RACE AND CRICKET: THE WEST INDIES AND ENGLAND AT LORD'S, 1963

by

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To

Romelee, Chamie and Audie

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ABSTRACT

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Cricket became a sport in which there was a clear separation based on race and class; and these distinctions initially determined function within the sport. In England, where the distinction was based mostly on class, the aristocracy, who initially enjoyed watching their workers at play, became involved in playing the game, and determined roles aligned to class. In the West Indies, the distinction was determined by race. However, racial mixing blurred these demarcations and soon the underclass began to encroach onto a space that the sport had created for them. In due course, function within the sport faded into insignificance as the desire to win and entertain combined with capitalist impulses, compelled continual changes particularly in leadership.

This dissertation argues that the persistent suppression of the underclass was social silencing, that the economic forces unleashed by the Industrial Revolution enabled the emergence of the English proletariat, and that these forces helped change the sport. A double layer of silence existed in the West Indies and these layers mutated as social, economic and

political conditions ebbed and flowed. Unlike conditions in England where the availability of abundant resources helped to facilitate the emergence of the underclass, the West Indian underclass found that scarce resources, natural disasters, and the influence of numerous prejudices limited their ability to change their condition. In fact, despite economic, political, religious and social agitation and resistance, cricket became the primary agency through which a West Indian identity emerged, and whereby they were able to demonstrate equality and later dominance on the world stage.

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I.C.C.	The international governing body of Cricket. History of names changes as follows: 1909-1965: Imperial Cricket Council 1965-1989: International Cricket Conference 1989- Present: International Cricket Council
M.C.C.	Marylebone Cricket Club
S.A.C.A.	South African Cricket Association
T.C.C.B.	Test and County Cricket Board
W.I.C.B.C.	West Indies Cricket Board of Control
B.C.A.	Barbados Cricket Association
B.C.L.	Barbados Cricket League.
LBW	Leg before Wicket
W.S.C.	World Series Cricket
C.W.C.	Cricket World Cup
O.D.I.	One Day International.
D.R.S.	Decision Review System.

PREFACE

This study asserts that the underclass in England and those in the West Indians were driven mainly by a desire to emerge from the silence in which they had been enshrouded as a result of classism, racism, or a combination of both, and that, for most of them, the change agent was cricket. Silence for the English, may be defined as suppression of the underprivileged by the aristocracy. The source of this power was economic, social and political control. Importantly, the emergence of the English working class to a position of economic power-sharing had more to do with the availability of more money through a vast increase in the number and variety of ways by which it could be earned, rather than by inveighing against the rights of those with the greatest control. In the West Indies, limited resources combined with a history of the ownership and control of those resources based primarily on race, would influence the extent and rate of change.

Silence, as used in this study, describes a condition in which an entity is unaware of another reality which usually is, but may not be a sound. This unawareness has nothing to do with the existence of that reality, but is specifically related to the receptivity of the entity. Unawareness is not necessarily a function of the entity's inability to be receptive, and may actually be a conscious and deliberate failure to acknowledge that reality. In addition, it shows itself in the minimization of that reality. This is seen quite often in seating arrangements at social and other functions, in staging on canvas or the theatre, in print and other media, in sports and other contests, as well as military engagements. In any of these scenarios, the purpose is the same, that is, to represent to entities reflections of other realities about which they will exhibit levels of awareness which are conditioned by their cultural orientation. In summary, silence is the minimization whether socially, politically, economically or in any other way, of any group of people by another based on race, religion, gender or any other orientation. Double silence, then implies

the existence of a second layer of minimization which a group of people would have to negotiate in order to be acknowledged.

J.B. Harley in The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography takes the position that the silencing, or failure to reveal, a fact, image, or other representation of an entity is part of a process of empowerment. Within the context of cartography in which he wrote, it was not difficult for him to make his case. According to Harley, silence takes the form of censorship or controls, which, through inclusion or exclusion, emphasis or minimization, distort the truth and present a picture redesigned through the combined influences of science, motives, ethics, economics, the prevailing intellectual climate, audience, and other factors.[1] According to Clem Seecharan, a Guyanese writer on cricket, silence is exclusion, a view he takes in From Ranji to Rohan: Cricket and Indian Identity in Colonial Guyana 1890's-1960's. Seecharan builds on the experiences of Hindus, mainly untouchables, who migrated from India to work as indentured laborers in Guyana, where they found it necessary to silence false notions of a linkage with an elusive Aryan past and replaced it with race prejudice directed against Afro-Guyanese, who were darker in complexion. Importantly, they were able to accomplish this reshaping of an identity through cricket by replacing the princely Ranjitsinghi personality, who projected possible Aryan linkages with the more easily assimilable Rohan Kanhai's.[2]

Non-white West Indian blacks existed beneath this second layer of silence. It refers to a condition in which social, economic, political privilege and power were denied to those persons who found it necessary to advance through two or more stages of development in order to achieve an acceptable level of respectability. Double silence is demonstrated in the racialism that is present in the social, economic, religious and other institutions that are necessary to the functioning of society. For non-white West Indians, it meant their systematic exclusion by whites, from participating, at other than a non-essential level in those activities that breathe life into these

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[1] J.B Harley, The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 83-106.

[2] Clem Seecharan, From Ranji to Rohan: Cricket and Indian Identity in Colonial Guyana 1890's-1960's (Herefordshire: Hansib Publications Ltd., 2009), 230-37.

institutions and sustain them. At the same time blacks were denied access to scientifically based educational training that would have fitted them to occupy these roles.[3] These two methods of restricting persons of limited means who happened to belong to an easily recognizable and suppressed group proved to be very successful. Thus non-whites did not become active participants in determining the types and levels of lives that they lived. Emergence from this secondary role would be time-consuming, costly, frustrating, but most of all, ennobling.

About the middle of the eighteenth century, there developed, in England, a partnership of sorts between the elite and the plebian in which the benefits of patronage of the one was balanced by earnings and respect of the other. Patronage, claims E.D.R. Edgar, resulted in the formation of teams in Kent, Sussex, Surrey and Hampshire by 1727.[4] Significant sums of money changed hands among aristocratic sponsors. In addition, the players on these teams were generally employed by these patrons as gardeners, butlers and so on, in order that their services might be available for the cricket matches that really mattered. These improvements were assisted by changes which the Industrial Revolution of the 18th and 19th centuries made in agriculture, manufacturing, mining, transportation, and technology. Because these changes benefited employment, money became more readily available, and more resources became procurable for use in other endeavors, including sports.

E.D.R. Edgar, writing in Barclays World of Cricket, relies on the accounts of Richard Nyren, who was captain and secretary of the Hambledon Club (1750-1787), which was located in Hampshire County, and to which hundreds of cricket followers resorted in order to watch the games.[5] It is not surprising then, that the quality of the sport improved during this era, that knowledge of the sport widened, and a scientific approach was applied to the sport. Patronage

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[3] Lewis claims that most West Indian scholars who won scholarships to study in England were restricted to the study of medicine and law. He had wanted to become an engineer, a pathway that he was denied, and became a world-renowned economist through his careful use of the opportunities presented to him.

[4] E.D.R.Edgar, "The Early Days of Kent", Barclays World of Cricket: The Game from A to Z 2nd Edition, Ed. E.W. Swanton (London: Collins Publishers, 1980), 2-4.

[5] Ibid.

did not disappear even after club membership fees were required and collected. Another important change had occurred which was to revolutionize the socio-economic dynamics of the sport as players were now being paid, not only to play but for the time spent in practice.[6] Sandwiched between the Hambledon Era and the establishment of Lord's and the Marylebone Cricket Club (MCC), its administrative arm in 1787 and 1788 respectively, was a robust period during which the sport was taken across the length and breadth of the country. Cricket clubs and teams sprang up throughout the realm including in the north, where a spirited, shortened version of the game was being promoted. This new approach to the sport was prompted by the industrialization of the north, especially Lancashire and Birmingham, since it did not conflict with the work week ethic, and offered exciting sporting engagements for weekends. In the south, including London, Surrey, Sussex, Hampshire and Yorkshire, club cricket sprang up with increasing frequency so that by 1771, eighteen regulation match fixtures have been recorded.[7] In addition, and of particular significance, by 1772, teams that had demonstrated a higher level of play received First Class designation. Initially, these matches featured Hampshire playing against All-England elevens.[8]

Pelham Warner, an expatriate Trinidadian, informs us that the assumption of the MCC occurred shortly before some of its members met at the 'Star and Garter ', Pall Mall, where they revised the rules of the game that had been in place since 1744.[9] MCC and Lord's soon epitomized the very best that cricket represented. In fact, when the laws were again revised in 1947 by Colonial Rait Kerr, then secretary of MCC, Sir Norman Birkett wrote in his Foreword that "the MCC exists to foster the true spirit of the game wherever it is played; it is always ready to

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[6] Ibid. 5 See also Keith A.P. Sandiford, Cricket and the Victorians (Hants: Scolar Press, 1994), 36. Although leagues were not established in Lancashire until the mid-to-late 19th Century, Sandiford estimates that as early as the 1770's, £22,000 of wagers were won by Hambledon, and £10,000 lost.

[7] http://cricketarchive.com/Archive/Seasons/ENG/1772_ENG_First-Class_matches_in_England_1771.html, 4/03/2011.

[8] http://cricketarchive.com/Archive/Seasons/ENG/1772_ENG_First-Class_matches_in_England_1772.html, 4/03/2011.

[9] Imperial Cricket, Ed. P.F. Warner (London: The London and Counties Press Association, Ltd, 1912), 163. See also Barclays World of Cricket, 7.

advise, to guide, and to help; and it must be the deepest satisfaction to all who desire the continuance of the high traditions of Cricket and the MCC that so wise, so understanding and so learned a Secretary is in charge."[10] The MCC not only was to become the final authority on everything related to cricket, the custodian of its laws, the keeper of the archives of all matches played throughout the British Commonwealth, as well as the determinant of the standard of play within and beyond its borders. It represented England in matches abroad while it played under its own name, flying its own colors. Amazingly, this organization was able to accomplish all this while it maintained its status as a private club.

MCC and Lord's succeeded in maintaining the class distinctions with which British society was identified without seeming to be particularly offensive. As cricket spread through the missionary zeal that was inseparable from its Victorian ethos, teams from England, led by members of its aristocracy, transplanted the game along with its associated virtues into its colonial and other holdings. In order to ensure compliance with written and unwritten codes, MCC and privately owned organizations sent out teams in order to determine their level of advancement and their preparedness to engage the English at progressively higher levels. Cricket soon became a primary benchmark by which a nation or region could gauge its equality with England, and by which England could determine the success of its civilizing mission.[11] Neville Cardus, the highly regarded English cricket and music critic wrote about Lord's as follows. "For your good cricketer the ends of the earth have come to a resting-point at Lord's, and

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[10] R.S. Rait Kerr, The Laws of Cricket: Their History and Growth (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1950), ix.

[11] Keith A.P. Sandiford, Cricket Nurseries of Colonial Barbados: The Elite Schools (Jamaica: The University of the West Indies Press), 1998. In his book, Sandiford credits the development of a cricketing mentality to the civilizing mission of English soldiers, priests, politicians and educators. See p. 1. Trinidad, Jamaica and Guyana also received some of this attention, but Barbados emerged as the island that produced superlative results. See also Jeffrey Stolmeyer's Everything Under the Sun: My life in West Indies Cricket and C.L.R. James' Beyond a Boundary.

wherever he may be at the fall of a summer's day his face should turn religiously towards Lord's. Lord's is the Cosmopolis of cricket."[12]

Migration from the West Indies introduced a wide variety of employment seekers to England, many of whom were cricketers, and most of whom were black. This added a racial dimension to the professional and social relationships that would develop in and beyond the cricket ground. In the first place, West Indian cricketers began to experience difficulties playing for counties, and, in addition, were mostly picked up by teams in which their primary function had been designated based on race. Most of these migrant cricketers did not reside permanently in England, but returned to the West Indies to live and raise children. However, the offspring of those immigrants who established permanent residency in England experienced the same difficulties a generation later.[13] It is equally likely that the earlier West Indian cricketers were recruited aggressively by league teams because their brand of cricket blended better with that which was played by league teams. On the other hand, because all county players were regarded as professionals compared to the two per team allowed on league teams, this classification prejudiced West Indian cricketers' selection since they were now perceived as competing directly with English professionals for a limited number of openings. Of crucial importance is the fact that the national team was chosen from among county players, not league players.[14]

The silence experienced by non-white West Indians was far more heinous than it was for the English. This was a double layering, the first of which was represented by the silencing of West Indian or colonial whites by those in England. This labeling came from the perception by English whites that colonial whites had become less civilized as a result of the debilitating effects of the tropical sun to which they had been exposed. Another reason for this labeling was the evidence of the migration of social undesirables who had been banished to the islands, especially

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[12] Neville Cardus, Cardus on Cricket: A Selection from the Cricket Writings of Sir Neville Cardus chosen and Introduced by Sir Rupert Hart-Davis (London: Souvenir Press, Ltd., 1949), 42-3.

[13] Chris Searle, Pitch of Life: Writings on Cricket (Manchester: The Parrs Wood Press,2001), 14-20, 73-82.

[14] Roy Marshall, Test Outcast (London: Pelham Books), 1970. Marshall, like Jack Grant, admits to privileges he enjoyed because he was white, but does not refer to social setbacks he experienced at Hampshire because of his West Indian heritage.

Barbados, as punishment for assorted crimes including prostitution. Irrespective of their social rank, colonial whites generally regarded themselves as being a cut above non-whites. In addition to these two basic layers, non-whites were subdivided into creoles, who were the offspring of black-white coupling, immigrants from the Asian continent, and the various racial strains resulted from their coupling. At the very bottom of this group were blacks.

Because complexion became a valued asset in this racial smorgasbord, it became important for blacks and everyone who felt disadvantaged by its stigma to attempt to marry or at least procreate with someone of lighter complexion. The walls separating these differences in hue were as tightly guarded even as were the efforts expended to breach them. In addition, it was also in the interest of whites to maintain these demarcations in order to preserve their own distinctiveness. Their ability to succeed was greatly assisted by their control of the political, economic, social and educational institutions. The sparseness of the resources in all these areas, especially education and the economy, and the assistance that the white colonials received from the church, which wielded a significant influence among blacks, created an aura of invincibility and thus perpetuated their customary authoritarian attitude in their relationships with non-whites.

When non-whites eventually began the assault on the white-owned institutions, their results were minimal. This was due to the prevailing mentality among whites. Blacks soon realized that only a small percentage would emerge economically, politically, educationally or socially as all these areas of accomplishments were still tightly controlled, and the available resources tended to be always inadequate. However, in cricket, blacks found a way to identify with whites. However, there were many hindrances to black advancement, not the least of which were their restriction to bowling and non-participation in representative matches. Later, with the coming of inter-colonial cricket, blacks were able to compete for placement on national teams with some restrictions. Finally, with the advent of international competition and the West Indies' emergence as a Test team, blacks were able to affirm that they were as good as, or better than whites, in an area of endeavor in which whites had maintained, as far as the West Indies were concerned, an unmerited hegemony.

This study explores the development of the sport of cricket among English and West Indians in England as well as the West Indies. It discusses their socio-cultural interactions, and examines the impact of the sport on their economic development as well. It also explores some of the effects of the migrations by both groups and discusses how these cross-cultural interactions impacted, and were in turn impacted by the sport. Specifically it discusses how these migrations enhanced the quality of cricket that West Indians played and argues that, in return, West Indian cricket culture permeated that of England, impregnating their cricket with an elan that they somewhat reluctantly embraced.

This study is primarily concerned with the Test match played between England and the West Indies in June 1963, at Lord's cricket ground, located in London. Lord's is the home of the MCC, under whose aegis all formal cricket in England, between England and overseas teams, as well as among overseas teams, was played. Lord's is further regarded as the home and cathedral of cricket, and the institution that is singularly responsible for the establishment and perpetuation of the traditions that have sustained the integrity of the sport. By the date of this match, many changes had been made to the sport, perhaps the worst of which was the style in which it was played. A once exciting sport which had stimulated the interest of the populace had become a poorly attended past-time experiencing serious financial problems. As a result of its highly successful tour of Australia in 1960-61, the West Indies team had proven that their brand of cricket was the cure for what ailed the sport. The cricketing establishment in England was therefore highly expectant regarding the West Indies visit, and what these games would mean for the sport and their bank accounts. Jim Parks' pre-series comments were indicative of the status West Indies had achieved and the high regard in which they were held. "Make no mistake; these gay cricketers from the sunny Caribbean are fine entertaining players. They set about their job in a businesslike manner, and their job this year is to gain revenge for their defeat at the hands of

the M.C.C."[15] Parks was referring to the West Indies embarrassing loss to England during their 1957 tour.

Neville Cardus, Pelham Warner, E.W. Swanton, Harry S. Altham, Lord Hawke, Gordon and Alan Ross are among writers of cricket whose works fall into the narrative and descriptive genre. Their writing tends to be nationalistic and is tinged with many of the racial assumptions that underlie Victorian ethics. For example, Cardus' description of Learie Constantine's cricketing ability is rhapsodic, yet, imbedded in it are racial undertones that are less than complimentary. He writes.

> When we see Constantine bat, bowl or field, we know at once that he is not an English player, not an Australian player, not a South African player. We know that his cuts and drives, his whirling fast balls, his leapings and clutching and dartings in the slips are racial; we know that they are the consequences of impulses born in the blood, heated by sun, and influenced by an environment and a way of life much more natural than ours – impulses not common to the psychology of the over-civilized quarters of the world.[16]

On the other hand, Cardus writes thusly about three English batsmen. "Watch Herne move fastidiously towards a century; watch Bruce or Crutch batting, and you are looking on cricket played in the living room of civilized men and women."[17] They wrote prolifically, some like Altham and Warner, drawing on their tenure as influential members and workers within the MCC organization and using its vast resources to provide the evidentiary basis for many of the views they expressed. For the most part, their writings are respected and generally treated as primary sources, as well they should, since they were eyewitnesses to these events or experienced them first-hand.

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15 Jim Parks, "The West Indies are Welcome Friends but Tough Opponents", The Commonwealth Book of Cricket, Ed. Jim Parks (London: Stanley Paul, 1963), 24.

16 Neville Cardus, 121.

17 Ibid. 43

Generally, they write at great length about the sport as it touched England, its counties, leagues, and contests involving Australia. For example, in their History of Cricket, Swanton and Altham devote a total of ten pages to the discussion of the development of the sport in India, New Zealand and West Indies, and considerably more to South Africa and Australia.[18] In another instance they reduce their comments about the West Indies' initial tour of England in 1900 to fewer than two lines which actually praise England batsman for his mauling of West Indies' inexperienced and ineffective bowling.[19] Most of these writers were also journalists attached to the more respectable publications such as Manchester Guardian, The Cricketer, The Morning Post, and Daily Telegraph. They therefore reached a far larger audience than they otherwise would have. At the same time, Swanton's Barclays World of Cricket is not as comprehensive in its coverage of West Indians and West Indies cricket as it is of South African cricket and cricketers, and demonstrates another instance of their minimization in the print media.[20] Moreover, Swanton's retrospective on the 1954 and 1960 England tours of the West Indies, while attempting to be balanced in its appraisal nevertheless remind the reader of Cardus' implication that West Indian cricketers are instinctual and therefore unscientific in their approach to the game. Swanton is to be credited with involving himself and his publisher in a dialogue about race prejudice, which exposed the connection between team selection and race.[21]

The social milieu in which they wrote allowed them questionable liberties which most moderns would find unacceptable, and most of them succeeded in avoiding. Pelham Warner, in

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[18] H.S. Altham and E.W. Swanton, A History of Cricket (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1949), 360-9.

[19] Ibid. 241.

[20] Barclays World of Cricket, 134-232.

[21] E.W. Swanton, West Indian Adventure: With Hutton's M.C.C. Team, 1953-54 (London: Museum Press Ltd., 1954); See also Len Hutton with Alex Bannister, Fifty Years in Cricket (London: Stanley Paul, 1984), Hutton, the first professional to captain the England national team, claims that there were West Indian elements that felt slighted at having to host a team lead by a professional, although he did not identify the source of the comment. 94. On p. 92 remarks on the emphasis upon an English victory by English residents in the West indies. See E.W. Swanton, West Indies Revisited: The M.C.C. Tour 1959-60 (London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1960), 279. See also Alan Ross, Through the Caribbean: England in the West Indies, 1960 (London: The Pavilion Library), 1960. Ross, unlike Swanton, captured the rhythm of the islands although neither author remarked on the lack of social mingling among the West Indian players of different races.

his History of Cricket, which he edited rather than wrote, Gentlemen v. Players, and Cricket Between Two Wars, was very forthcoming with the details of the cricketing encounters about which he wrote, and shows a keen understanding of the game and the ideosyncracies that persons of differing cultures brought to the matches in which they participated. However, in his chapter in Cricket in Many Climes, in which he describes his visit to the West Indies in 1897 as a member of Lord Hawke's team, he referred to West Indian blacks separately as blacks, negroes, natives and niggers.[22] In addition, in his account of Lord Hawke's tour of South Africa in 1898, Warner used the term "kaffir" to refer to participants in a "creepy" war dance, but reserved the more pejorative "nigger" for a black African who posed for photographs with a professional cricketer that was a member of his party.[23]

It is most unusual that Warner who was deeply involved in the decision of West Indies selectors in including blacks on the inaugural 1900 team that toured England should have exhibited this level of racism in his references to blacks. Warner was born in Trinidad in 1873 and migrated to Barbados at about nine years of age in order to attend Harrison College during the tenure of the famous Horace Deighton.[24] He later moved to England where, following three years at Rugby, he graduated from Oxford University with a degree in law. Thereafter, he became involved in the sport of cricket, captained Middlesex, England and MCC, was Secretary as well as President of the latter, and was employed as editor for The Cricketer, a highly regarded magazine.[25] In other words, Warner very likely saw his role, in so far as it touched West Indies cricket, in a paternalistic framework where acts of kindness and expressions of concern for the

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[22] Pelham Warner, Cricket in Many Climes (London: William Heinemann, 1900), 13-17. Warner used the term "black" most of the time, especially with reference to cricketers. By natives, he implies the broad population excluding whites, and he reserved the term niggers for blacks who worked as stevedores and other unskilled types of labor.

[23] Ibid. 238, 253. It is unclear whether Warner was aware of the etimology of the term "kaffir". In any event, his use of both terms underscores a certain level of awareness of a difference in meaning between them.

[24] Keith A.P. Sandiford, Cricket Nurseries of Colonial Barbados: The Elite Schools, 1865-1966 Jamaica: The University of the West Indies Press, 1998), 2-6, 72-75.

[25] Barclays World of Cricket, 226-7.

welfare of the downtrodden are easily comingled with hatred based on deeply rooted sense of racial superiority.

Other English authors who adopted this traditional approach in writing cricket history were E.W. Swanton, Diana Rait Kerr, Ian Peebles and H.S. Altham. These men, Diana Rait Kerr excepted, spent a considerable portion of their lives playing cricket at the county and national level. Kerr became the first curator of MCC, and, in 1999 one of the first elected female members of the club.[26] Several of them were the offspring of English aristocracy or were connected with others who had achieved social distinctions through meritorious deeds mostly of a professional or military nature. Kerr and Peebles' collaboration on Lord's 1946-1970 is a well written and illustrated history of Lord's covering a portion of their tenure there. Stephen Green's Lord's, The Cathedral of Cricket, and Jonathan Rice's One Hundred Lord's Tests, as well as Wisden at Lord's: An Illustrated Anthology and My Lord's, edited by Graeme Wright and Tim Heald respectively contribute to the body of knowledge on this institution. These works focus mainly on statistical and other useful data.

Cardus is not alone in his description of Learie Constantine and other West Indian cricketers in terms which, although intended to be complimentary, carry an unmistakable implication of racism. The point of departure from a comparison of descriptions of white cricketers from England and Australia is the apparent need to find an explanation for the black cricketers' athletic abilities. In other words, Cardus describes blacks as excellent fielders because they can throw the cricket ball over 100 yards, they tend to be fast bowlers because their limbs are loose, a condition which presumably gives them an advantage over whites. On the other hand, Cardus' explanations of demonstrations of superlative skills by white cricketers tend to be more scientific, objective and based less on these anatomical and physiological descriptions.

There are very few West Indian writers on cricket of this type. Christopher Nicole's West Indian Cricket, which was published in 1957 was followed in 1965 by The West Indies: Their People and History. Nicole has separated this social history of the West Indies into two parts in

[26] http://www.lords.org/mcc/women

which he concentrates firstly on Europeans and the many roles they played in the islands' history. The second general division concentrates on the history of blacks in the islands. Nicole's dilemma is writing broadly enough to be inclusive, but sufficiently incisive to show cause-effect and other relationships between individuals, groups and events. Nicole's work was followed in 1988 by Michael Manley's A History of West Indies Cricket, a collaboration between Ray Goble and Keith Sandiford on 75 Years of West Indies Cricket, 1928-2003, and a less scholarly work by Tony Cozier titled The West Indies: Fifty Years of Test Cricket. Manley combines his narrative with "flash-backs", which were actually "flash-forwards" through which the author attempted to bridge between periods of the nation's early struggles and those of its cricket dominance, (1975-90). He wisely supplements his text with an assortment of appendixes, and extracted from the progression of data, salient deductions concerning the racial, political and social conditions that impacted the sport in the West Indies. Goble and Sandiford's work shows their areas of expertise: the former as a seasoned statistician, and the latter a History professor who is widely published on the sport. In addition to his informed work in this volume which provides views of West Indian cricket and cricketers Sandiford is one of a small group of writers whose published works include cricket and cricketers from the Leeward and Windward Islands. These cricketers had been mostly silenced because of insularity. Standiford's Cricket and the Victorians discusses the phenomenal growth of interest in the sport in England as well as an understanding of why its export beyond that country's geographical boundary was indispensable to its imperial expansionist dreams. In addition, he carefully crafted an appraisal of the impact of Christianity and education on the sport at Harrison College, Lodge School and Combermere School in Barbados in Cricket Nurseries of Colonial Barbados: The Elite Schools, 1865-1966. In fact this volume along with Clem Seecharan's Muscular Learning provide arguably the best answer to the paradox of well-off, as well as poor West Indians, struggling to master a sport that posed differing levels of social and economic hardships for them, when they might more easily have chosen, particularly the much poorer non-whites, to play football (soccer). Their position is that for these people, cricket

represented those moral virtues that the English treasured, and, difficult as their struggle for equality might prove to be, this was the landscape upon which their struggle would take place.

Cozier's account of the Test Matches against England are informative but not scholarly and aside from several anecdotal entries, adds very little to Nicole's earlier account. These publications, much like those on the other side of the Atlantic, provide a composite history of English and West Indian cricket history with some analytical and critical appraisals by Sandiford and Manley. Finally, Frank Birbalsingh's The Rise of Westindian Cricket: From Colony to Nation focuses on Test matches that West Indies played from 1928 to 1966. Birbalsingh breaks away from the tedium of an anthological presentation by identifying progressive periods in West Indies cricket history. Nevertheless, he, like other West Indies authors, seems bound by the desire for comprehensiveness in their accounts, and, as a result, he includes biographies, book reviews, critiques and appendices in his work.

At least one account by Alan Ross, titled The West Indies at Lord's, has been dedicated entirely to the 1963 Test. John Clarke, J. S. Barker and Ian Wooldridge who wrote Cricket with a Swing, Summer Spectacular and Cricket, Lovely Cricket respectively, placed the match within the context of the series, and, in the case of Clarke and Wooldridge, cast the event within a wider social framework. Significantly, these authors were journalists as well, writing for English newspapers, and, in the case of J.S. Barker, covering the games for the Trinidad Guardian as well. I was unable to locate detailed or comprehensive accounts of this Test and series written by West Indian authors or historians although several wrote for other West Indian newspapers. There are additional books written about other West Indies tours by E.W. Swanton, Alan Ross, Hilary McD. Beckles, Jeffrey Stollmeyer and Ernest Eytle.[27] E.W. Swanton's West Indian Adventure describes the 1953-54 England tour of the West Indies. In his West Indies Revisited, Swanton, as well as Alan Ross in Through the Caribbean, recount the 1959-60 England tour. In

[27] Of these writers, only Ernest Eytle is black. He wrote an account of the West Indies' 1960-61 tour of Australia but found it expedient to title his book Frank Worrell:The Career of a Great Cricketer. Moreover, he included a commentary by Worrell at the end of each chapter as if to justify his title.

this second book, Swanton departs from his normally non-confrontational approach and inserts a retrospective in which he lambasts the West Indian planter class, the West Indian press corps, and the West Indian selectors, among others, for their unwholesome attitudes which they displayed, and which he felt sprang from a racist predisposition.[28] Finally, David Lemmon in Cricket Mercenaries: Overseas Players in English Cricket as well as The Crisis of Captaincy: Servant and Master in English Cricket attempts to find a middle ground. In doing so, in The Crisis of Captaincy, Lemmon seems to vacillate between the influence of dynamic leadership and the impact of significant events such as the world wars to change the course of history. In Cricket Mercenaries, it is not clear whether the true mercenaries are those English owners who were concerned about their profit margins or the cricket professionals who regarded their engagements as mostly business and professional opportunities.

Among West Indian writers, Jeffrey Stollmeyer who was a West Indies Test cricketer, captain, selector and President of its Board of Control, kept a diary of his and the West Indies' team's experiences during their 1948-49 tour of India and Pakistan. In addition to providing an account of the tour that was fresh in his mind, Stollmeyer was able to present insights into race relations among his teammates and between his team and their hosts. Moreover, his account allows a view of the internal politics that militated against a harmonious relationship between the West Indies team and its Board of Control. Stollmeyer's ruminations about the 1948-49 West Indies versus India series are particularly significant as the West Indies Cricket Board has been reluctant in allowing this researcher access to its archives. Beckles' account of the inaugural West Indies tour of 1928 titled A Nation Imagined discusses the initial attempt by West Indians to impress the English in England with the fact of their development as cricketers, and as possessors of those manly virtues ascribed to the game. Beckles sees this adventure as important for West Indian whites in demonstrating their class, and for blacks their liberation and an initial step toward a barely envisaged nationalism.

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[28] E.W. Swanton, West Indies Revisited: The MCC Tour 1959/60 (London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1960), 279-281.

Another approach to writings about cricket is the tendency to concentrate on a random number of specialist cricketers from across the Commonwealth and compare their styles, effectiveness and statistics. John Arlott, a very prolific English writer, commentator and journalist, has written several of these books in which he has concentrated on fast bowlers, captains, batsmen and all-rounders. In many of these publications he has given short shift to West Indian cricketers, a practice that has been adopted by other white writers.[29] Yet another approach that this author has found to be very useful is found in texts that focus on the technicalities of the game. These publications are particularly beneficial in situations where coaching is required for start-up teams, or for self-help instruction designed to improve players' techniques. These books serve the additional purpose of making available different approaches to the game that separate countries take. For example, the dominance of fast bowlers in the West Indies and Australia, spinners in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, and medium pacers in England is more a result of geography, climate and soil than inclination, although this last is an important factor. In Understanding Cricket, Julia Hickey combines history, with explanations of the game and its laws in a commonsense approach that is fairly easy to understand. In Pocket Sports Books: Cricket, the approach is more clinical. In this 1969 edition, famous English cricketers describe the techniques used in batting, bowling and other areas of the game where they had excelled. With very few exceptions most of these technical publications are written by English writers.

Among West Indian writers on cricket, the tendency has been to incorporate cricketing techniques into autobiographies, biographies, and other accounts of matches where outcomes have been determined by a team's or a cricketer's display of mesmeric inventiveness on the field of play. As a result, these singular moments of brilliance sometimes become enshrouded in a forest of detail which minimizes their didactic potential. Another weakness of this method is that these insights and expressions of technical knowledge may be construed as personal opinions

[29] This claim is supported by a cursory look inside Cricket: The Great All-Rounders, Cricket: The Great Bowlers, Cricket, The Great Captains, John Arlott's Book of Cricketers, and other publications. Arlott's somewhat limited perspective may be compared with Geoff Armstrong's more democratic approach in The 100 Greatest Cricketers (Sydney: New Holland Publishers), 2006.

and therefore assigned a lesser value than if placed in a more expository context. West Indian writer, Learie Constantine, whose autobiography exhibits many of these trends, wrote at length on cricketing techniques and on cricket as an art form. In 1949, Constantine's second book, Cricketers' Cricket set the tone for the author's departure from the more conventional approach to the game that was espoused by most English writers. When it was published in 1964 under the title The Young cricketer's Companion: The Theory and Practice of Joyful Cricket, he had not changed his view that scintillating gamesmanship was the essence and purpose of the game. Constantine's predilection toward attacking cricket was pursued relentlessly in his play and writing. In fact, he seemed to rather enjoy his description of Cardus' presumed befuddlement when he, Constantine, changed from fast to medium-paced bowling when faced with age related decreased mobility. [30]

The latest group of writers on the sport has moved away from the more traditional narrative approaches to one that is more complex, involving how cricket is shaped by societal factors such as race relations. Among English writers, Jack Williams and Chris Searle approach their craft from a modernist position, where they are concerned with the dynamics of the sport as these dynamics affect and are affected by events and developments that breathe life into the sport. This places them somewhere between the traditionalist approach of the Warner, Swanton, and even the later Arlott and writers such as Ian Preston who appear to threaten the very fabric of the sport. Williams' Cricket and England is a study of cricket in the period between World Wars I and II. Unlike Warner's Cricket Between Two Wars, which covered the same period and is mostly narrative and descriptive, Williams attempts an assessment of the narrative power of cricket as well as the effects of economic and other factors on social change. Williams stops short of repudiating the claims that earlier writers made regarding the cricket as a metaphor for English moral worth. Instead, he makes the case for cricket being a significant agent for English society maintaining a necessary stability during both world wars that helped facilitate a return to normalcy following their conclusion.

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[30] Learie Constantine, Cricket in the Sun (London: Stanley Paul & Co. Ltd., 1946), 109-10.

