie, Sivewright showed such a gift for science and mathematics that at the age of 13 he won a bursary to the University of Aberdeen. Five years later, in 1866, he secured an M.A. He had just turned 18 years of age. Following a spell of teaching at a private school at Blackheath in London, Sivewright worked alongside Mr. (later Sir) William Henry Preece, Chief Engineer for the British Post Office, as ‘Superintending Engineer of the Southern Division of England’ – he was now 22.\textsuperscript{54} Having co-authored the *Textbook of Telegraphy* (with Preece), he was elected Secretary to the Society of Telegraph Engineers, and would almost certainly have become head of that organisation, had not a request reached the British Government from the Cape Colony. Although telegraphs had
been introduced to the Cape in 1860, it was not until the 1870s that large-scale expansion began so, like Logan with the railways, James Sivewright would arrive in South Africa at an opportune time.

Almost immediately upon his landing in South Africa in 1877, Sivewright was confronted with the outbreak of the Zulu War – a formidable campaign that demanded a vast expansion of communications, particularly between the Cape and Natal. New lines were run, and Sivewright, appointed ‘General Manager of the Telegraphs’ in the Cape, was called in to accompany the British forces, first under Lord Chelmsford and then under the command of Sir Garnet Wolseley. The only non-combatant to be decorated during the campaign, Sivewright was awarded a medal with three bars as well as the order of St. Michael and St. George. Following a brief spell back in Scotland during the mid-1880s, he returned to South Africa in 1885 as representative for the Eastern and South African Telegraph Company. Soon after, he met Cecil Rhodes, and the two men became close friends. This association led Sivewright to Kimberley, at that stage thriving with diamond speculators and where, like Logan, he began to operate on a large scale in the share market. Shortly afterwards, the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand offered even greater opportunity for financial as well as technical acumen. For men like Logan, Rhodes and Sivewright, the opportunities in South Africa at this time to create personal wealth were immense.

By the end of the decade, Sivewright had entered politics by becoming the Cape Parliament’s first member for Griqualand East. Following his re-election in 1888, Rhodes invited him to join the newly formed cabinet in 1890, initially as Minister without Portfolio and later as Commissioner of Crown Lands and Public Works. In this role he was in charge not only of the telegraph system he had formerly worked at but also the development of the Cape railway network. This represented a favourable appointment for both Sivewright and his friend, James Logan. Significantly, the Laird now had an ally within the Cape parliament who had sole jurisdiction for the award of all contracts relating to the railway service. As favours were afforded, and Logan’s catering business prospered, suspicion grew concerning the fraudulent dealings of Sivewright and his associates. “Doubtless [Rhodes] was aware of Sivewright’s business talents, but he must also have been aware that Sivewright was well known for some rather shady business transactions”, wrote Viney. It is safe to assume that Logan, through association, would have been implicated in such dealings. For Merriman, the case against Sivewright was emphatic: “I always hope that I do not misjudge the man”, he confided to his
mother, “but I know too much and to overlook what I do know would certainly not do much to improve morality.”

Disregarding speculation, Rhodes himself acknowledged that Sivewright was the man who alone was responsible for achieving the expansion of the Cape’s rail system (and, inadvertently, the spread of cricket) into the northern interior. The extension of both lines to Kimberley and then onto Bechuanaland and Rhodesia was attributed to the shrewd Scot who had completed diplomatic negotiations with the Boer administrations of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. For cementing the line from Bloemfontein to the Rand, Queen Victoria honoured the importance of Sivewright’s work in 1892 by bestowing a knighthood upon him. Despite criticism of his methods, Sivewright was indeed proving his worth to Rhodes and his plans of imperial expansion. While personally benefiting from his endeavours, Sivewright’s political style was perfectly suited to the demands of South Africa’s colonial frontier of the late nineteenth century. The liberal politicians may have questioned the moral guidelines within which ‘money men’ such as Sivewright and Logan operated, but they could not deny the effectiveness or achievements of these men during this period. South Africa was a land of opportunity but only for those ‘daring’ enough to take advantage.

The similarities with Logan are unequivocal. Like Logan, Sivewright recognised the necessity of gaining support from the Afrikaans electorate and was a master of diplomacy during sensitive negotiations. He also recognised the political value of sporting patronage and, like Logan, became a benefactor of many sports and cultural institutions within the Cape. Sivewright’s drive and ability was an asset to Rhodes and the colonial Administration of the Cape and in turn, like Logan, he was able to create his own fortune in the new colony. According to Rosenthal, Sivewright’s wealth came from many sources, through his technical skills and his “shrewd eye for the Stock Exchange.” Closely connected with the cable companies operating to South Africa, he was responsible for reducing the cost of communications to the continent, no doubt benefiting the likes of Rhodes and Logan with their overseas business interests. As an engineer, Sivewright became associated with the establishment of the Johannesburg Waterworks Company, which also developed into a profitable land-owning concern. Along with Sir David Graaff, he was also the pioneer of cold storage in South Africa. Despite suggestions of dishonesty regarding his private dealings, Sivewright’s contribution to the development of South Africa’s infrastructure is undoubted and like Logan at Matjesfontein, his public achievements were continually lauded.
represented the new breed of colonial politician who were able to succeed in a political climate driven by the overt imperial ambitions of Cecil Rhodes.

The contract dispute of 1893 would, however, ultimately curtail Sivewright’s political career. By awarding a lucrative rail contract to close friend and fellow-Scot, James Logan, Sivewright had invited accusations of impropriety from his detractors. In the face of opposition from the three liberals as well as the impartiality shown by Rhodes, Sivewright maintained that in spite of his relationship with Logan, the contract was in the interests of the Colony. Although sympathetic, Rhodes found it difficult to find a place for Sivewright in his new Ministry and whilst still protesting his innocence, Sivewright saw the opportunity to withdraw from politics and invest his time and fortune in a second home in Scotland. At the climax of the 1895 boom, he was estimated as being worth well over £1,000,000. He bought Tulliallan Castle, in Fife, at a cost of over £130,000, spending in excess of £20,000 on furnishings alone. Like Logan, Sivewright had acquired considerable wealth over a short period of time and was liable for significant taxation on his assets. As a result, Tulliallan was signed over to his wife and again in 1901, a further £200,000 was placed in her name as he sought to protect his fortune.

“In the annals of South African money-making [James Sivewright] probably stands unique as the only civil servant who managed to enter the millionaire class”, wrote Eric Rosenthal. Indeed these were sums that political opponents such as Merriman and Rose Innes could never dream of earning and they were forever suspicious of how he accumulated such wealth. The Logan Contract was the chance for Merriman and his colleagues to issue Rhodes with an ultimatum – either he must rid himself of Sivewright who, in their opinion, had too often been “among the pots” or face their resignation from his ministry.

**The Logan Contract**

In 1887, 123 stations had been opened along the Cape rail network, of which 23 offered refreshments. As Chapter 5 revealed, James Logan was caterer at Touws River, De Aar and Kimberley Stations. By January 1893, over a distance of 3353 track miles including 175 railways stations, there were 45 outlets, of which 10 were managed by Logan. “It seems clear”, surmised Toms, “that Logan’s aim was to eventually control all Cape Railway catering stations.” For this plan to succeed it was vital of course to gain the backing of the authorities and, for Logan, his network of contacts within the Ministry again proved beneficial. In his new role as Commissioner of Crown Lands and Public Works, James Sivewright had been placed in charge of the railways and was tasked with improving the overall performance of the service
including the catering. Fortuitously for Logan, as we have seen, the two men were close friends as well as business associates. It was a relationship that would be called into question over the coming months.

Prior to 1893 the award of public contracts had been strictly vetted. Tenders were called for in the public press after which a contract for each catering enterprise was drawn up between the General Manager of the Cape Railways and the tenant concerned. Tenders had to be submitted in writing by a specified date, with the final choice to be made by the General Manager. Contracts were usually granted on a five-year basis with the tenant agreeing that the building be used solely for catering purposes. The larger establishments, like those run by Logan, offered alcoholic beverages and it was the responsibility of each tenant to take out the necessary licence. Each tenant was also responsible for furnishing and equipping the rooms while the tariff had to be approved centrally in order to protect against exploitation of passengers. When passenger trains arrived at catering stops at meal times the timetable usually allowed for a 45-minute stopover. In such cases the tenant was obliged to serve both hot and cold meals. Tenants of the larger refreshment rooms were allowed to open an hour before the passenger train’s arrival and to close one hour after its departure. Railway refreshment rooms were lucrative businesses.

Until 1893 Logan had followed the proper procedure in tendering for his contracts. Each contract was limited to a period of five years until 1886, with the option of renewal for a further five years. In May 1890 the new catering facility was opened at Matjesfontein and a new contract agreed between Logan and the General Manager of the Cape Railways, Mr. C.B. Elliot. In return for his service, Logan, along with his manager, S.M. Wright, was issued with free travel within the Cape and beyond. The Cape Government had been responsible for the construction of the railway line up to the Vaal River at Viljoensdrif and thus had control over the Orange Free State line until 1897, so Logan was able to contract for business there as well. In February 1892 he completed the construction of the refreshment room at Kroonstad for the sum of £500 and thereafter managed it at a rental of £84 per year. With the diamond and gold fields flourishing in the north, the railway and his catering contracts became increasingly important for Logan’s business and political interests in that region.

The railways generated a substantial source of income for the Cape Government during this period with revenue from passengers and freight as well as rentals from catering rooms, import duties and customs tariffs. However, competition from the newly-formed Transvaal and Natal
catering franchises was becoming significant, while construction of the Delagoa Bay and Natal railway systems was set to challenge the Cape’s monopoly of freight and passenger traffic to and from the goldfields.\textsuperscript{77} It was clear to James Sivewright that the Cape Railways needed to provide a better service in order to compete. After improving the rolling stock, he set about revising the way in which catering was managed throughout the network. Wishing to avoid the direct control of catering by the railway administration, Sivewright was strongly in favour of appointing one single tenant as manager of every facility along the line.\textsuperscript{78} With his considerable experience and the fact he already controlled more refreshment rooms than any other tenant, the logical choice appeared to be James Logan. Later, Sivewright told the Select Committee, “I quite shared the opinion that if we put all refreshment rooms under one management, then Logan was the best man.”\textsuperscript{79} C.B. Elliott also considered Logan to be the best manager and suggested that he should investigate catering enterprises in Britain when he returned there in 1892, with regard to the possible adoption of their methods by the Cape Railways. Elliott’s plan was that Logan should be the General Manager of a catering sub-department of the rail authorities.\textsuperscript{80}

On 13 September 1892, Logan met Elliott and Sivewright in Cape Town and proposed that all the catering places on the Cape Railways should fall to him and he was asked to put his proposal in writing.\textsuperscript{81} Referring to his fact-finding trip to Britain, Logan explained that he felt that it was absolutely essential for all the catering services on the railways to fall under control of one management. Should his application be successful, he suggested all tenants should receive twelve months notice of cancellation of their contracts so that his control of the network could take effect as soon as possible. According to his proposal, Logan agreed to pay an additional £250 over and above the specified rentals for the first five years, once the catering places were put in his name; £500 per annum for the next five years, and £1000 per annum thereafter for the following five years if he wished to renew his contract again.\textsuperscript{82} Logan was clearly prepared to invest a considerable sum in securing what would prove to be a lucrative long-term deal. Following the discussions, Sivewright wrote to Elliott:

I am quite prepared to authorise the railway refreshment-rooms arrangement as sketched out to-day in the interview between Logan, you and myself, and you can intimate this to him. But the details cannot be settled off-hand, and in view of all the papers being at any time called in for Parliament, I wish to have the whole business in writing.\textsuperscript{83}

The contract, signed by Elliott, effectively gave James Logan monopoly of the catering trade along the entire Cape Rail network for a period of almost eighteen years.\textsuperscript{84} Not only were
procedures flouted, the award of the contract to Logan was viewed by many as a dangerous move politically. As Viney explains:

Granting a monopoly was unwise in the Cape Colony which had been so critical of the Transvaal’s practices in this respect, but it was even more so in view of the fact that Logan would derive considerable political power from such a contract. Logan was already unpopular for using his position at Matjesfontein to control the Worcester vote and since the contract gave him control over canteens spread along two thousand miles of railway, an estimated nine thousand railway officials would be indebted to him. It was thus felt that in view of the approaching general elections, his influence would be considerable.85

Sivewright’s errors were not confined to the granting of an extensive monopoly. He had not called for tenders for the contract or brought up the matter for cabinet discussion86 and had neglected to send the contract to the office of the Attorney-General for perusal. What aggravated matters more, however, was that the first intimation of the contract appeared in the press before Sivewright’s colleagues had been notified.87 On 4 November 1892, the Beaufort West Courier carried the following item:

It is reported that the “cute master of Matjesfontein” had obtained a monopoly of all the refreshment rooms on the railways from Matjesfontein to Johannesburg. The chief cause for doubt is that we have seen no notice calling for tenders, and we do not like to think our present Government capable of perpetrating a job like this, leading as it would doubtless do, to the injury and discomfort of the travelling public. People complain that Logan - fine fellow as he is – is too much to the fore in these matters, and if this wild rumour should prove true, there will indeed be murmurings loud and deep throughout the land.88

In a letter to the editor of the Cape Times published the following day, “An Astonished Colonist” openly challenged the discretion of those involved, questioning the influence James Logan had in Cape politics: “Who is so interested in the financial success of the said proprietor of Matjesfontein, is a question that most intelligent South Africans will ask, that this undoubted favouritism should be shown him?”89 Logan’s contract provoked stinging comment also from the Midland News in support of the present tenants:

It is whispered that the lessees of both Cookhouse and Craddock – not to mention smaller fry along the Midland Line – have received notice to quit, and this is taken as a positive sign that the octopus grasp of the Laird is to be still further extended. It is rather rough on the lessee of the Craddock Refreshment Room, after struggling away for years in a shanty that would be a disgrace to a Russian railway line, he should be hustled out just when the department have
woke up to the necessity for a new building. But then, we suppose, poor Liddell had no friend at headquarters to square matters for him.

Acting as Logan’s “friend at headquarters”, Sivewright came in for immediate criticism. As deputy leader in Rhodes’ absence, Sauer cabled Rhodes on behalf of his colleagues in the cabinet to demand the immediate cancellation of the Logan Contract. The absence of Rhodes and Sivewright, who were both in England, prevented the matter being placed in a more favourable perspective, and as Viney points out, the cabinet’s precarious unity and internal dissensions merely facilitated the “blowing-up of the issue out of all proportion.” For Sauer, Merriman and Rose Innes however, the contract was a final indication that unscrupulous ‘money politicians’ were tarnishing the political and moral integrity of the Cape Administration.

Jenkins, among others, claims that in the final analysis the Logan Contract cannot be dismissed as a mere “error of judgement” and few, apart from Viney, gave Sivewright credit for believing that giving Logan the contract was the best bargain for the colony. Moreover, as Sivewright was to claim, it was not the practice of successful English Railway Companies to call for tenders in such cases. Along with Rhodes and Logan, Sivewright regarded himself as a colonial visionary doing good work for the Cape, the Empire and most importantly, himself. The three men continually combined politics with their business interests and were not averse to benefiting one another within the political arena. Even Viney, in his support of Sivewright, admits that:

It was unpropitious that the most obvious choice as the recipient of such a contract should be Sivewright’s personal friend and business associate [James Logan] (to whom – without running the risk of impartiality – he was probably disposed to grant a contract in favourable terms) and who was felt by many to be both unscrupulous and politically ambitious.

“It was Sivewright’s most glaring error”, Viney continues, “that, departing from precedent, he should have seen fit to make an agreement of such an unusual character, without consulting any of these colleagues.” He was referring in particular to Merriman, Rose Innes and Sauer.

But Sivewright also believed that granting the contract to Logan was approved by the heads of the Railway Department. “You assured me that all of you … regarded the arrangement … as the best possible”, he wrote to Elliott in January 1893, a view that is borne out by a joint cable he and Rhodes sent to Sauer. However, Elliott, clearly wishing to disassociate himself
from the matter, told Sauer that he and the other managers “knew nothing about any recommendation in Mr. Logan’s case. We agreed that it was desirable that one person should be entrusted with the management of all the refreshment rooms and we all thought that Mr. Logan would make the best manager; but this is all.”

Elliott’s letter did little to enhance Sivewright in the eyes of the three liberals. Merriman, whose personal dislike of Sivewright was already well known, wrote to his wife: “Can you imagine Sivewright cabling that he never saw Logan’s Contract [and] ‘only gave general instructions’; … It is a blackguard business – and the more you stir it the nastier it smells.”

Rather than wait for the delay of the sea mail, Sauer decided to cable Rhodes expressing the opinions of the cabinet: “All refreshment rooms of railways under our control leased to Logan without tenders called for … much feeling on the matter, Cabinet thinks steps should be taken to cancel contract … immediate action necessary.” Rhodes and Sivewright replied at once by cable that Sauer and his colleagues had full authority to act as they saw fit. Sauer’s reply left both men in no doubt about the subsequent decision: “Cabinet thinks contract must be cancelled. Ask Sivewright to wire Logan that effect.” Rhodes at last gave authority for the contract to be cancelled.

**Litigation: Logan vs. Government**

On 21 November 1892 Logan received a telegram from Elliott advising him that the contract, which had granted him the lucrative monopoly, had been withdrawn. No reasons were given. Dismayed at the withdrawal of such a substantial contract, the tenacious Scot immediately resolved to take action for loss of potential earnings. Throughout his career, and almost entirely to his advantage, Logan had used the judicial system to resolve ‘issues’ arising in his business affairs. As Chapter 5 revealed, Logan had recently returned from the courts having won a case of outstanding debts against the English cricket tourists, Read and Ash. Now he was to take the stand against the Cape Government. On 24 November 1892, Sauer was moved to notify Rhodes that: “Logan threatens action fifty thousand.” Five days later, the threat became reality as a resolute Logan lodged a demand for fifty thousand pounds against the Commission of Crown Lands and Public works for breach of contract. The Government was given until 5 December 1892 to answer the claim.

Logan’s assured opinion on the whole matter is recorded in his cable to Sivewright on 25 November 1892. Typically defiant and seizing his opportunity, he exclaimed: “Railway contract causing great excitement, cannot understand actions of your colleagues, they are in my
opinion causing all trouble, have refused to accept my compromise, very sorry for your sake this has transpired but cannot possibly allow them to dictate my actions.” Sivewright, it seems, shared Logan’s stubborn streak and unexpectedly chose to stand his ground and maintain that he issued the contract in good faith and that he took full responsibility for this. This stance further supported Logan’s claim for compensation. The government was now reaching crisis point. Sivewright, now back in Scotland, explained his position to Rhodes:

I don’t like to write anything on the subject, but it is more and more evident than ever that the existing combination which constitutes the Cape Government can’t possibly go on much longer. I can’t help thinking that there is a great deal in Logan’s opinion which I telegraphed to you that my own colleagues are causing the trouble. It looks most suspiciously like it. Surely our unspotted Attorney-General [Rose Innes] might have waited until I asked him to share the responsibility of any action of mine. I have never done so yet of any man and would sooner die in a ditch than refuse to stand the racket of any step right or wrong that I may take … The contract, such as it is, was drafted by the Government solicitors. I never saw it. That was no business of mine. I authorised the arrangements after many interviews and exhaustive enquiry. Now they put me on my defence, and I don’t object … I am one of six and in this I bow to the will of the majority.

Since Logan had instituted legal proceedings against the government, it befell Rose Innes, in his capacity as Attorney-General, to draw up the Defendant’s plea: “Her Majesty’s Colonial Government refuses to perform the said contract for the reason that it is undesirable in the public interest.” Despite having agreed to concede to majority opinion, Sivewright remained patently firm in his belief of his own moral rectitude. Convinced that the contract did represent the common interest and determined not to be publicly humiliated, Sivewright wanted his stance known and while still in Britain instructed the Cape Argus to state categorically that “Sir James Sivewright does not personally concur in the plea which his colleagues have filed on his behalf.” This only served to infuriate the three liberals further. For Merriman, the situation had by now become untenable. In December 1892 he had disclosed to his mother: “This Logan business of course renders it quite impossible for me to sit in the same cabinet with a man who could do such a thing as well as others which have come to my notice, and as soon as Rhodes returns an explanation must take place which will probably end in my resignation.”

