

GARY SOBERS AND CULTURAL IDENTITY IN THE CARIBBEAN

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Among the several good reasons for including an article on Gary Sobers in a volume commemorating the work of Barry Andrews should be mentioned: Barry's great love of and respect for cricket and its great players, his interest in the relationship between national identities and new literatures, his delight in sports' folklore, his specific admiration for West Indian cricket and its cultural context, and his encouragement of this author to continue researching sports history in general and Caribbean cricket specifically in the firm conviction that it was important. Like many others, I have a great deal for which to thank Barry Andrews, And in those circumstances, indeed, it might almost be mandatory to review the Gary Sobers story because he is undoubtedly one of the most prominent figures in the development of cricket culture,

Sobers was the greatest all-round player in cricket history. In purely statistical terms the record is impressive enough:

93 test matches 1954-1974

160 innings 8032 runs highest score 365 not out average 57.78

235 wickets average 34.03

110 catches,

By the time of his retirement he had scored more runs than anyone else in test cricket history and his average per innings (amongst the heavy run-scorers) was bettered only by batsmen of the calibre of Sir Donald Bradman, Walter Hammond, Ken Barrington, Herbert Sutcliffe and Sobers' fellow Barbadian Everton Weekes. And also at his retirement he was among the top six wicket-takers in cricket history, headed by players such as Freddie Trueman, Brian Statham, Richie Benaud, "Garth" McKenzie and Alec Bedser. Sobers was ahead of such fine bowlers as Ray Lindwall, Jim Laker and Keith Miller,

The point to focus on, then, is that as an all-rounder he figured very prominently in the company of specialist batsmen and bowlers, one of the very few all-rounders to have done so (the

only other one to come close has been Ian Botham), But it did not stop there, By the time he retired Sobers was behind only Colin Cowdrey and Walter Hammond in the number of catches taken, He was one of the youngest test match players ever, making his debut while still only 17 years of age. At his retirement he had taken part in 43 century partnerships, ahead of Cowdrey, Sir Leonard Hutton and Bradman, with a highest of 446 in collaboration with Conrad Hunte against Pakistan in 1957-58 when Sobers scored 365 not out which is still the highest individual score in test cricket,

But as is so often the case in cricket, even these remarkable figures do not reveal the full extent of the Sobers' genius because he was probably the most gifted player ever seen. My first real glimpse of Sobers came in 1969 (I had been taken to see West Indies 13 years earlier but remember little of it) during the third test against New Zealand at Lancaster Park in Christchurch, As usual on his New Zealand ventures Sobers did nothing remarkable - but during the first session of the New Zealand innings he bowled left-arm fast medium, finger spinners and wrist spinners and fielded magnificently, a multiplicity of talents which still impresses me as I recall the occasion (I also recall from that match the talents of Clive Lloyd who would succeed Sobers as captain, another brilliant lefthanded batsman and superb fielder). By late 1971 I had come to Australia and, through the courtesy of television, watched from Perth every ball as Sobers made 254 for the Rest of the World against Australia in Melbourne, an innings described by Sir Donald Bradman as "probably the best ever seen in Australia".¹ It had everything: strength, power, the full range of strokes, placement, finesse, speed, footwork and timing. It seemed inconceivable that anyone could play so well so consistently over such a long innings. That was the Sobers' hallmark,

But so, too, was his personality from which emerged many great stories, a number of them which are probably apocryphal but which should be true, Like the ones about getting himself out deliberately when well set for a good score, simply in order to watch the running of a horse race on television, And like the

ones about his all-night gambling sessions during important games. Not to mention those about his ability to take up almost any sport (such as golf) and excel at it immediately, And about his ability to mix with almost anyone - it is said he received Australian citizenship very quickly because of his friendship with sports-minded politicians.² Then there was his rather detached and lighthearted approach to the standing of his own achievements - one recent author of a detailed book, a longtime colleague no longer likely to be shocked was nonetheless taken aback when a request for in-depth information elicited the response "it's all in here", the "here" being copies of three short television programmes of which the American one was almost useless.³

For twenty years, perhaps even still around the cricket world Gary (sometimes Garry) Sobers encapsulated the popular image of West Indian cricketers and West Indians generally: gifted, happy-go-lucky, a fondness for drinking, gambling and partying, flashy if unreliable and unpredictable. Gary was the calypso cricketer. It was all an image, of course, a myth in which there was some fact but much fantasy, Nevertheless, for many West Indians themselves Sobers represented a self-image which is why in the turbulent political years of his cricket triumphs the world's greatest player unwittingly carried many of the symbols of an emergent regional identity, and which is also why many of his cricketing transgressions rebounded on him so viciously.