Williams' other major work on cricket, Cricket and Race examines the relationship between perceptions by whites of the selection of non-white cricketers to play on the national team and the extent to which they associate Englishness with whiteness. As Williams see it, Englishness requires qualification based on birth and race. All immigrants and their descendants are therefore British and not English. This notion therefore allows the English to perceive themselves as different from other whites who are British, and non-whites who are also British. These two categories are made up respectively of Eastern European and primarily Asian and West Indian immigrants. This differentiation is another form of double silence where British whites are placed somewhere above British non-whites but not on the same level as English whites. Fortunately for most British whites, most of this stigma disappears during the second or third generation following initial residency, as the process of acculturation weakens or blends most cultural differences. For West Indians and Asians, residues of cultural peculiarities which tend to weaken over time are confirmed by facial and other features, thus reinforcing the notion of difference. For Williams, this mentality is a justification, for some whites, for the exclusion of blacks from membership in county, particularly Yorkshire, as well as limited representation on England's national team, whose members are drawn from county teams.[31]

Chris Searle, on the other hand, sees cricket as the game which became "the colonizer's sporting nemesis", an outcome reflected in the consistent pummeling of England by West Indies, India, Pakistan on divers cricket grounds and in all of the forms in which the game has been played.[32] Like several West Indian writers, Searle sees in the way West Indians played the game, symbols of resistance, nationalism and identity.[33] Searle sees links between "emergent nationalism, anti-colonial struggle and sporting culture" and the appointment of Worrell as the first black captain of the West Indies team. Searle, along with C.L.R. James and other West Indian writers, contend that Worrell's appointment also marked the end of the era of "calypso" cricketers,

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[31] Jack Williams, Cricket and England: A Cultural and Social History of the Inter-war Years (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 1999), 23-27.

[32] Chris Searle, Pitch of Life: Writings on Cricket (West Yorkshire: The Parrs Wood Press, 2001), vii.

[33] Ibid. 4-9.

a non-complimentary reference to West Indians as a group of highly talented individuals who were not welded together as a team. Under Worrell, according to Searle, these loosely knit squads were replaced by a disciplined, well led, assertive team of players who represented a short-lived nation, and who therefore felt an urgent need to become a force to be reckoned with on the world stage.[34] Searle's writing is based mostly on events that occurred after 1963. However, he sees cause-effect linkages between many pre-1963 changes and the effects they produced.

West Indian writers who have moved beyond narrative, descriptive, biographical, autobiographical and technical writing tend mostly to be modernists. These areas may generally be described as nationalism, identity, resistance and liberation. The discourses resulting from any contemplation of these aspects of West Indies history do not follow parallel trajectories, but cross and crisscross one another on innumerable occasions and become inseparable. Therefore, it is virtually impossible to speak or write about nationalism without considering the impact of identity; nor is a discourse on resistance likely to exclude a discussion of liberation and therefore nationalism, its ultimate goal. Foremost among these authors are C.L.R. James, Hilary McD. Beckles, Brian Stoddart, Keith A.P. Sandiford and Clem Seecharan, although Richard Burton, Maurice St Pierre, Frank Manning, Anna Grimshaw and others have contributed to the debate.

Among these writers, C.L.R. James is conspicuous for his catholic views regarding the sport, and stands virtually alone in his perspective on cricket as art.[35] In his book, Beyond a Boundary, James argues that cricket is drama, a spectacle acted out on a stage before an audience that impacts the spectacle itself. James continues to make his case arguing for a state of structural perfection based mainly on the notion that each ball bowled is a confrontation between bat and ball, or batsman and bowler, and that it is a complete act. According to James,

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[34] Ibid. 6

[35] Rex Nettleford, "Cricket and the Artistic Tradition: West Indian Cricket as a Performing Art", A Spirit of Dominance: Cricket and Nationalism in the West Indies Ed. Hilary McD. Beckles (Jamaica: University of the West Indies), 1998. Nettleford sees cricket as a performing art similar to dance, although he argues that individualism in cricket pushes the performer beyond choreographic constraints.

this act is repeated hundreds of times, and compose a perfect whole, which is the match. James's thesis and arguments range far afield; however, a case may be made that the evanescent nature of these confrontations does not render them any less real than other tangible artistic productions.[36] In much the same way, James continues, the application of science to playing the game would render it staid, therefore it needs an artist's mid-boggling bowling, batting and fielding to produce in an instant, an image that will be forever planted in the viewer's mind.[37]

In addition to his highly regarded Beyond a Boundary, James contribution to the literature on cricket includes A Majestic Innings: Writings on Cricket, edited by Anna Grimshaw. This volume contains biographical glimpses of this writer, his correspondences with a wide assortment of cricketers and writers in various genres, and articles published on the game in the Manchester Guardian and The Nation. A Majestic Innings is also replete with numerous critiques and assessments of players and events about which James had first-hand knowledge. Thus it contributes greatly to the available literature on the sport especially given James' intensity and insight. James other writings have explored West Indian politics and the ways in which the colonial structure, or lack thereof, manipulated racial and class differences or prejudices to facilitate the continued and unnecessary subjugation of the underclass.[38]

Hilary McD. Beckles has authored and edited several books, which, together with numerous other publications, have contributed to the body of knowledge on Caribbean History and West Indies cricket. These include his two-volume: The Development of West Indies Cricket. In Volume I, Beckles traces the social history of West Indies cricket through events such as the initial visit of the West Indies team to England in 1900, their defeat of England in 1950, which he regards as cataclysmic, the gender imperative, and resistance to racism in the West Indies and beyond. Beckles sees cricket as an agent of change and argues that racial and class differences, which were imbedded in the Victorian values that the sport embraced, became "carnivalised" in

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[36] C.L.R. James, Beyond a Boundary, 2nd Edition (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), 195-211.

[37] Ibid.

[38] C.L.R. James, The Case for West-Indian Self-Government (N.Y.C.: University Place Book Shop), 1967.

crowd responses which "became a barometer of political consciousness and a promoter of anti-systemic ideology".[39] Obviously, awareness of self as separate from the object being imitated is assumed to have driven this process of carnivalization, and Beckles, Brian Stoddart, Richard Burton and others provide varying views on this complex subject in Liberation Cricket: West Indies Cricket Culture, another volume which Beckles edited.[40]

Beckles argues further that liberation for West Indians cannot be seen only through the prism of politics, cricket, or both, although they are integral parts of that perspective. He contends that the colonials regarded politics and cricket as areas, among others, over which they exercised hegemonic control, and that the sheer weight of numbers of blacks accomplished their eventual domination of the formal structures of both areas.[41] In any event, the 1920's and 30's witnessed a heightened sense of dissatisfaction among the disenfranchised and dispossessed in the West Indies who saw Headley and other black cricketers as standard bearers for the liberation for which they hungered.[42] It is arguable also that it was in these clashes with the representatives of the increasingly detestable colonial structure that an increasing awareness of self took on an ever increasing importance.

Beckles argues for a landscape of cricket, that is both intellectual and physical, where three paradigms exist. The first, he claims, arose when Pelham Warner pointed out the foundational weakness of the colonial structure, although it is debatable that Warner saw either the threat to colonialism or the insistence of black claims for a level field on which to play. It is

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[39] Hilary McD. Beckles, The Development of West Indies Cricket, The Age of Nationalism, Vol. 1, (Kingston: The University of the West Indies Press, 1998), xvi-xix.

[40] Tim Hector, "Pan-Africanism, West Indies Cricket, and Viv Richards", A Spirit of Dominance: Cricket and Nationalism in the West Indies, Ed. Hilary McD. Beckles (Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press, 1998), 52. See also Richard D.E. Burton, "Cricket, Carnival and Street Culture in the Caribbean", Liberation Cricket: West Indies Cricket Culture, Ed, Hilary McD. Beckles and Brian Stoddart (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 89-106.

[41] Hilary McD. Beckles, "West Indies Cricket: Political Ideology", Liberation Cricket: West Indies Culture, 150-51.

[42] Michael Manley and Donna Symmonds, A History of West Indies Cricket, Revised Edition (London: Andre Deutsch, 1995), 55-58. Though it undeniable that the turbulence of those days ignited animosities that spilled over into violence, most of which was inflicted upon the under-class, it is beyond doubt that the common man was more concerned about food in his belly than political representation or Headley's hundreds, important though they were.

centered essentially on the inclusion of blacks in a West Indies team set to tour England at a time when racism was rampant throughout the West Indies. This shift in white attitudes toward race was less a result of overt black agitation, and more a call for pragmatism.[43] For Beckles, the second paradigm arose with the post-war nationalist agenda that clamored for political rights that would energize a movement toward political independence and a place atop the cricketing world.[44] Beckles has developed a third paradigm which I will discuss in my Conclusion. Regarding the first paradigm, Beckles seems to be arguing that the first major change in West Indian mentality within the context of cricket was the acceptance, by whites, of the reality of playing with black teammates, on the same team, against white opponents, in a white country. This was a remarkable development for race relations within the context of cricket, which would soon be belied by the upheavals of the mid-1930's and beyond. Beckles identifies the second paradigm as a desire for political independence and movement towards it. For Beckles, the crystallizing moment was West Indies victory over England at Lord's during the cricket series of 1950.[45] One has to look beyond the failed West Indies Federation in order to appreciate that black West Indians thirsted for independence, which would rid them of white overlordship. However, it is revealing that as black representation on the team increased, the more dysfunctional the team seemed to become, for the most part; and as the movement toward independence gathered steam concurrent with enfranchisement and increased education, the more silent and invisible whites tended to become.

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[43] Pelham Warner's suggestion that blacks be included in the West Indies team carried warnings that racism was a menace to the sport, and, more importantly, that English financial and other support were necessary to the success of the venture. See Hilary McD. Beckles, "The First 'West Indies' teams", Liberation Cricket , 195. Taken from Bruce Hamilton, Cricket in Barbados (Bridgetown, Advocate Press, 1947), 25. See also http://cricketarchive.com/Archive/Scorecards.html. Warner would obviously have been impressed by the bowling of Joseph Woods and Archibald Cumberbatch, the most accomplished West Indies fast bowlers, against whom his normally successful batting was woefully unproductive.

[44] Hilary McD. Beckles, The Development of West Indies Cricket: Vol. 2 The Age of Globalization (London: Pluto Press, 1998), xiv-xv.

[45] Hilary McD. Beckles, The Development of West Indies Cricket: Vol. 1, The Age of Nationalism (London: Pluto Press, 1998), xvi-xvii.

Keith Sandiford has written that colonizers and colonized, amateurs and professionals all engaged, though not jointly, in the search for identity, and that these searches produced continuity and dysfunction. [46] Continuity would have been likely if political and economic hegemony on the one hand, or feudal social structure on the other, was allowed to continue indefinitely, whereas dysfunctionality would prevail in the face of opposition to attempts to perpetuate either a hegemonic or a neo-feudal, largely socio-economic structure. It is the reality of dysfunctionality with which writers such on both sides of the Atlantic such as Searle and Beckles are mostly concerned. On the other hand, the fact that the sport of cricket is still being played in essentially the same manner as it was over a century ago speaks to the solid nature of its basic structure.

Despite the obvious success of these writers in explicating the West Indies dilemma, no concept comes closer in providing a clearer understanding of it than the concept of double silence. Beckles argues that through prostitution and concubinage, non-white women received or purchased their freedom and became property owners. He claimed further that, in addition to establishing a class within a race, this process also created a select group of freed blacks, most of whom were women.[47] This change in status and consequential shift in perception was assisted immensely by the preferential treatment in housing and work assignment shown to these lighter complexioned blacks. There developed an acceptance of a direct correlation between light complexion and social rank. These changes obviously did not improve the lot of those blacks at the lowest levels. Following emancipation, lower class blacks constituted the vast majority of those who were reduced to working in agriculture or migrating to towns. In either circumstance, they suffered the worst social, emotional, economic hardship of any group. It was for blacks at the lowest socio-economic levels then that cricket became the agent of change that would eventually remove the walls of separation behind which they had been hidden.

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[46] The Imperial Game: Cricket, Culture and Society, Ed. Brian Stoddart and Keith A.P. Sandiford (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), 1.

[47] Hilary McD. Beckles, "Property Rights in Pleasure: The Marketing of Enslaved Women's Sexuality", Caribbean Slavery in the Atlantic World Ed. Verene Shepherd and Hilary McD. Beckles (Jamaica: Ian Randle Publishers, 2000), 699.

In the 1830's, when colonial whites began to play cricket, these blacks were the ones required to retrieve lost balls and return balls to the pitch that had strayed beyond the field of play. They were therefore able to observe how the game was played and quickly determined that this was an activity which they could adapt to their circumstance when the opportunities arose. Deprived of educational and economic opportunities for advancement, they became the work-horses that facilitated the dreams of whites to master the game's most attractive activity, which was and is, batting. The fact that Wesley Hall served this purpose for Roy Marshall is clear proof that lower class blacks continued to experience double silencing into the 20th century. [48]

Sandiford's illuminating social history of Barbados shown through the influence of the elite schools help to reinforce the suitability of the concept of double silence. Very few blacks qualified for admission to these schools either educationally or financially.[49] Those blacks that did were more inclined to continue their education abroad and were lost to West Indian society thereafter. Those who remained were busily engaged in protecting any political, social or financial turf they had managed to acquire. It seems obvious therefore, that excelling at cricket was a far more meaningful accomplishment for lower class blacks than any other group. With fewer options for financial, and social progress, and because education, important as it is among West Indians, matters not at all on the cricket pitch, these blacks placed their prospects for improved self perception and identity on the sport. A brief look at the West Indies 1963 Test team as well as the list of players contracted to English leagues support my contention. In fact, by a strange irony, it is whites and light-skinned blacks that have been silenced in West Indies cricket at Test level since the 1963 series against England. It is debatable that this reversal, which may be justifiably claimed as reverse discrimination, may be a contributing factor to the decline of West Indies teams since 1996.

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[48] Roy Marshall, Jeffrey Stollmeyer and Jack Grant enlarge on this issue in their biographies previously cited.

[49] Frank Worrell attended Combermere School but could not find suitable employment after matriculation. Sobers, Kanhai, Hall, Griffith and other players on the 1963 team did not advance beyond secondary school.

Autobiographies written by West Indian cricketers such as Jack Grant, Wesley Hall, Rohan Kanhai, Garfield Sobers, Roy Marshall, Charlie Griffith, Frank Worrell, Everton Weekes, Andy Guanteaume, Jeffrey Stollmeyer, Roy Gilchrist, Conrad Hunte and particularly Learie Constantine, although not regarded as historiographically relevant, were very helpful in clarifying events that predated as well as included the Lord's Test. In addition, these personal glimpses provide valuable insights into the social and economic milieu that helped to define their and their teammates' lives. Because of the abundant availability of writings by English authors, there was less need to include most of them in this account. On the other hand, biographies, which are sometimes more credible than autobiographies, consume ninety seven pages of Barclays World of Cricket and provide very valuable information about most of these cricketers, although the vast majority of these accounts highlight the lives and accomplishments of English cricketers.[50]

Most of these West Indians wrote as narrators who were focused on recounting past events which they regarded as significant. With the exception of Roy Gilchrist, Andy Guanteaume, Charlie Griffith, Roy Marshall, Garry Sobers and Learie Constantine, their verbal canvas seemed to be restricted to their personal worlds. Gilchrist's Hit Me for Six possesses a belligerence implied in its title, while Guanteaume's remorse because of his continued non-selection for matches and the singular disregard by cricketing establishments for his "highest batting average in Test cricket" color their accounts. In his Chucked Around, Griffith shows concern over a presumed bodily threat that some English batsmen saw in his physical stature and sphinx-like expression. His concern is mirrored by Hall's chagrin in his Pace like Fire, over the injury to Cowdrey's arm during the Lord's test. Roy Marshall, the only white member of this group, while readily admitting that his race allowed him privileges that were denied to blacks, seems embittered because of his limited Test experience, which appears to have been a function of the quality of the competition for selection which he faced during this period of West Indies cricket.

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[50] Barclays World of Cricket, 134-232.

The angst felt by these men is evident in their writing and less in their playing, except in the case of Gilchrist, who was summarily removed from the West Indies team on tour in India because of his disregard for his "white" captain's instructions.[51] This type of authoritarian approach to decision making was characteristic of white West Indies captains, however, most West Indian autobiographers were not inclined to point this out except by innuendo.[52] What differentiates them from most of the latter group of writers who played during the era of dominance – mid 1970's to mid-1980's – was a consciousness of their place in stream of time.[53] Their autobiographies speak eloquently of being highly motivated to win (Clive Lloyd, 2012), of winning as an expression of national and racial pride (Vivian Richards, 1991), and cultural pride (Desmond Haynes, 1993). There is an obvious separation between the earlier Constantine's frustrations, the later Worrell and Sobers' attitudes that reflected various levels of comfort with their achievements, and the players of the 1975-1985, who dominated world cricket. A case can be made that the later decline of the team may be attributable to the West Indian cricketers' minimization of race as a crucial factor in dominance combined with the adoption by the rest of the cricketing world many of the West Indies team strategies with resounding success.[54]

Following this Preface, this study is divided into five chapters, and end with a reasonably brief Conclusion. Chapter one will discuss the development of the sport in England from the early eighteenth century, and in the West Indies from about 1890. The discussion ends at 1928, when West Indies played its first Test match against England, in England. This chapter will discuss

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[51] Roy Gilchrist, Hit Me for Six (London: Stanley Paul & Co. Ltd.), 1963. See also Trinidad Guardian, May 27, 1963, 15. Gilchrist was sent home in disgrace for disobeying his white captain's orders to cease his bowling attack on Indian batsmen during the 1958 West Indies tour. He was reported to have written a letter of apology to the W.I.C.B.C. in which he also asked for reinstatement to the team.

[52] Dominic Malcolm, "'It's not Cricket': Colonial Legacies and Contemporary Inequalities", Journal of Historical Sociology, Vol. 14 No. 3, September 2001, 268. Among the West Indian writers who might have had conflicts with Jeffrey Stollmeyer, Andy Guanteuame was most outspoken in his appraisal of Stollmeyer's leadership. Even Frank Worrell was unusually reticent in his autobiographical comments.

[53] The Spirit of Dominance: Cricket and Nationalism in the West Indies, Ed. Hilary Mc.D Beckles (Jamaica: Canoe Press, University of the West Indies), 1998.

[54] Ray Goble and Keith A.P. Sandiford, 75 Years of West Indies Cricket 1928-2003 (London: Hansib Publications Ltd., 2004), 28.

issue of race and class issues in both geographical areas and the ways in which both factors impacted the sport. Thus emphasis will be placed on the spread of the sport throughout the British Empire at the time when that nation was the most powerful in the world. In contrast, the West Indian situation will showcase groups of culturally, socially, economically, racially and politically diverse people occupying several geographical outposts, with the least powerful group succeeding, to a point, in claiming the recognition it sought.

Chapter two begins with the admission of West Indies to Test cricket status and discusses the changes in the team's fortunes. It will show how changes in social, economic and political events in the islands impact team selection, team racial composition, team leadership, and the professionalization of the sport as West Indian cricketers migrated, mostly to the United Kingdom, in order to enhance their professional and financial status. The discussion of England's team will show how they continued to foster the development of the sport as a capitalist enterprise throughout what was now the Commonwealth. The chapter will culminate with a change in team leadership on both sides, and how these changes impacted the approaches taken as they approached the 1963 Lord's test.

The third chapter is mostly descriptive and provides an explanation of the game of cricket. This discussion will cover the forms that the game assumes, its physical parts such as the ground, pitch, and the equipment needed in order to play the game such as ball, bat, stumps and bails. This chapter will also include a discussion of the activities that must take place during the game such as bowling, fielding and batting. Additionally, this chapter provides brief explanation of the language of the sport and a description of its laws with brief definitions, scope and purpose. This chapter will end with description of a hypothetical game. A prime purpose for this chapter is to explain the game at its basic level so that differences in approaches taken by English and West Indian participants and audiences may be appreciated.

Chapter four is both narrative and descriptive. It begins with a brief description of the position of England and West Indies prior to the start of this match in order to show how important this game's outcome was for both teams. Next follows a number of insights into how each team's

selection committee approached choosing its team and how they assessed the variables that would affect the outcome. Each team member is then assessed with the objective of determining through his potential contribution, the likely outcome of the match. This is followed by an explanation of the value of winning the toss. Each of the four innings is then described, and graphs are used to supplement to the verbal presentation. The chapter ends with a summary of the reactions of the audience at the venue as well as the wider wireless audience as reflections of cultural differences among West Indians and the English.

Chapter five is the final chapter and it provides an analysis of the match. One of the aims of this chapter is to discuss risk as a function of culture, and to assess its importance to the match's outcome, but, more importantly, to the manner in which that outcome is approached by both teams. In addition, risk as a function of the weather, batting or bowling performance at crucial points during the match is considered as well as the impact of the crowd in attendance. An appraisal of the experience and cumulative talents on each team is presented. Each innings is analyzed based on batting partnerships. This author is not aware of another account in which a partnership approach is used, and in which graphs are used as additional analytical tools.

This study is focused more on the importance of cricket for West Indians who see in the sport almost the one activity whereby they are able to demonstrate equality with other peoples. West Indians cannot claim significant economic, political, artistic, scientific, architectural or other accomplishments on the world stage. In fact in the area of athletics, where presumably they might be "expected" to excel, they have shown a remarkable lack of success. In short, it is only in cricket that West Indians have been able to appropriate a sport, refashion it and invest it with their own cultural perspectives, then challenge those from whom they had wrested it, and dominate them. To most of the rest of the world, cricket might be a game, but to many West Indians, it comes close to being his *raison d'ê·tre.*

CHAPTER 1

DEVELOPMENTS IN ENGLISH AND WEST INDIES TO 1928

This chapter will discuss the development of cricket in the West Indies and England and will focus mainly on the period beginning in 1891, the year in which West Indian colonial cricket teams first became engaged in inter-island competition, through the mid to late 1950's. It will also discuss the visits of English teams of varying strengths beginning with Slade Lucas and continuing to the mid-twentieth century, as well as exchange of visits between the MCC team and West Indies combined and representative teams, ending in 1928 with the admission of the West Indies team into Test cricket competition. Additionally, it will discuss developments taking place in England following the establishment of the MCC as the foremost authority on the sport, the growth and expansion of Test cricket from an English perspective, and the development of a mentality that relegated cricketers engaged by league clubs to tertiary status, county players to a secondary status and Test cricketers to the highest level of all. Emphasis will be placed on the Trans-Atlantic aspect of the West Indies versus England contests and will develop an argument for an inherent racism in the treatment by England of West Indian cricketers as secondary cricketers despite the evidence to the contrary. The discussion will also cover the make-up of West Indian teams comparing the performances of combined and representative teams in order to demonstrate the obduracy of the racist ruling class, in the face of compelling evidence, that demanded a redress of the teams' racial composition. The purpose of these parallel discussions is to elaborate on the double silence experienced by non-white, which is one of the major themes of this dissertation. Finally, this chapter will discuss improvements in the quality of individual West Indian's cricketing abilities which will be contrasted with their island's team's performance as well as that of the combined and representative teams. These contrasts became an embarrassment

for many West Indians, especially non-whites, for whom cricket had far greater symbolic importance compared to whites. They therefore saw an inverse relationship between white leadership on and off the field, and team success; and therefore desired the establishment of a new paradigm.

English Beginnings

It is generally accepted that the game of cricket was being played on the village greens of Kent, Surrey and Essex prior to the eighteenth century.[1] It is also readily accepted that some social demarcations had already been determined because although the games' purpose was fun, the aristocracy were "too clever and genteel to play".[2] We may also deduce that there were variations to its format, a state of affairs that created some confusion as the sport expanded beyond the village green. This unsettled state became further complicated as members of Britain's social elite began to reap financial benefits from placing bets on the outcomes of games played mainly among their servants.[3] Soon, cricket was being played in several counties, but the one constant was the presence of the aristocracy who saw in these fixtures, opportunities to profit from the skills of their employees. It is likely also that when the first Code of Laws was devised at the Artillery Ground in Middlesex in 1744, this control device was intended to limit widespread gambling as well as establishing standards for the proper playing of the game.[4] The introduction of costumes for players added a semblance of order and no doubt created an aura of gaiety which widened the field of contestants, increased the distances separating match venues, and made necessary the codifying of the rules in order that behavioral and other standards might be set and thereafter enforced.

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1 Allen Guttman, Sports (Amherst: University of Massachusetts, 2004), 68; See also R.S. Rait Kerr, The Laws of Cricket: Their History and Growth (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1950), 1.

2 Andrew Lang, "The History of Cricket", Imperial Cricket, Ed. P.F. Warner (London: The London and Counties Press Asso. Ltd., 1912), 57.

3 E.D.R. Eagar, "History of the Game in England – Origins", Barclays World of Cricket: the Game from A to Z, 2nd Edition, Ed. E.W. Swanton and John Woodcock (London: Collins Publishers, 1980), 2.

4 Barclays World of Cricket, 4. Eagar claims that as much as £20,000 was wagered on some matches.

With the coming of the Industrial Revolution which brought with it, in particular, widespread growth in transportation and the availability of money, the economy grew and leisure time expanded to include the lower classes. By this time, the aristocracy had moved beyond merely capitalizing on the games and was participating in matches which they took the lead in organizing. Among these early cricketers was Frederick, Prince of Wales and son of King George II, who, as early as 1723, had become "the life and soul of Surrey cricket".[5] Thus began the Royal Family's support for the sport. Although its princes became less active in the game over time, the family's visibility had been maintained conspicuously by the presentation of the teams to the reigning monarch during Lord's Tests. This is a tradition that is exclusive to Lord's and is the highlight of many cricketers' careers. In fact, this ceremony, though lacking in the grandeur reserved for some official occasions, is arguably what constitutes a major rational for the perception of Lord's as the locus for the sport, its laws and authority, and guardian of the sport's traditions.

The Hambledon Club, formed sometime between 1750 and 1760, introduced among other innovations a more scientific approach to the playing of the game, the idea of the movement of masses of people across comparatively large distances to watch matches, as well as the idea of club membership and the payment of fees for the privilege. A consequence of these and other monetary transactions was the realization that players were automatically club members and that they should be paid for their services. Thus began the early professionalization of the sport through the payment of a stipend for playing and practice, which were followed shortly by the imposition of penalties for shortcomings of various kinds.[6] It is remarkable that the aristocrats of the time were sensitive to the potential loss of income to their players during their required practice sessions. By 1787, the Marylebone Cricket Club (MCC) had been formed in response to the growth of London into an economic hub of the country, and the movement of large numbers

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5 Ibid.

6 Ibid. 5.

of people to its center and suburbs. By the turn of the century, Lord's had become a beacon for everything that the best in cricket represented.[7]

Cricket in England could not have expanded without the infusion of capital mostly from aristocrats. Quite often, these men devised ways to eke out a return no matter how small. In time, they saw in cricket opportunities for enrichment. Most of the improvements in the manufacturing of balls, bats, pads and stumps happened during the Hambledon period when science intruded into the world of cricket. It helped that the 1744 edition of the laws contained stipulations regarding physical dimensions, weight, so that officials who were required to ascertain players' conformity to these requirements had a legal foundation on which to act, and an authoritative body in MCC upon which to depend for support. As a result, John Small and David Harris manufactured balls, Pett of Sevenoaks became famous as a bat maker all in the eighteenth century and the Dukes of Penhurst established a ball manufacturing business during the nineteenth century.[8] The state of industry in England was such that involvement by anyone who wished to engage in the sport for profit was encouraged to do so with expectation of success. In addition, the general euphoria surrounding these matches as the sport spread across the land ensured that the traditions that it was spawning would last.

Cricket further expanded with the growth of county, league and club engagements, as well as school and university games and championships. Participation in the sport had continued to build as MCC established itself as the final authority on all things pertaining to the sport. By the middle of the nineteenth century, Kent had been joined by Sussex and Nottinghamshire as the premier teams whose contests continued to draw large crowds. In addition, as more talented players became professionals, the ranks of the amateurs were being depleted through their failures to excel or to appear at matches. Soon Yorkshire, Cambridgeshire, Norfolk, Lancashire, and notably, Middlesex and Gloucestershire began fielding their own teams. The last two named were composed mainly of amateurs, and Gloucestershire, in particular, rose to prominence, as

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[7] Ibid. 7.

[8] H.S. Altham and E.W. Swanton, A History of Cricket, Fifth Impression Fourth Edition (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1949), 28-29.

did the status of the amateur, through the strength, personality, business acumen and cricketing ability of the famous W.G. Grace.[9]

From the late 1820's, public schools in England engaged in cricket contests with Eton, Harrow and Winchester, winning more than fifty nine percent of all matches played.[10] Contests between Oxford and Cambridge did not draw large crowds as the quality of their play was below the standard of the day. Besides, the universities' lack of organization was typified by several shortcomings, not the least of which was their lack of permanent facilities.[11] If the public schools and universities did not adequately represent amateurism in England, neither did the amateurs who played in the Gentlemen v. Players contests, which were begun in 1806. Pelham Warner claims that there was arguably no other single tradition that illustrated the attitude of the English toward class distinction than that embodied in these contests, which became the most popular fixtures in England until they were eclipsed by Test matches.[12] When the idea was first conceived in 1798, the proposed title was Gentlemen v. Commoners.[13] This change is a testament to the perceptiveness of its originators that that title could cause potential damage to the social relationships that undergirded the sport and were necessary to its success. In any event, these contests were played from 1806 until 1962, when the amateur designation was finally and permanently removed.

West Indies Beginnings

West Indies cricket did not begin in quite the same manner as did cricket in England. In fact, when the sport was first introduced into the islands, the intent was to restrict it to contests between teams of white players. There was apparently no intention on the part of some members of the British military who are credited with having introduced the game to the islands, that is, if the story behind the image imbedded on mud-covered belt buckle found beside the River Tweed

9 Altham and Swanton, 117.
10 Ibid. 119.
11 Ibid. 124.
12 Pelham Warner, Gentlemen v. Players (London: George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd., 1950), 13.
13 Ibid.

in Scotland by Clive Williams is to be believed.[14] The role of the slave as batsman stands in stark contrast with the role to which blacks were restricted when, at first they were allowed to play with colonials. This role reversal that was imposed on blacks has probably been the single-most hindrance to the development of West Indies cricket. Cricket is a sport which requires the use of a wide assortment of equipment, a well prepared playing area located at the center of a much larger, grassy space, and sufficient time to allow for the duration of at least two innings. The number of players required is relative to time, space and other negotiable variables.

The cost involved in playing the game would have been prohibitive for most middle class whites and impossible for blacks in early eighteenth-century West Indies. When that is compounded by the inability, due to lack of a sound industrial base, to manufacture this equipment locally, it then becomes patently obvious that blacks just could not afford to play the game. Thus, the idea of a cricket match was based on whites playing against one another in clubs, which were soon organized, to fill moments of leisure. There was no attempt to institutionalize it in such a way as to make use of the talents that blacks had acquired through the use of home-made implements. The game was viewed as occupying a space that belonged to whites, and blacks, when they were allowed to enter, would be expected to play only those roles to which they were assigned. This mentality, ingrained by several generations of racial dominance, and buttressed by economic, political, military, educational and social silence, persisted after the abolition of slavery. The ruling class showed no inclination toward any significant change in the status quo.

Reinforcing these beliefs also meant that colonials found it necessary to demonstrate to those whites in the "mother country" that they had not become tainted by the sun but had risen above its debilitating effects. This widely accepted myth reverberated in the consciousness of

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[14] Clem Seecharan, Muscular Learning: Cricket and Education in the Making of the British West Indies at the End of the 19th Century (Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 2006), 8-9. Taken from Richard D.E. Burton, Afro-Creole: Power, Opposition and Play in the Caribbean (Ithaca, N.Y.; Cornell University Press, 1997), 30. The image on the belt buckle featured a black man wearing a slave collar ring batting in a West Indian setting. The dating for the scene was determined to be some time in the 1780's.

British colonials who felt a compulsion to be absolved from its effects. Brian Stoddart supports this position when he claims that West Indian whites built and organized their cricket clubs on the British model. He argues that their motive was for cricket to demonstrate to white Europeans that those socio-cultural values that identified with England were being perpetuated in colonial society.[15] Since cricket encompassed all those manly virtues the English were expected to transplant wherever the Union Jack flew, it followed that defeating teams from England would exonerate these colonials. It is strange that it did not occur to the colonials that by affording the blacks opportunities for self and community improvement that their own civilizing mission *vis a vis* the blacks would be advanced and they could thus secure allies through whose help they might demonstrate equality with their continental cousins. Unfortunately, this would have meant risking treating blacks as equals, and worse yet, collaborating with them in the debasement of their own kind. As it was, they formed exclusive clubs, set up elite schools from which blacks were excluded, and then sent their children off, mostly to England, for further study toward professional degrees. Thus they forged a system that consigned non-whites to positions of inferiority based on a racist ideology.

In the West Indies, a rigid three-tiered structure of society had created levels of silence designed to ensure that the lines separating them remained intact. The cash-crop approach to agriculture generally limited productivity to a major crop, which was sugar, as well as secondary crops such as cocoa, bananas mainly in Jamaica, as well as oil in Trinidad. The West Indies economy was based on agriculture, which set the limits to employment and therefore the technological and manufacturing infrastructure necessary to facilitate a stable, if not a healthy lifestyle. Shipping, marketing, the enforcement of strategically placed tariffs of all kinds, and other institutionally based elements of business were under the control of those whites situated at the highest level of West Indian society. However, these elements existed within a system based on

[15] Brain Stoddart, "Cricket and Colonialism in the English-speaking Caribbean to 1914: Towards a Cultural Analysis", Liberation Cricket: West Indies Cricket Culture, Ed. Hilary McD. Beckles and Brian Stoddart (Manchester: University Press, 1995.), 14-15.

social inequalities that began to create disquiet especially among those located at its base, and who by the middle to late 1930's felt compelled to change it.[16]

There were several hindrances to financial success in this environment, not the least of which was the migration of revenues to England, which augmented the difficulty of those at the base of the economic pyramid to feed themselves. Another hindrance to a flourishing economy was the importation of practically all goods, including food, because all available land was being used for the production of cash crops. At the top of the three-tiered socio-economic structure previously referenced were those few who were small landowners, retailers, and professionals, who were mainly doctors and lawyers. Below them were retailers and even smaller owners of land, and last of all came laborers who were at the mercy of those two tiers higher. As a result, most blacks could not afford to purchase these sporting goods, and for those that could, after having paid customs duties imposed by the same whites, the cost was prohibitive.

Social mobility in the West Indies was highly craved particularly as it offered very few avenues through which blacks, in particular, could achieve it. Quite often, complexion was a determinant of employment and promotion, marrying someone whose complexion was above one's shade or race, were challenges that most West Indian blacks might never overcome. Thus, education provided pathways along which blacks might become professionals, acquire wealth, political or other influence, and "arrive" at levels of social acceptability above those to which they might otherwise had been consigned. Education was not universally available, was costly, and was racially structured. In addition, those persons entrusted with its growth and perpetuation were particularly concerned with its alignment and permeation with Victorian values, which included a self-help ethos that helped to form the base for the emergence of the black middle class.[17] Christianity was inseparable from education not only because the religious denominations had

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[16] Algernon E. Espinall, The British West Indies: Their History, Resources and Progress (London: Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons Ltd., 1912), 158-212. In these chapters the author who was one of the earliest Chairmen of the West Indies Committee gives very useful insights into the successes and failures that characterized the West Indies post-slavery economy. His objective approach is sufficient to inform the still ongoing debate focused on the role of the West Indies economy in the failure of the West Indies Federation.