Rhodes and Sivewright’s prolonged absences were exacerbating the crisis. They had been abroad negotiating a loan for the completion of the railways to Johannesburg and Pretoria. But neither were in a particular hurry to return. Rhodes eventually returned via Suez and the longer
Indian Ocean route\textsuperscript{115} while Sivewright, suffering from bad health, opted to extend his holiday in Egypt.\textsuperscript{116} Rhodes was concerned that the Logan crisis was not conducive to his wider imperialist objectives. He was keen to clinch the deal for railway expansion to the north and hence to avoid any immediate dissent amongst his cabinet. However, it was only when Rose Innes’ letter reached him in London on 25 November 1892, that he was able to gauge the strength of feelings on the matter.\textsuperscript{117} Inadvertently it seems, from his remote base at Matjesfontein, James Logan was having a direct effect on the political development of Southern Africa. The contract debate would lead to a change of personnel for Rhodes and his plans of imperial expansion.

Rhodes’ true feelings on the matter and his sympathy for Sivewright’s predicament are contained within a letter he wrote shortly after the controversy broke:

\begin{quote}
My dear Sivewright, - I enclose Innes’ letter and paper extracts. I also sent by telegram to you Sauer’s cable. I hope you will communicate with Logan. I think the contract must be cancelled. I know from you what you said to me you concur, though I fully understand the reason which lead the heads of the Railway Department to recommend it.\textsuperscript{118}
\end{quote}

Rhodes arrived back in Cape Town on 8 March 1893 and had consultations with the three aggrieved liberals. Such was Rhodes’ air of neutrality that Merriman later noted; “I think that the Penman [Sivewright] will have to go … but we are prepared for either contingency.”\textsuperscript{119} Whilst stalling for time until Sivewright returned, there is some indication that Rhodes attempted, in the interim, to persuade the trio to modify their views. Merriman, however, was unmoved. Alluding to the corruption he sensed was at work, he confided again in close friend John Currey: “Rhodes who, as you know is easily satisfied when he wants to be, has tried every power of persuasion to induce us to modify our views – without success.”\textsuperscript{120} The ministerial divide had widened inexorably and for the Cape administration, the Logan Contract represented the fundamental struggle between the capitalist imperialism advocated by Rhodes and Sivewright and the brand of liberalism upheld by Merriman, Sauer and Rose Innes. For the liberals, the deal with James Logan symbolised the money-led politics they felt was threatening to take over the Cape and they were determined to make a stand.

The Railway authorities appointed the firm of Reid and Nephew to defend the case. Had the Government offered to pay Logan compensation at the outset it is possible the whole matter would have been settled amicably and not gone to trial, but given the circumstances in which the contract was granted, they were determined that all proceedings should now be in the
public domain. Logan, as he had shown against Read and Ash in the cricket case, was ready for the fight and appointed the law firm of Van Zyl and Buissine to act on his behalf. Advocates S. Solomon and M.W. Searle represented Logan in court while S. Giddy and W.S. Webber were appointed by Reid and Nephews to put forward the Government’s account. The case was scheduled to be heard on 31 May 1893.121

Sivewright returned to South Africa on 24 April 1893, still of the opinion that the contract was in the general interest.122 He advised the government’s legal representatives, the day before the case began that he was “anxious to enter the witness-box” in order to defend his actions in awarding the contract.123 This would have been impossible, however, as Sivewright was himself a member of the government against whom Logan was bringing his case. Logan had calculated the annual profit of the contract to have been worth around £7,000, while the total value of the contract, should he wish to sell, was in the region of £50,000.124 Advocate Solomon addressed the court by stating that it was obvious damages must be paid his client and that the only point of issue was the amount. Whilst agreeing that damages should be paid, Rose Innes, the Attorney-General, considered £2,000 to £2,600 to be a fair compensation in view of the fact that the revenue from the catering places was not constant and that some places had, historically, showed a loss.125

Chief Justice De Villiers in his summing-up agreed that Logan was entitled to damages, but considering that non-profitable facilities had to be kept open in terms of the contract, he suggested that compensation should not be set too high. He said Logan was “still a young man and could tender again for the catering places he had lost through cancellation of the contract.”126 The court’s verdict, which was later agreed to in Parliament, was that £5,000 damages be paid to Logan and that the government bear the costs of the case.127 It was a satisfactory outcome for Logan. He had gained £5,000 and could still tender for any catering place that became available, whilst retaining all those refreshment places which were already contracted to him. Moreover, with a view to developing influence within cricketing circles, Logan had retained his good reputation within the public domain. Press reaction to the verdict is shown in Figure 60.

Fall of the Ministry
Sivewright’s return to Cape Town exacerbated the crisis. The “inevitable personality clashes and strained relationships [that] were an integral part of the colonial political framework” were at a peak.128 Driven by the desire to stay in power and retain the support of the Bond, Rhodes’
hoped that the issues surrounding the Logan Contract would be quickly resolved so that he could proceed towards his wider goals of extending the empire. For this purpose alone it was vital that Rhodes keep Sivewright onside. The forthright Scotsman not only held strategic importance as a Bondsman, but like his friend James Logan, Sivewright was not averse to causing trouble in the House. Rhodes’ initial indecision had been heartily criticised and he soon realised that, in order to diffuse the opposition, he would have to dissolve the Ministry before the three indignant Ministers were able to hand in their resignation. Rhodes thus diverted public attention from the cause of the crisis, providing the following official explanation: “Owing to differences which occurred between some of the Ministers it was found impossible to maintain that harmonious action that the conduct of public business demands.”

By the evening of 27 April 1893 it had become apparent to Rhodes that a resolution was never going to be achieved. The three liberals maintained their position and Sivewright refused to step down, giving Rhodes little option but to resign himself and become the leading force in a new ministry. After consulting Jan Hofmeyr, leader of the Afrikaner Bond, it was decided to offer the position of new Premier to Lord De Villiers who, in their opinions, would make a suitable ‘puppet-Prime Minister’. Rhodes however had underestimated De Villiers who detected the ulterior motives through which he was being approached. Loyalty to his friend Sauer and refusal to act under Rhodes’ dictation prompted De Villiers’ refusal. As a result, Rhodes took the unlikely path of forming an alliance with the official leader of the Opposition – Sir Gordon Sprigg.

Rhodes and Sprigg soon began negotiations on the formation of the new administration. Sivewright was omitted, but not alienated, Faure was retained, but there was no place for the three liberals. It was, as Davenport claims, “designed to facilitate an unbroken continuity in the alliance between Rhodes and the Bond.” Sprigg was to bring in Frost and thereby disarm the Progressive Opposition, as would the inclusion of W.P. Schreiner as Attorney-General. Inadvertently, it seems, the contract controversy had delivered a ministry who were now more in tune with the politics and personal interests of James Logan. It was a development that would add to his good fortune of the 1890s.

Rhodes however did not emerge from the crisis unscathed. By dropping Sivewright and the three liberals, Rhodes was depriving his Ministry of a great deal of talent, and his alliance with Sprigg, the former leader of the Opposition, was regarded as a blow to political morality in the
Cape and it did little to enhance Rhodes’ reputation. Moreover, the new Ministry did not contain a single man who could stand up to Rhodes’ overbearing and dominating nature. “He did begin,” claims Walker, “to lose the patience which he had displayed so unexpectedly since his return to political life in 1889, and there was now no one in his Ministry to impose patience on him.”

The Logan Contract debate began in Parliament on 19 June 1893, and on the very next day Sir James Sivewright introduced a motion “that all the papers and correspondence connected with the Logan Contract respecting railway refreshment rooms, of date 14 September, 1892, be laid on the table of the House.” J.H. Hofmeyr, in his self-appointed role of government mediator, proposed that the whole matter be referred to a select committee, and it was left to the Speaker to nominate the five members who would interview the principal characters involved in the contract. It was the committee’s duty not to determine malpractice but rather to gather opinion on the cancelled contract as well as suggest recommendations for future government policy concerning public catering services. As expected, James Sivewright, as ex-Minister of railways, C.B. Elliott, the General Manager and James Logan were invited to share their views.

On 14 August 1893, the report of the Select Committee was made available to the Cape House of Assembly. The report set out in detail the whole history of the Logan Contract and concluded that the best way to conduct the catering situation was indeed to place it under the management of one person. However, it disapproved of the manner in which the Logan Contract had been undertaken and also objected to the longevity of the contract, which made no allowance for changes in circumstances and tariffs. Within his preface to the report, Hofmeyr, acting as Committee Chairman, declared how:

Strong dissatisfaction, extending all over the country, was evoked with reference to the contract, owing not only to a general feeling of aversion to monopolies, but also to the idea that Mr. Logan had been allowed, without an opportunity of tendering being given to other purveyors, to obtain, at what was supposed to be too low a rate of payment, the sole right of catering along the whole of our railway lines for nearly 18 years, together with the exercise of that political influence at Parliamentary elections commonly held to be connected with the holding of such contracts.

As well as this veiled attack on the favouritism afforded Logan, the Committee recommended that the Cape Railways should divide its catering services into three departments, namely, the Eastern Cape, Western Cape and Cape Midlands, and that as the tenancies expired, the General
Manager should call for tenders for a period of not more than ten years. The Committee also recommended, possibly with Logan in mind, that any existing lessee should be able to tender for any of the franchises in the various departments as they become available.\textsuperscript{145} While offering some appeasement to Logan, the Committee had somewhat predictably sided with the three liberals in declaring that the contract was not in the public interest.

Crucially though, the case had ignited the underlying tensions that existed within the Cape Ministry and Logan was not spared. In an astonishing attack in Parliament, Merriman revealed his antipathy for James Logan as well as concerns for the Laird’s growing influence within Cape politics. His outburst was recorded in The House of Assembly Debates for September 1893:

[According to Merriman] If Mr. Logan could have got hold of all these others [businesses] he would have been able to make a remarkably good thing. There were, however, many other reasons which made it most undesirable to authorise a contract of that kind. They must look at the character of the man who was to have the monopoly … Mr. Logan was an energetic, pushing man. But he was a most troublesome man. (Hear, hear.) He was a political agitator. (Laughter and hear, hear.) He used his position at Matjesfontein to control the Worcester vote. (Laughter, hear, hear, and cheers.) He asked if Mr. Logan did not tyrannise over that part of the line. (Hear, hear, and “No.”) The effect of this would be if Mr. Logan got all these refreshment-rooms into his hands that he would practically control the vote of many thousands. (Cheers and counter cheers.) This, they might say, was very creditable to Mr. Logan. It would be creditable to his energy; but it would be disgraceful to any Government that put that into his hands. (Cheers.) He repeated that Mr. Logan was a most troublesome man … He was difficult to control because he arrogated to himself powers which were quite beyond the refreshment-room keeper. He was, in short, a political factor in the country.\textsuperscript{146}

Besides the political threat that Logan posed to Merriman and his left-wing colleagues, there were accusations, too, regarding improper business transactions at Matjesfontein as well as attempts by Logan to manipulate the railway for his own advantage.\textsuperscript{147} Merriman instructed his Parliamentary colleagues to gauge the activities of Logan and to “watch his busy ways.”\textsuperscript{148} If Parliament were going to grant a monopoly at all, then in Merriman’s opinion, James Logan “was the most improper man to hold a monopoly of that kind.”\textsuperscript{149} For the liberals, the business relationship between Logan and Sivewright represented a clear conflict of interest and was indicative of the unscrupulous, money-fuelled politics that had been allowed to develop under Rhodes’ leadership. As a result, Merriman maintained that the contract was “entirely disadvantageous in the public interest” and that he was “very glad to see it cancelled.”\textsuperscript{150}
However, Merriman’s onslaught did not go unchallenged. Colonel Schermbrucker, Logan’s friend and political ally, “regretted very much that personalities had been introduced into the debate” and thought it “very unjust for the hon. Member for Namaqualand [Merriman] to have launched out into a tirade against Mr. Logan.” Schermbrucker (pictured Figure 62) insisted that while he was himself opposed to monopolies, he had listened “in astonishment” to the words of Merriman who said “he could not sit with a man [Sivewright] who was not fit to be a member of the Ministry.” For Schermbrucker, “it would have been better if all that virtuous indignation had not vented itself.” James Logan was, however, more than capable of defending himself and in a typically sarcastic yet adroit letter to the editor of the Cape Argus, the Scot responded fiercely:

Sir, - I think the present is the first occasion on which I have troubled you with any communication from Matjesfontein. This must therefore be my excuse for asking you to allow me space in your valuable paper for the following explanation.

I notice at the opening of Parliament on Friday last, that my name occupied a very prominent position in the debate on the recent disruption of the Ministry. To this I do not in the least object, so long as honourable members, discussing the matter, confine themselves to the truth, but when a mean and cowardly advantage is taken of Parliamentary privilege to make statements which have absolutely no foundation in fact, I think it only fair, with your kind permission, that I should take the earliest opportunity of publicly denying the same.

The speech to which I refer to is that of the honourable member for Namaqualand, in which he says, amongst other things equally untrue, that the contract entered into was for twenty years. To disprove this statement I have only to refer your readers to what took place before the Supreme Court. However, a few years more or less thrown in by the ex-Treasurer General matters little, especially when the anachronism is for his own aggrandisement … I will leave the members and public to judge whether the insinuations thrown out by Mr. John X. Merriman were justified.

I am further accredited by the member for Namaqualand with having the [rail] time tables made in my interest. What utter rubbish. I might just as well say that the main line trains from Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth and Kimberley run *via* Stellenbosch to suit Mr. Merriman, who is a pumpkin farmer in that district. According to Mr. Merriman I am at present a dangerous and most troublesome man. Perhaps it would not be out of place to repeat here what his opinions were in 1891 (*vide* Cape Times of 15th April). When speaking at the agricultural dinner at Port Elizabeth in the presence of His Excellency the Governor, he said: - “The right sort of immigration would be the making of this country. He would refer them to the case of Mr. Logan, who had settled in a desolate part of the Karoo, and now his place smiled the country round. There ought to be ten thousand Logans in this country (cheers).”

The slight difference between the estimate of myself of to-day, and that of two years ago, as appraised by the member for Namaqualand, maintains the record for vacillation for which he is so justly famous. We all know he is a gem, although many know to their sorrow that on the *lucis a non lucindo* principle he
does not always sparkle. In conclusion, let me seriously commend to the Hon.
John Xavier Merriman a careful and earnest study of the ninth commandment.
I am, etc.,
JAMES D. LOGAN
Matjesfontein, June 17th, 1893. 154

The contract dispute had highlighted the fundamental philosophical differences that existed
within the Administration of the Cape Colony. Merriman and the liberals were opposed to
everything that Sivewright and his ‘money-men’ stood for. However, for most analysts, the
outcome proved to be a disappointment. As news of the settlement emerged, an article in The
Kimberley Independent summed up the general opinion:

The Logan case, which everyone declared was coming in like a lion, has gone
out like a lamb. The case was to be a cause célèbre. Every one was agog to see
what could come of it. All kinds of political secrets were to be revealed. SIR
JAMES SIVEWRIGHT, it was said, was to be put in the box, and invited to
swear all manner of facts or negations of fact. Well, what has happened? MR.
LOGAN has come into court, claiming £50,000 damages … The Court has
admitted his right to claim damages … but has fixed the amount awarded at
one-tenth of the amount claimed.155

In many press reports and letters to the newspapers there emerged a strong feeling that the
contract had been in the public interest and was fairly drawn up and that Merriman, Sauer and
Rose Iness had seized on it as a way of embarrassing Sivewright at the expense of the hapless
taxpayer.156 There was support, too, for Logan and suggestions of how he could best spend his
compensation: “What may not a man of Mr. Logan’s shrewdness and energy do with £5,000!”,
declared one correspondent. “Why, to mention one thing only, he might go to Johannesburg
and secure the option of reconstructing a gold mining company! This is the favourite
occupation of the hour”.157 As politics and commercial enterprise appeared to go hand in hand
in the press, there were even cricketing analogies to describe the proceedings: “Sivewright’s
innings,” wrote The Diamond Field Advertiser, “will prove that, in the Logan case particularly,
his enemies and detractors have nothing to record to their credit but a wretched ‘no ball’.”158
“Merriman’s wild bowling” was how The South African Review viewed events.159 Only the
Cape Times and Cape Register it seems, were consistent in their challenge to Logan and
Sivewright and the manner in which the contract was awarded.160 On 1 June 1893, the Cape
Times carried this sardonic account:

It is not to the public interest that a contract involving an immense catering
monopoly for fifteen or twenty years should be given, without competition, to a
personal friend of the Minister bestowing the contract, a friend with whom the
Minister is generally supposed to have been associated in matters of business
and in matters of speculation … And in any case he [Logan] still holds a number of refreshment-stations, his own account of clear profits from which represents an income about equal to that of the whole Cabinet.161

“The verdict of £5,000 and costs … is the cheapest lesson this country has ever had. It is the cost of purification”, claimed the Cape Register.162 Ironically, however, the extensive publicity that the contract case had engendered, only served to make Logan better known. The contract debate had been publicised throughout Britain as well as South Africa. During September 1893, the Glasgow Evening Citizen ran a feature on Logan describing him as “the man whose name has been on every tongue for months. This is the man who, only a week ago, was described by the leader of the Opposition in the Cape House of Assembly as “a dangerous individual.” He was also called one of the most influential political factors in the country – an influence to be reckoned with say at an election.”163 “It is true that we have had now close upon twelve months of Logan”, declared the Cape Argus back in South Africa.164 The contract proceedings had confirmed Logan as a significant figure within Cape colonial society with the ability to manipulate and influence the politics of the region for his own personal gain.165 In November 1895, the debate was brought to a satisfactory conclusion for the Laird when the Government awarded him control of all railway refreshment rooms for the Western system as far as Vryburg. He was also awarded the contract further north from De Aar to the Vaal River via Naauwpoort.166 The railway had by now become an integral part of Logan’s success. With plans to expand his business interests in the north and the political power his involvement in the rail system yielded, Logan was now in a position to exert his influence over that other important facet of imperial expansion – cricket.

‘Logan’s Game’: Cricket and Politics

As Chapter 5 has shown, by 1893 James Logan’s involvement in both politics and cricket had become increasingly active. The Scot had already backed Read’s 1891 English tour to South Africa and had made serious attempts to fund South Africa’s inaugural tour to England proposed for 1894.167 Coinciding with this, Logan had embarked on a concerted move into politics becoming the Member for Worcester in January 1894.168 The contract controversy and subsequent Ministerial reshuffle had inadvertently reshaped Cape politics to allow more scope for ‘independent’ politicians like Logan to stake a claim and as Chapter 5 has highlighted, his progress in the political arena was rapid.169 After defeating the established Bond member, J.I. De Villiers, in the 1894 election, Logan’s seat in Parliament was assured.170 As a Member of the Legislative Assembly, Logan was now in a position to officially influence the politics of the Cape Administration and ensure that his own interests were secure.
Following the contract debate, there remained speculation that Logan’s alliance with James Sivewright was for political gain. Swart points to the fact that during the crisis Hofmeyr and the Afrikaner Bond, in co-operation with the Afrikaans newspaper Ons Land, took Sivewright under their auspice and this also meant indirect association with Logan.\(^{171}\) This suited Logan perfectly. Ever astute, the Scot was aware that in order to obtain political power (as part of the triumvirate alongside cultural and economic power) he would first have to secure the support of the local Afrikaans electorate within his Worcester constituency. The Afrikaner Bond were crucial in achieving this. Indicative of the Colony’s ‘politics of convenience’ at that time, it was an alliance that brought cynicism from the Cape Register:

The Man of Matjesfontein has entered into a contract with the Bondsmen of his district to become their candidate at the ensuing election. J.D.L. is not a member of the Bond, but yet we are told at a meeting of the local body he was unanimously chosen, there being not a single dissentient voice. Is this another instance of the friendly knight’s [Sivewright’s] influence? That the maker of the first Logan contract is a persona grata in Bond circles is known to everybody, and it would certainly appear, as though he had been exerting himself on behalf of ‘James the Less’. Upon any other supposition the choice remains inexplicable. What can there be in common, politically, between the shrewd, clever, cute Scotchman, the progressive agriculturist, the keen man of business and the slow, stick-in-the-mud, retrogressive Bondmen? Nothing whatever, and it is little less than a scandal, that such a man should stand in such an interest. That Mr. Logan has been desirous of obtaining Parliamentary honours, has been an open secret for some time past, and it now appears that he is indifferent as to what road he travels, or who are his companions on the way, provided he can but reach the wished-for goal.\(^{172}\)

While De Villiers was the only candidate to openly declare his affiliation to the Bond, Logan was keenly aware of the importance of the Afrikaans electorate.\(^{173}\) During a calculated election campaign Logan, as the self-titled ‘friend of the working man’ (see Figure 64), had ingratiated himself to the Dutch farming community and went on to win a famous victory.\(^{174}\) It was an early indication of his penchant for political life.