Garfield St Aubrun Sobers was born on 28 July 1936 into what was at best a skilled working class family, his father being a merchant seaman. Two aspects of this circumstance immediately placed Sobers in the mainstream of the search for a new Caribbean culture.

His small family home was located in what was known as the Bay Land on the edge of Bridgetown the Barbadian city and port. The Bay Land was a constant reminder of the colonial past, because it was a tenantry created originally for workers on the Bay Plantation after the ultimate freeing of the slaves in 1838, There were numerous such tenancies all across the island and, as

revealed by a number of social surveys during the late 1930s and early 1940s, living conditions within them were extremely basic and extremely crowded - Barbados has long possessed one of the highest population densities in the world.⁴

For the first ten years of Sobers' life the Bay was also the home of the island's most elite cricket club, Wanderers. Founded in 1877 its membership was restricted to the white planting, government and social elite, and its presence amidst the black tenantry symbolised the sociology of Barbadian cricket which was riven by intersecting considerations such as class, colour, education, occupation and heritage.⁵ Gary could never have joined Wanderers even though he lived on its boundaries, practised his skills on its outfield and found his first influential encouragement from one of its members, In fact, such was his social position that Sobers could not have played for any team in the Barbados Cricket Association's competition. His first organised cricket was to be played in an association set up during the year of his birth, the Barbados Cricket League established to cater for cricketers of the working class who would otherwise have had no playing future,⁶ The first star from the League was to be the legendary Everton Weekes - Sobers was to play alongside him in West Indian teams and socially the two had much in common because Weekes grew up in a tenantry alongside Kensington oval, the Barbadian test ground and the home of Pickwick, the island's second senior white club.

The other important aspect of Sobers' birth is that it coincided with a fast rising political consciousness on the part of the dispossessed in the Caribbean,⁷ When he was just one year old a dock strike very close to his home prompted widespread labour disturbances and police action which spread all over the island leaving several people dead, The origins of the trouble were clear: very poor wages, low employment conditions, low employment rates, restricted opportunities for a steadily increasing black middle class, and no political voice for well over 95 per cent of the Barbadian population. And the social bases for all that was perfectly demonstrated in the very need for the creation of a Barbados Cricket League, The patterns of

social exclusion were so complex that even such a tiny island needed to establish two separate cricket competitions, one for the elite and one for the populace. Barbadian cricket was intricately bound up with these social patterns as Sobers was to discover, just as he was to encounter the politics of cultural identity at every major point in his career,

Sobers' entry to first class cricket came via the Barbados Cricket League, then, where he performed exceptionally well and eventually caught the attention of the Chief of Police who recruited the youngster into the police band simply that he might play for the force's team in the Barbados Cricket Association competition. At the age of 16 he was scoring centuries and taking numerous wickets in what was and remains one of the most formidable domestic competitions in the world, Thrust into the island side at the same age he took seven wickets against the touring Indian team and he was on his way.

His debut test was the fifth against the English tourists in 1953-54 when Hutton's side won to square the series. Sobers was brought into the side for the Sabina Park, Kingston match to strengthen the spin attack which had been weak in previous games, Although one of the youngest players in test history and put up against marvellous batsmen such as Len Hutton, Tom Graveney and Denis Compton, Sobers was the pick of the bowlers, taking 4/75 in a total of 414. In addition he scored 40 runs for once out with a great show of maturity.

The significance of the last point is that the tour was a most unfortunate one politically with the M.C.C. tourists drawn unwittingly into what some local whites saw as a test of racial strength in the midst of political change,⁸ Something of the edge crept into the West Indies team where part of the white domination was caught up in the position of captain. A good many observers felt that one of the black stars in Frank Worrell, 'Clyde Walcott or Everton Weekes had all the qualities of a captain but instead were subjected to whites, In one sense, then, it was important for yet another star such as Sobers to emerge so far as the black population was concerned because that served simply to reinforce the idea that substantial social

change was occurring within the region, If the "Three Ws" constituted the first major breakthrough, then Sobers spearheaded the substantial second wave.