[17] Muscular Learning, 20.

multiplied and spread throughout the islands, but because they operated the many elementary and some secondary schools which were the sole means whereby most blacks might acquire an education. The education, which they provided to those who completed their entire program, was sufficient to prepare their graduates for employment as teachers, lower level civil service employees, artisans and farmers with small holdings.

The Barbados Cricket Association (B.C.A.), incorporated in 1933 by an Act of Parliament, replaced the Barbados Cricket Committee, which had been formed in the 1890's to control local competitions and orchestrate the itineraries of visiting teams. The pioneering arm of the B.C.A. consisted of graduates from mainly Harrison College and Lodge School who felt impressed to organize team competitions. In 1936, the Barbados Cricket League (B.C.L.) was organized in order to bring leadership and coordination to non-white teams that were excluded from membership in the almost all-white B.C.A. A Barbados Softball Cricket Association and Barbados Tapeball Cricket Association emerged as well, and beyond these trade unions, church organizations and businesses arranged matches on a regular basis. According to Brian Stoddart, there might have been as many as 1000 matches played during a normal cricket season.[18] Everton Weekes inserts a telling footnote in his autobiography when he points out that he played for Westshire in the B.C.L. at the same time when Worrell and Walcott both played for Combermere in the B.C.A. However, when Weekes entered the army at about eighteen years of age, he was selected to play for the Garrison Sports Club, which was affiliated with the B.C.A.[19] It seems then that some degree of democratization had seeped into Barbados cricket after all and was very likely fostered by the promise of excellence shown in the wide range of contests that were played.

With some exceptions, the early development of cricket in Jamaica, Guyana and Trinidad followed the pattern of Barbados. A two-tier club system ensured separation according to race,

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[18] Brian Stoddart, "Cricket, social Formation and Cultural Continuity in Barbados: A Preliminary Ethnohistory", Liberation Cricket: West Indies Cricket Culture, Ed. Hilary McD Beckles and Brian Stoddart (Manchester: Manchester University Press< 1995), 66.

[19] Everton DeCourcey Weekes with Hilary McD Beckles, Mastering the Craft: Ten Years of Weekes, 1948-1958 (Jamaica: University of the Caribbean Press, 2007), 49-51.

class, profession, wealth, and other accepted criteria. Military parade grounds became the fixtures for important matches in the primary islands of Guyana, Jamaica, Trinidad and Barbados. The inaugural first class match was played at the Garrison Savannah in 1864 in Barbados, and when Guyana returned the challenge a year later, the location for the match was Eve Leary Parade Ground in Georgetown. Trinidad joined the contest in 1869 and played the visiting Guyanese at Queen's Park Savannah. Matches played in Barbados continued to be held at the Garrison Savannah until 1883, when Bay Pasture, Wanderers Cricket Club ground, was used in a match against Guyana.[20] When the Gentlemen of the United States toured the West Indies in 1887, matches were held at four separate locations in Jamaica, at Bourda in Georgetown, Guyana, and at Warner Park in St Kitts. In other words, cricket grounds had sprung up as interest in the sport widened across the archipelago. An interesting footnote to all this is the fact that Slade Lucas' XI played at Chinese Oval in St Ann's Bay in Jamaica.[21]

The marked increase in the number of these cricket grounds and their use during these and other contests is not necessarily an indication of inter-racial play within or among teams. However, their existence gave some impetus to the development of additional grounds where, for example, the teams comprising the B.C.L. organization in Barbados soon established their own grounds, or arranged the use of others. The existence of these fields where the youth of the islands saw their favorite players play against one another or in friendly matches against white teams filled their minds with dreams of one day being able to play there.[22] However, the growth of the sport seemed to encourage the hardening rather than the softening or removal of the color bar that had been used to suppress non-whites, as blacks were used by whites mainly as bowlers to improve the batting ability of their teammates and sons, or conversely, to depress the batting ability of opposing teams. This ruse had its basis in racism, and was further compounded in time by denying these same bowlers the right to represent their colony at the highest level.

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20 http://cricketarchive.com, 2/06/2011.

21 http://cricketarchive.com/Archive/Grounds/30/4662.html, 2/06/2011.

22 Clem Seecharan, From Ranji to Rohan: Cricket and Indian Identity in Colonial Guyana, 1890's – 1960's (Herefordshire: Hansib Publications Limited, 2009), 24. See also Mastering the Craft, 52, 54.

This practice did not make for open-mindedness and cooperation. In fact, it created distrust, jealousies and prejudices of one kind or another.[23] Because community was quite often tied to complexion, and because it was desirable for individuals of mixed parentage to approach as close as possible to whiteness, the ideal of social progress was generally perceived as penetrating layers of silence rather than navigating a path around them. As a result, combined West Indies teams were generally weaker than individual island teams. This state of affairs is shown in the results from Arthur Priestley's tour, but more importantly from the MCC's which would be crucial to the future development of the sport in West Indies.[24]

In 1926, H.G.B. Austin, captain of the Barbados colonial team and member of Barbados plantocracy, established a Board of Control to oversee the selection of players to represent the region in upcoming Test matches beginning with those against England in 1928. Austin, Carl Nunes of Jamaica, and others involved in the sport were aware of the absolute necessity to do this in order to demonstrate to MCC their organizational preparedness for the privilege they were soon to be given. However, they were still beset by problems of race, insularity and an autocratic approach to governance that, whereas it might have been excusable at first, failed to take cognizance of the changes that were beginning to change the face of politics in the West Indies. Riots that signaled a distaste for a gradualism where subsistence was an issue requiring immediate fixing, the expansion of suffrage in all island and its consequential impact on political representation should have been loud warnings of changes that were in the making. Most of all, the movement to federalize the governments of the islands should, by itself, have spoken of the imminent death of certain forms of racism.

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[23] Learie Constantine, "Cricket in the Sun", Learie Constantine and Denzil Batchelor, The Changing Face of Cricket (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1966), 132.

[24] http://cricketarchive.com/Archive/Events/WI.html.

Race and Class Prejudice in England

For the British, there is very little solid evidence of overt racism during the period under discussion for the obvious reason that the non-white population in England was not significant.[25] Classism had always existed and had injected into cricket modes of behavior on and off the field of play that became part of the essence and language of the sport. Professionalism became part of the landscape of English cricket as a result of the assessment of fees to see games, widespread gambling, the sport increasingly becoming the mainstay in the livelihood of the players, and sponsorship of players and teams by the nobility. In time, because of these sponsorships, and because of societal predispositions regarding separation by class, amateurs and professionals became the acknowledged terms by which cricketers came to be designated. This partitioning represented the two major forces that determined, to a great extent, the relationships between these social groups. The term amateurs, used to designate gentlemen, sprang from an essentially Victorian mindset which was identified with the imposition of the nobler aspects of the human character on human behavior. An Edwardian mindset, while not necessarily undermining these necessary behavioral determinants, emphasized a more utilitarian application of them. Whereas classism might be an appropriate appellation for demarcating domestic social distinctions, the British were not skittish about using race along with its innumerable hybrids that result from inevitable miscegenation as the lines that denoted levels of privilege within society. Thus throughout the empire, the British established systems designed to foster and perpetuate these distinctions even as they tolerated the availability of avenues whereby the under-class might emerge from their necessitude.

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[25] For a discussion of racism beyond England's national borders but within it's the British Empire, see Jack Williams, "Cricket, Race and Empire before 1914" in Cricket and Race (Oxford: Berg Editorial offices), 2004. See also Jonathan Long, Mark Nesti, et al, Crossing the Boundary: A Study of the Nature and extent of Racism in Local League Cricket (Leeds: Leeds Metropolitan University), 1997. The result of interviews and surveys conducted in and around Yorkshire found that minority membership on cricket teams did not reflect racial demographics, that playing characteristics were used to determine player selection and role, that minorities were generally not considered for coaching, administrative or managerial positions on cricket clubs, and that "sledging" was a common occurrence among spectators and some teams.

By 1928, most county organizations had been established and inter-county matches, tournaments as well as extra-county matches involving visiting national teams were classified as First Class matches. Since these matches generally lasted three days, and the cricketers who were engaged by these clubs depended on their earnings for their subsistence, they were regarded as professionals. However, leadership and captaincy continued to be the preserve of the amateur who was required to be self-sufficient as well as possessed of an innate quality that destined that individual to guide the affairs of other men and society. Thus the gentleman, as the amateur was called, assumed the mantle of captaincy through the circumstance of birth, which usually also enabled him to be self-supporting, empowered him to demand respect from those he led without pandering to any teammate's strengths or weaknesses, and imbued him with the ability to distance himself from the men he led and to make objective decisions that were, presumably, in the best interest of the team and the organizations it represented.

Racism in cricket in England therefore tended to be more subtle and systemic than overt. However, a racist predisposition nevertheless determined the manner in which club membership, the landscape at Lord's, and the scheduling of overseas teams' tournaments in England showed a consistent minimizing of West Indian and other non-white teams. By 1928, when West Indies became a Test cricket nation but prior to its first engagement at that level, England had played 114 Test matches against Australia and forty four against South Africa.[26] South Africans became proactively involved in cricket after the sport was introduction there in 1860. In fact, although South Africa was granted Test status in 1904, by then it had played fifty eight matches against English teams, many of them non-representative. MCC nevertheless retroactively granted Test status to these matches, an action that may have been prompted by the comparatively large number of championship cup tournaments in which South Africans engaged consistently over time.[27]

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[26] Barclays World of Cricket, 283,284,292.

[27] http://cricketarchive.com/Archive/Events/RSA.html, 01/04/2011.

Table1.1 Test Matches Played 1876-1928

Dates	Opponents	Matches Played	Wins	Losses	Draws
1876-1926	England vs. Australia	114	42	47	25
1888-1928	England vs. South Africa	44	26	10	8
1902-1922	Australia vs. South Africa	14	9	1	4
Total		**172**	**77**	**58**	**37**

Note: Australia played 3 Test matches against South Africa prior to the latter team being awarded Test match status. Underlining denotes the teams to which the results apply.

Table 1.1 shows the total of all matches played from 1876 and 1928 between England, Australia and South Africa, the only authorized Test playing nations between those years. Of the fifty eight total Test matches that South Africa played against these teams, they won eleven, drew twelve and lost thirty five. In addition, South Africa played forty four of these matches against England for an average engagement of more than one match per year. This frequency was half as much as that for the Australians. However, during the fifty years of matches, Australia showed a consistent pattern of dominance over England that was to continue into the future. These differences in performance may be attributed to a felt need, ascribed to some Australians, to defeat the English at their own game in order to compensate for the social stigma that the English had applied to them.[28] This pattern did not obtain with regard to South Africa which continued to engage, particularly with England, in Test matches despite their racist ideology. In fact, from 1888 until 1904, the year in which South Africa was granted Test status, these teams had played eighty matches which are recorded as test matches. This accommodation is referred to as a "generous attitude of authority", which was not allowed West Indies. In fact the 1928 West Indies faced the toughest team that England could field at the

[28] Donald Akenson, The Irish Diaspora (Belfast: The Queen's University of Belfast, 1996), 92-4. Akenson argues that criminals of Irish descent transported to Australia represented a small minority of the migrant population, that they were common criminals instead of political prisoners, and were soon assimilated into the general population. It is unlikely that they held any long-standing grudge against the English that might have shown itself on the cricket ground.

time.[29] At the same time, the difference in the treatment of these two nations cannot be viewed merely as an indulgence of one group over another, but must be judged in the light of the position represented by A. F. Somerset, a greater than average cricketer who represented England in the early twentieth century. He regarded the matches played by representative England teams against "combined" West Indies teams as Test matches, even though he allowed that early West Indies teams did not reflect the best talents throughout the islands.[30]

Race and Class Prejudice in the West Indies

The West Indies is a chain of islands stretching roughly from Florida in the United States to Venezuela in South America. Of this group, the British West Indies consists of Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Guyana, Barbados, St Vincent, St Lucia, Dominica, Grenada, Antigua and Barbuda, St Kitts, Nevis, Anguilla, Montserrat, and the Bahamas. These islands are separated geographically with Jamaica, the largest and most populous of them being over a thousand miles away from Guyana, which is the most southerly. Guyana is actually not linked geographically with the West Indies as it is located in the northern part of South America. It is also not linked politically, and was not associated with the short-lived Federation which existed from 1958 to 1962. Following the disintegration of the Federation, the islands, with very few exceptions, have achieved political independence, although economic cooperation has been seen in a succession of organizations, and the continued growth and expansion of the University of the West Indies speaks to the realization of the need for alliance in the field of advanced education.[31] The West Indies cricket team is composed of eleven qualifying players from these countries; and it is regarded as a national team although there is no West Indies nation.

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[29] Barclays World of Cricket, 287.

[30] Imperial Cricket, Ed. P.F. Warner (London: The London and Counties Press Association Ltd., 1912), 462. Even at this early date, it was clearly obvious that West Indies national teams were weakened as a result of insularity, and racism.

[31] Following the break-up the following West Indies island became independent: Jamaica(1962), Trinidad and Tobago(1962), Barbados(1966), Guyana(1966), Grenada(1974), Dominica(1978), St. Lucia(1979), St. Vincent and the Grenadines(1979), Antigua and Barbuda(1981), St. Kitts and Nevis(1983). Since the break-up of the Federation, several attempts have been made at political and economic unification including The West Indies Associated States(1967), Caribbean Community and Common Market(1973), and The Organization of Eastern Caribbean States(1981).

Blacks, descendants of former African slaves, make up the majority of the population and are to be found in all of the islands. Indians, who originated from the Asian sub-continent, and whose presence, mainly in Guyana and Trinidad, has impacted the politics and economics of these countries significantly, are the next largest demographic group. The smallest segments consist of whites and Chinese. This last group is to be found in their largest numbers in Guyana and Jamaica. Additionally, there is, as a direct result of the co-mingling of these races, a vast group of racial hybrids is to be found in all of these islands. These hybrids in turn have produced mixtures of physical types known as octoroons, quadroons, mulattos and an assortment of other terms. These terms are unscientifically related to the perceived combinations of racial features discernable in an individual's physical make-up. What is crucial in this complex social marketplace is that a non-white person's class is determined by a combination of the proximity of his hybridity with whiteness combined with his economic and social status.[32] The British did not establish legal boundaries that prescribed racial separation as occurred in South Africa. Instead, racial variations pronounced in facial and tonal appearance and specific to the various hybrid groups, became the determinant of an individual's eligibility for social, economic and political success.

The Post-Emancipation history of the West Indies may be regarded as a series of attempts by colonial whites to recapture the power and the prestige which had begun to collapse even before the 1834 emancipation decree. The emancipation of slavery in the West Indies would pit demands by the newly freed slaves for social, economic and political recognition against a colonial mentality still conditioned by a master-slave paradigm. A third force, political and based in England, would attempt to negotiate a path that would promote progress for both. However, a crucial aspect of the problem was that between these two groups there was no meaningful dialogue. Furthermore, while the former slaves were energized by a desire to create better lives

[32] Christopher Nicole, The West Indies: Their People and History (London: Hutchinson and Co. [Publishers] Ltd., 1965), 214-5.

for themselves, the old plantocracy had once more faded back into English society leaving behind colonials who seemed resolved to resist any change that might challenge their position.

Eric Williams, Christopher Nicole, Lord Oliver and Isaac Dookhan agree that following emancipation in 1834, the movement toward acquisition of land by blacks, which had predated that event escalated, especially in the larger islands like Jamaica, Trinidad and Guyana.[33] Land acquisition was one of several ways in which freed slaves abandoned the estates to which they were formerly attached. This resulted in decreased sugar production, increased production cost, increased movement, particularly of blacks, from the country to towns which created slums and unemployment problems, the abandonment or sale of unprofitable estates at severely reduced prices, and an increase in size of a self-aware West Indian middle class. After emancipation, when colonials were required to pay the now freed slaves for their labor, in many cases, they either could not, or refused to do this, exacerbating many of the problems that already existed.[34]

The British government made several attempts to alleviate the terrible conditions that defined the lives of those blacks living at the lowest socioeconomic level and, at the same time, to rescue the livelihoods of the past and present colonials who were beset by a number of problems. For the latter group, these problems were decreased levels of productivity, a general downward trend in the price of sugar in the face of increased competition particularly from Cuba, Haiti and Brazil, and competition from beet sugar grown in Europe. The Sugar Duties Act of 1846, the Encumbered Estates Act of 1854, in addition to several Commissions from 1832 to the twentieth century that were sent out to study the worsening conditions in the West Indies met with limited or no success.[35] These failures were caused by the inability or refusal of colonials to see freed blacks as a vital factor in their own success. Hence they viewed the recommendations of these

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[33] Ibid. 206-08; Lord Oliver, Jamaica: The Blessed Isle (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1936), 128-142; Eric Williams, History of the People of Trinidad and Tobago (Port of Spain: PNM Publishing Co., Ltd., 1962), 87-89; Isaac Dookhan, A Post Emancipation History of the West Indies (London: Collins Clear-Type Press, 1978), 9-10. Among these historians, Williams points out that whites regarded black ownership of land as a danger to their livelihood and therefore imposed several impediments to these acquisitions including a severe tax.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Ibid.

commissions as beneficial to blacks and therefore deleterious to their own agendas. The colonials were also reluctant to adopt technological improvements made available by the Industrial Revolution that would have boosted their revenues and improved living conditions across the board. Moreover, they approached agitation from blacks as attacks upon the social structure and the positions of authority they held and which they regarded as sacrosanct. However, the new black landowners who diversified their agricultural activities and began producing coffee, ginger, and other crops which gave a boost to export trade and the economy, but did not affect the lives of lower level blacks significantly. On the contrary, the middle class in the West Indies developed into a layer of silence effectively replacing the continental whites, colonial whites, and non-white model with a colonial whites, creole middle-class and lower class blacks and Indians model.

Political, economic and social power resided in the hands of whites in the West Indies. Economically, they owned the best land, banks, businesses and the means of production, thereby controlling the avenues of employment, particularly for upwardly mobile non-whites. They became the representatives of the English monarch and chose the legislators who created laws and the judges who imposed them. They occupied the loftiest social positions where privilege, prestige and exclusivity rendered them almost untouchable by the masses of whom they were mostly uninformed and unaware. They ensured, through the establishment and maintenance of separate levels of education, that non-whites would be ill prepared to occupy leadership or other responsible positions in banking, accounting, law, medicine and other professions. In short, non-whites were systematically relegated to positions of inferiority in employment, ownership, authority and privilege.

Entrenched racism guaranteed nonparticipation of non-whites at club and inter-colonial levels for some time. When this barrier appeared threatened, a “professional” status was applied to black cricketers who found it necessary to become grounds-men in order that they might play, but which also disqualified them from playing in representative matches. West Indian whites applied some of the standards used by the English to perpetuate the amateur-professional

dichotomy. Thus at its earliest stages of development, it became apparent to blacks that their race was a determinant of suitability to play.[36] With the formation of black reams and clubs, the racial barrier would be replaced by complexion, educational and professional status. By 1891, participation in the national team was highly restricted because of the quota system employed by which a limited number of players were chosen from each island in order that no island, meaning Barbados, Trinidad, Guyana and later Jamaica, might be overlooked. The weakness of this process was demonstrated on many occasions when players of less ability from an island might displace more able cricketers from other islands which had already met their quotas.[37] Moreover, black cricketers were constrained through lack of funds from purchasing the equipment necessary to play the game. In addition, they could not afford the decrease in wages or the risk of loss of employment while engaged in representing team, colony or nation. Furthermore, and worst of for their psyche, they were either not picked for the team being assembled, or if they were, they functioned as fast bowlers. The relegation of blacks to this role had a basis in racism inasmuch as the perception of this role as being suited to those who possessed demonstrable brute force with minimal requirement for finesse.

Racism in the West Indies was multi-layered. In addition to the white-black separation and that based on complexion, there was, in Trinidad and Guyana, a significant presence of East Indians as well as a smaller representation of Chinese in Trinidad and Jamaica. Although these diasporans from the Asian continent and sub-continent had intended to return to their homelands after a period of indenture, they became residents instead and, in due course, contested for membership and participation in clubs and later, regional and national teams. To some extent, the tropical climate became part of the conspiracy to silence non-whites. Inasmuch as West Indies wickets and climate tended to produce fast or medium-paced bowlers, and since blacks

[36] http://cricketarchive.com/Archive/Events/WI.html. Cumberbatch and Woods played to great effect for the Trinidad team against Lord Hawke's team in 1897, but fail to be selected for the Inter-Colonial games that were played later that year and in 1898.

[37] http://cricketarchive.com/Archive/Scorecards/8/8334.html. West Indies selectors loaded the combined team with local talent and thus reduced its chances for a victory. This practice continued to the detriment of the team and the sport for many years.

who displayed unusual bowling potential were assumed to fill these roles whites generally therefore filled the medium-paced or spin bowling slots, and East Indians and Chinese, to the extent that they participated, tended toward spin bowling. These outcomes were expressions of mindsets which determined bowling types based primarily on assumed racial predispositions: the strength and athleticism of blacks favored fast or fast-medium bowling, the guile of the spinner fitted the Indian, and the presumed intelligence of whites inclined them toward medium-fast or spin bowling, and so on. It was a foregone conclusion therefore that sound batting and the captaincy would remain the preserve of Whites since these attributes required patience, intelligence, fortitude and other character traits readily observed in whites but presumably lacking in the other groups.

During the first decade of the twentieth century, whites had a presumptive right to all positions on every team, so that cricketers such as G. Challenor, P.H. Tarilton, P.A. and C.E. Goodman, H.G.B. Austin, R.S.A. Warner and C.R. Smith were white, and the best cricketers in the West Indies. At the same time, blacks had begun to earn the respect of continental whites such as P.F. Warner and Lord Hawke. Thus began the erosion of the underpinnings of the belief system that spawned these misconceptions based on race. Lebrun S. Constantine, the father of the famous Learie N. Constantine, was selected for the 1900 team on the strength of his batting; and although Fitz Hinds, Joseph Woods and Archibald Cumberbatch were selected on the strength of their fast bowling. During the 1920's to 1930's that were supposed to be beyond their capabilities. Blacks, particularly those with limited education, were therefore suited for minor clerical and sales occupations became the outstanding cricketers of the 1930's and 1940's. George Headley, C.M. Christiani, H.C. Griffith, E.A. Martindale dominated this decade; and still later, during the 1940's to the late 1950's, Everton Weekes, Wesley Hall, Frank Worrell, Alfred Valentine and Sonny Ramadhin were virtually unequalled in their areas of expertise by anyone in the cricketing world. From the late 1950's and for the next ten years, Garfield Sobers, Rohan Kanhai, Lance Gibbs, Basil Butcher and Charlie Griffith announced the arrival of the West Indians in strident tones. They reached the farthest bounds of the Commonwealth. In fact, when the last

stronghold of captaincy was finally toppled, Frank Worrell proved to be the most capable captain that West Indies had produced between 1928 and 1963. The road to black captaincy was littered with the bodies of white captains selected because of their race in conjunction with the reflexive reaction by the West Indies Cricket Board of Control (W.I.C.B.C.), which remained under the control of whites since its inception in 1926 until well past the period of this study.

England: The Pre-1928 Period

The Hambledon Club and its Legacy

In 1873, when West Indian cricketers were playing club cricket and attempting almost futilely to engage in inter-island cricket, the English, by this date, had established the sport on a sound footing, with counties, leagues, villages, universities and schools becoming integrated into a nation-wide system of contests. Between 1750 and 1787, known as the Hambledon Era, the English aristocracy staged popular matches among their teams of professionals as well as between their teams and all-England teams, and had made the Hampshire County area the focus of the sport. It was also during this era that the sport was studied, analyzed, refined and upgraded, resulting in minimal fundamental changes in it since then. It is generally accepted as fact that the cricketers who played for the Hambledon Cricket Club brought to the sport an elan that compelled on-lookers, which included the aristocracy, to travel extensively to watch the game they played. Its leaders belonged to English nobility and included several Earls and Dukes. Club membership was highly treasured and required the payment of a not entirely modest yearly fee of three guineas as early as 1891.[38]

The club introduced the practice of paying its players a stipend, thus ushering in the professionalism in the sport. Initially, the team consisted of players from Hampshire, but they were joined by players from nearby Surrey and became virtually unbeatable. The Hambledon Club is credited with introducing to the sport the third stump, which made bowling a more rewarding activity than heretofore, and straight bat play, which then made the straight bat necessary, increased mobility in batting and brought to the fore a new character in an

[38] Ibid. 5.

accomplished wicket-keeper.[39] Even at this early stage of the game's development, there was an awareness of the conflict between bat and ball and hence, the need to correct any existing gross in-balance. The Hambledon men introduced swerve in bowling as well as an appreciation of length, speed, direction and spin combined in a single bowler. In short, one might argue that they attempted to introduce an almost scientific approach to the art of gamesmanship in many ways.[40] Separation based on class differences was generally accepted so that many instances of spoken, written or otherwise expressed or implied race or class prejudice to which we moderns or post moderns might take umbrage, were treated with an unfeigned equanimity. It would seem then, that the social connections that brought these late eighteenth century Englishmen and women together were essentially feudal.

The Marylebone Cricket Club was formed in 1787 and almost immediately became the beacon for all the best that cricket had to offer as well as the magnet that drew the most talented players from all counties and the most qualified students from the country's educational institutions. Between 1787 and 1846 numerous cricket matches were played between Oxford and Cambridge, Eton and Harrow, North and South, Gentlemen and Players, as well as All-England and the "A's" or "B's", depending on the first letter of the opposing team members' last names.[41] As expected, this activity resulted not only in widespread interest in membership in MCC, which sanctioned and orchestrated most of these contests, but in other clubs which the sport engendered. Not entirely unexpected was the role that society's upper crust played in organizing and funding these events, which proved to be indispensable to the growth of the sport and the perpetuation of the traditions it bred.

Several innovations to the game were adopted that changed the face of cricket rendering its physical elements nearly as complete as they could be. The addition of a third stump and replacement of under-arm bowling with round-arm by 1835, and over-arm bowling by 1864

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39 H.S. Altham and E.W. Swanton, A History of Cricket, Fifth Impression Fourth Edition (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1949), 41-46.

40 Ibid. 41.

41 Ibid., 7.

compelled appropriate responses from batsmen and manufacturers of the game's equipment.[42] In 1846 All-England teams scoured the English countryside playing matches against teams consisting of eighteen and twelve players in towns and villages scattered across the landscape. Mason, in "W.G. Grace and his Times, 1865-1899" argues that by 1865, these engagements had created a fraternity of sorts within local communities resulting in the establishment of county teams in Middlesex, Surrey and Yorkshire initially, although it took another thirty five years before the full slate of county teams could be finalized.[43] It is fairly certain that the inauguration of a county championship competition in 1873 breathed life and vigor into the movement; but even more important, because of their aspirations for this prize, this period saw the emergence of a wide assortment of extremely talented cricketers, including W.G. Grace, whose performances elevated the stature of the sport to a national pastime. In addition, the 1835 revisions made to the 1740 laws had demonstrated a deep concern by the MCC over the need to maintain a balance in the game between attack and defense as well as ensuring the purity of the sport at a level that superseded the physical. Moreover, during this period, visits by cricket teams from Canada in 1859 and a team of Australian aborigines in 1868 gave evidence of the early globalization of the sport.[44] Neither set of cricketers was accorded due respect. In fact, the Aborigines were treated as exotic visitors, attracting attention more for their unusual characteristics than for their cricketing abilities despite their proven prowess in bowling.[45] A "representative" Australian cricketing team toured England in 1878 in response to the visit of an English team to their country during the prior year. A year later, an England team visited South Africa although Louis Duffus and Michael

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42 Barclay's World of Cricket, 11.

43 Ibid., 13.

44 Ibid. 16. Mason's references to the aborigines' tour suggest that it lacked a certain cricketing authenticity. However, Mallet is more straightforward in his assessment of the minimizing of the Aborigines' abilities as a type of silence.

45 Ashley Mallett, The Black Lords of Summer: the Story of the 1868 Aboriginal Tour of England and Beyond (Queensland, Australia: University of Queensland Press, 2002), 170-81. Throughout his account Mallett makes copious references to members of the team being referred to as devils when their bowling couldn't be mastered. Mallett recounts, in addition, the futile efforts of England's batsmen to play the bowling of Jack Marsh and the connection of Fred Spofforth's name, another Australian great, with the birth of the Ashes as opposed to the appellation "demon". p. 131-2.

Owen-Smith argue in “England v South Africa” that the initial visit along with those undertaken until 1905 seemed markedly below the acceptable standard of the Test status they were accorded.[46]

The expansion of cricket across the English landscape was assisted immeasurably by the changes that were taking place socially, economically and politically. The Victorian era was a long period of prosperity in England. It was marked by huge profits for the crown, the aristocracy, and daring investors, by industrial improvements at home that saw unheralded urbanization as factories sprang up and multiplied almost overnight. Undergirding this economic growth and at the same time enabling the expansion of cricket across the realm were massive improvements in communication as stage coaches, canals, steamships and railways connected hitherto vastly separated population centers. As a result, it became necessary for the owners and organizers of county teams to construct cricket grounds in order to institutionalize the game. The Edwardian era (1901-1914) was identified with increasing social mobility and a separation based on class in sports which saw the lower classes becoming increasingly involved in football and the upper class in tennis, golf and yachting. Unlike most other sports, however, cricket afforded involvement of all classes, although strong efforts were made to retain traditional requisite social distinctions. Thus during the long period (1806-1962) of the prestigious Gentlemen (amateurs) versus Players (professionals), the required deference shown by the professional cricketer toward to amateur was expressed in the mode of address when the latter was addressed as “sir” and the former by his Christian name, nickname, or depending on tenure, by his surname.[47] Moreover, in addition to taking the field via separate gates, the captaincy of local, county, but particularly the national team, was a role for which only amateurs were considered qualified.[48]

These demarcations were intended to emphasize the roles that were predetermined upon different classes of men despite the inherent leveling that ability ought to have effected in the

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46 Ibid. 287.

47 Ibid. p. 20.

48 Len Hutton with Alex Bannister, Fifty years in Cricket (London: Stanley Paul & Co. Ltd., 1984), 64.

sport. It is undeniable that the venues Lord's, The Oval and Scarborough, located in areas of differing economic and social development, drew participants and onlookers from every stratum of English society. This and other devices were used to balance the disparate strengths of the teams during their encounters. One of these was for the Players to lend its bowlers to the Gentlemen who were generally proficient at batting but weak in bowling. This should come as no surprise given the perspective each role had acquired by its very nature. In order to better utilize the loaner-cricketer, the Gentlemen saw a clear advantage in those men who could bowl as well as bat with equal proficiency; and as a result, the all-rounder emerged as a diversified weapon in a team's arsenal. [49] P.F. Warner suggests that this device had a positive effect on the quality of county cricket and by implication, the keenness of first class competition throughout the country.[50] It obviously had a great impact on cricket in the leagues where utility of a cricketer's talents was at its keenest when several talents were bundled in one individual.

Lord's and the Marylebone Cricket Club

Lord's is home to the Middlesex County Cricket Club and has been so since 1787. At that time the grounds were located at Dorset Square, which, when threatened with encroachment from an ever expanding London as well as division as a result of the drilling of a canal, was first moved to North Bank, from whence it moved in 1814 to its present location at St John's Wood.[51] It is the home of the Marylebone Cricket Club (MCC), a private club established also in 1787, which became the exclusive preserve of the aristocracy, the wealthy, notable cricketers of past eras, but not women. Lord's fame grew partly because of geographical location and the care that was taken in its functionality and aesthetics. It also gained its authority as a result of the right it claimed by revising the laws of cricket, which it had accomplished twice by 1800, and thus became recognized as the ultimate prescriptive voice on all matters pertaining to the sport.[52] However, it was the combination of wealth, power, and organizational expertise that made it

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49 Gentlemen v. Players 1806-1949, 14-15.

50 Ibid.

51 H.S. Altham and John Arlott, A Pictorial History of Lord's and The MCC (London: Pitkin Pictorials Ltd., 1967), 3.

52 Altham and Swanton, 53-5.

exclusive such that by 1835, the year of the introduction of the mowing machine at Lord's, there were among its members "one Duke, two Marquises, seven Earls, eight Baronets, twenty three Honorables, and nearly two hundred other gentlemen". [53] Not surprisingly, Lord's, by this time had become the magnet for singularly important matches and had begun hosting the initial contests between Eton and Harrow, North and South, Gentlemen and Players, Oxford and Cambridge, thus establishing itself as the place where traditions are born. In time, it became "the most famous ground in the [cricketing] world, the one on which it is the ambition of every cricketer to play, and on which an Australian or South African cricketer would rather 'get a hundred' than anywhere else". [54]

Lord's and MCC became synonymous with England and served as a watchdog over the numerous institutions it birthed and the facilities and infrastructure that inevitably grew from its ventures. MCC soon began to assume the responsibility for the due circumspection with which they required that players and umpires at every level and in every organization, as well as members and visitors to its facility, should conduct themselves. It determined the legal standards whereby cricketing tours were set and their financing parameters determined so that those undertakings might be profitable. It began the publication of Wisden Cricketers' Almanack in 1863, exactly one hundred years prior to the playing of the match under discussion. True to the paternalistic tradition which began at its inception, MCC doles out the surplus revenues it generates from Test matches among the counties, minor counties, schools and universities.[55] Membership in MCC is highly treasured, and whereas its cost is not prohibitive, its prodigious waiting list helps to explain why applicants wait several years (currently a minimum of eighteen) before they are accepted, and why some never are. [56] As testimony to its prestige, MCC membership totaled 202 in 1832, 2,000 in the early 1870's, 5,000 in the early 1900's, 10,000 full members and 5,000 associate members in 1967, and currently 18,000 full members with an

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53 Imperial Cricket, 173.

54 Ibid., p.173.

55 This fact may be verified through a cursory search of any Wisden Cricketers Almanack published within the past fifty years at the minimum.

56 Ibid., 173.

additional 5,000 associate members. On March 16, 1999 MCC relented from its previously unapologetic gender prejudiced position and threw open its doors to women.[57]

The importance of playing at Lord's was not lost on West Indies cricketers and non-cricketers. By the end of the 1928 series, West Indies had played eight matches at Lords and had won one, drawn two and lost five.[58] Learie Constantine captures the meaning of Lord's for cricketers in his account of his West Indian doctor's capitulation when faced with the prospect of another loss by West Indies team facing a strong Middlesex county team in England during the 1928 tour. When informed of the likelihood of being seriously hurt during the match if he bowled and the negative effect this would have on his career, Constantine argued and pleaded with the doctor and then decided to play. After all, reasoned Constantine, "I was twenty six, and cricket is in my blood. And this is Lord's."[59] The match was actually a county fixture, which West Indies won.[60] In the Lord's Test match which was played about a month later, West Indies were badly beaten by England. Many West Indian cricketers were to express the reverence with which they and other cricketers approached contests held there.