Logan entered the House of Assembly as an ‘independent’ Member without formal affiliation to a political party. This was not unusual however. The Afrikaner Bond had been established in May 1883 and prior to that the Legislative Assembly had contained no clearly defined political parties. That is not to say that the mechanisms of Government were not in place. When Responsible Government was conferred on the Cape Colony in November 1872, it did come with the stipulation of a Responsible Ministry and Opposition.\(^{175}\) Whether this situation
afforded the Parliamentarians a sense of allegiance is open to question. From early press reports in 1883, it is evident that “neither the rank and file of the ‘ins’ nor the ‘outs’ have bound themselves to a leader with any loyalty.”

This lack of loyalty it seems stemmed from the absence of formal party organisations outside of Parliament during this period.

James Logan had been elected to the House on the back of personal support from James Sivewright and other influential Bondsmen in the Worcester constituency. It was clearly a marriage of convenience, however. Within weeks of entering parliament Logan became affiliated to the newly formed Progressive Party – a group more suited to his imperialist philosophies. With its origins traced to the general election of 1894, the Progressive Party, according to Sank, was formed to serve English-speaking colonists who felt the need for a political voice and an alternative to policies offered by the established Afrikaner Bond. Like many of Logan’s associations, the Party had no fixed policy and was suited to the interests of its individual members. This flexibility suited Logan. The Scotsman had dealings with both sides of the House and the last thing he wanted was to be associated with a strong political ideology.

“This new Progressive Party had a very heterogeneous membership” confirms Davenport. Its leader, E.Y. Brabant of East London, was an ex-soldier, British to the core, and anti-bond. It included a group of English-speaking farmers, headed by Arthur Douglas, some of whom had been prepared to compromise over the franchise issue, whereas others had not. There was even a Bondsman among them, J.S. Marais of Paarl, who had defected from the Bond prior to the 1894 election. “To look for any co-ordinating principle within this alliance” Davenport suggests, “would be an interesting exercise likely to yield no result.” Furthermore, “the Progressives could not even be labelled an Opposition Party, and represented an alliance as illogical as the blend of Bondsmen and liberals which constituted the Ministry of the day.”

Such amalgamation within Cape politics suited Logan, who could now move throughout the House without being restricted to one particular party. With Rhodes to the fore, the emphasis was now on imperial expansion and it was an arena in which Logan was set to thrive.

Logan revelled in his new position as Member of the Legislative Assembly and quickly positioned himself as a ‘man of the people’. Within his first few months he successfully campaigned for improved rail safety as well as effective mediation between the Government and farmers regarding the controversial Scab Act. In July 1894, shortly after arriving in
London to watch South Africa’s first ever cricket tour abroad, the Laird was interviewed by the British press regarding his political viewpoint:

Well you may say that I am a free lance. I represent locally a Dutch constituency, and am glad to say that I enjoy the friendship of Mr. Hofmeyr, whom I consider a very sound man indeed, and one whose loss from the political arena would be a serious thing indeed for the Cape Colony. But, as I said, I am a free lance, and provided a measure is good and for the benefit of the common weal, I vote for it. If it cannot be so described, I number among its most resolute opponents.\textsuperscript{184}

**The Jameson Raid**

Despite his vows of impartiality however, there was little question of Logan’s admiration for Cecil Rhodes and his expansionist policies. While Hofmeyr’s eventual departure may have hastened Rhodes’ imperial agenda, it was events at the end of 1895 culminating in the ill-advised Jameson Raid that were set to curtail Rhodes’ progress in securing South Africa for the British.\textsuperscript{185} In theory, the raid was to be led by Rhodes’ confidant, Leander Starr Jameson, as a response to a call for help from the aggrieved *Uitlanders*, who were to initiate a revolt against the Boer administration in Johannesburg.\textsuperscript{186} Jameson’s small force was to enter the Transvaal, ensure the revolt’s success, and the British High Commissioner at the Cape, Sir Hercules Robinson, would step in to arrange a compromise that would ensure British control. Who was involved in the plan, when, and to what extent, remain matters of much historical debate.\textsuperscript{187} Entrepreneurs like James Logan though would certainly have looked to prosper had the raid succeeded. With the obstinate Boers removed from the goldfields of the north, the country would have been open to British capitalism and to colonial profiteers such as Logan and his counterparts. Rhodes, a director of the Chartered Mining Company, also had significant material interests in the north and viewed the expansionist policies that existed throughout the rest of the Empire, as the blueprint for his plans for South Africa.\textsuperscript{188} The actual cause of the raid however remains multi-faceted. As Cain and Hopkins show in their seminal study of British Imperialism:

> The chain of causation stretches back to the metropole. British governments were not the tools of mining magnates, nor were British financiers keen to fund Rhodes’ political ambitions. But their hands were in the pot. As the wealth of the Transvaal drew in British capital and trade, so Kruger’s policies made it increasingly unlikely that indirect means would suffice to winch the Republic back into Britain’s sphere of influence.\textsuperscript{189}
As Chapter 5 revealed, Lord Hawke and his English cricket team, who were touring South Africa under the guidance of Logan, were also caught up in the events of January 1896. The raid, which came to an undignified end at Doornkop on the morning of 2 January, had alerted the Boers to imperialist designs for control of the region and was an episode from which Anglo-Boer relations never truly recovered. The raid had proved a humiliation for the British authorities as well as for Rhodes who desperately tried to transfer the blame. Popular sentiment demanded the immediate trial of the invaders, followed by their execution, but Kruger had them removed to Pretoria where Jameson and the other leaders, as British subjects, were placed under the authority of Sir Hercules Robinson. Within weeks, Rhodes, unable to avoid implication in the raid had been forced to resign as Prime Minister of the Cape Colony while sixty of the Reformers were pleading guilty to high treason in a Transvaal courtroom. The raid had effectively polarised opposing factions. Boers who had been prepared to see compromises granted to the Uitlanders now threw their weight firmly behind Kruger and regarded Cecil Rhodes and his imperialist associates as adversaries to be viewed with suspicion. The mistrust sown on both sides had brought the Anglo-Boer war a step closer.

Despite events in Johannesburg not going as planned, James Logan was caught up in the initial euphoria of the raid. As rumours spread through the Cape on 2 January 1896 that Jameson had entered Johannesburg, and perhaps buoyed by the visit of Lord Hawke’s cricket team, Logan was reportedly toasting the success of the raiders at the Theatre Restaurant in Cape Town. Not only was this celebration premature, it also indicated an element of political naivety on Logan’s part. He was not alone, however. News of Jameson’s surrender at Doornkop did not reach the colony until the next day, by which time Cape Town was reported to be “feverishly jingo”, resenting even the moderate censures of the Cape Times on the activities of Jameson and his colleagues. Again, as with the Logan Contract crisis, Rhodes decided to say nothing. This time however it was more serious. As Logan and his fellow imperialists celebrated, ominously there had been no statement from Rhodes who, as the Cape Times vengefully stated, was sitting among “his Dutch furniture at Groot Schur … mute as a Sphinx. Amid the pelt of questions, curses, cheers, charges and denunciations, he sits mute.” Within days, however, it was known that Rhodes’ had stepped down and the public was left to draw its own conclusion concerning the connection between the Premier’s resignation and Jameson’s armed incursion into the territory of the South African Republic.

A potentially embarrassing situation was avoided by the British government as international suspicion over the raid grew. Neither Joseph Chamberlain, who had become Colonial
Secretary in the ministry of Lord Salisbury, nor Salisbury himself, had any official word of Rhodes’ intentions and as a result, the British government was able to dissociate itself from the raid.200 However, those high-up in the Cape Administration were aware that something was being planned. As Winks points out, “unofficial knowledge was a different matter. Certainly the High Commissioner and governor at the Cape, Sir Hercules Robinson, knew of Rhodes’s plot, as he admitted to his secretary, but he learned of it in an unofficial capacity and fell back upon the moral fiction that as governor he had not been informed.”201 It all smacked of the same dishonest, money-driven politics that Merriman and Co. had opposed during Logan’s Contract debate and while a Select Committee of the House of Commons was formed to clear the air in 1897,202 the “Jameson Raid has remained a synonym in anti-imperial circles for the sinister mechanisms of the British in South Africa.”203

As well as his support for imperial cricket, Logan’s backing of Rhodes and the raid was unashamed. The whole affair was hotly debated in the Cape Parliament in May 1896. Logan was very strongly of the opinion that it was premature and unworthy of others to judge Rhodes’ actions before the outcome of his trial was known. Further, Logan had always adhered to the view that “it was one of the highest traditions of the British nation never to kick a man when he is down … It was not worthy of any Englishman to judge a man without giving him an opportunity to say anything in his own defence … He might say that the right hon. gentleman had his greatest sympathy.”204 A month later, the Laird was able to offer his support in a more ‘practical’ form. Following the Reformers release from custody in the Transvaal, Logan was approached by T.R. Price, Acting General Manager of the Cape Railways to provide a dining car for the ‘special’ train which was bringing them back to Cape Town.205 Without hesitation Logan agreed to the request, offering his services free of charge.206 It was a gesture that was publicised within The South African Telegraph:

The generosity of Mr. J.D. Logan, M.L.A., is well-known in the Colony. A quaint illustration is just to hand. We hear that Mr. Solly Joel and several other of the released Reform prisoners are coming to town in a few days in a special train en route for England. They desired that a kitchen car should be attached to the train, but there was some slight difficulty in the way, as the contracts are held by the genial laird. On being approached on the subject, he said he had no objection, but he would impose one stipulation, to the effect that from the moment the passengers boarded the train at Johannesburg until their arrival in Cape Town, they should be his guests, and that the concessions should be withdrawn if any of them offered to pay a single penny.207
In a reception befitting returning heroes, the Reformers were met in Cape Town by Sir James Sivewright and an array of dignitaries and railway officials. Before their ship sailed for England, Logan was invited on board by the reform group, where he was presented with a solid silver tea and coffee service and salver inscribed: “Presented to J.D. Logan. Esq., M.L.A., as a token of appreciation on the part of his guests in the special Reform train from Johannesburg to Cape Town, June, 1896.” Notably, Barney Barnato and Solly Joel, Randlords and benefactors of the Wanderers sports club in Johannesburg, were there to add their gratitude to Logan for his generosity. The Laird, in his reply said “he had been only too happy to have had the party as his guests, and felt honoured by their acceptance of his hospitality.” In a final show of defiance, “cheers were given for Mr. Logan and for the Reformers as the boat steamed out of the Docks.”

The Progressives and Post-Raid Recovery

By this time, Logan was heavily involved in Cape politics and had joined his close friend Colonel Schermbrucker as part of a Progressive group known as the Frontier Party. Along with the Rose-Innes-led liberals they formed the official Opposition in 1896. Somewhat fragmented, this Opposition appeared to contain three disparate groups with Rose Innes claiming that he had “accepted the honour of leading the little knot of Liberals who composed the official Opposition” for the “‘progressive’ section, torn between sympathy for Rhodes and condemnation of his latest methods, yet unable to coalesce with the Bond, sat loosely upon the Opposition benches.” Logan’s Frontier group were anything but liberal and on the back of Rhodes’ resignation were driven by the desire to maintain, in his absence, an imperial influence within the Colony. By contesting the power of the dominant Bond in Cape party politics, Logan and his colleagues were protecting their own commercial interests from the left-wing liberals and Afrikaner sections of the House. For them, the political competition was about the race to secure South Africa for the British Empire. James Sivewright, speaking on behalf of the Bond, made reference to the split during Parliamentary debate: “The Frontier [Party], rightly or wrongly, had got hold of an idea that the ultimate view of an association like the Afrikander Bond was to establish a grand Afrikander nation south of the Zambesi right down to Cape Point, leaving the Imperial Government Simon’s Town as a port of call.”

Along with the rest of South Africa, the Cape was now locked in a political power struggle. Short of alerting people to the dangers of imperialism, the Jameson Raid had galvanised popular opinion among English-speaking whites of the need to confront the perceived threat to British expansion posed by Kruger and his sympathisers in the Cape. During the course of
1896 there were concerted expressions of support for Rhodes by the South African League, led by E.Y. Brabant, as well as other independent gatherings. At the end of December Rhodes’ arrival in the Colony en route to appear before the Committee of Enquiry in Westminster, provided an opportunity for his supporters to demonstrate further shows of unity. Figure 63 shows the proclamation of support for Rhodes from James Logan and the residents of Matjesfontein. At Port Elizabeth too, Rhodes received an enthusiastic welcome and dispelled any idea that he intended to withdraw from Colonial politics: “I shall keep my seat in the Cape House,” Rhodes declared, “because it is part of my programme to show the people of South Africa that I don’t undertake a career of isolation.” He remained “determined to strive for the closer union of South Africa” of which the Cape Colony was to be the dominant power. These were sentiments which would have cheered Logan and his political allies and it is more than likely that the Laird was present to welcome Rhodes back to Cape Town at a reception held in his honour at the residence of Frontier colleague Thomas Fuller.

It became a matter of saving face for the British Government who, desperate to maintain its foothold in South African affairs, wanted to distance themselves publicly from Rhodes and the ‘shameful’ raid. The politicians at Westminster were aware of the role of the Progressives in this process and were keen that they should remain in the political picture. On 5 July 1897, Chamberlain, the Colonial Secretary, wrote to Sir Alfred Milner with the directive: “If Rose Innes or some other man who was not mixed up with Rhodes’ plans could keep them (the British Party) together as a counterpoise to any extreme Afrikander or Dutch party, it would be of great assistance to the Imperial Government.” Rhodes however was slowly re-establishing himself and it seemed likely he would become the new leader of the Progressives, a position which effectively entailed the leadership of all British colonists in South Africa. Chamberlain had his reservations, for Rhodes, he felt, could not unite the English “without giving offence and cause of suspicion to the Dutch.” The imperial Government wanted Rose Innes in charge.

The achievement of the Progressive Party in the general election of 1898 is noteworthy. The formation of the party officially dated from February 1897 and up to then very little formal organisation of members had been implemented. On 30 March 1898 the Cape Times stated categorically that “the party just organised for the first time against the Bond has been organised partly with Mr. Rhodes’ money, let us say, largely.” That this was by no means remarkable was explained by the newspaper when it related how, “it was fair in one way that Mr. Rhodes should pay to repair a disorganisation largely due to his own discouragement of all
anti-Bond forces in the past.”

Like Logan of course, Rhodes had recognised the benefit of Bond collaboration but now, post Jameson Raid, his true allegiance had been exposed and so his efforts were turned towards the Progressives. As Sank testifies, throughout his career (and much like Logan), “Rhodes was to use both the Afrikaner and Progressive Parties in an attempt to achieve his goal.”

With the financial backing of Rhodes and the groundwork previously done by the South African League, the Progressives were able effectively to challenge the Afrikaner Party in the 1898 elections. Inevitably, Rhodes was then elected leader of the pro-British group with the intention of furthering his scheme of closer union. The tycoon’s expansionist desires had not diminished, however, and the opportunity to bring peace to South Africa was lost in the pursuit of personal ambition. “He [Rhodes] had it in his power to prevent a widening of the gap between Afrikaner and Progressive Parties,” explains Sank, “but because the conquest of the Transvaal meant more to him then the welfare of the Cape Colony, he neglected to modify his demands.” Perhaps the troubles now brewing in the country were a reflection too of the changing political landscape. Indeed, as Sank suggests, “it would seem that with the formation of the Afrikaner and Progressive parties, the spirit of liberalism was slowly disappearing from Colonial politics.” With the liberals increasingly marginalised, men like Rhodes and Logan were now more able to promote their own personal agendas within the Cape’s political arena. These agendas, alongside aggressive policies of imperialism, would hasten the path to war between Afrikaner and Briton within South Africa.

In 1898, at the request of Rhodes, Logan resigned his position as member of the House of Assembly and stood for election to the Upper House (Legislative Council) of the North-Western division. This seat would then be contested for the first time in the interest of the Progressives – a move designed to infiltrate the traditional Bond support base in the area. Despite declaring his allegiance to Rhodes, Logan was still capable of securing favour in the region. Following his election triumph, even the Cape Times felt obliged to pay tribute: “Mr. Logan’s achievement at being placed at head of the poll [was] brought about because although he has made no promises and goes to the council absolutely untrammelled, all classes of the community have faith in his honesty, sound common sense and business ability.” It was testimony indeed of Logan’s penchant for politics within the ever-changing Cape arena.

Logan held this seat until 1903 when he was elected as representative of the Western Cape Division in the Legislative Council (Upper House). As Chapter 6 has shown, the Anglo-
Boer war had irrevocably altered the political landscape of South Africa and by this stage Logan’s enthusiasm for political life was beginning to wane. However, the obstinate Scot was still destined to have a major affect on South African politics on two more notable occasions. In 1903, leader of the Progressives, Dr. L.S. Jameson, was elected as Prime Minister succeeding Sir John Sprigg as the head of the Cape Government. Following a close-run election, Jameson was left with a small majority of five in the Lower House and a majority of only one in the Higher House. Crucially, James Logan now held the balance of power in the Higher House. Though elected as a Progressive, he had always shown himself to be an independent thinker. Logan did not agree with the Progressive standpoint with regard to the tax on diamonds, as he considered this would be detrimental to the country as a whole. He also disagreed with the bill for additional representation of constituencies in the Lower House. And in May 1904, in spite of the entreaties of other members that he should stay in the country, Logan left the Progressive Party in the lurch by leaving for Britain once more. As a result, Lord De Villiers, the Chief Justice, had to be called upon for a deciding vote in the Higher House in order to save the ministry from breaking up completely.

In politics, Logan expressed his standpoint so forcefully at times that he antagonised even his political allies. In September 1907 matters finally came to a head. The parties, Progressive and Afrikaner Bond, were so evenly balanced in the Upper House that when the Council went into Committee and a Progressive took the Chair, Logan again held the balance of power. On this date the council went into Committee on the Estimates, and Logan consistently blocked progress, voting with the opposition until on 17 September 1907, Dr. Jameson announced that the Government would ask the Governor to suspend both Houses of Parliament, in order to solve the constitutional deadlock in the Legislative Council. A general Council election followed and the Jameson Ministry was defeated after four years in power. Jameson was succeeded by John X. Merriman as Prime Minister.

Logan’s determination and force of character inevitably brought him many political enemies. Self-motivated, he had to fight for his success and this naturally alienated people within the political arena. Whilst Logan accepted this, he was also aware that politics was only good for business so long as one remained a ‘popular’ politician. With Merriman now at the head of government, a more liberal, conciliatory tone returned to the Cape. The age of Rhodes and the money politicians of the 1890s had passed. As a result, in 1908, and two years before the unification of South Africa, Logan withdrew permanently from politics to concentrate on his business affairs and Matjesfontein. As ever, the Laird’s timing was deliberate.
Conclusions

The political situation in South Africa was not straightforward. As this chapter has shown, the politics of the late nineteenth century was characterised by a fundamental struggle for power between competing factions. At this time, political power was maintained by the white population groups – Afrikaners and English-speakers – while the black population remained the underclass within South African society. The race for control of South Africa was played out not only in terms of party politics between the two white groups but also in terms of contrasting ideologies among English-speaking politicians.