And this had far wider cultural implications, During the seventeen years of Sobers' life to that point, the Caribbean had been rushed into a series of political and constitutional reforms which meant that most of the territories had at least ministerial government in the hands of elected politicians. Even in Barbados the tightly restricted franchise had given way to universal suffrage.⁹ Political parties were fully developed everywhere and the drive towards independence was on, being just eight years off in Trinidad and twelve in Barbados, for example, There was a quite natural concomitant concern for the creation of either a regional or national identities or both as the black majorities gained an increasing control over their lives, Thus writers, artists, intellectuals and musicians who achieved success won wide acclaim,

But it may be argued that it was the great cricketers who created the most enthusiasm because it was they who, in the bulk of the English-speaking world, brought the greatest international attention to the Caribbean, It is still arguable that 'but for cricket a good many people around the world would know little if anything of the West Indies, And by being recognised very quickly as one of the greatest players, Sobers became an influential and crucial social figure, especially after he set his individual test record against the Pakistanis in 1957-58.

That innings confirmed him as one of the really great batsmen in test history, surpassing as it did Leonard Hutton's 364 set for England against Australia during the 1938 series and putting Sobers ahead of such other high scorers as Wally Hammond and Sir Donald Bradman. Coinciding as it did with the emergence of West Indian federation, it gained great public appeal in the Caribbean for being symbolic of the greatness which could come.¹⁰ Remarkably it was his first century in test cricket and took him little over ten hours to compile, a remarkable feat even if the Pakistani bowling attack was rather weak.

For the next fifteen years Sobers played cricket almost continuously all over the world, widening the public awareness of the West Indies by his consistently high standards, In Australian Sheffield Shield cricket, for example, where performance levels were particularly high at that point, the Barbadian in 1962-63 became the first-ever player to score over 1,000 runs and take 50 wickets in the same season, then he improved even further to help his side win the Shield in the following year. Australian crowds adored his play and Sobers responded to their warmth and he is probably the greatest international cricketing ambassador to have played in the country.

A few years later he became the highest paid cricketer in the world when signed by Nottinghamshire as English country cricket was opened to foreign players, Although he achieved some remarkable results personally, Notts never flourished as his team mates by and large were an undistinguished lot. And while he never repeated his 1966 effort of six sixes in the one over (Malcom Nash of Glamorgan the unfortunate victim), he did give rise to several good cricket stories. One told to this writer by a county colleague of Sobers' during those years concerns his ability to not only score at will but to get out at will, The story alleges that Sobers, a passionate punter and gambler, had an interest in a horserace being televised during the afternoon of a match. He got well set into an innings, the time of the televised race approached, Sobers inquired the time of the umpire, promptly gave a catch to the wicketkeeper then set off for the pavilion where he arrived just in time to see his fancied nag run. Even if apocryphal, the story indicates the awe with which his fellow players regarded the Sobers talent,

The story encompasses the dilemma faced by Sobers and other Caribbean stars of the 1950s and 1960s. They were dashing players regardless of match circumstances, having been brought up in the belief that the ball was there to be struck as fiercely as possible and the stumps to be hit just as hard when fielding or bowling. West Indian crowds demanded that sort of play and voiced their disapproval if it was not forthcoming from either their home side or the opponents. Big hitters and fast bowlers

were and are idolised, The defensive game was foreign to the Caribbean, Yet in other cricket environments that adventurous spirit was often interpreted as flashiness and an unwillingness to submit to a subdued approach when necessary, At its worst, such a view of the Caribbean style degenerated into racism which saw these black players as excitable, undisciplined, gutless in the face of -adversity and unable to win or save matches from difficult positions." This was a continuance of the colonial condition which considered West Indians as ill-prepared to run their own political, social and economic affairs, Putting the view to rest in the cricket sphere, then, became important in the wider cultural Sense.

Sobers himself did much to challenge the view, as represented in the innings which he himself has frequently rated his best. In the second innings of the Lords test against England in 1966 West Indies were just nine runs in front with five wickets left and facing defeat as the ball seamed and swung alarmingly in conditions ideally suited to the English bowlers. Sobers made 163 not out in a partnership (unbroken) of 274 with his cousin David Holford, putting his team into what almost proved to be a winning position. And he did so with tempered aggression, scoring quickly yet safely to show that the West Indian explosiveness could be harnessed, As with so much in cricket, it is difficult to describe adequately the artistry of that difficult innings but suffice it to say that it has gone down in cricket folklore as one of the greatest,