Pelham Warner argues that the Gentlemen v. Players matches became the event to which most cricket practitioners and enthusiasts looked forward. It became "the great fixture of the year [and] an invitation to play in it was always deemed an honor, setting, as it were, a hall-mark on many cricketers' careers."[61] In fact, had it not been for the high regard in which Lord's and MCC were held, the Gentlemen v. Players matches might have disappeared because of the ill effects of gambling that had migrated there along with the players and patrons who once represented Hambledon.[62] The prestige of MCC and Lord's is finally demonstrated in their continuing efforts to ensure that the science and art of the game is continually being improved and refined through extensive national coaching programs. As a result, several youth

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57 http://www.lords.org/mcc/women; 1/17/11; Altham and Arlott, 7.
58 http://www.cricketarchive.com/Archive/Evetns/ENG.html.
59 Learie Constantine, Colour Bar (London: Stanley Paul & Co. Ltd., 1954), 165.
60 http://www.cricketarchive.com/Archive/Scorecards/12/12689.html.
61 Gentlemen v. Players, 1806-1949, 13.
62 Ibid. 14.

associations exist and MCC issues certificates of completion at normal and advanced levels to students who represent almost every country within the cricketing Commonwealth.[63]

Table 1.2 Comparative Statistics of Test Matches Played by England 1876-1928

Opponents	**Periods**	**Venue**	**Matches Played**	**Wins**	**Losses**	**Draws**
Australia	1876-1928	Other than Lord's	114	42	47	25
Australia	1876-1928	Lord's	13	4	4	5
South Africa	1888-1928	Other than Lord's	44	26	10	8
South Africa	1888-1928	Lord's	3	2	0	1
Total	**1876-1928**	**Other than Lord's**	**158**	**68**	**57**	**33**
Total	**1876-1928**	**Lord's**	**16**	**6**	**4**	**6**

Table 1.2 displays the cumulative results of Test matches played between England and its Test cricket playing opponents from 1876 to 1928. Allowing for the glaring disparity in strength between Australia and South Africa, it seems obvious that England regarded losses at Lord's as damaging to the country's national prestige, if not embarrassing. England won forty three percent of the test matches it played other than at Lord's, lost thirty six percent and drew twenty one percent. For those matches played at Lord's, the results were thirty seven point five percent wins, twenty five percent losses, with the draws equaling wins. What is revealing about these results, upon further examination is that, of its first six matches played against Australia, England won four, lost one and drew the last, which they might have won. However, following 1896, when England won at Lord's, they lost or drew the next seven matches and showed a slight edge over Australia in just one of the drawn matches. These losses at Lord's continued despite victories at other venues and may have been a major contributing justification for the body-line controversy that took place in Australia in 1933. In fact, following that crucial series, England lost the immediately following home series, but won the Lord's match in that series and felt redeemed,

[63] Altham and Arlott, 8-9.

especially considering that this was their first win at Lord's since 1896.[64] Test teams from other countries realized the importance of a Lord's victory to England, and therefore approached these matches with more than normal combativeness.

Explosion in English Cricket 1846-1928

Cricket continued to develop apace with the rise to prominence of Lord's. Under-arm bowling gave way to round-arm bowling, which now allowed innovative bowlers such as William Lillywhite to decrease velocity of their deliveries in order to vary the spin, swerve and trajectory and thus challenge batsmen who had gained the ascendency in the duel on the pitch. Altham and Swanton refer to an account published in 1846 in which the author expresses concern over the sport degenerating into "rough, coarse horseplay" in the face of the changes being made in bowling. [65] The two issues that concerned MCC in its oversight role was the ability of the organization to control action on the field if bowlers continually played at the outer extent of the law; and their felt need to encourage diversity in a sport that needed to grow but whose practitioners' behaviors needed to be confined within limits that were determined by tradition.

In the meantime, matches between Eton and Harrow, the great public schools, were beginning to ignite the interest of other similar institutions such as Rugby, Charterhouse and Winchester, which began to participate in fixtures at Lords and other popular venues. In addition, Cambridge University played its first recorded matches against Eton in 1754 an 1755 then much later, in 1817 against Cambridge Town Club in May, 1817. Cambridge continued to play against a wide assortment of opponents until Oxford University made its appearance in their initial encounter in 1827.[66] First Class and other match play multiplied astronomically between counties, schools, private clubs as well as teams referred to as All-England, then United England Eleven.

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[64] Pelham Warner, Cricket Between Two Wars, Fourth Edition (London: Chatto & Windus, 1943), 157; See also Barclays World of Cricket, 285.

[65] Altham and Swanton, 67. Taken from Sketches of the Players by Mr. Denison and published in 1846. In this publication, the author deplored underarm bowling and other devices impinging on batsmen's abilities and thus retarding the scientific development of the sport.

[66] http://cricketarchive.com/Archive/Seasons/ENG/1827_ENG_University_Match_1827.html , 1/18/2011.

There were also matches played between the United South Eleven and the United North of England.[67] In addition, foreign teams from Ireland and Scotland had toured England by the early 1860's and the Australian Aboriginals visited in 1868 to be followed by the Australians on their first visit in 1878.They were, in turn, followed by the Gentlemen of Canada in 1880, Gentlemen of Philadelphia in 1884, the Parsees of India in 1886, and, not to be outdone, the American Baseball Players in 1874. [68] Obviously, cricket had been exported beyond the British Commonwealth and enormous curiosity had been generated.

This outbound movement of English cricketers necessarily generated a reactionary inbound movement much as the outward migration of earlier generations of colonizers was generating a migration of many of those who had been formerly colonized. One has only to look casually through the Cricinfo archives to realize the tremendous volume of cricket that was played in England. The Lancashire League was started in 1892 and county championship matches had been established and were keenly contested. Numerous challenge cups offering significant prizes and trophies which stimulated competition. The missionary zeal with which cricketing organizations in England had set about spreading the gospel of cricket along with the virtues attached to it had impelled numerous ships laden with English cricketers across the Atlantic and Pacific oceans to plant the seeds of the sport along with its foundational message. Many of these cricketers returned bearing news of undiscovered talents ripe for the plucking that would boost the capabilities and the coffers of county and league teams in due course.

As a result, many of the brightest stars from Australia, South Africa, West indies, and later, India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka emigrated to the United Kingdom to earn a living mainly because they could not do so at home, could not play the sport at the level which teams in the United Kingdom provided, nor could they be recognized at home as the professionals they perceived themselves to be. Australians, as a rule, protested that the ostensible reason for their involvement was to learn the weaknesses of English cricketers so that they could capitalize on

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67 http://cricketarchive.com/Archive/Events/ENG.html, 1/18/2011.

68 Ibid.

them. In any case, many of these players, including Charles B. Llewellyn of South Africa, experienced racism in England. LLewellyn played Test matches for the South African national team and first class cricket for Natal, Hampshire, London County and MCC, as well as for Accrington in the Lancashire league.[69] He is reputed to have departed Hampshire because he was refused accommodation at hotels and boarding houses where his white teammates had encountered no problems. [70] Two West Indian players remained in England at the conclusion of their respective tours: Charles A. Ollivierre, an all-rounder from St. Vincent, who played first class cricket for Derbyshire (1901-1907), and Sydney G. Smith, an all-rounder from Trinidad, who played first class cricket for Northamtonshire, MCC and Auckland. Ollivierre is reported to have played six years for Derbyshire, retiring because of bad eye-sight, although there has been no explanation for this turn of events.

By the 1880's, MCC had become a powerful institution and had spread its name and influence across the Commonwealth. Three teams had left England before the end of the century and had played several matches against all of the colonial as well as combined cricket teams. In 1900 a West Indies team, as near to representative as it could have been under the circumstances, visited England and played against several county teams. Although the results, especially at the start of the tour were extremely unsatisfactory, the West Indians had recovered sufficiently in the second half to justify a second tour in 1906 during which their matches would be upgraded to First Class. In the meantime, two tours by English teams were undertaken in 1902 and 1905 by teams led by R.A. Bennett and Lord Brackley respectively. Based on reports by the returning players and captains of these teams, MCC sent three touring teams to the West Indies in 1911, 1913 and 1926. Thus the MCC became the agent of change in establishing a Trans-Atlantic connection for the sport. Although these visits initially were undertaken to coincide with the downturn in cricketing activity resulting from its harsh winters, they became the means whereby West Indian cricketers were able to study the batting, bowling and fielding styles of

69 http://cricketarchive.com/Archive/Players/0/202/202.html, 1/18/2011.

70 Jack Williams, Cricket and Race (Oxford: Berg Editorial Offices, 2001), 22-3. Taken from Cricket International, February 1976, 23.

these visitors and thereby improve their own skills. Another benefit, especially to West Indian blacks was the realization that their continually improved levels of play placed them on par with colonial whites. Moreover, blacks began to see cracks in the cricketing armor of visiting English cricketers and began to appreciate their own capability to compete successfully with them.

In fact, A.E. Morton's cartoon printed in the Times for Monday, May 28 depicts a scantily clad black urchin being forcibly held across his lap by W.G. Grace while he administers a severe "whacking" to this creature. Every aspect of racism is evident in the representation of fear, poverty, malnutrition and barbarism, which serve to demonstrate the creature's inability to extricate himself from his seemingly hopeless position. During an interview the West Indies team manager, when asked whether his team's failure might have been impacted by the inclusion of blacks, responded that the "colored players" had adapted quickly to English conditions and hadn't "given any trouble".[71] It is hardly anachronistic to suggest that the euphemism carried the same meanings then as it does now.

West Indies: The Pre-1928 Period

Schools, Clubs and Cricket

It is generally agreed that cricket was introduced into the West Indies for the benefit of the English who were ensconced there.[72] It is also clear that whites did not expect that non-whites would engage in the sport on the basis of parity, and it is reasonable to expect that non-whites would have been surprised if this had been the case. This mentality had been fostered among whites through the Aristotelian concept of human categories and the survivalist underpinnings of Social Darwinists, as well as other social theories. These belief systems breathed life into a Eurocentrist belief system which postulated white racial dominance and the consequent subjugation of all others.[73] To ensure the promulgation of their racist ideology, elitist schools such as Harrison College in Barbados (1733), Queen's College in Guyana (1844), Queen's Royal

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[71] The Times, May 28, 1928, 5.

[72] Frank Birbalsingh, The Rise of West Indian Cricket: From Colony to Nation (London: Hansib, 1997), 13.

[73] Cricket and Race, 16-22.

College in Trinidad (1859) and Kingston College in Jamaica (1729) were established. Alongside these nurturing institutions, there also sprang up exclusive cricket clubs such as Wanderers and Pickwick clubs in Barbados (1877), Kingston Club in Jamaica (1863), the Trinidad Cricket Club (1842) and the Georgetown Cricket Club (1860).

Simultaneous with these schools' establishments came the installation of faculty and headmasters who were graduates from Oxford and Cambridge, and if not, had their academic beginnings in the prestigious English Public School system, which included Eton and Harrow. Headmasters such Horace Deighton who guided Harrison College from 1872 to 1905, Oliver DeCourcey, renowned headmaster of Lodge School from 1898 to 1931, Reverend T. Lyall Speed and G.B.R. Burton heads of Combermere School from 1879 to 1896 and 1897 to 1925 respectively, had become steeped in those Victorian virtues previously discussed, and were understandably possessed of a strong missionary determination to transplant these virtues, which were imbedded in cricket, into these institutions were they were ensconced.[74] It is no wonder, then, that graduates from these institutions migrated to cricket clubs that soon became associated with the schools' names, or that they founded the Barbados Cricket Association (BCA) in 1933, and the Barbados Cricket League (BCL) in 1937, the latter to mitigate the exclusionary practices of the BCA.

C.L.R. James shows in his life how limited the opportunities for superlative achievement were in Trinidad. After graduation, he took a position as teacher at his alma mater. At about the same time, Learie Constantine practiced and developed his cricketing skills under the watchful eyes of his father but with awareness that his livelihood would be derived elsewhere. James writes that Shannon Cricket Club had members drawn from the black, lower-middle class and compared it with Maple which attracted the light-skinned members from the same economic stratum. According to James, Learie Constantine, Wilton and Cyl St Hill, Victor Pascall and Ben Sealey, all of whom played for Shannon and for the West Indies, were good enough to be play for

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[74] Keith A.P. Sandiford, Cricket Nurseries of Colonial Barbados: The Elite Schools 1865-1966 (Kingston, Jamaica: The University of the West Indies Press, 1998), 2-5.

any English county club.[75] Later, Jeffrey Stollmeyer, also of Trinidad, although his involvement in First class cricket seemed assured, was not concerned about further study in England, but opted for training at the prestigious Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture as preparation for directing operations at his father's cocoa and citrus estate.[76] Yet the probability of study at the university level, at Codrington College in Barbados, or the Agricultural College in Trinidad seemed to be beyond the reasonable ambition of most non-white West Indians, particularly those who evinced interest in cricket.

These schools existed to provide an education for the scions of the wealthy, the privileged and other leading lights of the various islands. This helps to explain why, when cricket was in its infancy, those who played and had the financial wherewithal to do so were whites who had graduated from these institutions. However, changes were afoot that would alter significantly the ability of middle and lower class non-whites to compete with whites. For example, by 1892, a Board of education had been constituted in Jamaica and plans had been put in place for the opening of government secondary schools. Additionally three scholarships, tenable at English and other universities, were contested among qualified Jamaican students. Moreover, Jamaican students were able to compete for a total of 175 Rhodes Scholarships awarded annually.[77] Government assisted education was begun in 1867, and by 1910, the average attendance at these elementary and secondary schools was 57,849, according to Aspinall.[78] Government assisted schools had sprung up In Trinidad, the Leeward Islands and the Bahamas by 1911, and as early as 1876 in Guyana. In addition to these government-run programs, schools were operated by Anglicans, Moravians, Wesleyans and Roman Catholics in most of the islands.

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[75] Beyond a Boundary, 50-56.

[76] Jeffrey Stollmeyer, Everything Under the Sun: My life in West Indies Cricket (London: Stanley Paul, 1983), 32.

[77] Algernon E. Aspinall, The British West Indies: Their History, Resources and Progress (London: Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons Ltd. 1912), 295. Aspinall does not inform us as to the number of black students who earned a Rhodes Scholarship, however, Paula S. Rosenberg claims that Stuart Hall, in 1951, became the first Jamaican to win a Rhodes Scholarship Paula S. Rothenberg's Beyond Borders: Thinking Critically About Global Issues (N.Y.C.: Worth Publishers, 2006), 220.

[78] Aspinall. 293.

Aspinall also makes reference to an Agricultural School where free instruction was given to a limited number of boys.[79]

Elementary education was most widely offered although secondary education was available with the full or partial payment of the required tuition. In order to facilitate attendance, several local governments were able to subsidize the educating of qualified students at special schools that offered a secondary education.[80] By 1911, many non-whites were able to compete with whites for the few scholarships that were available. However, the absence of many West Indian cricketers educated at or beyond the tertiary level speaks to a perception that perhaps possession of learning beyond a certain level was not absolutely necessary for matriculation in the arena of cricket. In its earliest stages, therefore, West Indian cricket was played at two levels which were determined by racial, social and economic circumstances. Most emerging black and other players had grown up using a variety of fruit and other contrivances for balls as well as golf, tennis, sponge and other balls, when available. Bats were made from coconut branches, wood from fence palings and other material; and wickets were contrived from boxes, rounded or rectangular containers made from cardboard, tin or wood. The game was played on a variety of surfaces including sand at the beaches, unpaved or paved roads, and patches of land that may have been prepared in a rudimentary fashion. The nature of the logistics involved is more an expression of economic and social deprivation than chosen pathways to knowledge and development. It was also played in a variety of formats such as tip (hit) and run to Lilliputian (pootian). Some of these forms continue to be played today.[81]

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[79] Aspinall. 296; It is very likely that this school gave birth to the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture that Jeffrey Stollmeyer attended (Everything under the Sun, 32), as well as the foundation stone for the existing School of Agriculture, which is a part of the University of the West Indies at St. Augustine, Trinidad.

[80] Aspinall. 296.

[81] Garry Sobers, My Autobiography (London: Headline Book Publishing, 2002), 9-10. See also Everton DeCourtney Weekes, Mastering the Craft: Ten Years of Weekes (Jamaica: University of the Caribbean Press, Inc., 2007), 1-22, Learie Constantine, Cricket in the Sun (London: Stanley Paul & Co, Ltd., 1946), 11-13 and Cricket and I (London: Philip Allan, 1933), 2, Rohan Kanhai, Blasting for Runs (London: Souvenir Press, 1966), 12. Jeffrey Stollmeyer, Everything Under the Sun: My Life in West Indian Cricket (London: Stanley Paul, 19830, 28. Stollmeyer recalls the coaching he and other privileged students at QRC, an elite school located

What is abundantly clear is that the desire to play the game was an over-riding concern, and that there was little or no coaching done.[82] At this level, therefore, cricket served as a socio-cultural space that lent whites legitimacy, and for non-whites, a vehicle for self identity and self realization and a space into which they could safely encroach. Thus, taken at face value, these adaptations could not have appeared in the least bit threatening to the colonialist racist citadel that had survived the abolition of slavery in 1834. In fact, the colonials very likely perceived these primitive efforts as reinforcing the foundational preconceptions upon which their prejudices had been built. Thus these institutions represented a way of demonstrating colonialist ties to all that Englishness represented on the one hand, and an elitist separation from non-whites that they expected to perpetuate indefinitely. Cricket club formation seemed to have been planned with the exclusion of non-whites as a primary objective, and despite the establishment of these clubs in the four major islands, measures had been taken to ensure this exclusivity. Among the measures were the assessment of membership fees that most non-whites could ill afford, and the requirement of matriculation from particular schools, race and hue. Brian Stoddart has argued forcefully that education, occupation and family connections were three of the determinants of club membership, that membership denoted social class, which additionally spoke to the need to demonstrate an unbroken linkage to England.[83] He maintains, in addition, that membership in non-white clubs, when these began to be established, was protected by its own set of requirements which were designed to protect the perceived exclusivity of their membership.[84]

Before the end of the nineteenth century, cricket clubs had sprung up throughout the Caribbean. Most of these clubs were owned, controlled, supported and protected by whites and the white establishment. Barbados laid claim to The Garrison, Wanderers, Pickwick, Leeward,

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in Trinidad, received from Australian Test cricketer A.J. Richardson between 1935 and 1938. Stollmeyer's backward look helps to reinforce the argument for silencing of non-whites and poor-whites who did not meet the QRC standard. See also p. 32 for reference to membership fee and other club membership requirements for his class club. See also Algernon Aspinall, The British West Indies: Their History, Resources and Progress (London: Isaac Pitman, 1912), 32.

[82] Cricket and I, 2-5.

[83] Ed. Brian Stoddart and Keith A.P. Sandiford, The Imperial Game: Cricket, Culture and Society, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), 81-83.

[84] Ibid.

Windward, Belleville and Spartan among others. Wanderers Cricket Club was founded in 1877 by members of the plantocracy and mercantile elite, most of whom had been graduates of Harrison College and Lodge. Since whites from the civil service were excluded, they soon started their own club in 1882 and called it Pickwick. These clubs denied membership to poor whites called red-legs, as well as coloreds or people of mixed race. These last named social groups regarded themselves as being more respectable than those blacks who displayed predominantly black facial and other features, irrespective of the esteem that their successes in life might have earned them. In 1893, Sir Conrad Reeves, the colored Chief Justice of Barbados, orchestrated the establishment of Spartan Cricket club, which catered primarily to the colored and some black middle class. Understandably, there was need for a fourth level of club which would provide membership for talented lower class blacks and coloreds who were excluded from affiliation with Spartan. Thus Empire was formed in 1914 through the influence and energy of Herman Griffith, who was denied membership in Spartan. Griffith was a man of lower middle class status and an outstanding member of the West Indies national team.[85]

Club formation in Trinidad, Jamaica and Guyana followed a similar pattern as they did in Barbados. For example, C.L.R. James provides many useful insights on the Trinidadian clubs that shed considerable light on the choices that were available to him following his graduation from Queens Royal College. Queens Park Cricket Club was the most exclusive in Trinidad, with membership consisting of wealthy whites, well established coloreds and an occasional black. Shamrock Cricket Club boasted membership that was almost exclusively white an "old" Catholic, a throw-back to the pre-1795 Spanish occupation of the colony. The Constabulary, whose membership consisted of policemen, was a microcosm of the later West Indies national team with a solid black team representation and white leadership. Maple Cricket Club's insistence on a light brown skin as a requirement for membership excluded James, which left Shannon with its lower

[85] Brian Stoddart, "Cricket, Social Formation and Cultural Continuity in Barbados: A Preliminary Ethnohistory" in Liberation Cricket: West Indies Cricket Culture (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 70. taken from Barbados Advocate, October 1936, 12 and John Wickman, 'Herman', West Indies Cricket Annual, 1980; interview material.

middle class membership consisting of teachers, printing office employees, law clerks, and finally socially undesirable Stingo, filled with butchers, laborers, bus drivers, and others of a decidedly dusky hue. [86] James and others players of dark complexion but respectable education felt a desire for membership in a club which could provide a feeling of well-being provided by success in matches and association with peers positioned above the basest level. At the same time, those predominantly black clubs at the lowest level felt compelled to defeat those teams against which they could not otherwise show any ascendancy.

The 1879 visit of the Harrisonians to St Kitts and Antigua may have been the catalyst for a representative West Indies team to tour Canada and the United States. The team consisted of four Guyanese, three from Barbados and seven from Jamaica. It is remarkable that Jamaica, which had been entirely silent during the colonial contests played to that point, supplied so many team members for that contest. It is reasonable to suppose that the sport had been growing there as it had in the other islands, that its geographical separation from those islands created transportation and other problems, and for this tournament, its relative proximity to North America made the reduced cost of the enterprise comparatively less burdensome. This appears to have been the first venture of its kind, and the West Indies team acquitted themselves well until they encountered an unusually strong team from Philadelphia to which they lost decisively. A return visit from an American team in 1887 in which the West Indies team out-classed the tourists was widely popular. An 1888 visit of a St Vincent cricket team to Barbados was followed by a visit of Guyana to Barbados in 1889. In that year the Barbados Wanderers club played a match against the Guyana Wanderers club which the Barbadians won.[87]

Some of the obvious results of these encounters were improvements in all aspects of the sport among West Indies, an increasing ability to cope with the vicissitudes of inter-island travel and a concomitant growth in awareness of their fellow West Indians' interests and abilities. At about the same time, G.N. Wyatt of Guyana and L.R. Fyffe from Jamaica tried unsuccessfully to

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86 Beyond A Boundary, 49-51.

87 Ibid. 22-23.

arrange a tour of England by a West Indies team. Fortunately, they were not deterred by this failure and proposed an inter-colonial tournament to be held in Barbados.[88] During the course of these developments, the Georgetown Cricket Club in Guyana had the season averages of its matches published in Wisden Cricketers Almanack. It seems reasonable that the publication of these statistics might have made the proposed tour of England more likely unless MCC was not impressed by those statistics. In any event, the first Trans-Atlantic venture for this purpose originated from England several years later.

Colonial Cricket

These encounters were referred to as Colonial, not Inter-Colonial, because there was no attempt to play other than one-on-one matches. In fact, in September 1887, when Barbados and Guyana played two matches to determine a winner, this arrangement was made with the understanding that Trinidad, having lost more battles that it had won, was automatically disqualified and therefore did not need to participate during the elimination phase. Other remarkable aspects of these games were the lack of a consistent pattern of contests and a deeper interest evinced in these matches on the part of Guyana which participated in all encounters. Whether this outcome is a reflection of the Barbados all-white team refusing to play against a mixed-race Trinidad team is undetermined. In any case, Guyana won five of its matches and Barbados three of the six it played, while Trinidad which was victorious in fifty percent of its four encounters seemed to have been the weakest of the three.

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88 Ibid.

Table 1.3 Colonial First Class Match Results 1865-1887

Dates	Competing Colonies	Runs Scored	Highest Batting Score	High/Low Team Scores	Batsmen Bowled/Caught Out	Best Match Bowling
2/1865	Barbados Guyana	258 (4 innings)	50-Barbados	124-Barbados 22-Guyana	B-30, C- 6 of 40 wkts.	10wkts/Unk runs
9/1865	Guyana vs. Barbados	455 (4 innings)	39-Guyana	146-Guyana 82-Guyana	B-30, C-5 of 40 wkts.	10 wkts/40 runs
1/1869	Trinidad v. Guyana Trinidad v. Guyana	415 (4 innings) 275 (4 innings)	65-Guyana 20- Both Teams	126-Trinidad 83-Trinidad 83-Guyana 45-Trinidad	B-15, C-10 of 35 wkts. B-12, C-18 of 40 wkts.	11 wkts/ 88 runs 11 wkts/65 runs
9/1871	Guyana v. Barbados	416 (4 innings)	51-Guyana	148-Barbados 103 – Guyana	B-19, C-8 of 32 wkts.	8 wkts/56 runs
10/1876	Guyana v. Trinidad	300 (3 innings)	75-Trinidad	164-Trinidad 54-Guyana	B-14, C-11 of 30 wkts.	12 wkts/59 runs
9/1882	Guyana v. Trinidad	330 (3 innings)	123-Guyana	168-Guyana* 72-Trinidad	B-14, C-10 of 30 wkts.	7 wkts/79 runs

Table 1.3 - *Continued*

9/1883	Barbados v. Guyana	341 (4 innings)	45-Guyana	94-Guyana 66-Barbados+	B-21, C-9 of 34 wkts.	7 wkts/59 runs
9/1887 9/1887	Guyana v. Barbados Guyana v. Barbados	428 (4 innings) 333 (4 innings0	46-Guyana 28-Barbados	155-Guyana 63-Barbados 119-Barbados 47-Barbados	B-16, C-18 of 40 wkts. B-18, C-12 of 34 wkts.	6 wkts/43 runs 10 wkts/32 runs

Note: Underlining in Column 2 denotes winner. Low Team score is for entire team batting. * Guyanese batsman E.F. Wright scored 123 of his team's 168 runs. + Barbados rebounded during their second innings with a game-winning score of 105/4 wkts.

The statistics in Table 1.3 from the Colonial First Class matches indicate several problems facing West Indies cricket at that time. Although the team run accumulation was trending upward generally, the forty seven runs scored by Barbados in 1887 were only twenty five more than the twenty two that Guyana managed in 1865 showed an almost shocking consistency. In addition, the highest score of 168 made by Guyana in 1882 meant that ten of the eleven team members were able to score only forty five of those runs between them. The evidence of a majority of dismissals as bowled is indicative of a concerted effort by bowlers to remove batsmen by dislocating their wickets through a frontal attack. Fast bowling became very fashionable, therefore, in the West Indies and in intra-West Indian competition and was widely regarded as an essential weapon for accomplishing early penetration of an opposing team's batting strength. West Indian batsmen, in responding to these barrages, assumed proactive attitudes which dictated aggressive responses. The loss of one's wicket in such encounters was

not regarded as foolhardy in this culture. On the contrary, batsmen's failures to meet these attacks head-on was viewed with derision and regarded as cowardly.

The batting statistics speak to the absence of maturity of skills. During the 1882 match between Trinidad and Guyana, E.F. Wright scored the only century that was recorded during these initial twenty two years. As a result, the bowling statistics have tended to show dominance that would soon disappear as batting standards improved following the inauguration of Inter-Colonial competition and the maturation of those batsmen who emerged from under the tutelage of the Deightons and DeCourceys. Another area of weakness lay in the area of wicket-keeping. Although there was a steady decrease in the number of byes and leg-byes recorded, there didn't seem to be any appreciation of the benefits to a fielding team of a wicket-keeper who stood close to the active batsman's wicket and thereby dampened his inclination to move outside his batting zone in his attempts to aggress toward the bowling or fielding. In fact, this misunderstanding of the role of the wicket-keeper was to prove a detriment to West Indies teams for years to come. During the first recorded Colonial match which was played in 1865 between Barbados and Demerara (Guyana), these teams earned fifty five runs between them, thirty four of which came from byes and leg-byes. During the same year in England, in a county match between Hampshire and Middlesex, these teams earned thirty four extras, twenty eight of which resulted from byes and leg-byes.[89] In 1928, during the two Inter-Colonial matches between Trinidad, Guyana and Barbados, Trinidad routed both teams, allowing a total of thirty three extras in four innings while earning thirty two during their two times at bat.[90]

Inter-Colonial Cricket

On the 1st and 2nd of September 1891, Barbados and Guyana played the first match in a bi-annual triangular tournament which would later become the Inter-Colonial Tournament. The first Inter-Colonial Cup Tournament was held in Barbados in September 1891. It involved teams

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89 http://cricketarchive.com/Archive/Scorecards/1/1367.html, and http://cricketarchive.com/Archive/Scorecards/1/1360.html.

90 http://cricketarchive.com/Archive/Seasons/WI/1928-29_WI_Inter-Colonial_Tournament_1928-29.html.

from Trinidad, Barbados and Guiana, revealed to the West Indian public that the quality of their cricket had improved somewhat, perhaps with the exception of Trinidad, whose teams failed to reach 100 runs in any of its four innings.[91] As early as 1865, attempts had been made to organize contests between cricketers from Clubs in Barbados, Trinidad and Guiana. These results were extremely mediocre and continued to be so for some time. Significantly, a cricketing tradition was established in 1893 with the inauguration of a winner's trophy in 1893.[92] This Cup was also referred to as the Challenge Cup, and was donated by the Shell Oil Company, an active supporter of West Indies cricket then and later.[93]

[91] http://cricketarchive.com/Archive/Scorecards/3/3761.html and http://cricketarchive.com/Archive/Scorecards/3/3762.html

[92] Christopher Nicole. 24-25.

[93] Muscular Learning, 102. Taken from Argosy, Jan 9, 1897. The entire interview of Dr. Anderson, conducted was in England after the completion of the Lucas tour by the newspaper journalist. During the interview Dr. Anderson referred to his efforts, while a resident of Tobago, at forming a representative West Indies team composed of five players from the home team and two from each of the other teams, based entirely on merit. The islands to which he referred were Barbados, Trinidad, Jamaica and Guyana. See also Michael Manley, A History of West Indies Cricket, First Edition (London: Andre Deutsch Ltd., 1990), 21.

Table 1.4 Inter-Colonial Matches Played in the West Indies 1891-1927

Dates	Competing Colonies	Runs Scored	Highest Batting Score	High/Low Team Scores	Batsmen Bowled/Caught Out	Best Match Bowling
9/1891	Barbados v. Guyana	269 (4 innings)	20-Guyana 71-Guyana 74-Barbados 68-Barbados	80-Both Teams* 54-Guyana 148-Guyana+ 61-Trinidad 240-Barbados** 66-Trinidad 214-Barbados 68-Guyana	B-15, C-17 of 36 wlts. B-15, C-11 of 34 wkts. B-16, C-7 of 26 wkts. B-10, C-17 of 30 wkts.	14 wkts/57 runs 10 wkts/Unk runs 7 wkts/31 runs 11 wkts/64 runs
9/1891	Guyana v. Trinidad	457 (4 innings)				
9/1891	Barbados v. Trinidad	387 (3 innings)				
9/1891	Barbados v. Guyana	373 (3 innings)				
9/1893	Trinidad v. Barbados	244 (3 innings)	31-Barbados	168-Barbados 35-Trinidad	B-14, C-14 of30 wkts.	10 wkts/31 runs
8/1895	Guyana v. Trinidad	671 (3 innings)	135-Guyana 96-Guyana 85-Guyana	444-Guyana 84-Trinidad 259-Guyana 117-Barbados	B-13, C-11 of 30 wkts. B-19, C-13 of 40 wkts.	6 wkts/62 runs 10 wkts/111 runs
9/1895	Guyana v. Barbados	733 (4 innings				
9/1897	Barbados v. Trinidad	651 (3 innings)	161-Barbados 129 Barbados 35-Barbados	443-Barbados 92-Trinidad 152-Barbados 77-Guyana	B-10, C-15 of 30 wkts. B-7, C-17 of 40 wkts.	6 wkts/41 runs 7 wkts/53 runs
9/1897	Barbados v. Guyana	337 (4 innings)				
1/1900	Trinidad v Guyana	500 (4 innings)	54-Guyana 40-Trinidad 70-Barbados	175-Trinidad 52-Trinidad 191-Barbados 84-Guyana	B-12, C-19 of 40 wkts. B-16, C-13 of 33 wkts.	9 wkts/92 runs 6 wkts/39 runs
1/1900	Barbados v. Guyana	544 (4 innings)				

Table 1.4 - *Continued*

9/1901 9/1901	Guyana v Trinidad Barbados v Trinidad	785 (4 innings) 666 (4 innings)	104- Guyana 71- Trinidad	255- Trinidad 167- Guyana 271- Trinidad 114- Barbados	B-19, C- 17 of 40 wkts. B-11, C- 21 of 40 wkts.	9 wkts/174 runs 9 wkts/103runs 9 wkts/113runs
9/1907 9/1907	Guyana v Trinidad Barbados v Trinidad	587 (4 innings) 593 (4 innings)	123- Trinidad 78- Trinidad	274- Trinidad 120- Guyana 290- Trinidad 50- Barbados	B-14, C- 12 of 31 wkts. B-6, C-19 of 30 wkts.	10wkts/137runs 11wkts/101runs
1/1912 1/1912	Guyana v Trinidad Barbados v Trinidad	462 (3 innings) 749 (4 innings)	62- Trinidad 111- Barbados	249- Trinidad 97- Guyana 351- Barbados 109- Trinidad	B-10, C- 18 of 30 wkts. B-11, C- 15 of 32 wkts.	7wkts/25runs 7wkts/86runs
9/1921 9/1921	Trinidad v. Guyana Trinidad v Barbados	506 (3 innings) 595 (3 innings)	104- Trinidad 88- Trinidad	293- Trinidad 89- Guyana 266- Trinidad	B-10, C- 12 of 30 wkts. B-10, C- 14 of 25 wkts.	8wkts/61runs 8 wkts/91runs
2/1924 2/1924	Guyana v. Trinidad Barbados v. Trinidad	651 (4 innings) 555 (4 innings)	62- Trinidad 114- Barbados	261- Trinidad 132- Guyana 200- Barbados 83- Trinidad	B-12, C- 16 of 40 wkts. B-13, C- 20 of 40 wkts	10wkts/111runs 10wkts/70runs 10wkts/78runs
10/1925 10/1925	Guyana v. Barbados Guyana v. Trinidad	871 (4 innings) 1125 (4 innings)	102- Guyana 124- Guyana 100- Barbados 133- Barbados	374- Guyana 205- Barbados 380- Trinidad 214- Guyana	B-11, C- 10 of 32 wkts. B-14, C- 14 of 38 wkts.	13 wkts/135 runs++ 6 wkts/176 runs

Table 1.4 - *Continued*

1/1927	Barbados v. Guyana	1316 (3 innings)	120-Barbados 104-Barbados	715/9 wkts dec. - Barbados. 265-Guyana	B- 9, C-14 of 29 wkts.	5 wkts/110 runs
1/1927	Barbados v. Trinidad	1677 (4 innings)	115-Barbados 131-Barbados 100-Trinidad 192-Trinidad 123-Barbados 220-Barbados 174-Barbados	726/7 wkts dec.-Barbados 175-Barbados	B- 6, C-27 of 37 wkts.	9 wkts/205 runs

Note: Underlining denotes winning team. * Barbados rebounded in 2nd innings with game-winning 80/6 wkts. + Guyana scored 156/4 wkts during their 2nd innings. ** Barbados batted once for their 240/6 wkts. ++ C.R. Brown of Guyana captured 13 Barbadian wickets at cost of 135 runs and top-scored with 102 runs. The Trinidad vs. Barbados match played 9/1921 ended in a draw.