The whole Logan Contract debate and the stance of the liberals stemmed from the moral dilemma of Colonial South Africans – the choice to enter the imperialist world of ‘money politics’ and enhanced wealth or to maintain a righteous path towards development with all the hardship that would bring. Rhodes, Sivewright and indeed Logan were true opportunists. They were pioneers in South Africa and took advantage of every opportunity presented to them. Discretion and accountability may not have featured high on their list of priorities, yet they made a success of creating their own wealth as well as their own ‘empires’. Like his involvement in cricket, James Logan had entered the political arena for reasons of status and self-aggrandisement, but crucially, too, it offered him the opportunity to influence the politics and development of a country to which he was materially tied. As with other domains of Logan’s life, it was a case of securing his own interests.

“Can we be satisfied that political actors react out of virtue or in self-interest” asks Gemmell, “or are they motivated by a whole range of social and economic phenomena at work in wider society?”\textsuperscript{237} The reality, I propose, is a combination of both. James Logan was not only a manipulator, but also a product of his society. While his involvement in politics undoubtedly stemmed from self-interest, it was the unique political situation within South Africa of the 1890s that allowed him this position of influence. With the discovery of gold, South Africa had become the focus of British-led capitalism and via the drive and ambition of Cecil Rhodes the race was on to secure control of the region. The divide between Afrikaner and English-speaking South African grew wider during this decade as imperial policies dictated the course for colonial administrations. Logan, a true capitalist, seized the opportunity to embrace this new wave of imperialist fervour. Through cricket as well as politics he could demonstrate commitment to the cause and ensure his share of the spoils once South Africa had been divided up for the empire. Logan was an opportunist above all else, a man who made the most of what
South Africa could offer. In short, he was a true colonial and at the turn of the twentieth century, South Africa was being shaped by such men.

5 Ibid., p.13.
8 Ibid.
10 Ibid., pp. 307-308.
11 Ibid., p.308.
12 R.D. Blumenfeld, Foreward to P.H. Emden, *Randlords*, 1935, p.7. ‘Randlords’ was a term used to describe South Africa’s first high-profile entrepreneurs who made their fortune after the discovery of gold and diamonds on the Rand. Abe Bailey and Barney Barnato are two examples. Barnato is quoted as saying: “If a man is going to hit you, hit him first, and say: ‘If you try that I’ll hit you again.’ It is no use your saying, ‘If you hit me I’ll hit you back.’ D’ye understand?” In R.D. Blumenfeld, Foreward to P.H. Emden, *Randlords*, 1935, p.7.
13 Ibid.
16 Ibid.
17 In 1872 the Cape Colony was granted its own responsible government by the British. John Molteno became the first premier, with four other ministers, and the powers of the Governor were greatly restricted. The Cape had at last become a self-governing colony after years of agitation. See *Standard Encyclopedia of Southern Africa. Volume 3*, 1971, p.51 and E. A. Walker, *A History of Southern Africa*, 1957, pp. 340-343. Twenty years earlier, in 1852, the Colony had been granted representative government by the British Parliament. A Legislative Assembly (lower house) consisted of 46 members, elected for five years by all adult male British subjects. A Legislative Council (upper house) had 15 members, 7 from the Eastern and 8 from the Western Cape, elected for ten years. The Executive Council consisted of the Governor and the chief officials. This was the first step towards responsible government.
20 As English-speaking liberals advocated the absorption of an educated African elite into ‘civilised’ society, many Britons and Afrikaners remained fearful of mass-based native participation in the white arena. The liberals saw the involvement of the black electorate merely as a safety valve rather than an open invitation to the masses. See H. Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a People*, 2003, p.289. According to Davenport, the “Afrikaner Bond made no serious attempt to win African supporters until the Assembly elections of 1898, and even then its achievements were not impressive.” T.R.H. Davenport, *The Afrikaner Bond. The History of a South African Party, 1880-1911*, 1966, p.120.
“If there had been none but English in the House the native question would have been settled long ago” declared an assured Cecil Rhodes shortly after the franchise Bill was passed. Ibid.

For British imperialists there were problems in applying Charles Darwin’s theories of racial hierarchy to the system of white supremacy in South Africa. As Giliomee points out, some English-speakers “tended to see the struggle for survival in South Africa not only as one between the white and black races, but also as one in which the British or Anglo-Saxon race had demonstrated its superiority to the Afrikaners as an indolent, inert and unenlightened people for the most part.” Ibid., p.287.

Blacks naturally saw the franchise Bill as an attempt to squash their political voice. The founding of the Afrikaner Bond in 1880 had spurred the founding of the Imbumba Yama Nyama in Port Elizabeth, a black political organisation that claimed to be ‘the true Afrikaner Bond.’ Hofmeyr’s organisation, it said, was only a ‘Boeren Bond’ catering merely for the white Afrikaner. Despite hostility from white politicians, the new organisation achieved considerable success in black voter registration. Around this time, John Tengu Jabavu also established the first independent Xhosa-language newspaper, Imvo Zabantsundu. As highlighted in Chapter 4, this publication campaigned for black representation in both the political and sporting arenas. An advocate of cricket and British rule, Jabavu wrote that the black vote had been used in the best interests of the country, and added that it had been steadily and consistently “employed to strengthen the English, or the party of justice and right in the country.” T.R.H. Davenport, *The Afrikaner Bond. The History of a South African Party, 1880-1911*, 1966, p.121.

Cape Times, 16 July 1890.


B. Williams, *Cecil Rhodes*, 1926, p. 188.

G. Viney, ‘A New Look at the Logan Crisis’. Unpublished BA (Hons) Thesis, University of Cape Town, 1975, p. 3. The term had been used by Disraeli to describe Gladstone’s cabinet.

Rhodes’ first Ministry was comprised as follows: Prime Minister and Commissioner: C.J. Rhodes; Treasurer: J.X. Merriman; Secretary for Native Affairs: P.H. Faure; Attorney-General: J. Rose Innes; Colonial Secretary: J.W. Sauer; Minister without Portfolio: J. Sivewright. Rhodes took on the Commissionership under the misapprehension that it was necessary for the Premier to hold portfolio – he handed it over to Sivewright in September 1890. See Ibid.


Rhodes had always intended to use the amalgamated diamond mines to finance his imperial vision; now the need for financial backing had become imperative. Rhodes insisted that the trust deed of the new company should provide for his political ambitions. Barney Barnato, still the dominating figure in the Central Company, initially objected. He was a business man and had no real interests in the wider political issues. Eventually though Rhodes succeeded in merging all the diamond interests in Kimberley in the De Beers Consolidated Company, and he persuaded his partners to agree to a trust deed of remarkable character. Under it the company would acquire ‘tracts of land’ in Africa or elsewhere, undertake the government of any territory, and do practically anything it wished. Endowed with these powers, Rhodes saw that the way was open to realise his dream of extending the British Empire far into the interior of Africa. See B. Roberts, *Cecil Rhodes: Flawed Colossus*, 1988, pp.89-91 and *Standard Encyclopedia of Southern Africa. Volume 9*, 1973, p.320.


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See P. Lewsen, (ed.), *Selection from the Correspondence of John X. Merriman, 1890-1898*, 1963, p. viii.

James Sivewright was colloquially known to the three liberals as “the Penman” (in reference to his ‘under hand’ dealings).


Flogging was proposed for, amongst other things, drunkenness, disobedience and riding a master’s horse. P.J. du Toit was a cattle farmer in the Hope Town District for 46 years. He served as deacon of the Hope Town Dutch Reformed Church and was Chairman of the Afrikaner Bond in the district. A vociferous supporter of corporal punishment, he was a Member of the Cape House of Assembly for 18 years. See South Africa Newspaper Company. *Souvenir of the Union of South Africa*, 1910, p.84.

This is discussed in Chapter 5.

It was from her base at Matjesfontein that famed South African novelist Olive Schreiner challenged many political decisions of the day. Schreiner had returned from England in October 1889, and stayed briefly with her brother W.P. Schreiner in Cape Town, before settling in Matjesfontein. See Chapter 5. It was through her brother, then legal advisor to the Governor and soon to enter parliament (eventually to become Cape Premier), that she met some of the leading figures in Cape politics and established close friendships with their wives, notably Mary Sauer and Jesse Rose Innes. For a selection of Schreiner’s correspondence on political matters see Olive Schreiner Collection, BC16. University of Cape Town.

*Cape Hansard*, House of Assembly. 1890.


Ibid.


Ibid.


Ibid., p.101.


A significant expansionist scheme planned by Rhodes in which Sivewright was involved was the aborted purchase of the strategic harbour of Delagoa Bay from the Portuguese Government. Sivewright succeeded in persuading Lisbon to sell for £1,300,000 but other interests intervened in Britain and the deal was never carried through. See Ibid.

For example, Sivewright was a patron of Cape Town Cricket Club in the mid-1890s. See *Cape Times*, 15 May 1896.

Having made vast sums in both Kimberley and Johannesburg, Sivewright married Miss Jennie Page, a daughter of a Free State trader and bought into the opulent lifestyle of the Cape bourgeoisie. Unlike Logan, who had created his own domain at Matjesfontein, Sivewright purchased one of the finest established estates in the Western Province for the unheard-of price of £24,000. *Cape Argus Weekly*, 30 December 1896 & 29 December 1897. The property, known as Lourensford, had a history dating back to the days of the Dutch East India Company and was a past dwelling of Governor Willem Adriaan van der Stel (Governor of the Cape of Good Hope (1699-1707). Eldest son of Simon van der Stel - The first Commander and Governor of the Cape). The Sivewrights became the talk of the Colony as they set up house in regal state and held exuberant, lavish functions; “Lady Sivewright [being] one of the most successful hostesses in the Colony.” E. Rosenthal, *Other Men’s Millions*, [1953], p.102. Like Logan at Matjesfontein, Sivewright was not averse to public displays of wealth and became very much a socialite on the colonial scene. In 1893, a visiting journalist reported how: “He [Sivewright] is the husband of a
charming lady, and she is as interesting and popular in the Colony as he is. Sir James is full of energy, enthusiasm, pluck and Scottish humour; he is an eloquent and earnest worker for the unity of South Africa. With equal ease he can recite Burns’ “Tam O’ Shanter” and can address a mass meeting of Boers in their own language. Cited in E. Rosenthal, Other Men’s Millions, [1953], p.102. Sivewright was colloquially referred to as the ‘Laird of Lourensford’

65 E. Rosenthal, Other Men’s Millions, [1953], p.102
66 Ibíd.
67 Especially in the ‘pro-empire’ press such as the Cape Argus.
68 E. Rosenthal, Other Men’s Millions, [1953], p.103.
69 African World, 2 September 1905.
70 E. Rosenthal, Other Men’s Millions, [1953], p.103. During the early 1900s, Sivewright invested in coal and iron mining in the East of Scotland while maintaining his contacts within South Africa. He died in 1916, leaving the majority of his fortune to his nephew James Shand Sivewright. See obituaries, The Times and Cape Times, 12 September 1916.
72 This was Merriman’s, Sauer’s and Rose-Innes’ way of describing Sivewright’s involvement in shady financial transactions. See Letter. J.X. Merriman to J.B. Currey, 9 May 1893. J.X. Merriman Collection, MSC 15. South African Library, Cape Town.
74 The premises were subject to The Liquor Act No.28 of 1883. Ohlssons Cape Breweries benefited a great deal from these licensed catering places and in many cases the directors stood surety for the contracted rentals. All but one of Logan’s contracts were guaranteed by Ohlssons directors. Ibid., p.54.
75 The contract was signed on 17 May 1890. Ibid., p.54
76 In the Orange Free State. The building was completed on 18 February 1892. Ibid., p.55.
77 For a discussion on this see The Kimberley Independent, 3 June 1893 and Cape Argus, 20 June 1893.
78 For an account of Sivewright’s improvements to the rail system and his planned reorganisation, see Cape of Good Hope Parliament. Debates in the House of Assembly, in the Fifth Session of the Eighth Parliament of the Cape of Good Hope, 16th June to 9th September, 1893, 1893, pp.20-21.
81 Ibid., p.23.
82 Letter. J.D. Logan to C.B. Elliott, 13 September 1892. Cited in Cape Argus, 13 July 1893.
84 Blue Book, A4, 1893: Select Committee Report, p. vi. Also see Cape Times, 19 November 1892.
85 G. Viney, ‘A New Look at the Logan Crisis’. Unpublished BA (Hons) Thesis, University of Cape Town, 1975, p. 27. For opinions regarding this, see Cape Hansard, 1893, pp.5-16.
86 Cape Hansard, 1893, p.5. There was a parliamentary recess at the time which began on 29 August 1892. Sivewright and Rhodes were visiting Kimberley, Johannesburg and Pretoria before departing for England on 5 October. Meanwhile P.H. Faure and J.H. Sauer were visiting their constituents on the Border and the Eastern Province respectively. Merriman and Rose Innes were, as a consequence, the only Cabinet Ministers remaining in Cape Town.
87 As pointed out by Rose Innes in the parliamentary debate. Ibid., p.4.
89 Cape Times, 5 November 1892.
90 The Midland News and Karroo Farmer, 11 November 1892.
95 See Cape of Good Hope Parliament. Debates in the House of Assembly, in the Fifth Session of the Eighth Parliament of the Cape of Good Hope, 16th June to 9th September, 1893, 1893, p.23: Sivewright had consulted a Mr. Hodges, the financial head of the Midland Railway in England as well as Mr. Scotter, manager of the London and South-Western Railway. Hodges had allegedly written to Sivewright stating that “the agreement with Logan is a fair and equitable one, and I agree with Scotter that it would be absurd to throw open to public competition your railway refreshment-rooms.” Merriman was later to
acuse Sivewright and Logan of impropriety as Hodges had been a guest of Logan’s at Matjesfontein.

*Cape Argus*, 21 June 1893.


97 Ibid.


99 The cable read: “Railway refreshment arrangements authorised after recommendation strongly urged by all departmental heads. See Elliott and others.” Ibid., p.22.

100 Ibid., p.23. Elliott to Sauer. 19 November 1892.


103 Ibid., p.23. Sauer to Rhodes. 19 November 1892.

104 Ibid., p.24. General Manager Railways to J.D.Logan, Matjesfontein. 21 November 1892.


106 For details of the Read/Ash case see Chapter 5, pp.140-146.


110 Sivewright’s rebuff stated: “So long as it is made perfectly clear that I personally consider the contract desirable in the public interest I of course cannot further object to any plea.” Ibid., p.44. Given the British government precedent of ‘cabinet responsibility’, Sivewright’s actions became increasingly anomalous. He was, in fact, as Viney notes, using the same official/private dichotomy that Sir Hercules Robinson and Joseph Chamberlain were to adopt over the Jameson Raid. Only considerable tenacity could have sustained such a role. A trait he shared with his friend James Logan. G. Viney, ‘A New Look at the Logan Crisis’. Unpublished BA (Hons) Thesis, University of Cape Town, 1975, p.41.


112 Ibid., p.37.

113 *Cape Argus*, 13 February 1893 (editorial).


117 On hearing the news, Rose Innes had written to Rhodes: “I was astounded the other day to find it stated in the papers that Logan had been granted a monopoly of supplying refreshments … I like fighting but I do not like hanky-panky.” Letter. J. Rose Innes to C.J. Rhodes, 8 November 1892. Cited in H.M. Wright, (ed.). *Sir James Rose Innes Selected Correspondence (1884-1902)*, 1972, p.23.


121 *The Worcester Advertiser*, 3 June 1893.

122 *Cape Argus*, 25 April 1893. Sivewright returned to Cape Town aboard the Dunottar Castle. The same ship that brought W. Read’s English team to South Africa in December 1891.


124 *The Kaffirararian Watchman*, 2 June 1893.


126 For contemporary opinions see Agnes Merriman Diary. Agnes Merriman Collection, MSC 14. South African Library, Cape Town

127 P. Lewsen, (ed.), *Selection from the Correspondence of John X. Merriman, 1890-1898*, 1963, p. 139.

128 *Cape Hansard*, 1893, p.3.
Once Rhodes realised that it was impossible to persuade Merriman, Rose Innes and Sauer to sit in the same cabinet as Sivewright, he placed his resignation in the hands of the Governor. The following notification appeared in the Cape Times, 3 May 1893: “Owing to a difference having arisen between the members of the Government, Mr. Rhodes has tendered to His Excellency, the Governor, his resignation and that of his colleagues. His Excellency accepted the resignation and called upon Mr. Rhodes to form a new ministry. Mr. Rhodes has accepted the responsibility of doing so.”


133 See Cape of Good Hope Parliament, House of Assembly. 1893.


135 John Gordon Sprigg (1830-1913) was Cape Premier four times between 1878 and 1904. A devout imperialist, he was often in opposition to Hofmeyr and the Afrikaner Bond. D.J. Potgieter (ed.), Standard Encyclopedia of Southern Africa, Vol.10, 1974, pp.229-230. This was not the first time Rhodes and Sprigg had colluded. In 1892, the two had agreed that endeavours should be made to form an administration “consisting of the ablest men engaged in public affairs.” T.R.H.Davenport, The Afrikaner Bond. The History of a South African Party, 1966, p.309. Rhodes had always claimed that there were no definite lines of political party divisions in the colony. However, this move was still considered a startling innovation at the time – indeed, some went so far as to criticise it as undermining the principles of responsible government then being built up at the Cape. See G. Viney, ‘A New Look at the Logan Crisis’. Unpublished BA (Hons) Thesis, University of Cape Town, 1975, p. 59.

136 The ‘Second’ Ministry consisted of: Premier: C.J. Rhodes; Treasurer: J.G. Sprigg; Attorney-General: W.P. Schreiner; Commissioner: J.Laing; Colonial Secretary: P.H. Faure; Agriculture Secretary: J.Frost. Although Merriman and Rose Innes both refused offers of new positions, Sauer remained on reasonable terms with Rhodes: “My dear Rhodes,” he wrote after the Ministry fell, “The coming and going of Ministers must be: but our severance is to me a pain. I shall ever look back on my association with you as one of the honours and pleasures of my life. Your sincere friend, J.W. Sauer.” Quoted in E.A. Walker, Lord de Villiers and His Times, 1925, p.226.


139 E.A. Walker, Lord de Villiers and His Times, 1925, p.238.

140 Blue Book, A3, 1893.

141 The members chosen were J.H. Hofmeyr, Chairman (Member for Stellenbosch); P.J. du Toit (Richmond); L.A. Vincent (George); T.E. Fuller (Cape Town) and J.M. Orpen (Wodehouse). Cape of Good Hope Parliament, House of Assembly. Select Committee on Railway Refreshment Rooms, 1893. Likened to a ‘Parliamentary Riding School’, the role of the Select Committee was satirized with The South African Sportsman, 21 July 1893. See Figure 61.