It is in this area, incidentally, that Barry Andrews offered one of his many contributions to the texture of writing sports history because he recognised in its language its qualities of mythology, something which is characteristic of much in popular culture generally. Danny Sugarman, for example, notes at the beginning of his book about the fated rock singer, "my personal belief is that Jim Morrison was a god. To some of you, that may sound extravagant."¹² It would not have sounded so to Barry Andrews had the subject been a major cricket or other sports star, because he understood that their essential public appeal lay in doing something spectacularly well which all cricketers or

other sportspeople would dearly love to be able to do. Because the successful players reduce any game to a harmless looking simplicity, those of us who struggle at it idolise them. To West Indians and to many other cricket followers, Gary Sobers was a playing god.

In 1965 Sobers took on an even more onerous cultural role when he inherited the West Indian captaincy from the equally legendary Frank Worrell. The importance of the job can be understood only through an appreciation of just how much success in cricket meant to the Caribbean population. Cricket not only saw West Indies match strengths with the colonial master (while some Caribbean countries were independent by 1965 others were not, including Sobers' birthplace Barbados) but also with Australia, New Zealand, India and Pakistan - it was socially vital that success be forthcoming in order to gain self-respect in the Commonwealth and world environment, The pressures were clearly enormous.

And they were exaggerated by one condition in particular. While Frank Worrell had been the first regular black captain appointed to lead West Indies, he was in many ways an atypical Caribbean cricketer.¹³ He had spent much time playing league cricket in England, but he also took an economics degree from Manchester University. While he was no token black, he was certainly more acceptable than most fellow black players to the white-dominated hierarchy of West Indian cricket because his English sojourn was thought to have socialised him (even civilised, in some reactionary circles). And Worrell had always been touchy about the nuances of class and colour which he had learned 'during his Barbadian upbringing. He had much to say about issues wider than cricket as a result of his travel, education and awareness. He was a charming but sober man, strong but reflective and a thinker, In the cricketing sense he was the perfect transition from the colonial to the postcolonial order.¹⁴

Sobers was vastly different, His education was basic at best, his interest in outside issues extended mostly to other games and gambling, he cared little for politics and social issues, he was impulsive, gregarious, exciting, a leader by

example rather than a motivator. While others may have invested cultural importance on him, that is, he himself saw everything simply in cricket terms and that made him a very different captain from Worrell. In many ways he was the first truly black West Indian captain, and for a while it worked.¹⁵

He had a series victory over Australia in 1964-65 at a time when the Australians were very strong, That was followed by a series win over England in England during which Sobers scored 722 runs at an average of 103 and took 20 wickets at an average of 27 while holding 10 catches. It was probably the finest performance by a captain in any series ever. And it was followed by yet another series win in India. West Indies were indisputably world champions and Sobers the world's best player in the immediate aftermath of political independence, and so the single greatest boost to Caribbean self-confidence.

But it then all went downhill and led to recriminations, self-doubt and severe criticism of Sobers' leadership. Having won seven of his first thirteen matches as captain Sobers won just two of his next 26 as his side went down to England, Australia, India and could manage just two drawn series with the lowly rated New Zealanders even though playing one of them at home. It was the nadir of West Indian cricket, the paradox being that Sobers himself continued to play quite well. The focus, then, was on his leadership qualities which, of course, given his background, went right to the heart of the cultural identity issue: was Sobers a failure because he did not have the Anglicized trappings possessed by Worrell, and were those trappings necessary for continued success in a postcolonial order?

It was the fourth test in Port-of-Spain in Trinidad against England during the 1967-68 series which really raised the discussion. With the first three tests in the series drawn and just two to go, the West Indian public was anxious that if their side could not win then it should not lose either. After the first innings in Trinidad that seemed assured because Sobers was able to declare at the huge score of 7/526 thanks to centuries from Rohan Kanhai and Seymour Nurse. England responded with 404 led

by a century from captain Colin Cowdrey and, with less than a day to go, that seemed to be that as West Indies began batting again. But at 2/92 Sobers declared yet again leaving England 164 minutes to get 215 runs for victory, not an easy task but not impossible, either. Geoffrey Boycott scored 80 not out, Cowdrey added 71 to his first innings century, England won by 7 wickets and, with the final test drawn, went on to win the series.. An effigy of Sobers was hung in Port-of-Spain that night, symbolising the public outrage at their captain's actions, there even being allegations that he had "thrown" the match.