Table 1.4 lists the Inter-Colonial matches played between the Barbados, Trinidad and Guyana beginning in 1891. The gaps are not reflections of inconsistencies in the tournament's timetable, but an effort to reduce repetition. West Indies batting showed no sustained improvement between 1897 and 1925. During these years, West Indies batsmen scored a total of twelve centuries, in some cases earning as much as fifty percent or more of the total team score. However, in 1927, Barbados scored a total of 1,441 runs in two separate encounters against Trinidad and Guyana for the loss of a total of sixteen wickets. Whether this demonstration of superlative batting was in reaction to the overall unsatisfactory outcome of the MCC tour of the West Indies during the previous year is uncertain. It is very likely, however, that the presence on its team of the accomplished fast bowler Herman C. Griffith gave Barbados an edge over their opponents. By comparison, Trinidad had risen to some prominence at the expense of Guyana and appeared to have the most balanced of the teams. Of the twenty five matches referenced in Table 1.4, only one was drawn. This outcome is a reflection of a West Indian mentality that

predisposes a team to pursue a potential victory even though faced with a likely loss under dire circumstances.

In addition, the number of batsmen who were bowled out decreased relative to those that were caught out. This is a reflection of increased understanding and application of the relationship between precise bowling and field-setting designed to remove specific batsmen as well as improvements in the defensive aspects of batting at the expense of the aggressive pursuit of runs. This latter propensity would be exploited by English teams during West Indies tours of their country beginning in 1928 and continuing through 1963 and beyond. The Barbados opening batsmen Challenor and Tarilton were mainly responsible for the batting dominance of Barbados, but other batsmen of note from Guyana and Trinidad had risen to prominence as well. Finally, talented bowlers particularly from Trinidad and Guyana had proven themselves and were expected to perform as well for West Indies. In short, although the West Indies colonial teams held the promise of victories against the might of England, there were dark clouds that militated against these favorable outcomes. In addition, the loss to West Indies cricket of Ollivierre after the 1900 tour, King following that of 1906, and Constantine for most of the 1928 series meant a diminution of West Indies hopes of victory. These initial absences from their national team of talented players were to prove detrimental to West Indies team strength and cohesion. It set in motion a talent drain that would prove injurious to them, and nullify the potential gain to future players of the influence that these players might have provided.

During the early life of this tournament, racism unfortunately minimized the importance of what would have been the start of a necessary and excellent tradition inasmuch as Trinidad's all-white team, composed mainly of white Queen's Park Club players, was again soundly defeated by Barbados in the 1893 Inter-Colonial Tournament in the face of the availability of talented, black players.[94] Fortunately, this state of affairs was relatively short-lived since R. Slade Lucas' team of

[94] http://cricketarchive.com/Archive/Scorecards/4/4054.html

amateurs played against the full strength of a representative Trinidad team five years later.[95] In fact, the impressive victory by Trinidad over Lucas' team would not have been possible without the presence on their team of five black cricketers who captured twelve of the opponents' twenty wickets that fell in one crucial match.[96] Two of these men were Archibald Cumberbatch and Joseph Woods who had emigrated from Barbados because of that island's leadership's aversion to having blacks represent them in the sport. It is highly likely that this was done to offset the loss to the visitors by the white Queen's Park Club although Clem Seecharan contends that the real cause was the need to pay homage to the influence of upwardly mobile non-whites, as well as the wide support which they gave the sport.[97] In any event, the presence of black players on Trinidad's team and their victory over the visitors were signs of the changing racial dynamics of team composition. It is important that the Lucas visit was in response to an invitation from Dr. R.B. Anderson, a former resident of Tobago, and may have been aware of their cricketing potential. He had also been captain and secretary of Plymouth Cricket Club in England.[98] Although the tourists won easily in matches played against teams from Antigua, St Kitts and St Lucia, their decisive loss to St Vincent resulted from the performances of the Olivierres, a black family of cricketers.

Seecharan takes the position that a gradualist approach to the acquisition of economic, political and educational empowerment by non-whites was also evident in their increasing representation in cricket.[99] He posits further that because blacks had risen to positions of wealth and authority, their presence in positions of power in the larger society very likely influenced the selection of the five blacks to the national team.[100] His argument is bolstered by the fact that aside from the five blacks, the rest of the team consisted of Queen's Park Club players, an effort

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95 A. F. Somerset, "Cricket in the West Indies"; Imperial Cricket, Ed. P.F. Warner (London: The London and Counties Press Association Ltd. 1912), 452. See also http://cricketarchive.com/Archive/Scorecards/135/135002.html and http://cricketarchive.com/Archive/Scorecards/4/4275.html

96 Muscular Learning. 104-5.

97 Ibid. 108-11.

98 Ibid. 99.

99 Ibid. 97.

100 Ibid. 111.

to maintain their customary and dominant presence.[101] Obviously, the fact that the visits of the English teams under Slade Lucas, Lord Hawke and Sir Arthur Priestley and the resultant increase in the respectability of West Indies cricket and cricketers was not lost on West Indian cricketers, especially blacks. Thus the performance of these men would be measured not only against those whites who had better prospects for selection, but also against those behaviors ascribed to blacks, to which whites had varying degrees of aversion.[102] Furthermore, Seecharan asserts that among whites, the visit of Lucas' team and the demonstrated ability of Barbadians in this instance to defeat them proved that they, white Barbadians, had retained the virtues of unadulterated English blood. By implication therefore, they had not succumbed to the debilitating effects of the barbarism associated with the untamed tropics.[103] In other words, white Barbadians were to be considered as being on the same socio-cultural plane as any Englishman and therefore distanced from and of a more elevated stature than non-whites. It is also remarkable that in his response to the Barbados Attorney General's speech at the farewell function following the conclusion of the tour that Mr. Lucas referred not only to the possibility of his returning with a second team, but also to the upcoming tour of Lord Hawke, about which his hosts seemed to have been ignorant.[104]

The Trans-Atlantic Connection Established

Lord Hawke's 1897 tour of the West Indies might have been designed to elevate the stature of the West Indies cricket beyond that achieved by the Lucas tour since his team consisted of several notable cricketers, many of whom played for English county teams. In addition, Lord Hawke had established an enviable reputation in English cricket by his captaincy of the Yorkshire County cricket team, which had by then established itself as a dominant team and organization. The colonial teams from all contending countries consisted of white players with the exception of Trinidad, whose team, which defeated the visitors convincingly, contained several

101 http://cricketarchive.com/Archive/Scorecards/4/4275.html

102 Dominic Malcolm, " 'It's not Cricket': Colonial Legacies and Contemporary Inequalities", Journal of Historical Sociology Vol. 14 No. 3, September 2001, 268. Marshall claims that Herman Griffiths, who was arguably the best fast bowler in the West Indies, was passed over by H.B.G. Austin, who preferred the more docile George Francis.

103 Muscular Learning, 119.

104 Ibid. 121.

blacks including the aforementioned Woods and Cumberbach. These men captured all but one of the tourists' wickets in the first encounter, and eighteen of the nineteen that could be claimed in the second. In addition, Woods and Cumberbatch accounted for all ten of the visitors' wickets that fell during their second innings of their second match. Of these eight were bowled, and two were caught-and-bowled. Lord Hawke's team was dismissed for a total score of fifty eight runs.[105] In contrast, the white Queen's Park Club was fortunate to avoid defeat and retained some respectability with a draw.[106] Trinidad stood alone as the West Indian country willing to accede to the need for racial democratization of its colonial cricket team. Importantly, Barbados, the strongest of the colonial teams, lost one of its matches and drew the other, whereas Guyana, the next strongest lost twice.[107] Lord Hawke's team did not visit or play any matches against Jamaica.[108]

Sir Arthur Priestley's team, which was visiting the island simultaneously with Lord Hawke's, visited Jamaica, but not Guyana. Priestley's team appears to have been somewhat weaker than Lord Hawke's. Despite the presence of A. E. Stoddart, a seasoned veteran of English cricket, they lost their three-match set two to one against all-white Barbados teams, drew against the all-white Queen's Park Club of Trinidad, and won all four matches played against white teams in Jamaica.[109] However, against the racially represented Trinidad colonial team, they lost decisively, primarily because of their inability to cope with the bowling of Woods and Cumberbatch, who, during the first innings of their first match, removed Priestley's entire team for

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105 http://cricketarchive.com/Archive/Scorecards/4/4703.html, 12/27/2010; and http://cricketarchive/Archive/Scorecards/4/4704.html, 12/27/2010.

106 http://cricketarchive.com/Archive/Scorecards/135/135035.html, 12/27/2010.

107 http://cricketarchive.com/Archive/Scorecards/4/4708.html, 12/27/2010; http://cricketarchive/Archive/Scorecards/4/4711.html, 12/27/2010; http://cricketarchive.com/Archive/Scorecards/4/4723.html, 12/27/2010 and http://cricketarchive.com/Archive/Scorecards/4/4725.html, 12/27/2010.

108 Cricket in Many Climes. During the Lord Hawke tour, Warner records the English team journeying between cricketing venues on at least eight vessels including a yacht named *Aphrodite* and *H.M.S. Cordelia.* This shows an unfavorable contrast with the infrequency of colonial and inter-colonial matches that was attributable to limited availability of inter-island transportation.

109 Imperial Cricket, 452-455.

an embarrassing score of thirty three runs.[110] Following the match, the highly regarded Pelham Warner of Lord Hawke's team, praised Woods and Cumberbatch as the chief architects of their team's victory. While in Trinidad, Priestley's team played a match against a combined West Indies team, becoming the first English team to do so at this level. For this match, Woods lost his place to Goodman, a white Barbadian and an excellent fast bowler, who shared the bowling honors equally with Cumberbatch in capturing nine wickets each in the match.[111] The West Indies team was composed of five representatives from Trinidad, three from Barbados, and three from Guyana. Significantly, L.S. Constantine, the other black representative from Trinidad, was chosen because of his batting, and proved to be the most prolific batsman on either side.[112] In addition, the greater representation of Trinidadians on the team is likely attributable to the choice of Trinidad as the venue for the match since financial and logistical problems could thus be minimized. This seeming pragmatic approach to team selection was to prove to be a thorn in the side of future West Indies selectors and result in fielding weaker teams than were available.

In other words, the two players who, on this inaugural combined West Indies team, made the greatest contribution to the West Indies victories were blacks from Trinidad. They effectively put to rest the myths enshrouding the inability of blacks to keep their heads in difficult situations on the one hand, and to send down consistently accurate and troublesome deliveries to seasoned batsmen on the other. The quality of their performances should have sounded a clarion call for West Indies selectors to assemble teams based on merit rather than race. In fact, Hilary McD. Beckles regards these developments in Trinidad and the endorsement of fielding mixed-race by the highly regarded Pelham Warner as "… the beginning of the non-racial democratizing process in [West Indies] selection policy."[113] However, the selection process was hamstrung by

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110 http://cricketarchive.com/Archive/Scorecards/4/4706.html, 12/27/2010.

111 http://cricketarchive.com/Archive/Scorecards/4/4705.html, 12/27/2010.

112 Ibid.

113 Hilary McD. Beckles, "The Making of the first 'West Indian' team, 1886-1906"; Liberation Cricket: West Indies Cricket Culture, Ed. Hilary McD. Beckles and Brian Stoddart (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 197. Warner's statement taken from Bruce Hamilton, Cricket in Barbados (Bridgetown: Advocate Press, 1947), 53.

geography, insularity, big-island-small-island prejudice, and most of all by the failure of a blatantly autocratic leadership to hold on to their steadily eroding institutionalized edifices.

Following the departure of Lord Hawke's team, R.A. Bennett (1902), Lord Brackley (1905), and Lord Tennyson (1927, 1928) brought teams to the West Indies. In fact, Lord Tennyson made several additional trips to the West Indies but confined his team to contests against representative and other Jamaican teams.[114] What is significant about Somerset's recounting of the matches played against combined West Indian teams is his reference to them as Test matches. Another point of perhaps equal importance is his reference to the West Indies team as a combined team as opposed to a representative team.[115] Another team that restricted itself to visits to Jamaica was the Gentlemen of Philadelphia (1909). These Philadelphians made several trips to England as well, where they seem to have limited themselves to matches against other teams claiming to be composed exclusively of gentlemen.[116] In the meantime, Inter-Colonial competition continued apace, many of the tournaments involving teams from the Windward and Leeward Islands. The introduction of the trophy in the inter-island competition in 1893 was soon followed by the Cork Windward Islands Challenge Cup inaugurated in 1909, the Hesketh Bell Shield (1912) and the Beaumont Cup (1925).[117] Most important of all visits were those undertaken by the Marylebone Cricket Club (MCC) in 1911, 1913 and 1926, as well as those tours of England by West Indies in 1900, 1906 and 1923.[118]

West Indies Road to Test Cricket

The result of the West Indies tour of England in 1900 tour was inauspicious with the visitors winning a mere five, losing eight and drawing four of the seventeen matches which they played. Their performance six years later showed no improvement as they recorded six wins, ten losses and four draws from the twenty matches played. MCC visited the West Indies in 1911, 1913 and 1926, and those results contrasted sharply with those of the matches played in

114 Somerset, 455.
115 Ibid.
116 http://cricketarchive.com/Archive/Events/WI.html, 12/27/2010.
117 Ibid.
118 http://cricketarchive.com/Archive/Events/ENG.html, 12/28/2010.

England. Of the three matches played against the combined West Indies team in 1911, MCC won two convincingly and drew the third, which they might have lost given more time. MCC's second visit was somewhat less successful as MCC won two of the matches they played against the combined West Indies team. MCC lost the third match played against the combined West Indies team. No matches were played in Jamaica during the 1913 tour. Jamaica had hosted a Trinidad team in 1905 and had lost every match.[119] In fact, Jamaica fared badly when it challenged other Colonial teams, which probably explains why they tended to restrict their playing to non-West Indian teams. During their final tour in 1926, MCC played three matches against the Barbadians who remained undefeated after these encounters, winning one match and drawing two. Trinidad drew its matches, as did Guyana. The combined West Indies drew two of its three encounters, losing the match played in Trinidad. Jamaica and Guyana were both included in this series of matches so that this tour represented a complete circuit of West Indies cricket venues although Jamaica did not host a Test match.[120]

It seems then that West Indies had failed to show any marked statistical improvement in their engagements with MCC and yet were granted Test status in 1928. Altogether, the combined West Indies team played nine matches against MCC. They won a single match, lost five and drew three. These results were unimpressive and were, to a large extent, determined by the steadily increasing strength of the MCC touring team and the failure of West Indies selectors to field representative teams. These outcomes stand in stark contrast with the results of the Barbados versus MCC matches where, of the six matches played, MCC lost one, drew one and won none. These results do not include a drawn match played during the 1926 tour between MCC and Barbados Colts Cricket Club. Results from the Trinidad versus MCC encounters show Trinidad with an advantage with two wins, one loss and three draws from their six encounters.

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[119] http://cricketarchive.com/Archive/Seasons/WI/1905_WI_Other_First-Class_matches_in_West-Indies_1905.html.

[120] http://cricketarchive.com/Archive/Seasons/WI/1925-26_WI_Marylebone_Cricket_club_i...; 12/28/2010.

The results of the West Indies combined teams tours of England in 1900, 1906 and 1923 were therefore not conclusive with respect to the decision to admit them into Test cricket competition. The primary reason for these poor results was poor team selection. For example, the West Indies team of 1900 consisted of four Barbadians, three Guyanese, four Trinidadians, two Jamaicans, one Vincentian and a Grenadan. It is widely agreed that the Jamaican selections, M.M. Kerr, a sound batsman, and G.L. Livingstone did no merit inclusion on the team, although Livingston had bowled reasonably well against A. Priestley's touring team of 1897.[121] Neither the Grenadian Mignon, a medium-pacer, nor the Vincentian Ollivierre, a sound batsman, appears to have participated in the games played to determine the make-up of the team. However, Archer Warner, captain of the combined team, president of Queens Park Oval Cricket Club and nominated member of the Trinidad Legislative Council, in his zeal to assemble a representative team, appeared willing to overlook their absence but not that of the Jamaicans. It appears that Jamaica's failure to participate in the qualifying games to select the West Indies team was regarded as a snub that Warner was unwilling to overlook. He appeared, in addition, willing to overlook the race of Cumberbatch, Woods and D'Ade, all black, who would have been disqualified because of their "professional" status. [122] Eventually, Cumberbatch, considered the best West Indian bowler at the time, was omitted from the team because Trinidad's quota on the team had been met. [123] During the 1900 series, West Indies cricketers were exposed to playing conditions in England. They had never played in temperatures as cold as they were then experiencing, required to play as many as six days per week and to travel constantly from one venue to another. The rigors to which they were exposed contributed to their loss in five of their

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[121] Nicole, 34. See also http://cricketarchive.com/Archive/Scorecards/4/4724.html; 12/27/2010.

[122] Muscular Learning, 234-5. Taken from Port of Spain Gazette, July 6, 1899.

[123] Nicole, 34.

first six matches. However, they soon adjusted and lost none of their last seven even though Yorkshire, Surrey and Hampshire were among their opponents.[124]

This was a remarkable improvement in a team that had never played as a unit, had social and other obstacles that impinged upon their cohesiveness, and had limited experience playing accomplished spinners. This tour by West Indies was essentially a baptism by fire, and their rebound during its latter stages speaks to their resourcefulness as individual cricketers though perhaps not as a team. Among the matches lost in the early stage of the tour was that played against MCC during which West Indies batsmen, L.R. Constantine and Burton, facing an ignominious defeat, resorted to the aggressive type of batting that was to become a West Indies trademark and contribution to the sport for decades to come. What at first seemed an easy victory for MCC's was changed by these black batsmen and then by their bowling teammates during MCC's turn at bat, into a hard-fought battle. Nicole considers this outcome as a crucial change in the mentality of the West Indies team which began to regard the tour more as a contest than opportunities to be tutored by their more adept masters.[125] By implication, therefore, these improvements represent glimpses into a new world of likely outcomes earned at the discomfiture of former colonial masters.

The 1906 matches were granted first class matches, but West Indies lost nine of the first eleven matches played and only one of the remaining nine. Essentially, this tour was similar in many ways to that of 1900 except that the results were less favorable to the touring side. The 1923 tour occurred five years after the conclusion of the World War 1, during which time no Inter-Colonial tournaments were held in the West Indies. At the same time, no first class cricket was played in England although the Lancashire League continued to be very active.[126] During this tour, West Indies played twenty six matches including one each against Oxford and Cambridge Universities as well as teams led by H.D.G. Leveson-Gower and Lord Harris. West Indies won

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[124] A.F. Somerset, 455. See also http://cricketarchive.com/Archive/Seasons/ENG/1900_ENG_West_Indies_in_England_1...; 12/29/2010.

[125] Nicole, 36.

[126] http://cricketarchive.com/Archive/Events/ENG.html; 12/28/2010.

thirteen, lost six and drew the remaining seven of their matches. Whereas the team's performance in the 1906 tour mirrored that during that of 1900, the 1923 tour results showed an approximate sixty six percent increase in victories and a fifty percent decrease in losses. These improvements may be attributable to a tremendous growth in the number of West Indians playing the sport at the levels dictated by the socio-economic realignments. Clubs sprang up in every island, and tournaments increased in number and the level of intensity that their contests engendered. Inter-Colonial tournaments were now being held with commendable regularity with consequential improvements in the quality of the cricket being played, the increasingly widespread nature of the support the players received from their communities, and the incremental support that the sport's infrastructure received financially, culturally and in other ways.

Cricket club formation seemed to have been planned with the exclusion of non-whites as a primary objective, and despite the establishment of several clubs in the four major islands, measures had been taken to ensure this exclusivity. Among the measures taken was the assessment of membership fees that most non-whites could ill afford. It was also a foregone conclusion that attendance at a particular school meant likely membership in specific clubs. In addition, particularly within the black race, hue also determined club membership. Brian Stoddart has argued forcefully that education, occupation and family connections were three of the determinants of club membership, that membership denoted social class, which additionally spoke to the need to demonstrate an unbroken linkage to England.[127] He maintains, in addition, that membership in non-white clubs was protected by a not too dissimilar set requirements designed to protect the perceived exclusivity of the membership.[128]

West Indies paid a third visit to England in 1923 when they played twenty six matches including one against MCC which they drew, and another against H.D.G. Leveson-Gower's team which was composed of the best individual cricketers in England, which they lost. Learie

[127] Ed. Brian Stoddart and Keith A.P. Sandiford, The Imperial Game: Cricket, Culture and Society, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), 81-83.
[128] Ibid,

Constantine, who played in this match, described it as one in which team spirit had achieved its acme when captain, bowlers and fielders, although victory was all but guaranteed to the English, approached the last innings with unusual staunchness. Set thirty one runs for victory, the pride of England's batmanship succumbed to a relentless and aggressive pace attack that, in Constantine's and the correspondents' opinions in the *Athletic News*, might have been more successful if certain umpiring decisions had been less prejudiced.[129] This was a fitting climax to a series in which West Indian cricketers had played against county teams that had fielded their best teams and had lost. West Indies' twelve victories were impressive in comparison with their seven losses and seven draws.

MCC paid three visits to the West Indies between 1911, 1913 and 1926. The Lucas tour (1895), Priestley and Hawke (1897), Bennett (1902) and Brackley (1905), instructive though they were on both sides of the Atlantic, did not stamp the West Indies team as suited for Test cricket, Somerset's comments notwithstanding. Thus the 1911, 1913 and 1926 matches were acid tests intended to determine West Indies' readiness to compete at Test level. During the 1911 visit, MCC played a total of twelve matches of which they won four, lost four, drew three and tied one.[130] They lost both games played against Barbados and Trinidad decisively, gave nothing away in Jamaica, and might have won the third match that they drew against the combined West Indies team. During their 1913, MCC won five of the nine matches played and lost three.[131] Two patterns peculiar to West Indies cricket began to emerge. The first was that Barbados' team began to exhibit dominance over visiting international teams that even a combined West Indies team failed to demonstrate. The 1926 MCC visit was of vital importance to West Indies cricket. Coming as it did following the impressive West Indies visit to England in 1923 and the upsurge in interest in and the vast increase in the number of organizations involved in the sport, West Indians were extremely anxious that their team be granted Test status and thus, parity with the

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129 Cricket and I, 62-65. See also Christopher Nicole, 62-3.

130 http://cricketarchive.com/Archive/Seasons/WI/1910-11_WI_Marylebone_Cricket_Club_i..., 12/27/2010.

131 http://cricketarchive.com/Archive/Seasons/WI/1912-13_WI_Marylebone_Cricket_Club_i..., 12/27/2010.

other Test playing countries. The second was an extension of the first in that the successes of the Barbadians on the cricket pitch argued for an increase in their representation on the national team. This posturing resulted in the creation of team disharmony that would result in their weakening despite the evidence of their individual talents.

The 1926 MCC tour consisted of thirteen matches of which the visitors won two, lost one and drew nine. Barbados' spectacular victory after the near defeat of a non-representative team during the first match signaled the growing strength of their representative island team. The near defeat of the West Indies team that occurred shortly thereafter ought to have sent a clear message to West Indian selectors that something was wrong. Learie Constantine argues that his presence on the West Indies team during that test might have prevented the MCC's accumulating of the 597 runs which West Indies found insurmountable. West Indies lost to MCC in Trinidad and drew, but might have won their match at Bourda cricket ground in Georgetown, Guyana. This MCC tour represented the final contest prior to the 1928 West Indies tour of England. The inconclusiveness of the results points to the increasing ability of the West Indians to meet the English on equal terms. Finally and significantly, on May 31, 1926 the West Indies Cricket Board of Control (W.I.C.B.C.) was instituted. At its inception, its purpose was "to supervise cricket in the colonies, and to select the sides for representative games."[132]

Nicole suggests that this organization should also have been able to obviate the quota system as well as the West Indian tendency for home colonies to claim higher than justifiable representation in representative matches.[133] However, this development had very little impact on team selection as racial and other problems continued to thwart the organization's purpose. While it is unclear that West Indies were granted Test status partly because of the improvements in the standard of their cricket or their intention to establish a governing organization, it is reasonably certain that West Indians intimately connected with cricket realized that MCC did not consider West Indies as adequate combatants since the initial series, and the next three played in England

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132 Christopher Nicole, 69.

133 Ibid.

consisted of three matches. The West Indies played its first five-match series in 1954 during the MCC tour of the islands.[134] On the other hand, South Africa began engaging in five-match home-based Test series in 1905, and on tours to England in 1924, five years prior to their first match victory in England.[135] These differences in the way in which these teams were treated suggest a more accommodating attitude toward the South African national team.

134 Barclays World of Cricket, 303-4.
135 Ibid. 292-3.

CHAPTER 2

DEVELOPMENT IN ENGLISH AND WEST INDIES CRICKET, 1928-1963

Every nation within whose borders the game of cricket is played looks forward with some degree of longing to the time when its national team will be welcomed as a full member of the International Cricket Council or at least an associate member. Full membership is preferred as this rank must be achieved before participation in Test cricket competition is allowed. At present, Australia, Bangladesh, England, India, New Zealand, Pakistan, South Africa, Sri Lanka, West Indies and Zimbabwe comprise the list of member countries. There are thirty eight associate members, fifty eight affiliate members and twenty additional countries which make up a category referred to as "other country", among which are listed Barbados and Jamaica.[1] This chapter will discuss the growth of cricket in England and West Indies from 1928 to 1963 and will focus mostly on developments in Test cricket competition and analysis of those statistics that are relevant to the discussion. Additional areas of discussion crucial to the central notion of silence will therefore include Test team selection, captaincy, West Indies cricketers in English leagues, and finally, the influence of Lords and the MCC.

Amateurs and Professionals, in English cricket, were expressions of classism. These classifications developed because of the need to separate those persons engaged in the sport along class lines assess fees to see games, to control gambling, and to establish the sport as the mainstay in the livelihood of the amateur and professional players. The interactions between these two groups impacted club development and organization at all levels as well as the numerous ancillary structures that grew out of the activities necessary to the sport's survival and growth. In time, because of the need for sponsorship, and because of societal predispositions regarding separation by class, Gentlemen and Players became the acknowledged terms by which

[1] http://cricketarchive.com/Archive/Countries/index.html, 1/31/2011.

cricketers came to be designated. The term gentlemen, or amateurs, sprang from an essentially Victorian mindset, which was identified with the nobler aspects of the human character on human behavior. Professionals or Players, while not distanced from Victorian outlook, were disposed toward a more utilitarian, and therefore Edwardian mindset.

These two outlooks were vital, at the county level, in determining the qualifications for team membership, team selection, team leadership, and club and institutional organization. Between 1928 and 1963 most county organizations had been established and matches played between the counties themselves and between and visiting national teams were classified as First Class matches. Since these matches generally lasted three days, and the cricketers who were engaged by these clubs depended on their earnings for their subsistence, they were regarded as professionals. However, leadership and captaincy continued to be the preserve of the amateur or the person who was seen to possess innate qualities that destined him to guide the affairs of other men and society. Thus the gentleman, as the amateur was first called, assumed the mantle of captaincy through the circumstance of birth, which enabled him to be self-supporting, empowered him to demand respect from those he led without pandering to any teammate's strengths or weaknesses, and endowed him with the ability to distance himself from the men he led so that he could make objective decisions that were in the best interest of the team and the organizations it represented.[2]

Professionalism in English cricket developed alongside the assessment of fees to see games, the control of gambling, and the establishment of the sport as the mainstay in the livelihood of the players, club organizations at all levels and the numerous ancillary structures that grew out of the activities necessary to the sport's survival and growth. In time, because of the need for sponsorship by the nobility, and because of societal predispositions regarding separation by class, This partitioning represented the two major forces that determined, to a great extent, the relationships between these social groups. Classism had been built into cricket from the early days of the sport and had injected into the sport modes of behavior on and off the field of play

[2] Barclay's World Of Cricket, pgs 7-8.

that became part of the essence and language of the sport. Thus amateurs were regarded as possessing the nobler aspects of the human character on human behavior while the term professionals implied a more utilitarian disposition.

There was therefore an accepted social distance that separated professionals from amateurs, which was discernable in roles that members of each group played. When the team traveled, amateurs enjoyed better sleeping accommodations and other privileges. Professionals were expected to help with the preparation of the pitch, and bowl to the amateurs during practice sessions in the nets. In addition, as if to make a point, the list of team names on the scoreboard showed the amateurs surname following his initials. This order was reversed for the professionals. In addition the professional entered and exited the playing area via different gates. Finally, professionals addressed amateurs as "Mr." or "Sir", whereas, for the amateur, this sign of respect was unnecessary.[3]

By 1928, England, Australia and South Africa had been engaged in these encounters for fifty two and forty years respectively. New Zealand, India and Pakistan were granted Test status in 1929, 1932 and 1954 respectively by the MCC. The addition of these countries led to an explosion of regional, inter-regional, national and inter-national contests across the Commonwealth. Although the vast majority of these confrontations were built around the tours arranged between these countries, other matches were arranged some of which, like the later Commonwealth games which started in 1949, became traditions that were to affect the world of cricket in many ways. The two-fold purpose of the Commonwealth Games, was to raise the level of play of teams in new entrant countries while, at the same time, relieve MCC of the fulfilling this function itself.[4] The interactions of new players from these new countries, as well as the West

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[3] P.F. Warner, Cricket in many Climes (London: William Heinmann), 1900. In Warner's description of particularly social events and sleeping accommodations, the social separation is very noticeable. See also Dominic Malcolm, "'It's not Cricket': Colonial Legacies and Contemporary Inequalities", Journal of Historical Sociology, Vol. 14 No. 3 September 2001, 263.

[4] Barclays World of Cricket, 73. Commonwealth teams were generally composed of English, Australian and West Indian professionals from mainly the Lancashire cricket league who visited and played matches against India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. Frank Worrell captained one of

Indies, resulted in their migration, primarily to England, at least initially, where they played professionally for league and county teams. An inevitable consequence of this was the greater surge of emigrants from these countries to seek employment and to take up permanent residence.

Table 2.1 Test Matches Played Between 1928 and 1963[5]

Teams	**England**	**Australia**	**S. Africa**	**W. Indies**	**N. Zealand**	**India**	**Pakistan**	**Total**
England		73	50	45	31	29	12	240
Australia	***73***		25	20	1	13	4	136
S. Africa	***50***	***25***			14			89
W. Indies	***45***	***20***			6	20	8	99
N. Zealand	***31***	***1***	***14***	***6***		5	5	62
India	***29***	***13***		***20***	***5***		15	82
Pakistan	***12***	***4***		***8***	***5***	***15***		44
Total	***240***/240	***63***/136	***14***/89	***34***/99	***10***/62	***15***/82	44	***376***/752

Note: Total of all matches played was 376 (bold script), allowing for redundancies. West Indies were admitted to Test Cricket membership in 1928, New Zealand in 1929, India in 1932 and Pakistan in 1954. These disparities in matches played are partly a reflection of the commencement dates and the higher frequency of England vs. Australia encounters.

One of the reasons for the disparity in the number of test matches played between England and South Africa compared with Australia and South Africa is the zeal with which the English undertook the transplanting of the sport to all points of its empire. In fact, by 1902, when

these teams prior to being made captain of West Indies Test team. See also http://cricketarchive.com/Archive/Events/IND.html, 4/04/2011.

[5] Ibid, 238, 248,250, 252, 254, 284-5, 292-3, 303-4, 308, 315, 320, 324, 330, 331, 334, 339, 344, 347.

Australia played its first Test match against South Africa, England had played eight; and by 1928 had played an additional thirty six compared to Australia's fourteen.[6]

Table 2.2 Comparison of Test Match Statistics For England vs. S. Africa and England vs. West Indies1928-39 and 1946-63

Periods	**Teams**	**Matches Played**	**Win Percentage**	**Loss Percentage**	**Draw Percentage**
1928-39	England v. S. Africa	20	15	10	75
1928-39	England v. W. I.	17	47.1	17.6	35.3
1946-63	England v. S. Africa	30	53.3	16.7	30
1946-63	England v. W. I.	28	28.6	35.7	35.7

Note: By comparing the performances of South Africa and West Indies during two periods one is enabled to observe the improvements among the three teams. Australia is excluded simply because they outranked all other teams.

Table 2.2 compares the results of Test matches: England vs. South Africa and England vs. West Indies played over two separate time periods. During the earlier 1928-39 period, the difference between wins and losses for South Africa and England are not significant, whereas those between West Indies and England are stark. On the other hand, the England vs. South Africa results show a decline in matches drawn from seventy five percent in the earlier period to thirty percent later. The significant decline in the percentage of the South Africa vs. England drawn matches indicates a robustness in their teams' performances, however, this translates into one additional win for South Africa. A further explanation for the disparity between South African versus West Indies wins is closely related to the age and strength of the English team compared

[6] Ibid. 238, 292.

with that of the West Indies. During the later period, with the weakening of the England national team and the strengthening of West Indies, the percentage of England wins versus losses was reversed, while the fraction representing draws remained the same. This means that West Indies won twice as many of the games played as it had in the earlier period. For South Africa, even though there was a significant decline in the number of drawn games, that deficit translated into wins for England. By 1963, South Africa had been reduced to a mere shadow of its former self, because even as England was losing face in its encounters with West Indies, they were showing remarkable improvement over South Africa.[7] The Australians remained the only consistently victorious team throughout both periods. In fact they won eight of the fourteen series played against England, lost five, and drew one. Despite having lost the first three series played against Australia between 1930 and 1955, West Indies might have drawn the series played in 1960-61. In fact, the closeness of that encounter was so stimulating that it caused a rebirth of a sport that had been dying in that country.[8]

1928 therefore represented a turning point in West Indies cricket. Prior to that year, West Indies had shown very little improvement in their quality of play at home and in England. At home, Inter-Colonial tournaments were being held with increasing frequency though not consistently, and their results pointed to a significant increase in the development of cricketing skills across the board. This was markedly demonstrated during the 1927 tournament when a total of nine centuries were made by Barbadians in the two innings of two separate matches during which they accumulated 1441 runs for the loss of sixteen wickets. Whether this represented a change in attitude occasioned by the afterglow from the 1923 tour of England is difficult to ascertain from writers on West Indian cricket history. In addition, there were changes in team aggregate runs, as

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[7] The post-World War II period in West Indian cricket showed almost phenomenal growth with world-class batsmen and bowlers coming to the fore in two waves. In addition, the migration of West Indians cricketers to the English leagues resulted in valuable developmental increase especially in their performances on foreign soil. West Indies won 3, drew 1 and lost two of the series played against England between 1947 and 1963. The results for South Africa during the same period were: 6-payed, 0-wins, 1-draw and 5 losses. South Africa did not experience a similar surge in talent.