142 The members chosen were J.H. Hofmeyr, Chairman (Member for Stellenbosch); P.J. du Toit (Richmond); L.A. Vincent (George); T.E. Fuller (Cape Town) and J.M. Orpen (Wodehouse). Cape of Good Hope Parliament, House of Assembly. Select Committee on Railway Refreshment Rooms, 1893, pp.66-70. When questioned by the Committee, Logan, in his defence, strongly advocated the effectiveness of placing all refreshment rooms under the management of one head: “By one man’s having the catering he can go in for it on a very large scale … This system works very well in England” he pointed out; Logan also “agreed to spend £30,000 more on the refreshment rooms. I was going to get out a professional cook and establish a school of cookery at Matjiesfontein, where I intended to put every manager for the other rooms, for three months, in order to see how the refreshment rooms should be conducted … All this could be accomplished by placing the rooms under one management.” (p.70). In a subsequent letter addressed to the Hofmeyr, the Committee Chairman, Logan pointed out, somewhat
conceitedly, his sterling imperial service beyond the railway: “I would like to add the following which would show the feeling of a good many people of high standing outside the Colonial Government, namely, when the troops were ordered to Bechuanaland, I was sent for by the Imperial Government, and given the contract for supplying the said troops with all they required in the way of refreshments and no tender was called for... My tender was also accepted for the supply of all liquors at the Kimberley Exhibition, and I was subsequently, without tender being called for, the right to supply all first-class catering; in fact they offered to guarantee me against all loss with respect to this matter but I declined to accept this offer. I was also consulted by the directors of the new hotel now being built opposite the Cape Town Railway Station and asked to make them an offer for taking it over. I also had the refusal of the Great Western Hotel, Johannesburg, which is one of the finest in this country. The deputy chairman of the union Steam Ship Company, Mr. Evans, called at Matjesfontein with his wife, and consulted me with reference to the erection of a large hotel in Cape Town, and when in England, I was likewise requested to attend a meeting of directors of the Union Steam Ship Company to further discuss this subject, which I did. When in London, I was also on two occasions interviewed by the Castle Packets Company in connection with their starting a hotel in the Gardens, Cape Town, and when His Excellency the Governor recently visited Colesberg, I was asked if I would undertake all the management of the matter there, under certain conditions, which I agreed to do. I mention these instances as I think it is only fair that your Committee should be cognizant of the fact, that others outside of the Railway Department, who ought to know something about this business have, at all events, some respect for my knowledge in regard to catering.” Letter. J.D. Logan to J.H. Hofmeyr, 1 August 1893. Cape of Good Hope Parliament, House of Assembly. Select Committee on Railway Refreshment Rooms, 1893, pp. ii-iii. (Appendix B).

See Select Committee’s Report. Cape Argus, 15 August 1893.

Cape Good Hope Parliament. Debates in the House of Assembly, in the Fifth Session of the Eighth Parliament of the Cape of Good Hope, 16th June to 9th September, 1893, pp.12-13. Merriman feared that if Logan was awarded the contract he “would have been one of the most important persons in the country... the effect of it would have been to have given Mr. Logan and his friends a tremendous pull in future elections.” Quoted in Cape Argus, 24 August 1893.

Merriman stated that “he should like the House to call for the correspondence connected with Mr. Logan’s attempt to get a monopoly of the land at Matjesfontein – an attempt which was only defeated by the common sense of the present Surveyor-General. (Cheers.) He should like the House to see the correspondence addressed to the Under Secretary for Lands and Mines in connection with the application for some boring apparatus – again, he said, most offensive correspondence. (Laughter.) He could imagine what Mr. Logan would be if they invested him with the power proposed. Why, the railway time-tables at present were framed wholly and solely for the benefit of Matjesfontein, while important districts were obliged to get the mail train at most inconvenient hours. (Hear, hear.) Matjesfontein was made the pivot of the whole arrangements.” Cape of Good Hope Parliament. Debates in the House of Assembly, in the Fifth Session of the Eighth Parliament of the Cape of Good Hope, 16th June to 9th September, 1893, p.13.


Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

F.X. Schermbrucker quoted in Ibid., p.13.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Cape Argus, 20 June 1893.

The Kimberley Independent, 3 June 1893. A sardonic correspondent writing in the Cape Argus reflected how “the whole matter turned out to be a storm in a teacup, or, to speak more correctly, a typhoon on a refreshment table.” Cape Argus, 19 June 1893.

See The Kimberley Independent, 3 June 1893: “Surely it is a shame that the sorely taxed population of the Colony should be additionally burdened in order that the personal moral superiority of one or two persons, who are no longer the holders of any public office, should be advertised.” The Woodstock and Suburban Weekly News went as far as to say: “We pity Innes, we mistrust Merriman, and we despise Sauer for his action in this whole matter, and we have not the slightest hesitation in saying that ... Sir James Sivewright and Mr. Logan will come out of the fray with untarnished reputations.” Woodstock and Suburban Weekly News, 3 June 1893. Also see The Kimberley Independent, 1 June 1893.

The Kimberley Independent, 3 June 1893.

The Diamond Field Advertiser, 1 June 1893.

The South African Review, 11 August 1893

The contract debate triggered opposition not only in the House of Assembly but also amongst the Cape’s press. The Cape Argus and Kimberley Independent were both pro-Sivewright and strictly
opposed to the views of the *Cape Times* which they accused of “taking up the cause of the Ministerial mutineers.” *The Kimberley Independent*, 3 June 1893.

161 *Cape Times*, 1 June 1893.
162 *Cape Register*, 17 June 1893.
163 *Glasgow Evening Citizen*, 6 September 1893. The Scottish support for Sivewright and Logan was extended to Kimberley where the ‘Diamond Fields Scottish Association’ offered its backing to both men. See *The Diamond Field Advertiser*, 9 September 1893.
164 *Cape Argus*, 15 August 1893. Under the headline “Loganism!” *The Wynberg Times* had earlier published the following eulogy: “As so many of our readers have “Logan” on the brain, it is well to explain that ‘Loganism’ means *promethean progressiveness of projection*, [sic] or irrepressible industrial imploration. Mr. Logan has climbed the steep ladder step by step, overcoming every obstacle by indomitable untiring energy, honesty of purpose, and *savoir faire*. He has set an excellent example by making blades grow where none grew before, and by electrifying the Railway Department to action and progressive measures, he has proved himself a benefactor to his adopted country.” *The Wynberg Times*, 24 June 1893.
165 Mr. Tamplin, a Member of the Legislative Assembly, perhaps best summed this up when declaring in Parliament that “Mr. Logan was not only a remarkably good businessman, but he had been a party to the removal of three Ministers.” Quoted in *Cape Argus*, 24 August 1893.
166 The contract covered approximately 1700 miles of track at an annual cost to Logan of £4,250. The main outlets were at Cape Town, Matjesfontein, and Beaufort West while further north Logan controlled the stations at De Aar and Kimberley as well as Bloemfontein and Kroonstad in the Orange Free State. R.N. Toms, *Logan’s Way*, 1997, p.76.
167 For a discussion of this see Chapter 5.
168 See Chapter 5, p.132.
169 Logan’s tenuous association with the Afrikaner Bond merely facilitated his aims of entering Parliament. He was regarded as an ‘independent’ Member of the House with no firm party affiliation. See *The Worcester Chronicle*, 26 January 1894.
171 See B.L.G. Swart, ‘The Logan Contract and its Influence on the Politics of the Cape Province’, 1952, p.120.
172 *Cape Register*, 16 December 1893.
173 “Only one candidate openly declared himself a Bond candidate and another somewhat warmly assured the meeting that he was no Bondsman, but would exercise a free and independent judgement upon all questions.” *The Worcester Chronicle*, 26 January 1894.
174 In a speech made at Worcester on 26 January 1894, Logan proclaimed that “he was a sheep and grain farmer and if he went against the sheep and grain farmers he would be harming himself. It was his misfortune not his fault, that he is a Scotchman, but as he had made this country his home he hoped to live and die here … If elected, he would do his duty both inside and outside Parliament (cheers and applause).” *The South African Review*, 26 January 1894.
176 *Cape Mercury*, 17 November 1883.
177 Sivewright’s close relationship with Logan during the election success is highlighted in a cable he sent to Logan’s father back in Scotland: “My dear Mr. Logan, it will I am sure be very cheering news to you to know that in the contested election for the representation in our Parliament of Worcester, held yesterday, your son goes in an easy first, has secured a most splendid victory … Allow me to add my most sincere congratulations to you upon so distinguished an honour being paid to your son and my first friend. With all good wishes, believe me. Most sincerely yours. J. Sivewright.” Cited in the *Berwick Advertiser*, 23 February 1894.
180 Fiercely patriotic, Brabant commanded Brabant’s Horse during the Anglo Boer War (attached to General Gatacre’s command in the Stormberg). Ibid.
181 For an explanation of the ‘franchise issue’ see Endnote 21.
182 T.R.H. Davenport, ‘The Afrikaner Bond, 1880-1900’. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cape Town, 1960, p.309. It wasn’t long before the different ideologies began to cause problems in the Progressive ranks. Shortly after its formation, the liberal wing of the new party had already begun to find difficulty in making common cause with Brabant and his followers. They had in fact begun to fall apart even before the Logan crisis blew up, and were unable to build an effective unity during the

183 The Scab Act made it compulsory for farmers to dip their sheep regularly to rid the sheep of disease. However, the Act was bitterly opposed by farmers who wanted its immediate repeal. Logan, himself a sheep farmer, realised that the cost of dipping tanks was well beyond the means of many sheep farmers, but advised that negotiations on the ways to implement the Act would be more productive than to call for an Act just passed by Parliament to be repealed, a course of action which could well have the effect of bringing down the Government. Following the death in a rail collision of John Maitland Grant, (District Engineer of the Cape Railways and a close friend of Logan’s) Logan campaigned for improved signalling throughout the rail network. Grant is buried at Matjesfonfontein cemetery. See Cape Argus, 25 & 27 April; 31 May & 8 June 1894. Cape Times, 22 June 1894. The Midland News and Karroo Farmer, 24 June 1894.

184 South Africa, 4 August 1894.

185 Rhodes’ plans for British domination in Africa were by now well known. The tycoon had once remarked to journalist W.T. Stead: “If there be a God, I think that what He would like me to do is to paint as much of the map of Africa British red as possible, and to do what I can elsewhere to promote the unity and extend the influence of the English-speaking race.” Quoted in W.T. Stead, Last Will and Testament of Cecil John Rhodes, 1902, p.98.

186 Uitlander literally means ‘outlander’ or foreigner and was the name given to those (mainly British) immigrants who flocked to the Transvaal after the discovery of the Witwatersrand gold-fields in 1886. The mere presence of large numbers of Uitlanders appeared to threaten both the Transvaal’s independence and the Boer way of life under a patriarchal style of government. The Uitlanders became increasingly aggrieved at the high costs of mining and taxation within the Republic and felt they were being unfairly targeted by the Boer administration that had also restricted their right to vote. Kruger’s policy of awarding concessions or monopolies did indeed push up costs for the miners and profits for the already-wealthy who, free of competition, were able to charge extortionately high prices. The big investors and the mining companies objected to certain monopolies that needlessly increased their production costs, monopolies such as those that governed dynamite, liquor and transport. B. Johnson Barker, A Concise Dictionary of the Boer War, 1999, pp.118-119.


190 Jameson and his men surrendered to Boer General Piet Cronje in the early hours of 2 January 1896 at the site at Doornkop, 30km from Johannesburg. Offering little in the way of resistance, it is reported that one of the raiders waved a borrowed apron to indicate the group’s surrender. See B. Johnson Barker, A Concise Dictionary of the Boer War, 1999, p.70.

191 Jameson had been accused of acting against orders and that Rhodes sent a telegram telling him to stop but it arrived too late. Anthony Thomas makes the case that the lateness was deliberate. He suggests Rhodes was willing to make the desperate effort, but wanted to be able to deny responsibility for the aftermath. A. Thomas, Rhodes, 1996.


193 The Reform Committee had been formed by Johannesburg Uitlanders in 1895 to obtain redress for their grievances from the Transvaal government. Mining magnates were strongly represented among the 64 committee members, who collaborated with Rhodes and Jameson to initiate the raid. The four most prominent Reformers were sentenced to death, but were reprieved on payment of heavy fines. The others were fined in proportion and released on condition that they undertook not to become involved in local politics again. Two of these, Aubrey Woolf Sampson and Walter Karri-Davies, refused to make the undertaking but were released the following year anyway. Both men were visited in jail by members of Hawke’s cricket team. See J.P. Coldham, Lord Hawke. A Cricketing Biography, 1990, p.116-118.

194 On the back of the raid, the Transvaal and Orange Free State signed a military alliance while the Transvaal enacted more restrictions on foreign workers. Kruger’s reputation was enhanced, and his government had an unarguable reason to arm. The division within the white population had been exacerbated throughout South Africa. See F.R. Van Hartesveldt, The Boer War. Historiography and Annotated Bibliography, 2000.

195 Logan was reported to have invited Messrs. Schermbrucker, Johnson and Colonel D. Harris to drink "Jameson’s health in champagne." Midland News, 7 may 1896.
Cape Times, 3 January 1896. News of events from the Transvaal was, at best, incomplete with the publication of the Reform Committee’s letter detailing the plight of the “unarmed (British) men, women and children” rousing emotions further in Cape Town. Cape Times, 4 January 1896.

Cape Times, 6 January 1896. Groot Schur was Rhodes’ residence in Cape Town.

For notice of Rhodes’ resignation, see Cape Times, 7 January 1896.


Ibid.

The Select Committee of the House of Commons, which included Chamberlain himself as a member, together with powerful Opposition voices in Sir William V. Harcourt and Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, sat for five months, reporting in mid-1897 top censure Rhodes and to acquit Chamberlain. Two members of the Committee disagreed with the findings on the basis that a number of telegrams that had been sent from London to Cape Town before the raid had been expressly withheld on Rhodes’ personal orders. For further analysis of this see C.M. Woodhouse, ‘The Missing Telegrams and the Jameson Raid’. History Today, xii. June & July 1962.


Cape Times, 22 May 1896.

The Johannesburg Times, 20 June 1896.

Logan confirmed his offer to “send out a staff on the kitchen car, have it stocked, and see that the gentlemen referred to will get everything they require free of charge; in fact, I have already invited them to be my guests on the journey.” See letter. J.D. Logan to T.R. Price, 13 June 1896. Cited in Ibid.

The South African Telegraph, 12 June 1896.

The Johannesburg Times, 20 June 1896.

Cape Times, 25 June 1896.

The two were senior members of their family business Barnato Bros as well as Directors of de Beers Consolidated Mines.

Cape Times, 25 June 1896.

Ibid. Logan’s ‘practical’ support for the raid may have gone further. Legend has it that a small group of Reformers fled Johannesburg and hid in the hills behind Logan’s Farm, Tweedside. Logan reputedly supplied the escapees with food and whisky while another four were hidden in the cellars underneath the station building at Matjesfontein. A pair of elaborate Chinese vases, now in the Major John Buist / Logan Family Collection, bear mute witness to this curious, heroic episode in Matjesfontein’s history. They were dedicated to Emma Logan by the fugitives, the inscription conveying their grateful thanks to her for the kindness and care she showed them while they were in hiding. See R.N. Toms, Logan’s Way, 1997, p.89.


For the full list of Opposition Members see The Midland News and Karroo Farmer, 14 May 1896.

J. Rose Innes, Autobiography, 1949, pp.138-139.

Cape Hansard, 1896, p.124.


Ons Land, 29 December 1896.

Quoted in Vindex. Cecil Rhodes. His Political Life and Speeches, 1900, p.503.

Ibid., p.504.

Former parliamentary colleagues of Rhodes had been invited to the gathering at which time the deposed Premier “made a more frank reference to his one great mistake than on any other occasion.” Fuller quotes Rhodes as saying: “I do not so much regret joining in an attempt to force President Kruger into a juster [sic] and more reasonable policy, when he had resolutely refused all redress of grievances; but what has been a burden to me is that I was Prime Minister at the time, and that I had given a promise that I would not do anything compatible with the joint position I held as director of the Chartered Company and Premier of the Cape Colony. On every ground I was bound to resign if I took such a course as assisting a revolution against an officially friendly state; and I did not. I can only say that I will do my best to make atonement for my error by untiring devotion to the interests of South Africa.” Unfortunately no such admission was made by Rhodes in public. T.E. Fuller, The Right Honorable Cecil John Rhodes, 1910, pp.208-209.
223 Quoted in Ibid., p.179.
224 Cape Times, 30 March 1898.
226 Ibid.
227 Ibid.
228 Government Gazette, 1 April 1898. It is interesting to note the continued Dutch support for Logan in this campaign. R.P. Malan of Porterville, an auctioneer and Bond member, in fact canvassed for votes for Logan during this election campaign.
229 Cape Times, 24 March 1898.
232 Cape Times, 26 May 1904.
233 E.A. Walker, Lord de Villiers and His Times, 1925, pp.413-414.
234 Cape Times, 18 September 1907.
235 The dramatic events surrounding this episode are recounted in G.H. Wilson, Gone Down the Years, 1947, p.56: “The night before the vote was to be taken, Jameson, Sir Thomas Smartt and one or two others were playing bridge in a well-known Cape Town club. In the midst of the game, Owen Lewis, the chief agent of the Progressive Party, broke in in some agitation. The cards had been dealt and Jameson was considering his hand. Owen Lewis apologized for interrupting, but said it was urgent. “Logan says”, he told Jameson, “that unless that contract is signed to-night, he will vote against the Government tomorrow.” Jameson looked up from his cards for a moment, and said, “Tell Logan to go to hell. No trumps,” and the game proceeded. The next day the Government fell.”
Figure 56. The Cape’s ‘purveyors of imperialism’. Cecil John Rhodes

Figure 57. Sir Alfred Milner. South African High Commissioner
Figure 58. The Logan Contract’s main protagonists. John X. Merriman

Figure 59. Sir James Sivewright
Fig 60. ‘A Little Mistake’. Contemporary press reaction to the Logan Contract
Figure 61. ‘Our Parliamentary Riding School’. Press reaction to the Select Committee formed to debate the Logan Contract and its implications for the Cape Parliament
Figure 62. Colonel Frederick Schermbrucker. Close friend and political ally of James Logan

Figure 63. Signed proclamation from James Logan and inhabitants of Matjesfontein in support of Cecil Rhodes prior to the Jameson Raid inquiry in 1896
Figure 64. Vote Logan! ‘The Independent Friend of the Working Man’. Contemporary caricature
Figure 65. ‘Logan’s Crowning Glory’. James and Emma Logan attend coronation of King Edward VII
Chapter 8

Conclusions
Chapter 8 – Conclusions

According to Wm. Roger Louis, Professor of English History and Culture, we are now in a position to better judge the legacy of the British Empire. Within his foreword to the *Oxford History of the British Empire*, Louis states how “at this distance in time the Empire’s legacy from earlier centuries can be assessed, in ethics and economics as well as politics, with greater discrimination.”1 Certainly part of the Empire’s legacy has been the spread of British forms of sport and culture around the globe. Cricket in particular, still played throughout Asia, Australasia, the Caribbean, Africa and elsewhere, has become a cultural symbol of this once powerful Empire and the influence that Britain had on large areas of the world.

This thesis examines the processes and events that shaped South African cricket during its formative years. Covering new ground, the study uses a biographical approach to explore the organisation of imperial sporting structures and is fundamentally an examination of South Africa’s male-driven colonial society at the turn of the twentieth century. With particular reference to James Logan, the thesis explores the links between the development of South African cricket and the social and political environment during the period between 1888 and 1910. In addition, the study also examines the organisation and significance of the cricket tours that took place between South Africa and England during this time, highlighting the link between these colonial exchanges and the expansion of the British Empire throughout Southern Africa.

To understand the development of cricket in the international context, one must look to its background as the ‘imperial game’.2 As James Bradley explains, “The history of cricket is a convoluted affair which is inextricably linked to the social and economic history of Britain and its Empire. Indeed, the game served as a symbol of that Empire’s ideology … [for] the spread of cricket was bound to the imperial movement as a whole. As the boundaries of Empire pushed forward, so did the cricket frontier.”3 Nowhere was this more evident than in Southern Africa during the late nineteenth century. In a tumultuous period of conflict and struggle, this study highlights how politics and the forces of imperialism and colonialism shaped the development of cricket during this time. Involved in this process was James Douglas Logan, the archetypal colonial, whose influence on the development of cricket in South Africa is explored here for the first time.
Christopher Merrett and John Nauright have both recognised cricket’s direct link with politics and commerce during the late eighteen hundreds. Like this study, they allude to the spread of the game in Southern Africa at a time of imperial trade expansion throughout the region – “cricket as well as trade closely followed the flag.”⁴ This study has shown, using a biographical approach, how individuals such as James Logan facilitated this process through an involvement in colonial politics, commerce and sport during this period. The link to Britain as ‘home’ is tangible throughout and strengthens the case for recreation of British culture within these distant outposts. As Merrett and Nauright and others recognise, “The insecurity of colonial society was counteracted by invoking the imperial connection and elevating Britain as the source of all light. Cricket was the training ground for life and service to the British empire.”⁵ The dealings of James Logan within late nineteenth century South Africa were a pertinent example of this.