In orthodox cricketing terms the key question was whether or not he could have won the match through his actions, The answer was clearly no - one of his main bowlers was injured, the pitch was playing very well with no signs of breaking up and history was also against him because very few sides in twentieth century cricket have been dismissed in just over one session of play. Despite all that Sobers still believes he might have won, but inevitably his critics kept returning to what Worrell might have done and the answer was obvious - play for a draw and go to Georgetown with all to play for. Sobers was considered to have sold out West Indian honour, and this was to be a recurring theme throughout the remainder of his playing career.

The most bitter and by far the most serious incident in this connection came late in 1970 when Sobers played in a double-wicket competition staged in what was then Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) where his partner was none other than the South African captain Ali Bather. Sobers accepted the invitation to play on purely cricketing grounds but in the social and political circumstances of the Caribbean at the time his actions, at best, were naive.¹⁶ The issue of the rights of the black majority in both Rhodesia and South Africa had become one not just for politicians but for sportspeople with South Africa, in particular, being ostracised by all major sports bodies in the world on the grounds of discriminatory selection policies.

It was an especially sensitive matter in the Caribbean on two counts: the black populations had all descended from slaves taken from Africa to be ruled by whites, and the island states

had only just won black majority rule themselves, Add to that the strong pan-African strain which ran through such Caribbean social institutions as reggae music and the rastafarian cult, along with the wave of Black Power sentiment which swept through the Caribbean during 1970 as an offshoot of what was happening in black America, and it is clear that Sobers placed himself in a most vulnerable position.¹⁷

He returned to the Caribbean after the competition to a serious political row joined by most prominent West Indian figures who, given the dimensions of the case, really had little other choice. Prime Minister Forbes Burnham of Guyana demanded that Sobers apologise publicly, Jamaica's two major political parties revealed rare unanimity in seeking Sobers' resignation as captain and similar sentiments came from other quarters, In the end Sobers issued a public statement concerning his actions and although it did not remove the sour taste, it did defuse the situation, Even so, the affair almost meant the cancellation of the projected Indian tour of 1971 and helped hasten the retirement of Sobers both as captain and player,

Again, the dimensions of the crisis can be understood fully only by locating Sobers in his cultural role, even if it was one which he fulfilled unwittingly because to his followers, unlike him, cricket was far more than just a mere game. A little over ten years earlier Frank Worrell had finally won the long battle to have a black man replace a white as captain of West Indies, Now Gary was seen to have acquiesced, at least, in a situation where whites in southern Africa maintained social, political and cultural domination over black majority populations. The strength of the connection was best demonstrated a few years later when Jamaican reggae superstar Bob Marley was invited to Zimbabwe to perform during the Independence Day celebrations there, the perfect symbol of the underlying strength of Afro-Caribbean cultural dimensions which so many thought had been affronted by Sobers.¹⁸

By the time Sobers left international cricket in 1974 the sharp contours of social and political considerations in the game and in other sports were fully apparent, English cricket, the

former imperial trendsetter, was dominated by foreign players, principally from Pakistan and the West Indies. The voices of those two countries along with India and, later, Sri Lanka would determine the continued exclusion of South Africa from the world arena. And when the first World Cup was won in 1975 by West Indies, it was the beginning of a long period in which former colonies dictated terms to former imperial masters and senior, white Empire members through victories by West Indies, Pakistan and India. For that reason alone, prominent so-called Third World players such as Gary Sobers gained further respect, if anything, for their pioneering efforts.

As Barry Andrews realised perhaps earlier than most, much of the social history of sport revolves around heroes. Not so much in what they do themselves or even about how they view the world and proceed through it, but rather in how lesser mortals see those heroes and interpret their actions. But it is a notoriously difficult area in which to work. At one extension, as in the higher order of semiotics, the interpretation of heroes often says less and less to the very public which ordains the hero status to begin with. At the opposite pole, so many of the accounts of sports heroes consist of little other than a chronicle of their deeds. Barry was quick to point out the absurd inadequacies of the overwhelming majority of cricketing biographies and that, in turn, made him very mindful of the care needed in his own work, regretfully unfinished, on C.T.B. Turner "The Terror". In the end, explaining such people is probably the most difficult task in all sports history, but is also the most vital.