[8] Playfairs Cricketers Monthly, April, 1963, 5; August, 1963, 4-5. See also The Commonwealth Book of Cricket, 19-20.

well as increases in the number of batsmen caught out compared to those bowled out. This last change is significant inasmuch as it indicates improvements in fielding and a new focus by bowlers in attacking the batsmen's bats as opposed to their wickets, although the latter approach was remained dominant. An additional area of improvement lay in wicket-keeping shown in the decreasing number of byes allowed, although this area did not receive nearly as much attention as the English had given it to this point.[9]

West Indies therefore tended to approach the 1928 tour with a degree of optimism based on the outcomes, though minimal, which they had shown during their tours of England in 1900, 1906 and 1923. In the first they had played seventeen matches, had won twenty nine percent of them and lost forty seven percent. The corresponding percentages from the 1906 tour which involved twenty matches were thirty and fifty, and those for 1923 were forty six and thirty percent. Although the 1900 tour had not been designated as a First Class tour, the second and third were, and an examination of the quality of teams fielded by counties and clubs demonstrated to the West Indians the increasing respect they had earned by England in this sport. It is fairly safe to assume that, given that the 1928 tour represented their first trip to England as Test cricketers, that West Indies would have approached this series of matches with a thorough understanding of their own strength, its adequacy to defeat the opposition, and a clear understanding of the circumstances that might effect unwelcome and damaging outcomes in matches.

Additionally, MCC had toured the West Indies three times since 1911 and had played a total of thirty four matches. Eleven of those had been played against Guyana and Jamaica, and the home teams had failed to win any. The combined West Indies team had engaged MCC on nine occasions, winning just once, losing five times and drawing three games. On the other hand, the tourists had played six matches against Barbados, winning none, losing five and drawing one. They fared a little better against Trinidad where, of the six matches played, they won once, lost

[9] http://cricketarchive.com/Archive/Events/WI.html, 4/05/2011.

twice and drew thrice.[10] Based solely on these statistics, it would seem that the strongest West Indies combined team would be obtained from among the best players from Barbados and Trinidad.[11] Such a team, however, would not have been representative of the West Indies, and achieving a desirable geographical balance was a veritable conjurer's nightmare which was to plague West Indies selectors for many decades.

Among the concerns with which these selectors were challenged was the failure of Jamaica to send participants to the MCC vs. West Indies matches. It didn't increase their chances for the inclusion of their players in the team that they had failed to win any of the seven matches played in their colony. The West Indies selectors were cognizant of the logistical problems which decreased Jamaica's chances for participating in Inter-Colonial matches. However, the selectors were put off by the arrogance by which Jamaica claimed a right of inclusion despite her failure to engage, as well as the poor overall showing of her men during the previous tours of England. Despite its inglorious past, however, Jamaica was able to demonstrate that its encounters with Lord Tennyson's team had left them with a vastly improved colonial team.[12] In any event, by 1928, Jamaica had now reconciled itself to the other members of the West Indian cricketing family, if only in cricket, but this reconciliation was to distance cricketers from nearby St. Vincent

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[10] http://cricketarchive.com/Archive/Seasons/WI/1910-11_WI_Marylebone_Cricket_Club_i..., 12/27/2010; http://cricketarchive.com/Archive/Seasons/WI/1912-13_WI_Marylebone_Cricket_Club_i..., 12/27/2010; http://cricketarchive.com/Archive/Seasons/WI/1925-26_WI_Marylebone_Cricket_Club_i..., 12/28/2010.

[11] A.F. Somerset, "Cricket in the West Indies", Imperial Cricket, Ed. P.F. Warner (London: The London and Counties Press Association Ltd., 1912), 462. Somerset opined that it was more difficult to beat Trinidad or Barbados on their home grounds than a combined West Indies team. Perhaps this realization among Barbadians helped in their arranging a match in which they challenged a team from the rest of the West Indies as part of their Independence celebration in 1962. Barbadians, having claimed for years that they were the most literate of West Indians, were now attempting to establish their dominance in an area in which they had supreme confidence at the most crucial point in their political life as a nation.

[12] Learie Constantine, Cricket and I (London: Philip Allen, 1933), 111. Here the author asserts that the Lord Tennyson visits were by invitation from Jamaica, and implies that they were being used there as a learning tool for the sole benefit of Jamaican cricketers. Lord Tennyson's team toured Jamaica in 1927, 1928 and 1932. See http://cricketarchive.com/Archive/Events/WI.html for other dates for other Jamaica-only tours.

and Grenada who, despite past performances, would now and thereafter experience silencing by a new, viperous nuisance known as big-island-small-island prejudice.

Meantime, England had begun to remove the stain to its image put there by the Australians in three consecutive series losses from 1920 through 1925. In the 1926 Australian tour, England's team of superlative batsmen and bowlers had risen to the occasion, and, although four of the five Tests were drawn, including that played at Lord's, her pride had been restored so that during their next visit to Australia, England had won four of the five tests played there. K.S. Ranjitsinhji, C.B. Fry, S.F. Barnes, G.L. Jessop of earlier fame had given way to a new wave of cricketers including J.B. Hobbs, H. Sutcliffe, prolific opening batsmen, G.E. Tyldesley, E.H. Hendren, H. Larwood and C.V. Grimmett, dangerous but effective bowlers, and W.R. Hammond, arguably the best all-rounder in the world at the time.[13] Many of their exploits have placed them among the best in the history of the sport.[14]

English cricket had rebounded energetically from its hibernation during the 1914-18 World War followed by three consecutive series defeats by Australia. County, league, club, university, school and other matches and championships had been in full flow by April, 1928 when the West Indians arrived. In addition to the vast array of cricketing encounters that took place that year, England fielded its best team for its Test Trial match, the seventh of its kind since its inception in 1911.[15] This match was intended to test the might of the national team against the talent and robustness of mainly county players who might possibly displace some of the veterans. The primary motive was to isolate the best available talent pool from which to select the best

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[13] Ranjitsinghi was an Indian of distinguished birth who had migrated to England where he became a student at Cambridge University, which he represented as a cricketer. In Cricket and Race, 29-31. Jack Williams describes the ambivalence which England surrounded his birthright and thus his eligibility to play on the national team, and his strange but effective way of batting. Williams also argues that Ranjitsinghi's popularity in England rested on his acknowledgement of Great Britain as the presence in India was assurance of India's future success as a nation. Ranjitsinghi represented England during the 1899 Australian visit, though he did not play against the South Africans. Clem Seecharan, in From Ranji to Rohan ,37-41, makes a claim for Ranjitsinghi as the embodiment of a perfect combination of very best in cricket and race to which any Indian could aspire.

[14] Barclays World of Cricket, 644-49.

[15] http://cricketarchive.com/Archive/Events/ENG.html, 12/28/2010.

possible team. This device was not dissimilar to that done in the West Indies, although the problems inherent in the selection process itself were dissimilar. In short, England was preparing to do battle with a West Indies team that thought highly of itself, which had not yet proven itself, and which needed to demonstrate its readiness to wear the mantle bestowed on it. Thus the 1928 England team that faced West Indies represented the might of England, and it was against these stalwarts that West Indies were expected to prove their worthiness to play at Test level.

West Indian Cricket, 1928-1963

The 1928 tour was a disaster for West Indies. The team played a massive forty two matches between April 26 and September 14, and of these thirty were ranked First Class, nine were regarded as friendlies and three were Test matches. They lost the Test matches rather ingloriously, won five of the thirty First Class matches, lost twelve, and drew thirteen. Of the nine friendly matches, West Indies won five and drew four. In addition to their showing in the friendly matches, West Indies embarrassed their supporters and region by losing to Ireland, Wales, and a team drawn from the Minor Counties. These losses, highlighted by a large number of dropped catches, the failure of normally dependable batsmen to cope with the wiles of England's spin bowlers, and the inability of the West Indies fast bowlers to understand and capitalize on the advantages hidden in the English moisture-laden atmosphere, made the tour particularly frustrating for the West Indies players. Learie Constantine, who was very productive with bat and ball during all but the Test matches recalls that commentaries in the English press were particularly stressful.[16]

Constantine's summary statement on the Test series and tour was that "in 1928 we [the team], rose to our greatest heights in saving games."[17] Given that almost forty one percent of the matches were drawn, he is obviously implying that these games might well have been lost, thus causing the team and their supporters additional pain. One of the hazards of the tour was the inability of West Indian fielders to determine the trajectory and velocity of struck balls

16 Cricket and I, 105. See also Wisden Cricketers Almanack, 1929.
17 Cricket and I, 101.

approaching them as potential catches. Additional failings concerned the effects of moisture in the air and on the wicket, which will wreak havoc for batsmen, no matter how talented, who have no experiential knowledge of these effects. In addition, the failure of their players to contest aggressively the drawn games would have been particularly galling to their highly expectant West Indian supporters to whose sense of regional identity this series meant so much.

Despite these accumulated failings and disappointments, there were several areas of progress. Firstly, the team's racial composition, despite or perhaps because of its importance to West Indies regional prestige showed five blacks or coloreds and ten white players. This mix was a reflection not so much of the demographics, but of a response to the layers of silence that were being slowly removed. It is significant that Barbados sent a black cricketer as one of its representatives on the team. Barbados had, just ten years earlier, refused to play against Trinidad in the Challenge Cup as the latter had a mixed racial team. In fact their refusal may have been prompted by their concern over having to contend with the bowling of Wood and Cumberbatch, Barbadians who had immigrated to Trinidad in order to play cricket at a level that had been denied them on racial grounds, in Barbados.[18] It should have been obvious to the West Indies selectors that West Indies cricketers needed exposure to unfriendly pitches and weather conditions in order to build up a necessary resilience. Finally, the grueling pace and duration of the series should have established the need for change in West Indies cricketing mentality if their Test team were to measure up to the quality of performance required at that level.

Hinds' selection may also have been in response to Pelham Warner's warning to West Indian selectors of the counter-productiveness of selecting teams that did not contain the available, qualified, and therefore much needed black players. Warner, a descendant of Sir Thomas Warner, who first colonized St Kitts and other West Indian islands, had emigrated from his home Trinidad to Barbados where he attended Harrison College, and had matriculated, saturated with the virtues of muscular learning. Thereafter, he moved to England, became a

[18] Nicole, 25.

highly respected player, captain and leader at the MCC and an influential leader in the broader organization of cricket in England. At the same time, Barbadian selectors were not unaware of the potentially conflagrant developments that black exclusion from their quota might cause in light of the victory in 1899 of Spartan, a black cricket club, during the island's Challenge Cup that year.

Table 2.3 Racial Composition of West Indies Test Teams in England, 1900-1957

Year	**White**	**Non-White**
1900	10	5
1906	7	7
1923	8	8
1928	6	12
1933	6	10
1939	7	11
1950	7	11
1957	7	13

From 1928 until the break in international competition caused by World War II, the performance of the West Indies Test team was unsatisfactory. Of their seventeen Test matches played over five series, including eight played in the West Indies, they had won three matches, lost eight and drawn six. Six of these eight losses occurred during the first ten matches played, as had one win and two draws. Of the final seven games then, West Indies had won two, lost two and drawn three. This improvement was a reflection of the team's adjustment to English playing conditions, the increase in black attendance at matches, adjusting to the idiosyncrasies of English cricketers, and the presence of a supporting social structure created by the increasing numbers of black immigrants to England. In November 1932, West Indies began a five-match Test series against Australia, lost four and won one of these games. As with the matches in England, the

West Indies team began by losing all of its early matches, and surprised everyone by recovering sufficiently to win the final Test match.[19]

The challenge of facing a much more talented and experienced Australian team in 1930 was compounded by the haphazard manner in which the team had been thrown together, the lack of knowledge by team members of one another either personally or professionally, and the inexperience of Jack Grant the captain, and Birkett the vice-captain, both fresh from Cambridge.[20] Both were white and thus were presumed qualified to lead, in the eyes of West Indian Test selectors, despite the presence on the team of George Headley and Learie Constantine, both of whom were black.[21]

The significance of the 1950 tour lay in not just the series victory won by West Indies, but in the comprehensive defeat that they handed England during their second Test match at Lord's. England had won the three prior engagements at Lord's by wide margins. In fact West Indies had not won a Test in England of the nine played to date, and England had won the first Test of the current series just ten days prior to the Lord's test. The euphoria that engulfed Lord's at the conclusion of that match, had not been experienced nor witnessed before. The invasion of the pitch was in two phases and on two levels. On one level, a West Indian calypsonian named Lord Beginner composed a song titled *Cricket, Lovely Cricket* and Lord Kitchener sang it at the end of the match, accompanied by his impromptu group of minstrels while they traversed the landscape at Lord's.[22] Following the conclusion of the match, the pitch was invaded by a throng of West Indians who gathered outside the Players' balcony demanding the appearance of the heroes who had just released them from the silence that had heretofore been their constant condition.

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19 Ibid, 248.

20 Ibid, 240.

21 Jack Grant, My Story (London: Lutherworth Press, 1980), 31. Grant was unequivocal in his declaration that his being captain was the result of his race. See also http://cricketarchive.com/Archive/Seasons/AUS/1930-31_AUS_West_Indies_in_Australia_and_New_Zealand_1930.html, 4/06/2011.

22 **groups.google.com**/group/rec.music.reggae/browse_thread/...; Another calypsonian, Pat Gastagne immortalized the 1963 Lord's Test with the lyrics on p. 127 of J.S. Barker's Summer Spectacular.

In contrast with the Australians, the West Indies, despite their theoretical superiority in 1950, began their series in their customary passive manner, and did not achieve their first victory until their sixth encounter.[23] In any event, West Indies tour was lauded as a major accomplishment; and the cricketing world waited anxiously for the West Indies' visit to Australia scheduled the following year, which, many felt, would determine the unofficial world champion. The 1951-52 series against Australia served to establish the fact that despite their trouncing of England, West Indies were no match for the irrepressible Australians.

In addition to the 1951-52 series, West Indies played against Australia in 1954-55 in the West Indies, and 1960-61 in Australia. The results were four wins to one loss in the first, three wins and two draws in the second, and two wins, a loss, a tie and a draw in the third. West Indies had not shown any discernable improvement until the last of these series and should have won, or at least tied it as a result of a win, of which they seem to have been deprived, in the drawn match.[24] West Indies also played six Test matches against New Zealand though these tended to resemble addenda to the Australia programs. The visitors were not seriously challenged and achieved a four-win, one-loss and one-draw result from the two encounters.[25] India and Pakistan had been admitted to Test cricket competition in 1932 and 1954 respectively. West Indies, by 1963 had played twenty matches in four series against the former, winning ten, losing none and drawing ten. India was rather slow in building its team strength, in fact winning a mere three of the first twenty two matches it played against England. They were to reverse their team fortunes in time. Because of their late start, Pakistan opposed West Indies in two series, winning three of the eight matches played, losing four and drawing one.[26] In summary, West Indies had proven themselves to be serious contenders for an unofficial world champion of cricket title. This title and

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[23] http://cricketarchive.com/Archive/Seasons/ENG/1950_ENG_West_Indies_in_England_19..., 1/26/2011.

[24] Rohan Kanhai, Blasting for Runs (London: Souvenir Press, 1966),76.

[25] Ibid, 339.

[26] Ibid, 344, 347.

trophy was not initiated until 1979, when the Prudential Cup competition was converted into the Prudential World Cup, the first of which the West Indies won.[27]

Table 2.4 Results of Matches Played by West Indies Against All Test Cricket Opponents 1928-63[28]

Opponents	**Matches**	**Wins**	**Losses**	**Draws/Ties**
England	45	13	16	16
Australia	20	3	13	3/1
New Zealand	6	4	1	1
India	20	10	0	10
Pakistan	8	4	3	1
Total	**99**	**34**	**33**	**31**

English Cricket, 1928-1963

By the dawn of the twentieth century cricket in England had spread across the length and breadth of the country. In fact, a more apt descriptive term would be the United Kingdom since teams from Ireland, Scotland and Wales had begun conducting tours of England beginning in the mid-to-late nineteenth century. Additional tours had been undertaken by the Australian Aborigines, the Gentlemen of Philadelphia, as well as teams from the Netherlands. By this time also, thousands of matches at all levels had been played between schools, universities, leagues and counties across the realm, and tournament matches intensified the interest of players and adherents alike, and the institution of a county championship brought together the assortment of county organizations that needed to be centralized. Moreover, Test cricket had become a fixture, and matches played between the England and Australian premier teams provided avenues for national expression. The inclusion of South African cricket teams at this level of competition is

[27] http://cricketarchive.com/Archive/Scorecards/39/39336.html, 1/29/11

[28] Ray Goble and Keith A.P. Sandiford, 75 Years of West Indies Cricket, 1928-2003 (London: Hansib Publications Ltd., 2004), 507-09.

noted, but since the vast majority of these games, which England won, took place in South Africa, the impact was reduced significantly. Finally, cricket teams from England continued to conduct tours from Canada to Argentina and from Northern Europe to Australia spreading English influence, culture and dominance across the length and breadth of its Commonwealth.

Table 2.5 Results of Matches Played by England Against All Test Cricket Opponents 1928-63[29]

Opponents	**Matches Played**	**Wins**	**Losses**	**Draws/Ties**
Australia	74	22	30	22
South Africa	50	19	7	24
West Indies	45	16	13	16
New Zealand	31	14	0	17
India	29	15	3	11
Pakistan	12	6	1	5
Total	**241**	**92**	**54**	**95**

Table 2.5 shows the distribution of Test matches played between England and all Test cricket playing counties between 1928 and 1963. Of its fifty four losses, more than fifty five percent came at the hands of the Australians, although these engagements represented only thirty one percent of the total matches played. During this period, England had won a mere five of the fifteen series compared to the same number of victories from the 12 series played between 1900 and 1928.[30] Australia's dominance is illustrated in their superiority during their 1948 tour of England. Of thirty two matches played, they won twenty three, and of these, seventeen were accomplished by margins of an innings plus runs sometimes in excess of 300.[31] England's

29 Barclays World of Cricket, 283-86, 292-93, 303-04, 308, 315-16, 320.

30 Ibid, 284-5.

31 http://cricketarchive.com/Archive/Seasons/ENG/1948_ENG_Australia_in_British_Isles_1. .., 1/26/2011. Australia's dominance extended to their other opponents. Of a total of 63 matches played between 1928 and 1963, Australia won 42, lost 7 and drew 13. The most startling statistic is their victory in every series.

record against the other countries competing in Test matches contests allowed it some pride of place especially in light of the improvements shown by West Indian cricketers, if not the team, during its matches. However, Australia did not decrease its number of wins in the face of the improvements shown by other Test teams.

England owed much of its success to the coming to maturity of several dominant cricketers such as G.O. Allen, N.W.D. Yardley, W.R.Hammond, D.R. Jardine, J.W.H.T.Douglas, P.B.H. May, E.R. Dexter, M.C. Cowdrey, L. Hutton, and many others. Although all of these men eventually captained the national team, they also captained their respective county teams; but more importantly, played under other captains for whom they performed constructively to the benefit of team and country. In comparison, England played eight series against South Africa between 1900 and 1928, winning five, losing two and drawing one. Between 1928 and 1963, both countries contested for ten series of which England won seven, lost two and drew one. However, of the five series played between 1930 and 1948, twenty five matches were played of which seventeen were drawn. This was also the period during which Australia became dominant over England, and during which D.R.Jardine, the England captain, resorted to bodyline or leg-theory bowling in order to stem the Australian tide.

Essentially, the type of bowling dubbed bodyline by the Australians and hailed as leg-theory by the English is a bowling method designed to curtail the accumulation of runs by the batting side, and the removal of batsmen by the fielding side. Figure 2.1 illustrates a likely field setting for leg-theory bowling compared with a normal field setting. When devices such as bodyline work, the result is a reduction of the batting run rate, the likelihood of serious injury to those batsmen who “stand up” to the bowling, and arousing of the displeasure of the viewing audience. It appears that England captain, Douglas Jardine, with the likely acquiescence of MCC, had decided to employ this strategy to inhibit the phenomenal run-making capacity of the Australians and particularly their star batsman, Donald Bradman. The ruse was successful, and England won the series and the ashes. However, this incident generated a long series of

communications at the diplomatic level in an effort to mitigate the rancor of the Australians, and introduced revisions to the sport's laws designed to curb its future use.

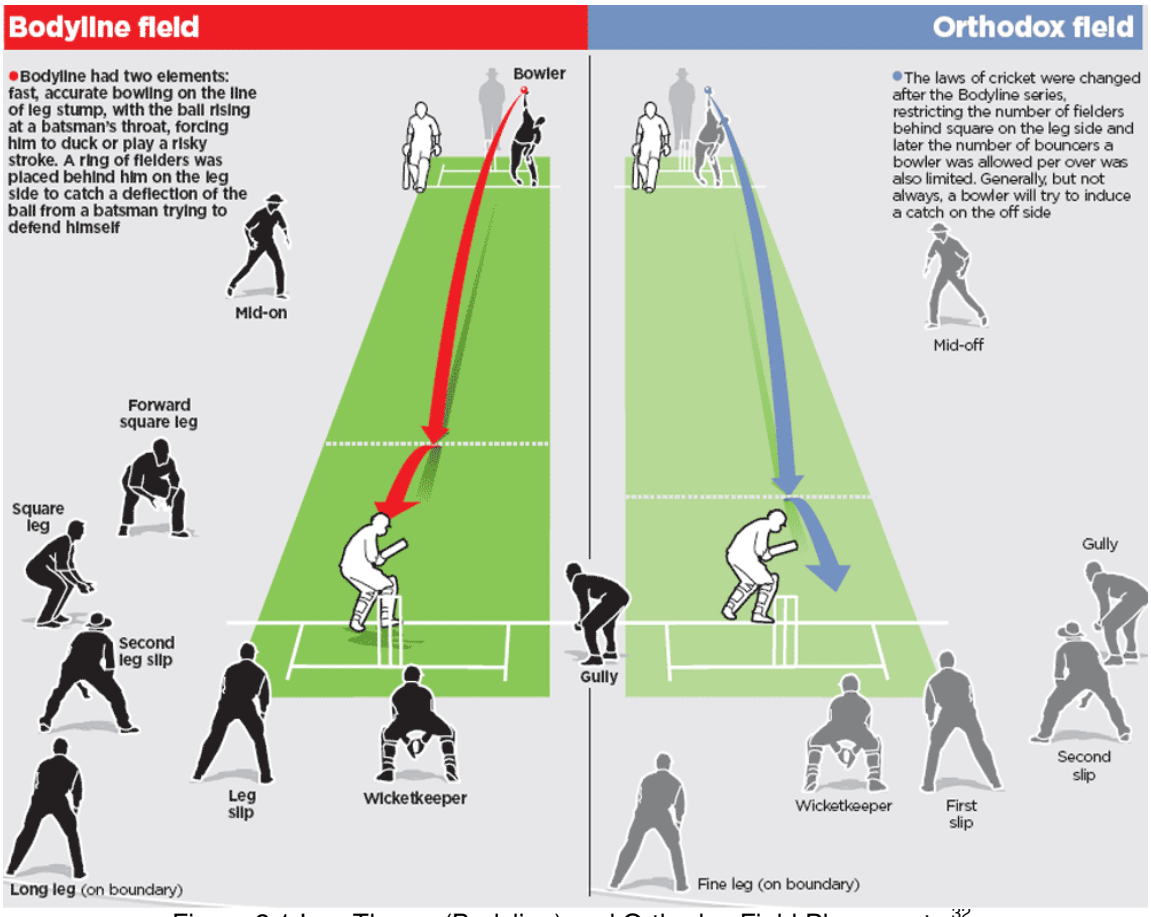

Figure 2.1 Leg-Theory (Bodyline) and Orthodox Field Placements.[32]

In 1953 Len Hutton, England's first permanent professional captain took a team to the West Indies, the purpose of which was to avenge the embarrassment of 1950. He accomplished his and his team's objective drawing a series which he should have lost. E.W. Swanton suggests that West Indies' failure to win resulted from a combination of the nearsightedness of West Indies selectors who failed to provide the team with the necessary penetrative bowling. These failings, according to Swanton, were exacerbated by a the untiring leadership and exemplary batting

[32] http://www.timesonline.co.uk/multimedia/archive/00249/CRICKET_2497, 1/30/2011.

performances of Hutton, which invigorated his team, and helped propel them toward a remarkable come-from-behind draw when all seemed lost.[33] This crucial and dramatic draw in The West Indies was capped by a most decisive victory for England at home in the 1957 series, and a pathetic loss for West Indies during England's return visit in 1960.[34] These last series were characterized by poor team and leadership selection as well as choice of bowlers whose performances wilted before the batting onslaught mainly of Peter May, Ken Barrington Ted Dexter and Len Hutton, which was reflected in the team's ten games, zero wins, four losses, six draws result. However, while West Indians the world over, especially those of a darker hue, were crying out for a change in leadership on and off the pitch, their team was maturing as younger, talented players were replacing the old guard.

West Indian Cricketers in the English Leagues

Charles Ollivierre was a black cricketer from St Vincent who toured with the first West Indian combined team in England in 1900. Although the players did not acquit themselves well, Ollivierre impressed all who saw him, headed the batting averages, as a consequence remained in England and qualified to play county cricket for Derbyshire, which he represented from 1902-1907. During the next West Indies tour in 1906, Sydney Gordon Smith, a white West Indian from Trinidad remained in England for the same reason, playing instead for Northamptonshire County, for which team he qualified in 1909. He had been the most successful batsman and bowler on that tour. Neither player represented the West Indies again. Roy Marshall, white, alumnus of Lodge School, and member of Wanderers Cricket Club in Barbados' BCA division, reluctantly gave up his chances for playing Test cricket for the West Indies when he opted to qualify to play for Hampshire County in 1954. Marshall had batted well during the West Indies' successful tour of England in 1950 and had impressed the Hampshire organization. After having been offered a contract, he played league cricket for Southhampton from 1953 to 1955 at which time he began his tenure with Hampshire. Marshall's stated reasons for his decision to play county cricket were

[33] Swanton, E.W. West Indian Adventure: With Hutton's M.C.C. Team, 1953-54 (London: Museum Press Ltd., 1954), 13.
[34] Ibid, 304.

his desire to become a professional; in other words, to play with regularity and consistency, to build a reputation as an opening batsman, and to support his family. [35] Lemmon contends that Marshall might have been able to achieve his dream of playing county cricket as a professional and representing the West Indies in Test cricket had the qualification rules for playing county cricket been as relaxed as they became after 1962.[36]

The signing of Learie Constantine to play for Norton in the Lancashire League in 1929 marked the beginning of the migration of West Indian cricketers mainly to England, the professionalization of the sport for West Indians, and the start of what turned out to be the systematic exclusion of West Indian cricketers from playing county cricket on the pretext of protecting the financial interest of English cricketers. West Indians were a sought after commodity by English league owners because their cricketing style fitted perfectly with that demanded in the leagues. These players were mostly recruited during West Indies team tours of England during which they exhibited outstanding cricketing skills, the recommendations of their peers, as well as the perceptiveness of English scouts dispatched to the West Indies by league organizations.[37] Employed as one of the two professionals allowed, they played their limited-overs matches mainly on Saturdays, were expected to score runs quickly, capture opposing players' wickets, and on off days, coach young cricketers. This necessitated living in the community and becoming exposed to the full spectrum of cultural differences to which they had to adjust.[38] This marked the beginning of the commodification of the sport, at least for West Indians. It would grow exponentially with the introduction of World Series cricket, Twenty/20, One Day Internationals (ODI) and other shortened versions of the sport, and the readmission of South Africa following the dismantling of Apartheid.

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35 David Lemmon, Cricket Mercenaries: Overseas Players in English Cricket (London: Pavilion Books Ltd., 1987), 63-4; See also Roy marshall, Test Outcast (London: Pelham Books, 1970), 50-54. In his autobiography, Marshall tends to place greater emphasis on his unfruitful efforts to play Test cricket for the West Indies and less on his satisfying the qualification rules for Hampshire County. Marshall's reasons run parallel to Kanhai's in Blasting for Runs, 102-3.

36 Ibid, 66-7.

37 Frank Worrell, Cricket Punch (London: Stanley Paul, 1959), 35.

38 Ibid. 41-2.

Table 2.6 West Indian Cricketers League and County Affiliations

Name of Player	**League/County Team Affiliation and Start Date**	**Cricketing Expertise**
Garfield Sobers	Radcliffe, Norton, Nottinghamshire, Littleborough and South Australia	Gifted cricketer: phenominal batsman, fielder and 3 great bowlers in one.
Rohan Kanhai	Scotland, Blackpool, Ashington, Warwickshire and Western Australia	Scintillating batsman and reliable fielder.
Joe Solomon	No record of league/county affiliation.	Very reliable but unenterprising batsman and fielder.
Deryck Murray	Played for Cambridge University as a student. Later played county cricket for Nottinghamshire and Warwickshire.	Reliable wicket-keeper and batsman.
Conrad Hunte	Enfield	Excellent batsman and fielder.
Frank Worrell	Radcliffe and Norton	Prolific batsman, reliable bowler, enterprising and inspiring captain.
Lancelot Gibbs	Burnley, Warwickshire and South Australia.	Excellent spin bowler
Basil Butcher	Bacup, Lowerhouse	Prolific batsman. Sound fielder.
Easton McMorris	No record of league/county affiliation.	Talented but inconsistent batsman.
Wesley Hall	Accrington, Great Chell and Queensland	Fast bowler. Entertaining but unreliable batsman
Charlie Griffith*	Burnley.	Fast bowler.

Note: Table lists only those cricketers who played in the 1963 Lord's Test. A large number of West Indian Test and other cricketers played on English league teams. In addition, Wesley Hall, Rohan Kanhai and Gary Sobers played professionally in Australia in their Sheffield Shield competition. It is curious that David Lemmon regards English cricketer Tony Lock as the greatest contributor to Australian cricket considering other luminaries; although it must be allowed that Lock's contributions to Western Australia were almost equally distributed between playing and administration. [39]

*Charlie Griffith signed with Burnley following the 1963 series, which was his first experience of English playing conditions.

In Cricket in the Leagues, John Kay identifies three waves of West Indian migrant cricketers, mainly to the Lancashire and Central Lancashire Leagues in Northern England. The first wave lasted from 1930 till 1939, and consisted of players such as Learie Constantine, Manny Martindale, George Headley and Ellis Achong. The second wave began in 1951 and included

[39] David Lemmon, Cricket Mercenaries: Overseas Players in English Cricket (London: Pavilion Books Ltd., 1987), 131-32.

players such as Wesley Hall, Conrad Hunte, Rohan Kanhai, Frank Worrell, Alf Valentine, Sonny Ramadhin, Clyde Walcott, Everton Weekes, Collie Smith, Roy Gilchrist, Garfield Sobers and Charlie Griffith.[40] The third wave began after 1963 and saw an influx of West Indies cricketers into English leagues following the successful campaigns successive teams waged under the captaincy of Garfield Sobers. This wave continued through the 1980's during the unprecedented domination by the West Indian cricketers of the rest of the world's teams. Viv Richards and Gordon Greenidge, who played for Somerset and Hampshire respectively, are among several West Indian cricketers in this group who qualified to play for English counties.

As a result, there developed the awareness in the minds of the organizers and guardians of English cricket of a deep connection between West Indian cricketers and their supporters during matches played between England and West Indies which seemed to parallel the incidence of West Indies victories and England losses. This awareness led to changes in the cost of tickets purchased by West Indian, Indian and Pakistani attendees at games played between England and teams from their native countries. More significantly, this behavior engendered a backlash against these migrants which adversely affected the selection of their first and second generation descendants to many English county teams and the national team. Kay argues that this reaction was further demonstrated in the selection of players by teams based on a presumption of their possession of cricketing talents specifically suited to league play, which were associated with culture and race.[41]

West Indian cricketers benefitted immensely from playing in the English leagues, particularly the Lancashire and Central Lancashire leagues through their increasing familiarity with the English climate and its variableness, particularly the effects of these climate changes on the cricket pitch. West Indian cricketers therefore found it necessary to make many adjustments

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[40] John Kay, Cricket in the Leagues (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode,1970), 63,65.

[41] John Kay, 63,65-66. Although the author readily acknowledges the desirability by league officials of the Australian professionals who came to the Lancashire and Central Lancashire leagues and credits them with setting the standard for a high level of cricket, he nevertheless asserts unabashedly that the leagues' cricket was much better following the arrival of the West Indians.

in their gamesmanship in order to come to terms with the challenges with which their new playing conditions presented them. In addition, they had to adjust to wearing thicker and layered clothing, which now affected their physical mobility on the cricket field in contrast with the bodily freedom previously allowed under tropical conditions. A final accommodation required a change in mentality. On the one hand, the duration of individual league games was very similar to that obtained in most West Indies cricket matches, although the extent of the season and the regularity of matches now demanded of these men a new and decidedly professional approach. In addition, in a West Indian context, whereas rainfall would normally bring an end to most cricketing encounters due mostly to the altered wicket surface rendering further play virtually impossible, in league matches, they were now required to play during light snow or rainfall, hold onto catches with wet or half-frozen fingers, and demonstrate an un-West Indian punctuality made necessary by rigid time regulation.[42]

In addition, in the West Indies, because revenues from cricketing contests were minimal so that early termination of a match tended to affect ones psyche more than one's pocketbook, West Indian cricketers employed by league organizations found it necessary to regard the sport as both business and entertainment. Therefore, in league play, a West Indian, as one of two team professionals, was required to perform at a consistently optimal level under foul or fair weather conditions. Moreover, as a paid performer, his additional responsibility was to provide entertainment to a highly expectant crowd which had paid the full price for admission to the match, a nominal price reduced because of the annual membership dues, age or student status, or unpaid and privileged admission because of a more costly sponsorship.[43] An appreciation of this dual responsibility usually benefitted these players in the form of on-the-spot cash collections that were awarded for scores of fifty runs or any multiple thereof, or the capturing of five or more

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[42] Rohan Kanhai, 102-3. See also Cricket in the Sun, 136-38. In From Ranji to Rohan, Seecharan describes how Basil Butcher, a black Guyanese cricketer from Port Mourant, regained his position in the West Indies team as a result of his concerted effort to upgrade the level of his play while playing league cricket for Lowerhouse in 1962. p. 250.