Cricket of course was significant during this period. As Bradley explains, the game was “encouraged overseas by a disparate band of people. Government administrators, engineers, soldiers, sailors, missionaries and teachers all played their part.”⁶ This study emphasizes how early emigrants from Britain who settled in South Africa in all these roles – but most notably James Logan who flourished as a businessman and politician – were instrumental in the process of establishing cricket in the newly colonised country. Based on a wealth of original material, this account represents a valuable contribution to the social history of the game both within Britain and South Africa. This final chapter will draw out the key conclusions of each chapter as well as review the thesis as part of the existing studies in the area.

Existing Literature

By employing a biographical approach and utilising original sources primarily from South Africa, this study makes a significant contribution to existing sport and imperial historiography. As Chapter 2 reveals, numerous texts have been produced detailing the historical development of sport in South Africa, yet this work focuses on cricket in particular and the influence of one individual to highlight the organisation of sport in the imperial and colonial context. This analysis of James Logan and colonial South Africa should be used in addition to existing studies highlighting the centrality of sport to British cultural imperialism at the end of the nineteenth century.

Within one such study, The Imperial Game, Keith Sandiford reflects on the importance of cricket as part of the fabric of Britain and its colonies during this period: “Cricket was a vital
element in Anglo-Saxon culture. Indeed, some observers in the nineteenth century would have termed it the most significant and the most visible, apart from dress and language.”7 Cricket was imbued with a level of social significance by the Victorians and used to convey the accepted tenets of English behaviour and civility throughout South Africa and other realms of the Empire. As Sandiford explains:

> The muscular Christians adopted cricket as their special game and moulded it into an important national symbol. The Victorians viewed it as a game least tainted by human foibles. It became so closely identified in their minds with religion, morality and public health that it could loom large in every discussion from education to imperialism.8

At the time of the first cricket tours to South Africa, the game had assumed an importance beyond that afforded the other major sports. “The Victorians revered cricket as an institution because they believed that, like the Church and the Crown, it had a key role to play in English life. Their cultural and political leaders looked upon it as having specific and vital functions to perform.”9 These functions included the spread of English culture abroad as well as the establishment of a ‘privileged set’ within the colonies themselves. As Merrett and Nauright explain, this aspect of cricket had real appeal for the likes of James Logan keen to ascend the social ladder: “The ability to appropriate and dispense English culture as the measure of social acceptability gave English-speaking whites and those they chose to include a real sense of cultural and moral power and superiority.”10

As this study shows, ‘South Africa’ was still developing around the time of the Anglo-Boer War, with both Britain and the Boer Republics keen to impose their influence over the populace. Very much a pioneer society, identities were still being contested and cultural norms being formed: “Changes come slowly at best, and the older the group the more difficult is the task of reform”, reflected historian John Vincent in 1911.11 Britain’s imperial powers recognised this. Southern Africa had, after all, been contested since the first European’s arrival. “Pioneer societies”, Vincent asserts, “have a tendency to make innovations because in the process of colonizing they cut themselves off in part from the traditions of their former social environment. In fitting themselves to a new situation they abandon old customs which have outlived their usefulness.”12

South Africa was divided in this respect. The Boers, as true pioneers, had largely disassociated themselves from their European heritage. Keen to create a new identity in their adopted homelands, new lifestyles and customs were created. The British were different. As true
colonials, they settled in South Africa and attempted to recreate faithfully the traditions they had left behind in Britain. Cricket, as in other parts of the British Empire, was an important part of this process. As Chapter 3 has shown, far from ‘outliving its usefulness’, the game of cricket was symbolic not only in conferring a sense of ‘Englishness’ at this time, but it was used, quite purposively, to inculcate the very facets of culture it was trying to demonstrate. Through cricket, English societal values were being successfully transported to South Africa – a process that has been explored within Chapter 4.

Alongside James Logan, this study also investigates the contribution of individuals such as Martin Bladen, seventh Lord Hawke, to the early colonial tours to South Africa and the subsequent development of cricket throughout the region. In an “expression of unbounded confidence”, Hawke wrote in 1912 of “the future of cricket and of the Empire with which it is so inseparably connected.” Many writers, including Keith Sandiford, have since recognised the significance of Lord Hawke in establishing imperial relations through cricket between England and her Colonies. Hawke, according to Sandiford, “did more than any other individual to … popularize the sport throughout the empire.” This study for the first time examines Hawke’s role, alongside James Logan, in the specific context of South Africa.

The Colonial Ideal
While this study focuses predominantly on ‘white’ society during this period, it has in no way disregarded the racially-driven construction of that society. In fact, as Brantlinger has shown:

Imperialist discourse is inseparable from racism. Both express economic, political, and cultural domination (or at least wishes for domination), and both grew more virulent and dogmatic as those forms of domination, threatened by rivals for Empire and by nascent independence movements … began gradually to crumble in the waning decades of the century.

As both Chapters 3 and 4 explain, the game of cricket compounded this process in Southern Africa. As it had done throughout other realms of the British Empire, cricket confirmed the privileged position of the white Anglo-Saxon male over ‘other’ races within South African society. In this way, it became an important cultural facet of imperialism within the region.

But what of the ‘imperialism’ referred to throughout this study? Prominent critic of the British Empire, J.A. Hobson, offered the following description of imperialism at the time of war in South Africa:
Though no exact definition of the nature and objects of Imperialism is possible, it contains certain clearly distinguishable threads of thought and feeling. Among these certain genuinely social and humane motives stand prominent: the desire to promote the causes of civilisation and Christianity, to improve the economic and spiritual condition of lower races, to crush slavery and to bring all parts of the habitable world into closer material and moral union. These motives are real and enter into Imperialism: they are its redeeming factors, but they are not its most powerful directing forces ... when we descend from principle to practice it is quite different ... we shall discover to our chagrin that this Imperialism is in large measure resolvable into capitalist or profit-seeking influences. The driving forces of aggressive Imperialism are the organised influences of certain professional and commercial classes which have certain definite economic advantages to gain by assuming this pseudo-patriotic cloak.\textsuperscript{18}

It is difficult to gauge exactly how much of the ‘pseudo-patriotic cloak’ was adopted by James Logan, but as Chapters 5, 6 and 7 show, Logan, in reality one of the professional or commercial classes to which Hobson refers, made highly significant personal gain from an association with British imperialism and the game of cricket.

In many ways Logan personified the colonial ideal of the ‘gentleman abroad’ so vital in rendering British imperialism ‘patriotic’. As Cain and Hopkins explain, “Overseas expansion and the imperialism which accompanied it played a vital role in maintaining property and privilege at home in an age of social upheaval and revolution.”\textsuperscript{19} Abroad, the alliance was promoted by like-minded individuals and states under the banner of ‘improvement’ and ‘progress’:

The link between the domestic and overseas parts of this strategy was forged by the gentlemanly diaspora, which was also perfectly placed to ease the transition from expansion to imperialism by extending the ideology of mission and rendering it patriotic. It is no coincidence that the most pervasive images of imperialism and empire were those which projected gentility rather than industry.\textsuperscript{20}

Logan’s own creation – the village of Matjesfontein – in itself a symbol of British imperialism, is shown in this study to have projected both gentility \textit{and} industry. Matjesfontein was symbolic also of the success of a man who strove to be part of the Empire and who used cricket along with other means to secure a place among the colonial elite. Through its analysis of James Logan and Matjesfontein this study thus provides an original contribution to existing works exploring imperialism in the colonial context.
According to James Mangan, it was the British middle classes who elevated cricket to the status of a moral discipline. Late Victorian society witnessed in reverse a deliberate and purposeful hegemonic force which saw the responsibility for Britain’s morality and ethics shift downwards from the upper classes. It was during this time that cricket, primarily through the schools, was invested with extra significance by the middle classes as the sport of Imperial Britain. This was precisely its attraction for James Logan. “Eventually”, as Mangan explains, “cricket became the symbol par excellence of imperial solidarity and superiority epitomizing a set of consolidating moral imperatives that both exemplified and explained imperial ambition and achievement. It became a political metaphor as much as an imperial game.”

For Patrick McDevitt, “An outward-bound English tour to the white settler colonies could be compared to a papal legate touring distant dioceses.” During this period, “cricket encounters with white settler colonies and dominions normally called forth odes to imperial unity and common racial heritage and culture.” Certainly the tours of Lord Hawke to South Africa supported the wider imperial intentions of the game. Indeed, as this study shows, the early cricket tours between English and South African sides came at a time of significant political upheaval within Southern Africa – a time when wealthy colonials such as James Logan were able to stake a claim to the sport in the name of patriotic duty as well as personal advancement. The role of benefactors like Logan was thus vital to the game’s advancement around the globe.

Cricket had the added advantage of providing a healthy distraction from the enforced domination of others by Britain in her colonies. By introducing such moral pursuits, the Empire was of course seen to improve the lives of those it colonised and as Brantlinger succinctly notes, the game became a relaxing couch for conscience. In reality, “athletic proselytism was a statement of masculine cultural superiority as much as a gesture of general benevolent altruism” and in South Africa cricket was promoted as the exclusive domain of the white colonial executive. For men like James Logan, the sport, with its links to commerce and politics, was an important tool for social advancement and as this study has shown, Logan’s active involvement in the imperial game aided his rapid rise to prominence in South Africa’s colonial society in the years preceding the Anglo-Boer War.

While sporting patronage was not uncommon during this period, Logan’s choice of cricket over other sports was somewhat unusual given his upbringing in the Scottish Borders. In Scotland both codes of football were prominent and cricket remained on the peripheries. Logan’s affinity with his homeland in fact remained strong throughout his life. The Berwickshire place
names that still exist around Matjiesfontein bear testimony to the importance Logan placed upon his Borders ancestry and he would make regular visits back to his birthplace right up until his death in 1920. But the reason Logan adopted cricket goes beyond mere nostalgia. Rugby, like cricket, was class-driven and could have provided some of the kudos Logan was seeking. It would also have been representative of his home region. Yet cricket would provide more than this. It was the game of the time and most important figures followed its fortunes. To be associated with cricket, and, more importantly, to be seen as actively promoting the game in the colonies, could provide significant benefits to an individual in both business and social spheres. Indeed, mixing with cricket’s ‘aristocracy’ allowed Logan an entrée into a select ‘club’ not provided by any other sport. The Laird, with his finger on the pulse of colonial society, was astutely aware of this.

As Chapter 3 shows, cricket in the late eighteen hundreds was as popular as ever, played by the established, aristocratic sections of British society. With it came a measure of prestige for those, like Logan, who were involved in promoting the game throughout Southern Africa. In many respects, cricket completed the nexus between culture, politics and business. By supporting the early tours between English and South African teams, Logan was in no doubt of the potential benefits he could gain through this association. Victorian cricket writer, Frederick Gale, recognised cricket’s ‘wider’ appeal as early as 1887 when he declared how only “those who have followed the old sport as a grand ‘English Game’ for its own sake … are worthy of the name of ‘Cricketers’ … and that those who hang about it for their own self-glory and selfish amusement and aggrandisement – regardless of the interests of others – are traitors and impostors.”

“Generally speaking, as sport evolved in the nineteenth century, it helped maintain the status quo of late industrial capitalism and imperialism and largely benefited the elites of that system.” James Logan was not unusual in his desire to climb the social ladder and towards the end of the nineteenth century there was, as John Lowerson describes, an “established pattern of gentrification of the more economically successful middle class.” Logan had obtained his wealth quickly, yet social prestige was harder to obtain. However, the “seductive attractions of an aristocratic life-style for newly wealthy members of the middle class” were nevertheless easier to secure in the new territories of Southern Africa than in the class-driven society of Victorian Britain. Logan recognised this yet still sought validation of his social standing through an involvement in cricket. The game played a large part in his quest to take on the cloak of affluence and elitism. And he was not alone. Cunningham describes amateur
sport, of which cricket was typical, as part of an attempt “by the middle class to appropriate to itself the values of a refined gentry.” At Matjesfontein, amongst the lavish hospitality for the visiting cricket teams, as well for the British military during the war, James Logan was doing just this.

The contribution of entrepreneurs like Logan to colonial society was considerable. South Africa had provided the Scot with wealth and status and it was important for him to help generate and develop a ‘progressive’ society that could sustain his interests and elevated position. This study shows how sport was an integral part of this process and how, in cricket, Logan had a source of imperial rectitude that had been tried and tested over time elsewhere. As the self-appointed ‘Laird of the Land’, what better way to recreate the hierarchical British systems of wealth and class than by promoting the archetypal English, colonial game. As well as being genuinely philanthropic, it was just as important to Logan to be seen as such. Tales of his ‘charitable’ work abounded and he revelled in the plaudits that his achievements in the Karoo brought him. In order to sustain this lifestyle, Logan was well aware that an ordered, progressive community had to be created and maintained. Be it through sport or other means this was, in part, his motivation.

Like many colonials, Logan used the Mother Country as an example on which to build. Despite leaving Britain at an early age, restricted by opportunities of class, he considered Victorian society the template on which to recreate his environment. “Psychological security required familiarity and the stamp of Britain upon exotic landscapes” and cricket was a tool, albeit an important one, in this process. Although ruthless and self-promoting, it was men with the drive, vision and determination of James Logan that helped shape late nineteenth century South Africa. Altruist or opportunist? It didn’t matter: Wealth and colonial society were being created at the tip of the ‘dark continent’ and as Chapter 6 demonstrates, this would eventually lead the British Empire into entering a costly war for its territories.

**War, Masculinity and Victorian Sport**

Apart from an analysis of cricket’s imperial structures within South Africa, this study also makes a significant contribution to research on the link between masculinity, war and sport during the Victorian era. A concept emerging from the English public schools of the mid to late nineteenth century, the masculine ethos of sport and military honour had reached colonial South Africa by the outbreak of the Anglo-Boer War in 1899. In its analysis of cricket and imperialism, this thesis examines the role of James Logan and the events surrounding the war in
South Africa and provides a unique example of the distinct relationship that existed between the military and the masculinity of sport and its organisation during this era.

Within the introduction to *Manliness and Morality*, J.A. Mangan and James Walvin talk of how “a neo-Spartan ideal of masculinity was diffused throughout the English speaking world with the unreflecting and ethnocentric confidence of an imperial race.” In a process of “parallel evolution, emulation and adaption [sic]”, the concept of manliness and sport, they admit, “still awaits the attention of the historian.” As a response to this, this study highlights the relationship between war, masculinity and the spread of sporting imperialism in the context of South Africa at the end of the nineteenth century. Indeed, Mangan and Walvin acknowledge how, alongside the products of the late Victorian English public school, the ideal of manliness found “powerful adherents and articulate advocates” among middle-class colonials throughout the entire Empire. By undertaking a biographical approach, an analysis of James Logan thus provides a valuable case study to research within this area.

As Jack Williams has shown, the First World War strengthened associations of cricket with Englishness and colonial solidarity. Writing during the conflict in 1915, Abe Bailey declared how “the cricketers of our vast Empire, who played with us in the time of peace, are fighting with us in a greater game for Liberty.” Much of this association between sport and war had been inherited from the Victorian era, where sportsmen, and cricketers especially, were shown not to shirk their ‘duty’. As this study has revealed, the Anglo-Boer War is particularly noted for drawing together military prowess, Englishness and the sportsmanship of cricket. While Chapter 3 details the imperial heritage of cricket, Chapter 4 goes on to describe how the game’s development within South Africa closely followed the path of the British military. Throughout the Cape Colony and Natal, where large numbers of British soldiers were stationed, the game’s progress was particularly rapid: “Where once a British flag-staff has appeared, the stumps and bails have rarely been slow to seek its company” proclaimed *The Times* in 1937. Cricket’s development throughout South Africa is shown by this thesis to have occurred during a significant period of imperial politics and military expansion and emerged under the influence of private benefactors such as James Logan.

During this time, “codes for a new type of ideal ‘Imperial’ manliness were emerging as a norm for British manhood.” According to Rosalind O’Hanlon, these norms were “disseminated through public schools, the Boy Scout movement, and an expanding market for adventure fiction featuring fantasies of the soldier, the hunter, and the pioneer on the colonial frontier
represented as an exclusively masculine world.” James Logan revelled in his role as the patriarchal colonial, creating wealth and opportunity within the barren surrounds of the South African Karoo. Here, on the ‘colonial frontier’, he could ride and hunt and indulge in the manly pastime of cricket. “In such an environment,” writes Warren, “the emphasis was likely to be on energetic action rather than unhealthy reflection.” Logan epitomised this. Within Scouting for Boys, Robert Baden-Powell, fresh from his exploits in the Anglo-Boer War, deified these “frontiersmen of all parts of our Empire … [They are] real men in every sense of the word … They are accustomed to take their lives in their hands, and to fling them down without hesitation if they can help their country by doing so.” It was all part of the masculine mystique that allowed Logan to achieve success amidst the fervent imperialism of colonial South Africa.

For John MacKenzie, hunting, like sport, “required all the most virile attributes of the imperial male; courage, endurance, individualism, sportsmanship [and] resourcefulness.” It was, moreover, the “capacity in the Hunt which marked out the virile for the ‘effeminate’ imperialist.” Figure 29 displays perfectly James Logan’s penchant for the hunt. The link between hunting and war at this time is tangible. “Just as Baden-Powell emphasised the connections between war and peace scouting, so was the role of hunting as a preparation for war frequently stressed.” MacKenzie cites Alderson’s Pink and Scarlet or Hunting as a School for Soldiering (published in 1900) and Baden-Powell’s Sport in War (published the same year) as examples of the distinct relationship that existed between war and hunting during the Boer War era.

As Chapter 6 reveals, along with hunting and cricket, James Logan adopted all the tenets of masculine and military honour during his involvement in the British campaign in South Africa in 1899. Indeed, the study shows how the Scot’s close association with high-ranking officers during the war mirrored his direct involvement with imperial cricket’s hierarchy around this time. Throughout South Africa, as elsewhere, “the ethos of manliness had managed to secure the attachment of a remarkable number of men and boys. It established itself as a powerful moral code and as a widespread social imperative.” Interestingly, within Changing Men in Southern Africa, Robert Morrell considers the Anglo-Boer War as a reflection of an aggressive masculinity inherent to both sides. It appears the patriarchal nature of South Africa’s white society as a whole lent itself naturally to these moral codes of manliness while British subjects like James Logan loyalty followed the imperial directive in all matters cultural.
John Nauright talks of this “imperial masculinity in South Africa” during the late nineteenth century and how hunting, horse racing and cricket was part of the social scene for the colonial bourgeoisie. These sports and social occasions were, suggests Nauright, “about demonstrating the cultural superiority of white men, especially government officials, military officers and leading local land-owners and entrepreneurs. Through sporting prowess and financial support, leading white men could demonstrate their supposed dominance.” James Logan offers a prime example of this. The sport, the lavish parties and the financial support of cricket all, as Chapter 5 demonstrates, contributed to Logan’s elevation in South Africa’s colonial society and provides valuable context to colonial imperialism.

Logan’s choice of cricket is significant. Within May the Best Man Win, Patrick McDevitt describes the game as “the great inculcator of English masculinity and school of manhood.” As this study shows, Logan’s own son, Jimmy, was schooled in an appreciation of cricket, Christianity and patriotic duty. Sent to a public school in Scotland, Logan’s son, along with countless others during this time, was taught the manly virtues of playing cricket as well as other team sports. Indeed, within her examination of Victorian sport and the formation of ‘manly character’, Roberta Park recognises how, on the playing fields of Britain’s public schools, “young men learned lessons which they would need to succeed in life and lead their country to a position of world eminence.” A point which is reiterated within an early history of the M.C.C.: “On our school playing fields, our village greens and on impromptu pitches … it is the initiation of our youth into manliness.”