Perhaps that is why Barry Andrews had the capacity and the potential to make an enormous contribution to this field. Not only did he have the social historian's fetish about detail, but he also possessed the litterateur's flair for understanding symbolism, representation and the power of imagery. That is why he, too, was a great admirer of Gary Sobers who in modern times has been one of the greatest iconic figures in the cricket culture.

And the ultimate symbolism came in 1975 when Sobers became Sir Gary, being knighted by Queen Elizabeth II just a few miles from the tenantry where he had been born just over 38 years earlier. For a game which has meant so much to the English-speaking world, cricket has had surprisingly few knighthoods: Sir Donald Bradman in Australia, Sir Pelham Warner and Sir Leonard Hutton in England with the other three, significantly, being West Indian. Sir Learie Constantine, Sir Frank Worrell and Sir Gary Sobers between them capture the cultural importance of cricket in the Caribbean and even devotees of the other two would have to admit that Sobers was the greatest of all as a player.

But each of the three represent a different stage in the evolution of the modern West Indies. Constantine the pioneer for the abilities and the rights of Caribbean blacks, Worrell the ambassador who combined his own cultural genius with adaptive skills to win social concessions, and Sobers the modern Caribbean citizen inheriting all of that while trying to establish a distinctive identity.¹⁹ This last role is probably the most awkward to play, and the twists in the Sobers story reveal the passions which might be aroused. And as always, it is C.L.R. James who sums it up best: "to misunderstand Sobers is to misunderstand the West Indies [because] his command of the rising ball in the drive, his close fielding and his hurling himself into his fast bowling are a living embodiment of centuries of a tortured history".²⁰ Like James, with a background of cricket, history and literature Barry Andrews understood that, and Gary Sobers, perfectly.

Notes and References:

1. Quoted in Trevor Bailey, *Sir Gary: a Biography* (London 1977), p.79.
2. This section based on interview material,
3. Interview material.
4. See, for example: *Housing In Barbados: Report of a Committee* (Bridgetown 1943) and *Report On a Housing Survey of Eight Slum Tenancies in Barbados* (Bridgetown 1945).

5. See Brian Stoddart, "Cricket and Colonialism in the English-Speaking Caribbean Before 1914: Towards a Cultural Analysis" in J.A. Mangan (ed.), *Pleasure, Profit and Proselytism: British Culture and Sport at Home and Abroad, 1750-1914* (London 1988).
6. Brian Stoddart, "Cricket, Social Formation and Cultural Continuity in Barbados: a Preliminary Ethnohistory", *Journal of Sport History*, 174,3 (Winter 1987).
7. For a convenient history of the Caribbean, Sir Harold Mitchell, *Europe In The Caribbean* (London 1963) and Franklin W. Knight, *The Caribbean: the Genesis of a Fragmented Nationalism* (New York 1978).
8. The context of the tour is outlined in Brian Stoddart, "Caribbean Cricket: the Role of Sport In Emerging Small Nation Politics", *International Journal*, (Autumn 1988).
9. See J.M. ("Mitchie") Hewitt, *Ten Years of Constitutional Development In Barbados, 1944-1954* (Bridgetown, 1954).
10. The federation story may be seen in Jesse H. Proctor, "The Development of the Idea of Federation of the British Caribbean Territories", *Caribbean Quarterly*, 5,1 (June 1957).
11. For Example, "The West Indies Team In England", *John Wisden's Cricketers' Almanack For 1934* (London 1934).
12. Jerry Hopkins and Danny Sugarman, *No One Here Gets Out Alive* (Sydney 1981), p.vii.
13. For Worrell, see Ernest Eytley, *Frank Worrell* (London 1966).
14. Ivo Tennant, *Frank Worrell: a Biography* (London 1987) ignores much of this.
15. For a stimulating analysis, W.K. Marshall, "Gary Sobers and the Brisbane Revolution", *New World Quarterly*, 2 (1965).
16. The episode is outlined (but not really understood in its full dimensions) by Trevor Bailey *op.cit.*
17. As an indication of the social context, Leroy Harewood, *Black Bower Less-Ness in Barbados* (Bridgetown 1968).
18. Timothy White, *Catch A Fire: the Life of Bob Marley* (London 1983), pp.1-5.
19. Howat, *op.cit.*, Eytley, *op.cit.*, Marshall, *op.cit.*

20. C.L.R. James, "Garfield Sobers" in John Arlott (ea.), *The Great All-Rounders* (London 1969) and reprinted in C.L.R. James (ed. Anna Grimshaw), *Cricket* (London 1986).