[43] John Kay, 77-80.

of their opponents' wickets during a match.[44] In addition, benefit matches were played between teams composed of an assortment of popular players the purpose of which was to raise funds, the net revenue from which was given to the nominated player(s).

There does not appear to have been widespread, overt racism directed against non-whites in the league, although there were exceptions. Neither Learie Constantine nor John Kay, both of whom have written at length about West Indians in the northern leagues have highlighted or otherwise noted episodes of racism originating among fans, the local non-professionals, nor the white professional opponents, some of whom were South Africans.[45] Therefore West Indians playing in the leagues were not subjected to unusual hardships as cricketers after they joined their teams. Since their selection by their teams was based on their demonstrated prowess in the sport, and since their contracts were renewed yearly, they were able to negotiate more desirable contracts based on each season's results, or engaged themselves with other teams as their circumstances warranted. A less obvious form of racism was present however, in the awarding of contracts to West Indian cricketers based on team owners' prejudiced expectations. In other words, most of the bowlers signed were fast bowlers, even though the West Indies had its own complement of qualified medium-paced and spin bowlers. This propensity on the part of league owners had its origins in Social Darwinist perceptions of blacks, which when extended to cricket saw them as strong, loose limbed, agile and inexhaustible. In short, blacks were seen as ideally suited more for fast bowling.[46]

Captaincy and Leadership

Law number one of the 1947 Code of Cricket defines the function of the captain, but does not touch on the qualities of leadership that an effective and successful captain must possess. One of these qualities is the ability to bridge between the mentality of the team and the outlook of those players whose attitudes do not quite fit in. The perceptiveness that this requires is based on

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44 Cricket in the Sun, 36; Rohan Kanhai, 102-3, and Cricket Punch, 37.

45 Cricket in the Sun,38.

46 Dominic Marshall, 259-61. Marshall argues forcefully that race prejudice relegated players to specific roles on many English league teams.

respect for those misfits whose attitudes will not harm the team but nevertheless require nurturing and tweaking in order that unhealthy disharmony might not harm the team. At the same time, perceptiveness is required in order that new ideas may be tested in the cauldron of a Test match rather than discarded, and an enlightened iconoclast disparaged as a consequence. The captain must possess the ability to recognize and understand those changes that are taking place in society that militate against paradigms that had so far seemed immutable, but which, to a perceptive leader, showed the need for renewal, renovation or removal.[47] These and many more leadership qualities maximize team unity, player effectiveness, and engender an essential sense of equality and democracy within the team.

A successful team captain must have an intense knowledge of the capabilities of his men. It is not sufficient that he know which are his most prolific run scorers, the most attacking batsman who will force the fielding captain to remove an otherwise troublesome bowler, the one most sound in defense who will wear down the fielding side by staying at the crease after his team's best batsmen have failed. He must know all this, but he must also be cognizant of the playing conditions, how the wicket and outfield are responding and is likely to continue to respond with changes in weather and other conditions. In addition, he must be aware of the impact that time is likely to have on the outcome of the game given the prevailing conditions or the changed conditions as these variables mutate. Most of all, he must be able to insert himself into the picture, whether bowling, batting or fielding at critical times in the game's progress. He must also become an effective change agent that will either engineer a victory, motivate team members to do so, or otherwise mount a solid defense in order to secure a draw. It follows then that a captain must be democratic in respect that he shows to his men, fair in the decisions he makes, firm and consistent in his treatment of all players, and lead by example.

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[47] Frank Worrell, Cricket Punch (London: Stanley Paul), 1959. In his autobiography Worrell identifies some changes he made in the methods used in selecting players chosen for specific matches during tours, his sensitivity toward the politics affecting his players' outlooks in order to diffuse tensions, and his ability to maintain equanimity while at the same time imposing a balanced team discipline.

Captaincy in England

David Lemmon might have just as easily been referring to captaincy in the West Indies when describing Indian captain Vizianagram of the 1930's Test team. Lemmon identifies three requirements that a captain needed to have, and asserts further that this selection process was "… an enlarged representative of a tradition which had its roots firmly in England." Specifically, he writes that the captain needed to be:

1. An amateur of distinguished social position and influence.
2. Accustomed to commanding men and being obeyed.
3. Not dependent on cricket for his livelihood and would therefore be able to take an objective view of the game and be able to see the needs of his men relative to the importance of the game.[48]

During the era of Gentlemen v. Players tournaments, one of guiding principles was that leadership resided exclusively with the elite. The Gentlemen fared very badly throughout most of their history except during the period 1865-1899 when W.G. Grace almost single-handedly dominated the world of English cricket. In addition to his ability as a cricketer, he possessed an unusual understanding of the blend of amateurism and professionalism and the manner in which money served both sides of the personnel equation in cricket. In addition to Grace, two redoubtable aristocrats in Lords Harris and Hawke were able to help establish MCC as cricket's governing body, confirmed the amateur or gentlemen as the leader and controller of the game, and at the same time, protecting the rights of the professional or player, such as they were.

This state of affairs was to remain virtually unchanged until the First World War after which, with the unavailability of captains from the ranks of the aristocracy and upper middle class, leadership of county and other teams was transferred to professionals, not because someone willed it, but because of necessity. As men such as Lords Harris and Hawke retired, the

[48] David Lemmon, The Crisis of Captaincy: Servant and Master in English Cricket (London: Christopher Helm, 1988), 9.

vacancies they left were filled by men of proven ability, from meaner station in life, and who possessed the calmness, soundness of judgment and knowledge of the human character, necessary for effective leadership. The fact that the Gentlemen v. Players tournaments continued until 1962, is not just an expression of the English thirst for cricket, but of their love of tradition and appreciation of the gaps that necessarily exists between social classes. Its discontinuance may be attributed to the egalitarianism brought about through World War II that started a leavening process that would remove many class barriers without the necessity of destroying a society's foundational structures.

The changes that occurred within the county cricket establishment were widespread, and, over time, became accepted. However, it soon became obvious that a paucity of qualified, independently wealthy amateurs able to give five months or more per year to the game, would inevitably force the installation of professionals as national team captains. Lemmon contends that when Leslie Ames, a professional, had joined the Test Selection Committee in 1950, his acceptance by MCC had marked the removal of a significant social barrier. In addition, the abandonment of the Gentlemen v. Players tournaments from the Lord's and other fixtures was a major contributor to the change.[49] The peeling back of that layer of silence provided some impetus for the overtures made to Leonard Hutton by MCC for a possible England captaincy. Moreover, Hutton, who was also a professional, and in contrast with other likely candidates, was a highly qualified opening batsman, and therefore a scarce commodity at the time. Hutton's acceptance of the captaincy would therefore satisfy several vital needs of the team and thereby augment the resourcefulness of the England selectors in England and abroad. Another factor of some importance was that, true to MCC's love for tradition, Len Hutton would first be sounded out on the possibility of changing his professional status to amateur before picking up the mantle of captaincy. The fact that Hutton's refusal to grant the request for the change in status, and the further fact that it was not a requirement, were indications of the changing outlook of the times, and MCC's readiness to change with them. Walter Hammond, the great England all-rounder had

[49] Barclays World of Cricket, 33.

been approached a decade earlier, with a similar request at a time when England was in the middle of a losing stretch which extended from 1934 to 1953. Hammond had acquiesced on the change in his status from professional to amateur. [50]

Hutton accepted the captaincy and, despite its additional burdens, headed the batting averages for the four-match series against India, which was MCC's initial concern and which England won convincingly. In tandem with these outcomes, Freddie Trueman, their fast bowler, set the cricketing stage afire thus rendering Hutton's selection a *fait accompli* for the far more important contest with the visiting Australians one year later.[51] Hutton had become the first, permanently appointed professional captain. Under his leadership, England avoided defeat in the West Indies and defeated Australia in 1952 in England as well as in the 1954-55 series in Australia. In addition, England defeated New Zealand and might have won the drawn series with Pakistan if Hutton's illness had not necessitated his temporary replacement by D.S Sheppard.[52] Hutton's tenure would last for as long as battles were won or at least, not lost; but he had shown the people of England and the traditionalists at MCC, especially by his consecutive victories against the Australians, that the honor of their country could be entrusted to a commoner.

Captaincy in the West Indies

In 1947, the West Indies Cricket Board of Control (W.I.C.B.C.) appointed George Headley of Jamaica as captain of the West Indian team that was being chosen to play a series of matches against England in the West Indies. At the time, Headley, who was approaching the end of his career, was chosen as part of a compromise whereby the captaincy would be divided between three men. Headley would captain the team during the first Test in Barbados as well as the final match in Jamaica. Jeffrey Stollmeyer, a white Trinidadian, would lead the team in Trinidad, and John Goddard, a white Barbadian, would in Guyana. One of the objects of this compromise was to appoint captains in such a manner that they would lead the team during those matches that were played in their country of domicile. This decision by the W.I.C.B.C. was

50 Barclays World of Cricket, 285.
51 Ibid, 285, 315.
52 Ibid, 285, 304, 308, 315, 320.

politically motivated rather than motivated by the desire to do what was best for the team. Actually their decision was driven by an outcry from the mass of West Indians who had become dismayed over seeing qualified black cricketers play under questionable or incompetent white leadership.

West Indian captains were chosen based on certain characteristics which they had previously displayed or were presumed to possess because of race, educational achievement or societal influence of one kind or another. It would seem that the most important of these requirements would have been knowledge of the game, its rules, the players, as well as experiential knowledge of strategies that, when employed judiciously, would ensure victory for his team. Quite often, however, captaincy was awarded despite an obvious lack of these qualifications in the player chosen and moreover, in the face of the abundant presence in other, more qualified players that were passed over. The following is a list of West Indies Test team captains covering the first Test in 1928 till the final Test of the 1963 series. This list does not include some players who functioned as captains in situations where injury forced the designated captain to retire from the game. For example, in the 1934-5 test series against England, which was played in the West Indies, when George (Jack) Grant, the West Indies captain retired from the field because of a sprained ankle, Learie Constantine assumed temporary leadership of the team.[53] Grant highlights two salient facts in his account of this incident. The first is that Constantine had become the first professional to captain West Indies, and the other was his being the first non-white to do so.[54] What is somewhat curious about his selection is that the match was being played in Jamaica, and Headley, the native son, played as well, but was not chosen as substitute. Perhaps Constantine's selection had more to do with his greater knowledge of English cricketers and their idiosyncrasies, his infectious charisma and influence, or perhaps the fact that the venue was a West Indian location as opposed to an English or Australian cricket ground. Under different circumstances, it is very likely that a white substitute would have been chosen as captain.

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53 Nicole, 114.

54 Jack Grant, My Story (London: Lutterworth Press, 1980), 179-80.

Actually, Grant's choice of Constantine shows more astuteness on his part than his justifications suggest. The selectors' failure to provide him with a vice-captain, although other whites of minimal experience were members of that team, cannot be construed as an oversight but a deliberate attempt to avoid appointing a black team member to that position. Grant recounts that his selection of Constantine as substitute captain brought a smile of approval to Headley's face.[55] It is likely, however, that Headley's smile of approval was more akin to an ironic smirk as he realized the workings of fate.

Grant captained West Indies during the 1930's, a time when racism was rife, when the educational programs for blacks was limited and substandard, and when black cricket talent had begun to flower. Grant admits that he was younger than all but three of his teammates. (Perhaps team-mates is a misnomer). He had never played for West Indies whereas most of the others had. Despite these shortcomings, "[he] was captain. It could not be disputed that [his] white color was a major factor in [his] being [given] this post [team captaincy]." Grant, after further musings decided that on theological grounds, he had racist baggage which he needed to shed.[56] Grant's dilemma was reconciling the reality that his college education, together with his race, positioned him to lead and not to be led, irrespective of the leadership qualifications of the other group members. It is remarkable that Grant's autobiography was published posthumously following some editorial work by his surviving spouse.[57] By his own admission, Grant earned his selection to West Indies captaincy after top-scoring for Cambridge with forty five runs and making eighty eight in the follow-on. Grant had played against a few English counties and several colleges and universities, had never played on a West Indian or colonial team, yet he was chosen, while at Cambridge, to lead a group of West Indian players against the likes of Woodfull, Ponsford, Bradman, Kippax, McCabe and Jackson, arguably the best batting line-up the world of cricket has ever known.[58]

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55 Ibid, 179.
56 Ibid, 30-31.
57 Ibid. See copyright/publication page.
58 Ibid, 164-66

Table 2.7 West Indies Captains 1929-1963

Year/ Opponent/ Location	**Captain/Territory: J=Jamaica/ T=Trinidad/B=Barbados/G=Guyana**	**Qualifications: R=race, E=education, P=social, political or financial influence. Ex=Test experience**	**Statistics: P=Tests played, W=wins, L=losses, D= draws. T=ties**
1928/England/England	Karl Nunes/J	R-white, E-C, P-S	P-3/W-0/L-3/D-0
1929-30/England/W.I	Karl Nunes/J	R-white, E-Unk.	P-1/W-0/L-0/D-1
1929-30/England/W.I	Teddy Hoad	R-white, E-Unk.	P-1/W-0/L-0/D-1
1929-30/England/W.I	Nelson Betancourt	R-white, E-Unk.	P-1/W-0/L-1/D-0
1929-30/England/W.I.	Maurice Fernandez	R-white, E	p-1/W-1/L-0/D-0
1930-31/Aus/Aus	G.C. (Jack) Grant	R-white, E-Unk	P-5/W-1/L-4/D-0
1933/England/England	G.C. (Jack) Grant	R-white, E-Unk	P-3/W-0/L-2/D-1
1934-35/England/W.I.	George C. (Jack) Grant/B	R-white, E-C, P-P	P-4/W-2/L-1/D-1
1939/Eng/England	Rolph Grant/B	R-white, E-C, P-P	P-3/W-0/L-1/D-2
1947-48/England/W.I.	George Headley/J	R-black, E-Sec. Sch	P-1/W-0/L-0/D-1
1947-48/England/W.I.	Gerry Gomez/T	R-white, E-Unk	P-1/W-0/L-0/D-1
1947-48/England/W.I.	John Goddard/B	R-white, E-Unk	P-2/W-2/L-0/D-0
1948-49/India/India	John Goddard/B	R-white	P-5/W-1/L-0/D-4
1950/England/England	John Goddard/B	R-white	P-4/W-3/L-1/D-0
1951-52/Aus/Aus	John Goddard/B	R-white	P-5/W-1/L-4/D-0
1951-52/N.Z./N.Z.	John Goddard/B	R-white	P-2/W-1/L-0/D-1
1952-53/India/W.I.	Jeffrey Stollmeyer/T	R-white	P-5/W-1/L-0/D-4
1953-54/England/W.I.	Jeffrey Stollmeyer/T	R-white, E-Tech, P-F	P-5/W-2/L-2/D-1
1954-55/Aus/W.I.	Jeffrey Stollmeyer/T	R-white, E-Tech, P-F	P-2/W-0/L-1/D-1

Table 2.7 - *Continued*

1954-55/Aus/W.I.	Dennis Atkinson	R-white, E-C	P-3/W-0/L-2/D-1
1955-56/N.Z./N.Z.	Dennis Atkinson	R-white, E-C	P-4/W-3/L-1/D-0
1957/England England	John Goddard/B	R-white	p-5/W-0/L-3/D-2
1957-58/Pak/W.I.	Dennis Atkinson/B/E-C	R-white, E-C	P-5/W-3/L-1/D-1
1958-59/India/India	Dennis Atkinson/B/E-C/	R-white, E-C	P-5/W-3/L-0/D-2
1958-59/Pak/Pak	Gerry Alexander/J/ +	R-white, E-C	P-3/W-1/L-2/D-0
1959-60/England/W.I.	Gerry Alexander/J/+	R-white, E-C	P-5/W-0/L-1/D-4
1960-61/Aus/Aus	Frank Worrell/J*/	R-black, E-C	P-5/W-1/L-2/D-2/T-1
1961-62/India/W.I.	Frank Worrell/J*/	R-black, E-C	P-5/W-5/L-0/D-0
1963/England/England	Frank Worrell/J*/	R-black, E-C	P-5/W-3/L-1/D-0
Total - 23 Test Series	**13 Captains**	**11-whites,** **2- blacks**	**P-83, W-25, L-30, D-28** **P-16, W-9, L-3, D-3, T-1**

*Frank Worrell was Barbadian but migrated to Jamaica, which he represented in First Class matches much to the chagrin of his former countrymen. + Gerry Alexander was regarded as white and looked white although he was of mixed race.

Note: Influence: Ex = Experience in Test cricket(T) or First Class cricket(F) including experience as captain prior to being selected as West Indies Test captain, E = Education: College(C), High School or equivalent (H), Unknown (U).

Headley's selection raised the ominous specter of racism and an attempt by the W.I.C.B.C. to manage it. Not only had Headley demonstrated superlative batting skills, but he had done so consistently and in circumstances that required his demonstration of fortitude, level-headedness, imagination and an understanding of cricketing strategy that was sadly lacking in his teammates as well as many of his captains. Many influential West Indians including Jeffrey Stollmeyer, West Indies then vice-captain, and later, captain, team selector and President of the West Indies Board of Control, highly regarded the qualifications of Headley and Constantine. Stollmeyer confessed that Headley, whom he criticized severely during the 1948 West Indies tour

of India, taught him (Stollmeyer) much about the finer points of the game and had "greater tactical sense than any cricketer with whom I (Stollmeyer) [had] played".[59] This admission is not to be confused with a vote of confidence favoring Headley's possible captaincy, nor should it be assumed to reflect Stollmeyer's willingness to play under Headley's leadership. More importantly, Headley had begun sharing the captaincy of the Jamaican First Class with L.C. Marley in 1946 in place of Noel Nethersole who had become First Vice-President of Norman Manley's People's National Party, and acquitted himself well, according to Bridgette Lawrence, Headley's biographer.[60] In fact, she claims that Nethersole had relinquished his captaincy to Headley for the visit by Barbados scheduled for 1947. Barbados was led by John Goddard, West Indies and Barbados captain, while Jamaica, which drew the two matches played, was captained by Headley.[61] Importantly, these matches were to determine the composition of the West Indies Test team for the series against a visiting England side in 1948.

It is not coincidental therefore, that the Headley Compromise took place in 1947-48. At this point in West Indies history, political leadership had begun to shift into the hands of educated and influential blacks who were empowered by newly enfranchised in Barbados, Jamaica, Trinidad, as well as the Leeward and Windward Islands. Talk of a West Indies Federation, not separate independent islands, Jamaica excepted, was widespread. The Headley appointment was therefore an attempt to head off a politically charged, racial confrontation. By appointing him as captain for the first and last of the four scheduled Test matches, their actions would be construed as an accommodation rather than a capitulation. Thus they could satisfy the self-interest of the white establishment that still controlled the game and placate the murmurings of the suppressed. In any event, Headley captained West Indies during the first match, which they almost won. Stollmeyer became ill and G.E. Gomez led the team in his stead. By a strange

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[59] Everything under the Sun, 36-7

[60] Bridgette Lawrence, Masterclass: The Biography of George Headley (Leicester: Polar Publishing (UK) Ltd., 1995), 72. See also http://cricketarchive.com/Archive/Seasons/WI/1946_WI_First-Class_matches_in_West_Indies_1946.html, 4/06/2011.

[61] Ibid. 71. See also http://cricketarchive.com/Archive/Seasons/WI/1947_WI_First-Class_matches_in_West_Indies_1947.html, 4/06/2011.

coincidence, Headley became ill and did not play another Test match in this series. Goddard therefore led the team during the third Test, and had to do so for the fourth test which lasted from March 27 to April 1.[62]

As it happened, Goddard won the games which he captained. This was a tremendous political boon to West Indies team selectors to whom he now represented an automatic choice for captain for the crucial 1950 tour of England. In the meantime, Jamaica had played two First Class matches against England, the last of which ended on March 24, just three days prior to the final fourth Test match. It is not coincidental that an incapacitated Headley captained the Jamaican side on both occasions. Cricket had become a political football, and would continue to be so for a long time.

Between 1948 and 1960, the West Indies team played sixty one Test matches of which they won twenty one, lost seventeen and drew twenty three. By comparison, the 1928 statistics show either a marked lack of understanding of strategy or an unwillingness to employ them with any consistency or semblance of relentlessness. When the touring West Indians finally attained respectability as a result of their resounding defeat of England in 1950, they were branded "calypso cricketers" by the English press. Whether the introduction of this appellation was motivated by a felt need by the English, to come to terms with their loss of face, the acknowledgement of their mastery by the West Indians, a way of appeasing the psychological disquiet brought on by the invasion of Lord's sanctum by the calypso-singing minstrels following that match, or perhaps an effort to minimize the superlative capabilities of the West Indian team is difficult to determine. Very likely, it was the result of a combination of all of these. What is clear is that during this period the West Indies teams suffered from a lack of decisiveness of leadership marked by inconsistency, incoherence and nebulosity. These qualities were also evident in the W.I.C.B.C. and the Test selectors, the combined membership of which were white, and consequently wreaked havoc in the selection process, as well as the ability to create and maintain an atmosphere favorable for effective governance, and a plan for successful

[62] Barclay's World of Cricket, 297.

continuance. For their 1958-59 tour of India, the W.I.C.B.C.'s approach to the appointment of a team captain once again showed a troubling lack of discernment of leadership qualities essential for team success. Franz (Gerry) Alexander, Jamaican-born batsman/wicket-keeper had been appointed to the captaincy for the demoralizing tour of England in 1957. During that tour he displayed a deplorable lack of leadership qualities, skill in the use of his team's abundant talents, and adaptability to the unexpected challenges presented by the English cricketing officials and team members, who seemed committed to erasing the memory of their country's ignominious defeat during the 1950 West Indies tour. Despite his incompetence, Alexander was expected to be retained as captain for the next tour in 1960 against Australia. He might well have been had it not been for the furor created through widespread calls for the appointment of the far more qualified Worrell.

Worrell's appointment as captain of the West Indies team was strongly influenced by grass-roots movements among members of non-white communities across the British West Indies. These movements were given life by a felt need for equity, which Worrell had shown in some of the positions he had taken. It also helped that he had demonstrated overall consistency in all aspects of the sport and thus had built an irreproachable reputation. He had acquired experience as captain during the personally successful Commonwealth tour of India in1949.[63] He had risen beyond the educational level expected of non-white cricketers when he earned a Bachelor's degree from the University of Manchester in England. Unfortunately, he had become confrontational with the W.I.C.B.C. and had declined, on several occasions, to "be available" to play for his country because of his dissatisfaction with the terms of payment handed down by its membership. Most of all he had earned the trust of the teammates who had felt chagrined by the autocratic displays of the W.I.C.B.C. In fact, because his quarrel with the W.I.C.B.C. was over

[63] Barclays World of Cricket, 231. The Commonwealth Games were contests that replaced those that MCC would normally play against India as part of the process of qualifying India's national team for participation in Test cricket competition. The Commonwealth team was composed of players from England and from other Commonwealth countries who played for English league teams. When Worrell and Weeks (See Barclays World of Cricket, 73) captained these sides and led whites as well as non-whites, they, in effect, rendered futile all arguments supporting their non-suitability as West Indies Test captains.

adequate pay, and because he was willing to lead by example, he earned the respect of his peers then, and was vindicated in that the W.I.C.B.C. thereafter offered better contracts to its players.[64] Here we see another case of West Indies Board of Control making decisions that were politically motivated rather than doing what was best for the team. The response had been driven by an outcry from the mass of West Indians who had become dismayed over seeing qualified black cricketers play under questionable or incompetent white leadership.

Lord's and the MCC

Prior to July 21-23 when the first three-day Test match was played at Lord's between England and Australia, hundreds of matches that had been played there had contributed to the establishment of Lord's as the premier cricketing venue in the world.[65] Gentlemen v. Players matches had become the most important cricketing, sports and possibly social event in England. Eaton and Harrow, the most prestigious public schools, as well as Oxford and Cambridge played their annual matches. County and other significant championships matches were held there as were select matches played between visiting teams and specially chosen English teams. Generally, although this was not always the case, the second test match of a series is played at Lord's. This arrangement is very likely the result of a strategy whereby England, if she were to lose the first Test of any series would regard the Lord's Test as a gut check of their ability to defend the country's honor.

Lord's is steeped in tradition. From 1876 and until 1969, when the Cricket Council became the governing body over all matters pertaining to the sport, the Test cricket teams were referred to simply as MCC. MCC therefore became synonymous with England and served as a watchdog over the numerous institutions it birthed and the facilities and infrastructure that inevitably grew from its ventures. It revised the laws of cricket in 1835 and 1844, and assumed responsibility for the due circumspection with which it required that players, umpires, members

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64 Michael Manley and Donna Symmonds, A History of West Indies Cricket, 3rd Revised Edition (London: André Deutsch Limited, 2002), 74,78

65 http://cricketarchive.com/Archive/Scorecards/2/2861.html, 1/31/2011. England won the Lord's Test match of this first series but drew the first and third.

and visitors to its facility conducted themselves. It established the legal standards whereby cricketing tours were arranged and their financing parameters determined so that those undertakings might be profitable. It began the publication of Wisden Cricketers' Almanack in 1863, exactly one hundred years prior to the playing of the match under discussion.

Table 2.8 Results For England For All Test Matches Played at Lord's 1876-1963

Opponents	**Periods**	**Played**	**Wins**	**Losses**	**Draws**
Australia	1876-1928	13	4	4	5
Australia	1928-1963	7	1	4	2
South Africa	1888-1928	3	2	0	1
South Africa	1928-1963	6	4	1	1
West Indies	1928-1963	6	4	1	1
New Zealand	1929-1963	4	1	0	3
India	1932-1965	5	5	0	0
Pakistan	1954-1963	2	1	0	1
Total	**1876-1928**	**16**	**6**	**4**	**6**
Total	**1928-1963**	**30**	**16**	**6**	**8**
Total	**1876-1963**	**46**	**22**	**10**	**14**

Note: Between 1876 and 1928, all Test Matches were played between England, Australia and South Africa.

Of the 376 Test matches played between England and the group of nations that composed the community of cricketers, 158 or roughly forty two percent had been played England versus Australia and England versus South Africa between 1876 and 1928. England won forty three percent of them, lost thirty six percent and drew twenty one percent. These numbers do not account for the 14 Test matches played between Australia and South Africa between 1902 and 1922, of which Australia won eight, lost one and drew four.[66] Those 158

[66] Barclays World of Cricket, 238, 283-285, 292.

matches represented a match rate average of roughly three per year between 1876 and 1928. On the other hand from 1928 until 1963, 241 Test matches were played between England and the other Test match playing countries. This average of roughly seven Test matches per year more than doubles that of the previous period. Once again, this number does not include the Test matches played among the other nations apart from England.

What is of greater importance is the frequency of the engagements between England versus Australia and England versus South Africa. The 124 matches played represent more than fifty one percent of all matches played during the 1928-63 period, with Australia accounting for thirty one percent of them. The results of these encounters suggest that, especially in the case of South Africa, with almost fifty percent of all matches drawn, the sport had been reduced to a series of enervated and uninspiring exercises. In the case of the Australians, the increases in losses over wins reflected an obvious Australian dominance over England. A similar scenario emerges in matches between England and the remaining countries in this community. Of the 117 Test matches played, England won 51, lost a mere seventeen, but drew forty nine. These results are more reflective of mentality that, by the middle of the 20th century, showed a distaste for losing, especially to the newcomers beginning in 1928 with the West Indies.

Table 2.9 Results of Matches Played by England Against All Test Cricket Opponents 1928-63[67]

Opponents	**Matches Played**	**Wins**	**Losses**	**Draws/Ties**
Australia	74	22	30	22
South Africa	50	19	7	24
West Indies	45	16	13	16
New Zealand	31	14	0	17
India	29	15	3	11

[67] Ibid. 283-86, 292-93, 303-04, 308, 315-16, 320.

Table 2.9 - *Continued*

Pakistan	12	6	1	5
Total	**241**	**92**	**54**	**95**

Table 2.9 shows a total of ninety five draws against ninety two wins and fifty four losses against all Test cricket teams between 1928 and 1963. Australia was consistently the strongest team following the break in hostilities occasioned by World War II. Between 1928 and 1939, they won thirty percent of matches played against England compared to England's twenty nine percent. However, between 1946 and 1963, the corresponding percentages were forty four point four percent wins for Australia and two percent wins for England. Since the England versus Australia games were regarded as the apex of excellence for cricket, it is not surprising that the West Indies performed horribly against Australia between 1928 and 1946. However, they showed a significant improvement in their 1960-61 series, which the records show that they lost, but which they may have drawn with a two-wins, two-losses, one-draw result.[68] Against England, however, West Indies improved from a 1928-1939 win/loss percentage ratio of 18/41 to 30/29 between 1946 and 1963. Significantly, the percentage of draws remained at roughly thirty five for both periods while that for those matches against Australia showed an increase from thirty to thirty seven percent. These differences indicate a vast improvement of the quality of West Indies cricket when they played against England and less impressive results in matches against Australia. In other words, based on the improvement in the performance of West Indies against England, it seems that matches played between these two countries would supplant in importance and the intensity of drama, those involving South Africa. With their near victory over

[68] Garry Sobers, My Autobiography (London: Headline Book Publishing, 2002), 66. See also Wes Hall, Pace Like Fire (London: Pelham Bookx, Ltd, 1965), 74-5 and Frank Birbalsingh, The rise of Westindian Cricket: From Colony to Nation (Antigua: Hansib Publishing [Caribbean] Ltd., 1997), 123. During the fourth Test of the 1960-61 Test series, West Indies vs. Australia played in Adelaide, Australian batsman Mackay was apparently caught by Sobers at silly mid-off, off the bowling of Worrell. West Indies team members, being certain that the batsman was out, began leaving the field. To their surprise, Mackay stood his ground. When some West Indian players appealed somewhat belatedly, the Australian umpire declined to signal that Mackay was out.

Australia, and the rebirth it engendered in the hearts of cricket lovers the world over, it was felt, generally, that only West Indies could do the same for cricket in England. The upcoming 1963 series and Lord's test needed to be a milestone event if West Indies were to accomplish the same feat within two years.

CHAPTER 3

THE SPORT OF CRICKET

Cricket is a game of long duration, repetitive motions, a unique landscape which separates the spectators from the actors more than most sports, and as a result, has been referred to as a boring game. However, cricket is a sport where attack and defense become fluid; where an all-out bowling and fielding attack is met, not merely by stout defense, but by inspired batting and running between the wickets. The standard is for the fielding side to launch a sustained attack on the batting side. The batting side responds by defending their wickets, and in the process attempts to make runs off balls that are less threatening. The nadir occurs when a fielding side uses tactics more related to détente in which their purpose seems intended to prevent the batting side from scoring runs except at great risk, and the batting side responds by encasing themselves in an unimaginative and lifeless defense.

Since 1963, innumerable efforts have been expended in order to solve the problems of match duration and spatial disconnect produced through its landscape and have resulted in the introduction of new ways of playing the sport. This has also expanded its viewing audience, increased the active involvement of players of both genders, and expanded the list of participating countries and venues, as well as the frequency of tournaments at all levels.[1] One Day International (ODI), Twenty20, and a wide assortment of cup matches are played with an astonishing regularity within and between countries, regions and nations. The main thrust of these innovations has been to inject the sport with spirited, imaginative, risk-endowed play that

[1] http://www.cricketarchive.com/Archive/Countries/Index.html There are now ten I.C.C. Full-Member countries, including Sri Lanka (July 21, 1981), Zimbabwe (July 6, 1992) and Bangladesh (June 26, 2000). As of this writing, there are 34 I.C.C. Associated Members, 37 Affiliated Members and 8 other countries where the game has yet to fully emerge.

has continued to draw the types of audiences that three-day county, state and territorial and five-day Test matches had been failing to do. Additionally, cricket governing bodies have acceded to standardizing playing conditions for every type of match so that teams from all participating countries are bound by common rules and measures which have leveled the playing field and given the sport a wholesome uniformity.

At the Test level, cricket is normally played by the members of two teams which are composed of eleven actively participating players plus a twelfth man who may replace an injured teammate if the injury occurs during the course of the match.[2] Under normal conditions, each team is allowed two innings at bat during which they accumulate runs off the bowling and despite the fielding efforts of their opponents. The cumulative scores and lost wickets from each team are compared, and the winning team is that which has the higher aggregate of runs and usually the lower number of wickets lost. It is evident, therefore, that a result is determined by the batting and fielding strength of the teams. There are many other ways in which a victory may be gained by one side over another, but no-win decisions are quite common and exhilarating in this sport.[3] Because the bowler is the spearhead of the fielding attack, and is often viewed as the primary antagonist in the unfolding drama, he therefore invites scrutiny for a variety of reasons by umpires, the batsmen and their team members, the fielding side and captain, their selection committee, the national and international ruling organizations, as well as the mass of supporters and detractors at the venue and throughout the cricketing world.

Since the point of the match is for each team to score more runs than their opponents, it follows that a team must be deeply concerned with preventing the opposition from scoring. As a consequence, and despite any detailed description of his responsibilities in the laws, captains during the course of a match put on and take off bowlers, instruct them in the bowling strategy they should use, and, with their help, determine the field settings required for specific strategies.

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[2] M.C.C. The Laws of Cricket, "Laws 1 and 2", (West Yorkshire: E.P. Publishing Limited, 1981), 4.

[3] Ibid Law 21, 23-25. See Laws 13 and 14 for Follow-on and Declaration decisions and how they affect the determination of an outcome.

The normal duration of Test matches is five days, by which deadline an outcome must have been determined. This ruling has remained for Test matches, although a proliferation of limited overs matches has emerged to stimulate the flagging interest of adherents and players alike. The primary differences between these two types of matches are the emphasis on a decisive victory as the preferred outcome, the completion of the match within a single day with few exceptions, and the active involvement of all players within a restricted time frame. Despite the success of these changes in revitalizing an effete sport, a draw in cricket matches, where it is still countenanced, is not regarded as necessarily anticlimactic if it is the result of a highly contested encounter.

Most of the changes that have taken place in cricket since 1744, the year of the first publication of the full description of the game, have been concerned with the rules of the game, the participants' paraphernalia, a more scientific approach to preparation of the grounds, the installation of illumination to enable the playing of matches after dusk, attempts at clarification of the laws governing the sport, and the establishing of codes of conduct of those engaged in it.[4] These modifications may be perceived as peripheral to the playing of the sport, the elemental practice and purpose of which have remained unchanged. For example, although new batting strokes have been devised over time, these additions to the panoply of batting shots were driven mainly by demand for increased run prolificacy. Nevertheless, runs are earned and recorded in the same manner as heretofore, and batsmen lose their wickets in much the same way as they did prior to the initiation of most of these changes.