The concept of ‘manliness and duty’ is highlighted throughout Chapter 6. Detailing James Logan’s active involvement in the imperial war effort, letters and other primary sources within the Chapter demonstrate how Logan’s son was encouraged to experience military life while the British Forces were stationed at Matjesfontein. As Park explains, this was all part of a Victorian parent’s moral training:

The role of the middle-class family in teaching its boys the ideals of the Masculine Achiever and the Christian Gentleman is readily evident from private documents. Indeed, one of the main topics in nineteenth-century correspondence between parents and sons was ideals of manhood. The teaching of the two ideals differed in one especially important way: women stressed the Christian Gentleman, while men tended to emphasise the Masculine Achiever.

Jimmy Logan’s ‘masculine achievements’ of course extended to the cricket pitch. Encouraged to play from an early age, Chapter 6 reveals how James Logan included his son as part of his
playing squad during the 1901 cricket tour of Britain. The link between Victorian sport and war is further emphasised during this tour as Logan and his players pointed to their contribution to the war effort in South Africa in order to offset criticism regarding the timing of the venture.61

James Logan’s practical support of the British campaign during the Anglo-Boer conflict is significant for any study analysing the relationship between war, masculinity and Victorian sport. Examining the American military during this period, Donald Mrozek describes “the military cult of manliness” and how “the Victorian age lent special approval to courage and valour among ‘the qualities eminently becoming a man’, virtues in which military officers traditionally prided themselves.”62 This ethos was prevalent throughout the British Army in South Africa and became associated with the compatible concepts of duty, honour and athleticism. The imperial ideal also demanded martyrs and as Chapter 6 reveals, the British defeat at Magersfontein and the reburial of the British Commander at Matjesfontein is highly significant. For Logan, General Andrew Wauchope, a fellow Scot and Victorian officer, represented the ‘fallen hero’ – a powerful ideology so important in sustaining support for imperialism. Alongside the grave of England all-rounder George Lohmann, reverence could now be paid at Matjesfontein to the brave soldier and gallant cricketer – both masculinised, imperial icons of the Victorian age.63

The Significance of James Logan

“For many historical questions,” writes Louis Gottschalk, “there often can be no more than one reliable witness. Of the emotions, ideals, interests, sensations, impressions, private opinions, attitudes, drives, and motives of an individual only that individual can give good testimony, unless their outward manifestations are sufficiently well understood to serve as a reliable index.”64 James Logan’s public and private persona were totally detached one from the other. A master of self-publicity, Logan cultivated his image and was continually aware of how he appeared to others. But the ‘outward’ or ‘public’ manifestation of James Logan, whilst interesting and demonstrative, was not always revealing of the private side of the man. Whether this was due to his business and political dealings remains unclear. Only Logan could answer questions about his life that, without the appropriate evidence, will remain a mystery forever. In fact, it is said that Olive Schreiner offered to write Logan’s biography – an offer he declined,65 while in 1955 Green wrote how “South African literature has lost rich pages owing to the unwillingness of such characters as Jimmy Logan to put their experiences on paper.”66
As this study has shown however, it was no coincidence that James Logan’s move into politics coincided with the emergence of cricket as part of the process of imperial expansion. As Chapter 4 revealed, the process of cricket’s emergence throughout South Africa mirrored the development of the game in other realms of the British Empire. During the 1890s, as Rhodes was endeavouring to secure South Africa for British control, cricket benefactors, James Logan, and increasingly as time went on, Abe Bailey, were attempting to secure their part in the sport’s new role.67 At an early stage, they appreciated the relationship that existed between cricket, economics and politics.

Gemmell, for one, argues that the development of sport is inextricably linked with that of politics.68 As we have seen from the earlier chapters, this is certainly true when one examines the development of South African cricket. Throughout its history, from the days of Logan and Hawke and the early tours, an imperial agenda thrust politics upon the sport in much the same way that policies of racial segregation during the apartheid era politicised cricket throughout South Africa.69 So the game in this context requires an understanding of much more than simply ‘bat and ball’. Chapter 7 shows how forces of imperialism, power and economics combined to create fundamental divisions within South African society during the important period prior to the Anglo-Boer War and are vital to any examination of cricket during this period.

The notion that sport and politics should not mix is not a recent phenomenon. Chapter 5 highlights how James Logan repeatedly denied any link between his sporting interests and his political career.70 Sport, after all, was considered as an ideal, something distinct from the corruptions of wider society and, especially in the early days of the amateur ethos, was associated with amusement and pleasure, nothing more. “Outside interests threaten the values which sport propagates,” suggests Gemmell, “by permitting decisions to be made by people – such as judges, politicians or civil servants – whose main concern lies outside of sport; when they become involved they invariably “damage, corrupt, or pervert sport”.”71 This is precisely why the agendas of the sporting benefactors, diplomats and civil servants who promoted sport throughout the British Empire were carefully concealed. This was an attempt for sport not to be ‘corrupted’. It was characterised as the ‘Gentleman’s pursuit’, free from dishonesty and imbibed with the values which had made Britain ‘great’. If sport was to be introduced and developed within the colonies (in South Africa’s case, as part of a strategy of white colonial exclusivity), it had to be seen to be devoid of politics and only once it had been established, could the moral lessons and subtle forms of coercion begin.
The timing of James Logan’s involvement in cricket is significant. Shortly after the Scot’s arrival, diamonds and then gold had been discovered and turned Southern Africa into a frontier land of opportunity.72 “From the late-nineteenth century”, explains Louis, “South Africa dominated British attention because of the region’s mineral resources. The discovery of gold established South Africa as a centre of wealth in the Empire at large.” Logan left Britain with its high moral codes and class hierarchies and deliberately headed for a place where innovation, creativity and speculation would be rewarded. The timing was perfect. As Chapter 7 shows, with the arrival of Cecil Rhodes, ‘money politics’ had emerged in South Africa and Logan excelled in a new entrepreneurial climate of ‘shady’ deals and social networking. Logan’s newly acquired wealth also allowed him access into the exclusive realms of imperial cricket. Men like Logan, Rhodes and James Sivewright knew that it was survival of the fittest and they were determined to succeed by whatever means necessary. The analysis of the political arena during this period highlights the fundamental link that existed at this time between cultural power (in the form of sport), political power, and economic power.

There is little doubting the business acumen of James Logan and his eagerness to also be seen as South African cricket’s principle benefactor is evident from the high profile tours in which he involved himself. This study has shown how the trophies, the donations, the support of worthy causes all helped to enhance Logan’s reputation as a true ‘sportsman’ throughout colonial society. It is likely that the two factors were linked, and that Logan’s fascination with the game was motivated not entirely on altruistic grounds, but rather by the material gains that could be obtained beyond merely ‘playing’ the sport. Logan’s story is the perfect case study for analysts seeking the finite relationship between cricket, politics and business that existed during this period. The game, as this study shows, was part of social networks at all levels. For James Logan, cricket became the perfect imperial stage upon which he could promote himself at a higher level both personally and professionally.

Final Thoughts
The stage was set for Logan – the colonial development of South Africa; the railways; the discovery of gold and diamonds; the Anglo-Boer War and Matjesfontein. Business, politics and South African society had indeed provided a rich context for Logan’s ambitions, and during the last two decades of the nineteenth century he flourished. A man of great drive and enthusiasm, James Logan took full advantage of his environment in South Africa. Perhaps, as Richard Evans suggests in his Defence of History, “It is precisely the interaction between the individual
and his or her circumstances that makes the study of people in the past so fascinating.” And whilst historical emphasis continues to change, for the moment at least “postmodernist history’s return to the individual, to the human element in history at every level, [has] redressed the balance and is a major gain in this respect.”

Using a depth of research, this study has highlighted the individual as an agent of change. Along with Abe Bailey, Logan represented a new age of colonial ‘tycoon’ in Southern Africa who recognised the power of the ‘imperial game’. In fact Logan and Bailey show remarkable similarities in the roles they played in the sport, politics and society of colonial South Africa at the turn of the twentieth century. Logan’s support for South African cricket came primarily in the years preceding the Anglo-Boer War, culminating with his own tour to Britain in 1901. Bailey then took over, following the end of the war, and from 1902 became the game’s principle benefactor. The war had irrevocably altered the political and economic landscape of South Africa and Logan, by then, had achieved the status he had been seeking through his association with cricket. He then began to concentrate his efforts on consolidating his business and political interests.

This study focuses on an age of aggressive imperialism when conflict and contests for power within South Africa defined the era. Indeed, both Logan and Bailey also took the conscious decision to offer their ‘practical’ support to the forces of British imperialism during the struggle for control against the Afrikaner Republics. As Chapter 6 highlights, not only did Logan offer financial support to the British campaign during the Boer War, but more significantly, like Bailey, he was prepared to actually take up arms on the side of the Empire. It was a calculated decision, taken not only in loyalty to ‘Queen and Country’, but also because of the need to be acknowledged by whoever would be the controlling force of the new, post-war South Africa. With this in mind, both Bailey and Logan wanted to be seen doing their bit in a move that fitted perfectly the Victorian dynamic of sport, war and masculinity.

Cricket was an important part of this strategy. Although tempered by elements of personal interest, Bailey’s fascination with cricket stemmed from a true, more defined imperialist perspective. As McDevitt notes, “Just as different British men played and promoted games for varied personal reasons, colonial subjects also brought their own agendas and meanings to the playing fields of the Empire.” Inspired by heightened notions of empire since the defeat of the Boers, Abe Bailey saw cricket as the means to unite the various colonies of Britain for the imperial cause and to maintain South Africa’s part in this righteous coalition. However, while
James Logan was also influenced by loyalty to Britain, his patronage of cricket was driven rather more by personal gain than by some grand ‘homage’ to the ideals of imperialism.

Following his involvement in the foundation of the Imperial Cricket Conference in 1909, Bailey went on to instigate the Triangular Tournament of 1912 – a competition between South Africa, England and Australia, designed to cement South Africa’s place in cricket’s ‘imperial club’ of nations. Prior to the Tournament, Bailey proclaimed how, “the cricket result should be a secondary consideration to all lovers of Empire. That a spirit of true national comradeship will be produced must be the desire of every cricketer throughout the King’s Dominions.” He added that he hoped that “the strengthening of the bonds of Union within the Empire [will be] one of the many outcomes of the great Tournament.”

“It was all part of the rhetoric that had begun decades earlier, as this study reveals, with the first tours of Warton and Hawke and the patronage of James Logan.

“Within imperial sport racism, sexism and imperialism were as valid a Trinity as athleticism, militarism and imperialism. To a considerable extent”, writes Mangan, “imperial sport was a favoured means of creating, maintaining and ensuring the survival of dominant male elites.” By examining James Logan and South Africa’s colonial society of the late nineteenth century society, this thesis provides an original contribution to studies in this area. Indeed, throughout South Africa and the British Empire at large, “The ideal of being a “good sport” and showing “good form” was instilled through games as boys and came to be seen as required for all phases of life from warfare to gambling to cricket to parliamentary politics.” This study has demonstrated this and shown how in a climate of military action, capitalist expansion and imperial sport, the imperial game of cricket became part of all social networks during this period. Fundamentally, “This sporting ethos, which grew out of the games revolution, was founded” as McDevitt suggests, “on the creation, stabilisation, and maintenance of hierarchical relations of power.”

Using a rich variety of sources, this thesis explores a fundamental period in Britain’s colonial history – a time that, in many ways, defined the beginning of the end of the British Empire. Indeed, James Logan’s ‘golden age’ coincided with British supremacy throughout the globe, and as Britain’s influence faded, so did Logan’s. The war in South Africa had tested Britain’s dominance as a colonial power and it also marked the end of James Logan’s most influential period within South Africa’s colonial society. Cricket, though, had served both empire and man and its legacy, like both, survives to this day. “The imperial game might well be one of the
empire’s major lasting influences”, wrote Stoddart recently, and if proof were needed, then one need go no further than South Africa where cricket remains an important part of the country’s post-colonial identity. However, less is known about how this was actually implemented during the colonial period of South Africa’s history. As Patrick McDevitt acknowledged recently, “To date, histories of imperial sport have … employed diffusionist models in which class, race or empire elites, created and disseminated games.” What this study does, and is largely original in doing, is to examine in detail a colonial agent (Logan) that made this process possible. As such, it represents a valuable contribution to the existing studies in this field.

9 Ibid., p.29.
12 Ibid.
17 According to Brantlinger, “after the mid-Victorian years the British found it increasingly difficult to think of themselves as inevitably progressive; they began worrying instead about the degeneration of their institutions, their culture, their racial ‘stock’”. Ibid., p.230. The promotion of British forms of sport during this period was an attempt to ally this trend. Cricket was fundamental in this process.
20 Ibid.
22 Ibid.
24 Ibid.
25 While Bradley concedes that “it is hard to judge the extent to which these tours were designed to encourage cricket in the Empire and how much they were for the benefit of a group of amateur gentlemen,” he also states how “Hawke was in no doubt that the former was a powerful motive.” J. Bradley, The M.C.C., society and empire: A portrait of cricket’s ruling body, 1860-1914. In Mangan, J.A. (ed.), The Cultural Bond: Sport, Empire, Society, 1992, p.37.
28 “In Scotland, Rugby is the game of the classes; the masses are devoted to Association, with the exception of one district, generally classed as the Borders, where … Rugby is the game of the people.” The Badminton Library Volume on Football, 1899, quoted in J. Arlott, (ed.). The Oxford Companion to Sports and Games, 1977, p.784.
29 F. Gale, The Game of Cricket, 1887, p.iii. Gale was a popular sports writer of the age, who also used the pseudonym of ‘The Old Buffer’.
33 Social standing was in many ways still linked to class. Marwick describes how “modern societies divide up into a small number of aggregates, arranged in hierarchy and within each of which customs and behaviour seem to be broadly shared, distinguished from each other by wealth, status access to power, life chances and so on. This phenomenon we call ‘class’, and the different aggregates are ‘classes’. ” A. Marwick, The New Nature of History, 2001, p.219.
34 H. Cunningham, Leisure in the Industrial Revolution, c.1780-1880, 1980, p.120.
35 As Norman Baker points out, “Sport, being to a degree tradition bound, lent itself to control based on a set of principles which sought to moderate change and thus enhance stability. Such principles represented accommodation between a besieged but resilient aristocracy and an increasingly secure and thus conservative professional middle class.” This was emulated throughout the colonies. N. Baker, ‘Whose Hegemony? The Origins of the Amateur Ethos in Nineteenth Century English Society.’ Sport in History, 24 (1), 2004, pp.8-9.
36 According to Raymond Williams, “even in the simplest group, there are, as in ’society’, relations of tension and conflict as well as of co-operation. This is as true of a face-to-face group like a family or a village as a common-interest group like a trade union or a social class. Each of these will have its distinct ‘social character’ or ‘culture pattern’, to which it will seek to train its members.” Quoted in J. Higgins, (ed.). The Raymond Williams Reader, 2001, p.74.
39 Ibid.
40 Ibid.
46 Ibid.

50 Ibid.

51 Ibid., p.188.

52 See Ibid., p.198.


56 Ibid.


61 See Chapter 6, pp.225-228.


63 For a discussion on sport and war heroes see P.F. McDevitt, May the Best Man Win. Sport, Masculinity, and Nationalism in Great Britain and the Empire, 1880-1935, 2004, p.7.

64 L. Gottschalk et.al, The Use of Personal Documents in History, Anthropology and Sociology, 1945, p.46-47.


66 L.G. Green, Karoo, 1955, p.60.

67 Bailey went on to organise and manage South Africa’s 1904 tour to England and became President of the Wanderers Club in 1911. The triangular tournament of 1912 was his brainchild and he was a founder member of the Imperial Cricket Conference which in later years was metamorphosed into the current International Cricket Council. He firmly believed in cricket as the ‘Empire Game’. In 1915, in the foreword to Luckin’s The History of South African Cricket, he proclaimed: “The part Imperial cricket has played in the past is known to all. It has added to the union of hearts, it had strengthened the bonds of Empire, it had brought closer together our immense family.” In politics, he was returned to the Cape House of Assembly as MP for Barkley West on the death of Cecil Rhodes in 1902. See The Transvaal Publishing Company, Men of the Times: Old Colonists of the Cape Colony and Orange River Colony, 1906.


69 Even as recently as 2003 when the Cricket World Cup was held in South Africa, the game has continued to be affected by issues of politics. See B. Majumdar and J.A. Mangan, (eds.). Cricketing Cultures in Conflict: World Cup 2003, 2004.

70 For example, see Chapter 5, pp.143, 146-148.


72 When Britain took control of the Cape in the early eighteen hundreds, they inherited a colony that was “economically more undeveloped, politically more inexperienced, and culturally more backward than any of the greater colonies of settlement.” C.W. de Kiewiet, A History of South Africa: Social and Economic, 1941, p.30. Despite the advances, South African society was still developing during Logan’s time and provided ample opportunity for entrepreneurs.


75 Ibid., p.190.

76 In 1907, J.T. Henderson, editor of the South African Cricketer’s Annual, detailed the contribution of Bailey to cricket in South Africa since 1902: “It was mainly though his [Bailey’s] instrumentality that the Wanderers Club [of Johannesburg] arranged the visit of the Australian Team of 1902. Two years later Mr. Bailey sent a team to England, which cost him over £2,000; in 1905 he materially assisted the Transvaal Cricket Union in the matter of their M.C.C. guarantee; and when the question arose of sending away the present South African Team, Mr. Bailey came forward with financial assistance. For two seasons past he
77 Henderson reports imperiously how “Mr. Bailey was a member of the Reform Committee [involved in the Jameson Raid] in 1896, and fought through the Boer war, 1899-1902. He assisted in raising the S.A. Light Horse, Roberts’ Horse, Lord Roberts’ Bodyguard, and Kitchener’s Horse. He was Chief Intelligence Officer of General Pole-Carew’s Brigade, and was later with Col. Gorringe’s Flying Column, and was at the close of hostilities in command of a column, with the rank of Major.” Ibid.

78 Renowned cricket tourist and arch-imperialist Pelham Warner wrote some years later how “For South African cricket [Bailey] did much, as he put his hand deeply into his pocket to further its interest and development, as did the great Rhodes…” P.F. Warner, Long Innings: The Autobiography, 1951, p.135.

79 P.F. McDevitt, May the Best Man Win. Sport, Masculinity, and Nationalism in Great Britain and the Empire, 1880-1935, 2004, p.3.


81 A. Bailey, Cricket in South Africa. In Warner, P.F. Imperial Cricket, 1912, p.324.


84 Ibid.

85 The South African War was viewed as “the greatest test of British Imperial power since the Indian Mutiny.” C. Saunders, & I. Smith, Southern Africa, 1795-1910. In Porter, A. (ed.), The Oxford History of the British Empire, Vol. III: The Nineteenth Century, 1999, p.617. According to Jan Morris, “nothing would be quite the same after the Boer War, and even Queen Victoria, as if recognising it to be the end of her era, died when it was half-way through.” J. Morris, Farewell the Trumpets: an Imperial Retreat, 1978, p.42. The war encouraged nationalists in Ireland and India; it gave ammunition to anti-imperialists in Britain; and it made the British Army look less than competent. In the view of A.P. Thornton, it even sowed the seeds of doubt in Britain about the morality of imperialism: “The imperial idea suffered a contraction, a loss of moral content, from which it never completely recovered. The British Empire survived … the South African War; but its dynamic of self-confident expansion was dead.” A.P. Thornton, The Imperial Idea and its Enemies: a Study in British Power, 1959, pp.109-10.


87 Ibid., p.150.

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IX

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Chronology

A time-line of broad contextual events
(Details in bold relate directly to James Logan and his life)

1652: Arrival of first Europeans: Jan van Riebeeck and Dutch settle Cape Town.
1806: British gain permanent control of Cape Colony.
5 Jan 1808: First reference to a cricket match being played in the Cape appears in press.
1836-1854: Afrikaner ‘Great Trek’.
1843: The British occupy Natal.
1843: First organised cricket club formed in Port Elizabeth
1844: Cape Town’s first organised cricket club founded at Wynberg.
1844: First cricket match played in Natal by 45th Foot stationed at Fort Napier.
1 Jan 1852: Natal’s first civilian match played at Pietermaritzburg.
Jan 1855: The Orange Free State’s first cricket club founded at Bloemfontein.

2 May 1860: First inter-town cricket fixture between Durban and Pietermaritzburg.
1862: The first Mother Country versus Colonial Born fixture played in the Cape.
1863: The first Transvaal cricket club founded.
1866: The Free State’s first Mother Country versus Colonial Born fixture.
1867: Discovery of first diamond near Hopetown.
1869: Inaugural game between Bishops and South African College in Cape Town.
1870s: Diamond mining stimulates migrant labour.
1872: Settlement of Kimberley expands.
Apr 1872: Cape Colony granted responsible government.
1873: Rail link between Cape and diamond fields mooted.
1874: Cape Government purchases the Cape rail network for £773,000.
1874: First recorded cricket match played in Kimberley.
14 Aug 1875: Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners (Association of True Afrikaners) formed.
6 Jan 1876: Kingwilliamstown win first Champion Bat Tournament held at Port Elizabeth.
15 Jan 1876: Die [Afrikaanse] Patriot newspaper established.
Jun 1876: Worcester linked by rail with Cape Town.
12 Apr 1877: South African Republic [Transvaal] annexed by Britain.

1 May 1877: James Logan arrives at Simon’s Town aboard the Rockhampton.
23 May 1877: Logan secures official discharge to join Rail Service in Cape Town.

Nov 1877: Railway line extended to Touws River.

1877-80: Afrikaner political consciousness and resistance movement grows.

Jan 1879: Start of Anglo-Zulu war.

20 Jun 1879: Afrikaner Bond formed in the Cape.

Jul 1879: Logan marries Emma Haylett.

5 Aug 1879: Logan moves to the Karoo as Railway District Superintendent aged 21.

1880: Rhodes forms De Beers Mining Company.

1880: The inaugural Boshof cricket tournament held in the Free State.


27 Feb 1881: British force defeated by Boers at Majuba.

3 Aug 1881: Transvaal Boers win back independence in terms of Pretoria Convention.

1882: Logan secures catering contract at Touws River Station.

9 May 1883: Kruger becomes president of South African Republic [Transvaal].

1883: Logan resigns from rail service and purchases land at Matjesfontein.

1884: Inaugural African inter-town cricket tournament held in the Eastern Cape.

1 Mar 1884: Logan awarded catering contract at Matjesfontein Station.

3 Nov 1884: J.T. Jabavu opens black newspaper, Imvo Zabantsundu (‘Native Opinion’).

1885: Logan purchases three farms around Matjesfontein. Builds Tweedside.

1886: Discovery of gold on the Rand.

1886: Water boring commences at Matjesfontein.

4 Oct 1886: Johannesburg founded.

Jan 1887: Kimberley cricket team the ‘Stray Klips’ tour the Western Province.

24 Feb 1887: The Diggers News first published.

26 Jul 1887: Cape Parliament passes Parliamentary Voters’ Registration Act.


7 Dec 1887: Chamber of Mines formed to promote interests of mine-owners.

1888: Matjesfontein Waterworks opened.

1888: Logan appointed Justice of the Peace for Hex River region.

13 Mar 1888: Rhodes acquires control of all Kimberley mines.

Dec 1888-Mar 89: First English cricket tour to South Africa (led by Major Warton).


1889: Kimberley the first recipients of cricket’s Currie Cup.

1890: Rhodes’ Pioneer Column reaches Fort Salisbury.
1890: Natal Cricket Union founded.
24 Mar 1890: Olive Schreiner, South African novelist, moves to Matjesfontein.
5 Apr 1890: Transvaal winners of first Currie Cup Tournament.
8 Apr 1890: The South African Cricket Association (SACA) founded.
17 July 1890: Rhodes becomes Cape Prime Minister and forms First Ministry.
Jun 1891: Lord Randolph Churchill visits Matjesfontein.
8 Oct 1891: Transvaal Cricket Union founded.
Dec 1891-Mar 92: Walter Read’s second English cricket tour to South Africa.
10 Dec 1891: Logan advances £1,000 to Read’s English cricket tour of SA.
1891-92: Railways from Cape and Natal reach South African Republic
16 Aug 1892: Cape Franchise and Ballot Act limits African vote
14 Sep 1892: Logan agrees lucrative government rail contract with James Sivewright.
21 Nov 1892: Contract withdrawn. Logan begins proceedings against Cape Govt.
Jan 1893: Logan manages ten catering facilities over rail network.
Feb 1893: England cricketer George Lohmann moves to Matjesfontein.
27 Apr 1893: Rhodes resigns as Cape Premier following Logan Contract controversy.
31 May 1893: Court awards Logan £5,000 against government for breach of contract.
7 Jun 1893: Logan wins court case against English cricketers Read and Ash.
Jan 1894: New cricket pitch completed at Matjesfontein.
30 Jan 1894: Logan elected as Member of Legislative Assembly for Worcester.
9 Feb 1894: Logan stands as guarantor of South Africa’s first cricket tour to Britain
13 Mar 1894: Logan publicly withdraws financial support for the tour.
1 Jun 1894: Bulawayo established as a ‘white’ settlement by Rhodes’ forces.
Aug 1894: Logan in England to discuss plans for Hawke’s first tour to S. Africa.
24 Jun 1895: Joseph Chamberlain becomes British Colonial Secretary.
22 Dec 1895: Lord Hawke’s first English cricket team arrives in Cape Town.
2 Jan 1896: Jameson Raid ends in failure.
22 Jan 1896: Logan pays £600 for new school at Matjesfontein.
Mar 1896: Rhodes puts down Ndebele rebellion in Rhodesia.
13 Mar 1896: Hawke’s England plays Logan’s Team at Matjesfontein.
1897: Railway extended from Kimberley to Bulawayo.
1897:

Griqualand West Coloured Cricket Board wins inaugural Barnato Trophy.

29 March 1897:

Logan hosts victorious Western Province cricket team at Matjesfontein.

1 May 1897:

African Banking Corporation opens branch at Matjesfontein.

5 May 1897:

Alfred Milner becomes Cape Governor and High Commissioner.

1898:

Black inter-provincial cricket tournaments begin in Port Elizabeth.

20 Jan 1898:

Press announce Logan’s plans to bring W.G. Grace to S. Africa.

25 Jan 1898:

Hawke’s second tour of South Africa announced in press.

Mar 1898:

Prince Seyyid Ali, the Sultan of Zanzibar, visits Matjesfontein.

5 Mar 1898:

Logan buys control of *The Worcester Standard* newspaper.

Apr 1898:

Logan elected to Legislative Council for the N. Western division.

29 Aug 1898:

Logan’s sponsorship of Hawke’s second tour made public.

20 Dec 1898:

Lord Hawke’s second English cricket team arrives in Cape Town.

15 Jan 1899:

The Maud Stevens rape trial begins at the Police Court, Cape Town.

31 Jan 1899:

Logan acquitted of all charges.

14 Feb 1899:

President Kruger declines Hawke’s invitation to attend match in Pretoria.

16 Feb 1899:

SACA agree to plans for Australia to tour S. Africa during Oct / Nov. 1899.

1 Mar 1899:

Logan with Hawke’s team in Rhodesia. Presents the Logan Cup.

17 Mar 1899:

Logan hosts Hawke’s team at Matjesfontein. Challenge match played.

Apr 1899:

Hawke’s team departs for England.

31 Aug 1899:

SACA agree Logan’s plans to take a S. African team to Britain in 1900.

5 Oct 1899:

High profile cricket match staged at Matjesfontein to promote tour.

10 Oct 1899:


Oct 1899:

Matjesfontein transformed into headquarters of the Cape Command.

20 Nov 1899:

Awarded rank of Major, Logan travels north to observe operations.

23 Nov 1899:

Logan present at the Battle of Belmont.

11 Dec 1899:

Boers defeat British at Magersfontein. Major-General Wauchope killed.

19 Dec 1899:

Wauchope funeral at Matjesfontein.

2 Mar 1900:

Proposed South African cricket tour cancelled due to the war.

24 May 1900:

Orange Free State annexed to Crown as Orange River Colony.

31 May 1900:

British forces enter Johannesburg. Guerrilla phase of war begins.

23 Aug 1900:

Milner recommends Matjesfontein as a possible Prisoner of War camp.

1 Sep 1900:

South African Republic becomes British colony of Transvaal again.

Sep 1900:

First ‘concentration camps’ set up by the British.

Oct 1900:

President Kruger goes into exile.

1 Dec 1900:

Logan’s South African cricket tour of 1901 announced in *The Times*. 
4 Jan 1901: Official opening of the Milner Hotel at Matjesfontein.

Jan 1901: Boer invasion of the Cape repelled.

22 Jan 1901: Death of Queen Victoria.

Feb 1901: Matjesfontein made judicial centre for the region with military court.

20 Apr 1901: Conan Doyle’s protest in The Spectator against Logan’s tour.

3 May 1901: Logan and his South African cricket team arrive in England.

20 May 1901: Logan’s team play W.G. Grace’s London County Club.

24 June 1901: The South Africans play the M.C.C. team at Lord’s.

7 Sep 1901: Boer forces attack British garrison at Sutherland.

1 Dec 1901: Death of George Lohmann at Matjesfontein.

31 May 1902: End of Anglo-Boer war as peace is signed at Vereeniging.

10 Jul 1902: Logan attends coronation of King Edward VII at Westminster Abbey.

1903: M.C.C. assumes control of international cricket tours throughout the Empire.

22 Sep 1903: South African Native Affairs Commission set up

Nov 1903: Logan elected to the Upper House for the Western Cape.

1 Jan 1904: First Logan Cup tournament held in Rhodesia.

1 Feb 1904: Rhodesia admitted to the South African Cricket Association.

May-Aug 1904: Third South African team tours Britain under captaincy of Frank Mitchell.


6 Jul 1905: Afrikaner Het Volk Party established.

Feb 1907: Transvaal granted self-government.

20 Feb 1907: Het Volk wins Transvaal elections.

May-Sep 1907: P.W. Sherwell captains South Africa’s fourth tour to Britain.


Nov 1907: Afrikaner Oranje Unie wins Orange River Colony elections.

1908: Logan withdraws permanently from politics.


19 Aug 1909: South Africa Bill passed by House of Commons.

Dec 1905-Mar 06: Leveson-Gower captains the sixth English cricket tour to South Africa.

31 May 1910: Union of South Africa comes into being. Botha as Prime Minister.

30 Jul 1920: James Logan dies, Matjesfontein.
Cast List

**Bailey, Sir Abe (1864-1940)**: Rand magnate, financier and politician. Bailey took over James Logan’s mantle as South African cricket’s principal benefactor in the period following the Anglo-Boer War. Following his involvement in the Imperial Cricket Conference in 1909, Bailey went on to instigate the Triangular Tournament of 1912 – a competition between South Africa, England and Australia.

**Barnato, Barnett Isaacs ‘Barney’ (1852-1897)**: South African mining magnate, financier. Made his fortune after moving from Britain to the diamond fields of the Cape Colony in 1873. Joined forces with Rhodes as governor of De Beers Mining Co. The main founder of the Johannesburg Share Market, in 1889 he established the Johannesburg Consolidated Investment Co. Elected Parliamentary member for Kimberley in 1889. Reportedly committed suicide in 1897 by jumping into the Atlantic Ocean during a voyage to Britain. Griqualand West Coloured Cricket Board first recipients of the Barnato Memorial Trophy that same year.


**Chamberlain, Joseph (1836-1914)**: British Colonial Secretary from 1895 to 1903. Audacious and dynamic statesman. Partnership with Milner was crucial in aggravating the situation which led to the outbreak of the Second Anglo-Boer War in 1899.

**Currie, Sir Donald (1825-1909)**: Public figure and Scottish ship owner, founder of the Castle Line. Early benefactor of sport in South Africa. Donated ‘Currie Cups’ to both cricket and Rugby in the country. Knighted in 1881.

**De Wet, Christiaan Rudolph (1854-1922)**: Renowned Boer commander and politician. Present as a junior officer at the battle of Majuba during the first Boer War of 1881 and soon rose to the rank of general in the 1899-1902 campaign. Scored many hit-and-run victories against the relatively slow moving British and became legendary for his ability to elude capture during the later stages of the war.

**Doyle, Sir Arthur Conan (1859-1930)**: English author and advocate of British Imperialism. Served in the Anglo-Boer War from 1900-1902 as an unpaid volunteer field doctor. Published
The Great Boer War in 1900, followed by The War in South Africa: Its Cause and Conduct in 1902, in which he vindicated British strategy. Knighted in 1902. Caused controversy by writing to the press in April 1901, complaining about the ill-timing of Logan’s cricket tour of Britain.

Fry, Charles Burgess (1872-1956): Renowned sportsman, scholar and politician who toured with Lord Hawke during his first tour of South Africa in 1895-96.


Harris, Lord George Robert Canning (1851-1932): Cricketer, imperial statesman and President of the Marylebone Cricket Club (M.C.C.). During the early 1900s, oversaw the M.C.C. take control of overseas tours throughout the British Empire.


Hendricks, H. ‘Krom’ (dates not available): Renowned Cape cricketer of the 1890s. Son of a white father, coloured mother. In 1894 Hendricks was nominated by the Transvaal for the first South African cricket tour to England, only to be left behind because of his colour, evidently on the instruction of Cecil Rhodes. One of the quickest bowlers of his era, James Logan supported the move to include Hendricks on the tour.

Hofmeyr, Jan Hendrik (1845-1909): Statesman, newspaper editor and from 1889, leader of the influential Afrikaner Bond. Concerned for the rights of the Dutch, his alliance with Cecil Rhodes became a feature of Cape politics in the period prior to the Jameson Raid. Entered Parliament as member for Stellenbosch in 1879.

Jameson, Sir Leander Starr (1853-1917): Physician and British colonial statesman. Close associate of Cecil Rhodes. Led the disastrous raid against the South African Republic in January 1896. Imprisoned for five months for his part in the raid conspiracy. Entered Cape politics in 1900, becoming Prime Minister of the colony in 1904. His remains are buried next to those of Cecil Rhodes in the Matobo Hills, south of Bulawayo in Zimbabwe.
**Kotze, Johannes Jacobus (1879-1931):** Cape Afrikaans cricketer who played on Logan’s 1901 tour. Referred to by the British press as the ‘genial Boer’, Kotze was representative of the majority of Cape Afrikaners who remained loyal to the Crown during the Anglo-Boer War.

**Kruger, Stephanus Johanness Paulus ‘Paul’ (1825-1904):** Statesman and soldier. Deeply devoted to the Afrikaner people and distrustful of the *Uitlanders* (foreign workers), he was regarded by many British observers as primitive and untrustworthy. Elected President of the Transvaal on four occasions between 1880 and 1898, Kruger led the Republic against the British during the second Anglo-Boer War. He died in exile in Switzerland in 1904.

**Logan, James Douglas (1857-1920):** Entrepreneur, politician and cricket benefactor. The ‘Laird of Matjesfontein’.

**Lohmann, George Alfred (1865-1901):** Surrey and England cricketer, who became a resident of Matjesfontein until his death, aged 36, in December 1901. Developed a close bond with James Logan during his time in South Africa. Managed Logan’s South African team in Britain.

**Merriman, John Xavier (1841-1926):** Statesman. Respected political career spanning 54 years. Became a member of the Cape Parliament in 1869. Joined Rhodes’ Cabinet in 1890, serving until 1893, when, as leader of the ‘three liberals’, he resigned his position due to the Logan contract controversy. Prime Minister of the Cape Colony 1908-1910, Merriman became one of the chief architects of the South African constitution.

**Milner, Sir Alfred, First Viscount (1854-1925):** British statesman. The Governor of the Cape of Good Hope and Her Majesty’s High Commissioner in South Africa (1897-1901). Knighted in 1895, made Viscount in 1902. A passionate advocate of British Imperialism, Milner played a pivotal role in the lead-up to the Anglo-Boer War.

**Milton, Sir William Henry (1854-1930):** Civil servant and Administrator. Private Secretary to Cecil Rhodes (1891), before transferring to Department of Cape Colonial Secretary as chief clerk and accountant. Secretary to Prime Minister’s Department in 1894. Friend and confidant of Rhodes. Chief Secretary of Native Affairs in Mashonaland in 1896 and later Senior Administrator of Southern Rhodesia where he piloted the country through early social and economical problems. Represented England at rugby in 1874 and 1875 and played cricket for South Africa in their first two Tests in 1888-89, and again against Walter Read’s side in 1891. An influential member of the Western Province Cricket Association, was involved in the Hendricks selection controversy of 1894.
Ranjitsinhji, Kumar Shri (1872-1933): Indian Prince and renowned cricketer of the late Victorian age. The first Indian to play Test cricket, Ranjitsinhji made his debut for England in 1896. Also played for Cambridge University and Sussex. *Wisden* cricketer of the year in 1897 – the same year he published the reverential *Jubilee Book of Cricket*.

Rhodes, Cecil John (1853-1902): British-born businessmen, mining magnate and politician. Founded De Beers Mining Co. in 1880. Became Prime Minister of the Cape Colony in 1890. Formed second ministry in 1893 following the Logan Contract dispute and was forced to resign following the events of the Jameson Raid in January 1896. Friend and political ally of James Logan, Rhodes’ imperialist plans of expansion for the British Empire shaped South African politics during this period.


Schreiner, Olive Emilie Albertina (1855-1920): Writer, feminist and public figure. Author of *The Story of an African Farm* (1883) and *Dreams* (1890), Schreiner’s move to Matjesfontein in 1890 attracted publicity for Logan and his village. Later disillusioned with the policies of Rhodes and British Imperialism, Schreiner championed the cause of the Afrikaner Republics during the Anglo-Boer War.

Sivewright, Sir James (1848-1916): Engineer, businessman and politician. Close friend and political ally of James Logan and Cecil Rhodes. Member of the Afrikaner Bond. Strong supporter of Rhodes’ vision of Cape to Cairo Railway. Concluded the ‘Sivewright agreement’ in 1891 with the Transvaal which allowed the Cape to carry its railway to Pretoria and to fix the rates over the whole distance. In 1892 as Commissioner of Crown Lands and Public Works, awarded Logan the controversial rail contract which led to the disbanding of Rhodes’ First Ministry. An advocate of ‘money politics’. Despised by J.X. Merriman and the liberal faction.
Smuts, Jan Christiaan (1870-1950): A Boer commander during the Anglo-Boer war. Born a British citizen, but, disillusioned by the Jameson Raid, moved to the Transvaal. As state attorney, he helped plan the war for the Republics and was in the field, as a general, at the end. He later became a field marshal in the British Army, and played significant parts in both world wars. Served as Prime Minister of South Africa from 1919 to 1924 and 1939 to 1948.

Scheepers, Gideon Jacobus (1878-1902): A Boer commander during the Anglo-Boer war. Respected as a brave and skilful leader, the British authorities feared that he would have success in attracting Cape rebels to the Republican cause. Scheepers was captured and tried by the military court at Matjesfontein and sentenced to death. He was shot and buried near Graaff Reinet.


Warner, Sir Pelham Francis (1873-1963): Imperialist cricketer who took over the mantle of Lord Hawke as English cricket’s principal tourist. Led the first M.C.C. tour to South Africa in 1905-06 and was a member of Lord Hawke’s second tour to South Africa in 1898-99.

Wauchope, Major-General Andrew Gilbert (1846-1899): Famous Scottish officer killed leading the Highland Brigade at Magersfontein. At Logan’s direction, Wauchope was re-buried with full military honours at Matjesfontein in December 1899.