The purpose of this chapter is to describe Test cricket and the laws governing how it is played, as well as who plays it and those laws that prescribe their deportment. The primary concern is comparing differences in approaches to the game by England and West Indian players and fans, and to show how these differences affect the degree of success achieved when one or other of these teams is engaged in the sport. The premise that success means winning will be

[4] Barclays World of Cricket: The Game from A to Z, Ed. E.W. Swanton (London: Collins Publishers, 1980), 3.

accepted for the sake of simplicity. However, for West Indians, winning means playing attacking cricket on both sides of the ball; but for the English, it means playing the type of cricket that ensures that they do not lose. The English, for the most part, have allowed their cricketing mentality to devolve to an essentially defensive position, which has proven to be harmful to the game and unfulfilling to its fans. The match being discussed might therefore be perceived as a clash of cricketing mentalities, or as an attempt to energize an effete sport with a new vitality that would penetrate and transform English misplaced impassivity.[5]

It is very likely that those persons at organizational and other levels of leadership of the sport realized that this attitude would have become the bane of cricket at both county and test levels in England as well as in Australia. Test cricket had been energized in Australia during the 1960-61 West Indies tour because of the commitment of Richie Benaud and Frank Worrell, captains of the opposing sides, to return the sport to a lively, entertaining past-time. Despite this rejuvenation, and despite declarations by Ted Dexter and Benaud, captains of England and Australian teams, to "adopt positive methods" during the 1962-63 England versus Australia contest, the "avoidance of defeat became the all-important factor" in their approach to their contest.[6] There was obviously great concern over this for the upcoming England versus West Indies series, since the dearth of enthusiasm over that recently concluded series raised the specter that cricketers were merely somnambulists.[7] In fact, whereas some of the concerns expressed centered on the West Indian cricketers' adjusting to English weather and wicket conditions, and the ability of their admittedly strong and balanced team to contend with any team that England could put together, the major consideration was that their brand of cricket would inject gaiety and sunshine into the sport.[8]

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[5] Playfair Cricket Monthly, April, 1963, 5, 6. See also Jim Parks " The West Indies are Welcome Friends but Tough Opponents", The Commonwealth Book of Cricket, Ed. Jim Parks (London: Stanley Paul, 1963), 19.

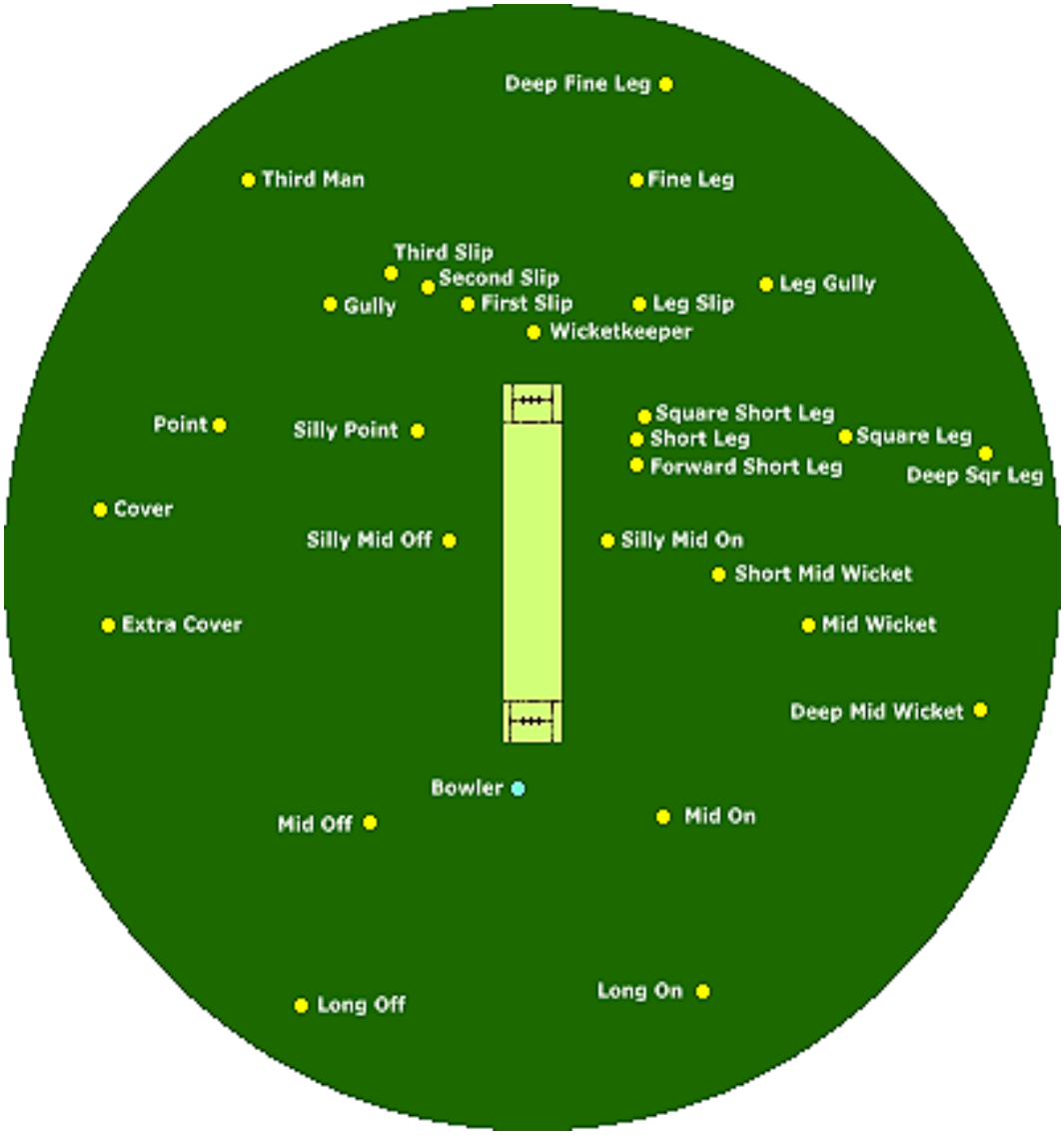
[6] Wisden Cricketers' Almanack,1964, Ed. Norman Preston (London: Sporting Handbooks Ltd., 1964), 800.

[7] Jim Parks, "The West Indies are Welcome Friends but Tough Opponents", The Commonwealth Book of Cricket , 20.

[8] Ibid. 19.

The Cricket Ground

Sightscreen



Sightscreen

Figure 3.1 The Cricket Ground with Pitch and Standard Fielding Positions.[9]

[9] http://cricket.desiforce.com/fieldingskills_clip_image025.gif

Note: Positions are based on right-handed batsmen. For left-handed batsmen, off-side becomes on-side and deep remains deep, etc. The umpires are positioned back of the wicket at the bowler's end and slightly forward of square short leg at the opposite wicket.

The cricket ground is oval in shape and its playing area is approximately seventy five yards from the center of the pitch. The boundary is generally clearly delineated by a white line, rope, fence or other obstruction, but may also be denoted by an imaginary line, agreed upon by umpires and team captains, between clearly established points. The importance of the boundary marker cannot be overstated inasmuch as it determines when a batsman earns a specific number of runs from a struck ball. For example, four runs are earned by when a ball struck by a batsman touches, crosses or bounces off the boundary marker after it has touched the ground; and six runs are scored when a struck ball reaches beyond the boundary marker on the full. There are several variations on this theme.[10] It is also the farthest point away from the pitch within which a valid catch may be made that may result in the removal of a batsman.[11]

A crucial factor in the outcome of any match is the ground on which it is played. The hard grounds upon which West Indies cricketers hone their skills are generally referred to as "true" wickets and conducive to fast bowling and flamboyant batting. This description applies also to Australian wickets. The softer English wickets compounded by heavy, oppressive air is generally a hindrance to fast bowlers and provide good fortune to medium-paced, seam and spin bowlers. Lord's, the venue for this match, had earned the reputation as the premier cricket ground in the world; and most cricketers, irrespective of their country of citizenship, regard their appearance in a match at Lord's as a highly treasured event. The claim by J.M. Kilburn that "Lord's above all other grounds in the cricketing world is representative of cricket," is not an exaggeration.[12] Cricket grounds are noted for the contributions they make to the outcome of crucial matches, and Lord's is no exception.

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10 M.C.C. Laws of Cricket, Law 19 (West Yorkshire; E.P. Publishing Limited, 1981), 22,23.

11 Ibid, Law 32, 36-38.

12 Barclay's World of Cricket, 480.

The English fast bowlers, Fred Trueman and Brian Statham, had not found it necessary to shorten their run-ups to the wicket during the first test at Manchester, yet their performance was substandard.[13] At the same time, West Indian pace-men, Wesley Hall and Charlie Griffith, despite being almost as unsuccessful as their opposite numbers, were able to control their run-ups and as result, had a total of four no-balls recorded against them.[14] The Manchester ground was no firmer than that at Lord's, but the weather there was sunny in contrast with the Lord's test where moisture and a damp wicket reduced the pace-men's speed and their control of the ball.[15] England's selection committee was aware of the assistance that the Lord's pitch had given in the past to seam bowlers in particular. Therefore, their replacement of Statham with John Shackleton instead of the quicker John Larter spoke to the measured approach which they took in their assessment of advantages to be gleaned from the Lord's pitch.

Fielders and Field Settings

Fielding is that part of the game involving the chasing, stopping and returning of the ball, usually to the wicket-keeper, in order to minimize the runs scored or to effect a run-out. Most importantly, each fielder must be adept at catching-out a batsman since failure to do so, apart from being an embarrassment for the fielder and his team, means granting the batsman a continuation of his innings without restriction. Moreover, fielding errors, despite their deleterious effects, are not recorded against the perpetrator whereas the scorecard and record books retain the names of fielders who succeed in catching-out batsmen. Thus it seems, from the standpoint of posterity, that good deeds in the form of held catches are recorded whereas bad deeds go unpunished. Since fielders in cricket, except for the wicket-keeper, are not allowed to use gloves

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13 Wisden, 1964, 288. England's fast bowlers captured 2 wickets at the cost of 211 runs. The numbers for the West Indians were 4 wickets taken for 138 runs.

14 Ibid.

15 Ibid, 292. In the Lord's test, West Indies bowlers were called for a total of twelve no-balls, England's for one, the result of their shortened run-ups, which increased their control over their deliveries. Another indication of the effect of the Lord's wicket is demonstrated in the byes column where, in the Manchester test England allowed 3 byes and the West Indies 12, compared with 15 and 13 respectively in the Lord's test. Byes are a function of the wicket-keeper's ability to stop a ball which has defeated the batsman's bat and fails to hit his wicket. The state of the wicket is directly related to this result.

to lessen the trauma of a hard ball traveling at considerable speed striking unprotected hands, it is crucial that they remain in the best physical shape possible. Fielders positioned at the silly positions are particularly vulnerable to injury from balls that are struck at tremendous velocity by batsmen, or that careen off the edges of their bats. In either case, these fielders, despite extraordinary dexterity, keen anticipation and neuromuscular coordination sometimes suffer injuries to which fielders less threateningly placed are not subjected. Many of these fielders now wear protective helmets. The presence of helmets on the field has resulted in changes in the laws, particularly when a helmet is struck by a live ball.[16]

The following is a description of a few aspects of fielding that are most crucial to the game. Item "c" is of particular importance inasmuch as, at least for the English, it impacted the outcome of the Lord's match in that sightscreens assist batsmen in coping with bowlers' deliveries, other things being equal.

a. Fielding positions to the right of the batsman are called off-side and those to his left are referred to as on-side positions. Additionally positions close to the batsman are called silly positions, eg. silly mid-on, silly mid-off, and so on. Those in the deep are referred to as long or deep such as long-on, deep mid-wicket, and so on.
b. Normally no-balls infringements are adjudged against bowlers except for those covered under Law 24.6 which are awarded against an overly encroaching wicket-keeper and on-side fielders in excess of two, positioned close to the batsmen in order to take catches offered in the course of their protecting their bodies against deliveries designed to injure them.[17]

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[16] Laws of Cricket, Laws 41.3 and 23.1. When this occurs, the umpire is required to award five penalty runs to the batting side and to further declare that ball to be dead. Helmets were not worn during the 1960's.

[17] Ibid. 29. See also DVD Video, Bodyline: The Documentary, (London: BBC Worldwide Television), 2008. This type of bowling is called Bobyline, and was introduced into the game by English captain, Douglas Jardine in order to thwart the efforts of Australia's most prolific batsman, Donald Bradman during the 1932-33 England tour of Australia. English bowlers, Harold Larwood and Bill Voce employed what was benignly referred to as "Leg Theory", by which device their extremely fast, short, rising balls were directed at the bodies of the Australian batsmen. When these batsmen attempted to play these balls defensively, they were invariably caught-out by one of maybe 6 on-side fielders positioned between leg slip and silly mid-on. England won the series,

c. Sight screens are painted white and usually situated outside the boundary marker, but directly behind the bowler in order that their sharpness might provide an outline of the bowler's frame and thus enable the batsman to pick up the flight of the ball as it leaves the bowler's hand. Sight screens were absent from the Pavilion end of Lord's, and were arguably a contributing factor in the difficulty faced by England's batsmen to pick up the flight of Hall's deliveries during the critical last hour of play on the final day of the match.[18]

Of the twenty nine fielding positions shown in Figure 3.1 including bowler and wicketkeeper, only eleven may be occupied at any given time during the match. It follows that the fielding captain and bowler must place the nine available fielders – less bowler and wicket-keeper - in positions that will minimize run-making, but will challenge the skill of the batsmen to score runs despite the fielders' strategic placement. Batsmen whose modus operandi are mostly defensive will be loath to accept this challenge, and as a result, the match will be reduced to mere drudgery. For the most part, fast bowlers need fielders at slips(3), gully(usually 1), leg slip (usually 1), third man (1), fine leg (1), silly mid-off(1), forward short leg(1). Sometimes, depending on the batsman's style and the bowler's aim, the silly mid-off might be dispensed with and that fielder positioned at deep square leg.

For the medium-paced bowler, the field placement will reflect the need to locate more men in deep positions primarily to minimize runs made from boundaries. The fielding positions utilized for such a bowler are usually farther removed from the batsman. Quite often, these fielders take positions closer to the boundary then slowly move toward the batsman as the bowler begins his run up to the wicket. A normal field placement for medium –paced bowlers would include slips(2), gully(1), point(1), cover(1), mid-off(1), mid-on(1), mid-wicket(1) and forward short

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but the manner in which the victory was achieved stirred the ire of Australians at every level of society. Eventually, political diplomacy brought resolution to a potentially fractious situation. Harold Larwood, the most devastating of the bowling trio never again played for England; nor has Douglas Jardine captained the side.

[18] Sightscreens are often painted black for limited overs matches played at night where white or yellow balls are used and the cricket ground is illuminated by strategically placed floodlights. The objective is the same, that is, to assist the active batsman to pick up the flight of the ball.

leg(1) or square leg(1). The point is that since the batsman is able to better position himself for a slower-paced ball, he is therefore able to exercise more discretion in striking the ball and placing it. The fielders therefore need more time in which to adjust to the speed and flight of the balls hit in their general direction. This added freedom gained by the batsman is often offset by a wicketkeeper who stands close to the wicket thus limiting the batsman's freedom to range outside his "safe" zone.

Finally, spin bowlers, the slowest of the lot, but the type who use the most guile in their deliveries, serve up balls which are slow moving, but are extremely deceptive. They bowl balls that appear to be full-length but actually are not, appear to be breaking but do not change except for velocity, appear to be leg-breaks but really are disguised off-breaks. However because of their seemingly innocuous trajectory and velocity, batsmen are sometimes tempted to treat them as harmless, and so the bowler must of necessity adopt these measures in order to increase the batsman's risk. In this they are assisted by the wicketkeeper, some of whom are so adept at stumping that a no-ball call has been devised to restrict their encroachment to a point back of the bowling crease.[19] In addition, the field setting for spin bowlers is designed to discourage the batsman's natural inclination to attempt launching the ball over the boundary marker for a six. Thus the boundary line is dotted with fielders usually at long-off(1), long-on(1), deep mid wicket(1), deep square leg(1), deep extra cover(1) or deep cover(1), third man(1), slip(1), deep fine leg(1) and a mid wicket (1) or silly mid off(1), to take any catches resulting from the batsman's failure to negotiate an especially devious delivery.

These are general patterns only. Quite often no fielder is placed at slip or leg-slip for a spin bowler since the proximity of the wicker-keeper to the stumps widens his range of movement, increases his potential for taking more catches, and therefore renders these field placements redundant. Additionally, the inability of the batsman to counter the bowler's attack against his wicket usually results in the placement of a tight cordon of fielders in silly positions around his wicket, whether or not the bowler is fast, medium-paced or spin. For example, during the Lord's

[19] M.C.C. Laws of Cricket, Law 24.6, 29.

match, West Indian fielders surrounded Colin Cowdrey during spinner Lance Gibbs' sessions with the ball, because of the batsman's obvious discomfort with the bowling, and his inability to dispatch these slow deliveries to the boundary.[20] Two of the many deductions that may be made from these strategies are as follows. Firstly, from an examination of the suggested field placements, batsmen are normally expected to score more runs backward of the wicket when facing fast bowlers and forward of the wicket as bowlers of less imposing pace are brought into the attack. Secondly, a captain must be willing to sacrifice singles during the spin attack in order to guard against batsmen who are prone to hit boundaries. Batsmen are therefore respected proportionate to their demonstrated ability to bat successfully despite the fielding team's strategies. Placement of fielders achieves its acme when the captain and bowlers position their players so as to appear to leave a tempting gap that a penetrative batsman may exploit, but the ostensible purpose of which is to entrap the batsman and capture his wicket. Another esoteric ploy is to arrange for key fielders to adjust their fielding positions immediately prior to the batsman's striking the ball so that the struck ball might be caught or fielded at a position that had been vacant seconds earlier.

[20] Alan Ross, The West Indies at Lord's (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1963), 46. See also J.S. Barker, Summer Spectacular (London: Collins Clear-Type Press, 1963), 191. Ross described the field placement as insultingly close. The field placement was meant to unnerve the batsman who had just started his innings, and had shown a marked discomfort with Gibb's bowling during the prior Test match.

The Cricket Pitch

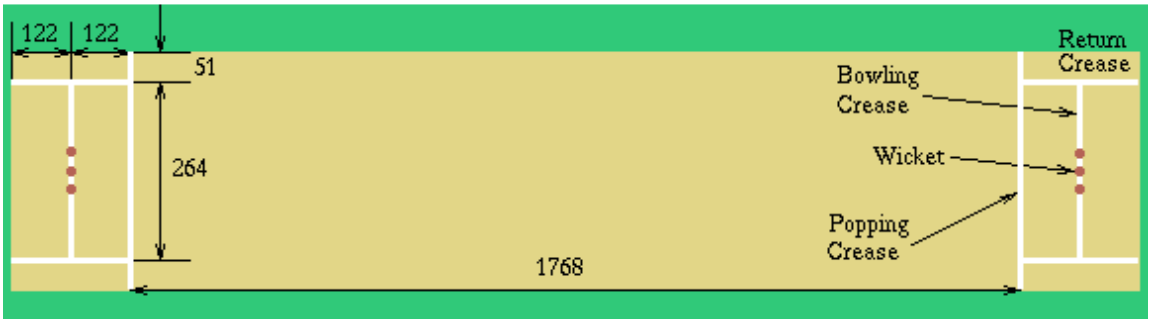

Figure 3.2 The Cricket Pitch.[21]

All dimensions are in centimeters. A comparable linear measurement is provided in the text.

The pitch is centrally located on the grounds, and is usually seventy five yards away from the boundary markers. It plays a crucial role in the outcome of the contest inasmuch as it reflects the ways in which climate and weather affects the action taking place. Allowing for the unpredictability of those in Guyana and many in Trinidad, West Indian pitches are generally firm and may be hard, smooth, and unaffected by humidity. They tend to favor fast bowlers and pose very little threat to batsmen because they lend the bowlers' deliveries certain predictability. Moreover, the tropical sun adds infectious warmth to the encounter that mitigates the potentially contentious atmosphere that might otherwise prevail. In England, and particularly at Lord's, the moisture-laden air, the coldness of the sparsely furnished sunshine imbues that atmosphere with an energy sapping ennui that infects the players as well as the spectators. West Indian cricket has always been exciting and almost intoxicating. No doubt, the England selectors hoped that the infectiousness of the team's cricket would bring a financial boon despite their having chosen a conservative side.

The dimensions of cricket pitches are strictly regulated and universal, irrespective of the level of the game being played. Each line has a function as follows:

[21] http://cricket.desiforce.com/fieldingskills_clip_image025.gif

a. The Bowling Crease, along which the stumps are erected, determines, for the umpire, whether the bowler is in violation of the front-foot or back-foot rule in his run-up to the wicket.
b. The Popping Crease marks the safety zone for the batsman and is a determinant of the validity of runs scored. When the ball is live, a batsman may be stumped or run-out if his wicket is broken while he is outside this zone.
c. The Return Crease marks the boundary within which the bowler must position his feet during the act of bowling.
d. The Wicket consists of three stumps one inch in diameter, made of wood, stuck into the ground, evenly spaced, about nine inches from one outer edge to the other. They rise to a height of thirty two inches and are topped by wooden bails which sit atop the stumps, resting securely in grooves cut on the top of the stumps.[22]

The Ball, the Bowler and Bowling

Bowlers constitute the main line of attack in cricket matches, and there are three main types of bowlers operating in most cricket matches: fast, medium and spin. The fast bowler initiates action in the match by bowling the cricket ball, which has changed very little over time especially in the quality of the material used in its composition. It is still constructed of a cork core wrapped with string and covered with leather sewn together in two hemispheres. Its circumference is between 224 and 229 millimeters (8.81 to 9 inches); and it weighs between 156 and 163 grams (5.5 to 5.75 ounces).[23] Because the stitching is raised, it is susceptible to tampering. In addition, because the polished exterior becomes worn and scuffed with use, bowlers and fielders are permitted to polish the ball by rubbing it against their clothing in order to enhance the ball's velocity and movement during flight. This smoothing or polishing ritual is focused on ensuring that one of the hemispheres is smoother than the other. This is by design since any change in either of the ball's hemispheres alters its outer surface, resulting in some

[22] Julia Hickey, Understanding Cricket (Leeds: Coachwise 1st 4sport, 2006) or www.1st4sport.com . See also M.C.C., The Laws of cricket (West Yorkshire: E.P. Publishing Limited, 1981), 13,14.
[23] http://www.cs.purdue.edu/homes/hosking/cricket/explanation.htm

degree of deviation in its trajectory. Thus, an accomplished bowler is able to add a swing motion to the ball during his delivery; and an unscrupulous bowler, by tampering with the ball's stitching, can alter its reasonably predictable movement, making it more uncertain and often unsafe.[24]

Bowling may be either attacking or defensive in nature, and is limited to a particular bowling type and strategy. The purpose of attacking bowling is to challenge the batsman's preference for, or aversion to risk. An attacking bowler will bowl to a batsman's known weakness in order to remove him at little cost. On the other hand, he will offer up balls of mediocrity in order to stimulate the batsman's hunger for runs, then offer up a ball of seeming innocence but which, if played with any intimation of casualness, will very likely be the cause of that batsman's removal from the wicket. An imaginative batsman therefore has very little to fear from an attacking bowler; and any normal confrontation between them generally results in exciting cricket. Defensive bowling, on the other hand, is designed to prevent the batsman from scoring runs. Therefore, the bowling of bouncers to tail-end batsmen, out-swingers pitched just outside the off stump, and in-swingers pitched just outside the leg stump are all examples of defensive bowling.[25] Their purpose is to discourage the batsman from attempting a stroke since these deliveries are better left alone. Attacking bowling was in evidence for most of the 1963 Lord's match, although a claim for defensive bowling may be made against Skackleton's drone-like, repetitious offerings and the reduction in the over rate by West Indies during the England's final attempt at victory.

Effective fast bowlers employ a variety of deliveries such as the in-swinger, out-swinger, Yorker and bouncer, as well as variations in pace and length in their repertoires. However, as the ball's outer surface loses its gloss and smoothness, the speed of the ball during flight is reduced, and a fast bowler is required to expend increasing amounts of energy in order to maintain his

[24] Don Oslear, Tampering with Cricket (London: Harper Collins), 1996. The author, an umpire of unimpeachable integrity, discusses the erosion of the judicial authority given to umpires by the Laws of Cricket as a result of their failure to act decisively when confronted with evidence of ball tampering on the part of Pakistani fast bowlers. He asserts that this erosion was partially responsible for the introduction of the Match Referee as well as the implementation by the I.C.C. of a Code of Conduct.

[25] The Laws of Cricket, laws 40.1, 41.2 and 41.3, 43-44. These laws were introduced in order to limit the extent to which the fielding team may curb the batsman's propensity to play attacking cricket.

eighty to ninety miles-per-hour ball speed. There is, in addition, a simultaneous reduction in the bowler's effectiveness and efficiency. The continued effective use of fast bowlers for the duration of a match therefore means that those bowlers who bowl after the ball has lost its shine expend larger than normal resources of energy.[26] Moreover, because bowling is a physically demanding activity, it follows that an inverse correlation exists between fast bowling and the number of overs bowled. Thus fast bowlers are only effective when they are able to take the wickets of the early batsmen, or otherwise render them incapable of scoring their runs at will because of the level of difficulty of their bowling. The traditional approach has been to switch from the team's fast bowlers to their medium-paced bowlers. Generally around ten miles per hour slower than their counterparts, medium-paced bowlers compensate for their lack of speed by generating movement of the ball through the air and off the pitch. An effective medium pacer will bowl just short of a length and move the ball both ways off the seam.[27]

The spin bowler is the slowest bowler on the team and therefore the one who must employ the most guile in capturing the batsman's wicket. Whereas the fast bowler and, to a slightly lesser degree the medium pacer, depend on momentum gained from the run-up to the wicket, whip-like arm movement with an unbent elbow, and a smooth body motion to generate ball speed, the spin bowler relies on deception.[28] Since the spin given to the ball to produce an off break is usually done by the index finger in cooperation with the wrist and that for a leg break by a combination of the ring and middle fingers in cooperation with the wrist, it follows that a trained batsman can anticipate the movement of the ball based on the bowler's action during the process of making his delivery. In addition, because spin bowlers propel the ball at normal speeds of

[26] Between 1975 and 1985, the West Indies dominated the cricketing world when captains Clive Lloyd and Sir Vivian Richards used four fast throughout most of their matches.

[27] Bowling slightly short of a good length requires the bowler to land the ball on the pitch at a point where the batsman will be uncertain about playing off the front foot or back foot. This condition is referred to as being in two minds. The uncertainty with front foot play concerns timing and getting to the pitch of the ball. In the back foot situation, the fear rests on uncertainty about making contact with the ball after it bounces off the pitch and before it whizzes past the wicket. Improper timing of this stroke could mean being bowled out or caught out in the slips, at short-leg, square-leg, gully, point, or by the wicket keeper.

[28] Sonny Ramadhin, "Disguise: The Spinner's Secret", The Commonwealth Book of Cricket, No. 3, Ed. Jim Parks (London: Stanley Paul, 1965), p. 71.

between twenty and forty miles per hour, the batsmen have ample time in which to move to the pitch of the ball and play an appropriate stroke. The bowler therefore varies his deliveries with the use of top or back spin, bowling off breaks with a leg break action, bowling balls which appear designed to deviate after contact with the ground, but in fact do not, thus presenting the batsman with a wide range of challenges. The spin bowler is mostly concerned about the skillful batsman who is able to move to the pitch of the ball, or one that hits consistently with power and thus scores many boundaries, or one that uses his pads or torso with impunity to block unplayable leg breaks.

Finally, the Laws of Cricket place significant requirements on the action of bowlers of all types. Umpires are positioned during a match in order to judge when an infringement of Law twenty four occurs. These infringements include throwing or bowling with an illegal action, violating the back-foot or front-foot rule, and attempting to run out the batsman at the receiver's end. A no-ball decision is made by the umpire under this law and allows batsmen to score runs without fear of loss of wicket except where Law thirty three, thirty four or thirty seven is violated. A wide call is made when the ball is bowled where its trajectory takes it so far away from the wicket on the off or on side as well as above the wicket to render the batsman incapable of playing it. A batsman may lose his wicket as a result of play involving a wide call if he violates Laws thirty three, thirty seven or thirty nine.[29] For both no-ball and wide calls, an extra run is awarded the batting side unless runs are otherwise earned.[30] During the Lord's test, no wide calls were made by either umpire despite the sometimes erratic bowling by Hall. In addition, a single no-ball call was made against England compared with twelve made against West Indies. During the remaining tests in the series, West Indies earned two runs from no-balls and three off wides. England, on the other hand, earned no runs from wides, and twenty one from no-balls. Of the

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29 The Laws of Cricket (West Yorkshire: EP Publishing Ltd., 1976), p.29,30.

30 Ibid.

twenty one no-balls, eleven occurred during the fifth test at Kensington Oval, and of the thirty three calls made during the series, twenty three were made when umpire J.S. Buller officiated.[31]

The most crucial violation of which a bowler may be adjudged, and that by which his career may be summarily curtailed, is throwing or chucking. This occurs when the bowler straightens the previously bent elbow of his bowling arm between the apex of the bowling arc and the point of releasing the ball. The illegality inherent in this act is based on an incremental increase in the pace of the ball as a direct result of this action.[32] The requirement of a straightened elbow does not preclude the snapping of the wrist, a mannerism common among West Indian fast bowlers. Neither the dry Caribbean air nor the hardened, sun-baked wickets lend much assistance to West Indian fast bowlers who must therefore use other devices to deceive and defeat batsmen. Since snapping the wrist during the downward moving of the bowling arm increases the speed of the ball during flight, and since this incremental increases is directly proportional to the bowler's strength, it is understandable that Griffith's action – Griffith had been described as ox-like in strength and sphinx-like in expression - might be questioned especially in the light of his relatively recent introduction to international cricket and the difficulty of the England batsmen to dominate him.

The Bat, the Batsman and Batting

The cricket bat is made of willow and is flat on one side, but humped on the other. The hump is thickest in the middle and is beveled towards the outer edges at which point it is reduced to roughly an inch. As a result, a batsman's focus in hitting the ball is to make contact with the ball as close to the middle of the bat as possible. When this happens, the maximum force is given to the ball and is referred to as "middling the ball", "hitting with the meat of the bat", and other

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31 Barker, 121-125.

32 Law 24.11, Note (a). The Laws of Cricket, 29. See also Ian Peebles, Straight from The Shoulder: 'Throwing' – Its History and Cure (London: Hutchinson and Co. Ltd., 1968), for accounts of pace bowlers A. Mold and Ian Meckiff whose careers ended as a result of being no-balled for chucking by notably unprejudiced umpires. See pages 43-46 for Peebles' account of West Indian bowler, Griffith's action and the furor it created prior to and after the 1963 series. In addition, see Charlie Griffith, Chucked Around (London: Pelham Books, 1970), 61-76 for his perspective on the controversy.

expressions. The blade, as it is sometimes called, is attached to a handle made of cane. Although the bat has changed over the years in its construction and size, the blade has a maximum width of 108 millimeters (4.25 inches), with a maximum length of 969 millimeters (38 inches), including the handle. Because the bat is made from a natural product, its weight varies from two pounds to two pounds, ten ounces.[33] This range in weight allows the batsman to choose the bat that is best suited to his strength and batting style. It should also be balanced relative to the batting characteristics of the batsman.

The function of the batsman is to make runs so that he may increase his team's score thus enabling them to win the match. In doing so the batsman must protect his wicket from the attack of the bowlers and his team. The batsman is therefore compelled to gravitate from a defensive to an attacking position depending on the need for runs, to save the match, or to reduce the effectiveness of a dangerous bowler. The batsman's cultural orientation will, for the most part, determine his playing style. Playing styles are generally of two types: attacking and defensive, although no notable batsman is purely defensive or attacking, but rather moves along this continuum as his team's position warrants. A captain will therefore reshuffle his batting order as the team's fortunes change throughout the match. Adjustments of this type are infrequent as the batting order is usually determined by the need to have at the wicket, batsmen whose style and orientation fit the normal progression of the match.

Generally, it is batsmen who draw crowds to the cricketing venue. A batsman renowned for amassing massive scores like Bradman of Australia, scintillating and imaginative like Kanhai of the West Indies, aggressive and authoritative like Dexter of England and Sobers of the West Indies, or robustly inventive as the erstwhile Constantine of the West Indies and the English league, have always drawn large crowds. That a cricketing crowd enjoys an exhilarating batting demonstration is paradoxical when the batsman is a member of the opposition, and the crowd's joy is attended by the pain of possible national disappointment. This ambivalence is evidenced in

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[33] Alec Bedser, et al., Pocket Sports Book: Cricket (London: W. Foulsham & Co. Ltd., 1969), 8.

the on-field behavior of the opposing team members who are enjoined by the laws and spirit of the game to applaud instances of spectacular stroke-play or the attainment of landmark score by any batsman. Such exhibitions as are common in present-day matches when an opposing batsman loses his wicket were absent in 1963 when on-field joy at the removal of a dangerous batsman was demonstrated by a seemingly apologetic pat on the back. [34]

The batsman's primary concern is therefore to read the bowlers' action as early as possible in his delivery, in order to place himself in a position to score runs with assurance, or otherwise to defend his wicket. Generally, the degree of a batsman's supremacy over the bowler is evident to the opposing team and the crowd, who will be either enthused or chagrined by this development; and an inarguable result will likely be the replacement of the chastened bowler by another whose prowess will, hopefully, bring the batsman's assertiveness to an end. The batting philosophy of most teams is usually an extension of their cultural predisposition. Thus England's batsmen tended to be more conservative, and, for the most part, they confined themselves within the narrow dictum: play yourself in, take no risks, play with a straight bat and the runs will follow.[35] On the other hand, West Indian batsmen, with few exceptions attempt to achieve mastery of the bowling as early as possible in his innings.[36] They do this by taking risks and by launching their own attacks against the bowlers. This makes for more interesting and exhilarating cricket.[37]

The batsman must strike the ball during a delivery in order to be credited with the runs scored. Those runs credited to the team but not the batsmen are recorded as extras and take the form of byes, leg-byes, wides and no-balls. These are somewhat analogous to errors in baseball, but do not affect the players' statistics in the same manner. When a ball is hit, the batsmen at the wicket may decide that a run may be scored safely. In order for the run to be credited to the

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34 The 1963 Lord's Test, BBC/DVD.

35 Pocket Sports Book: Cricket, (London: W. Foulsham & Co. Ltd., 1969), 22-23.

36 Learie Constantine, The Young Cricketer's Companion: The Theory and Practice of Joyful Cricket (London: Souvenir Press, 1964), 34, 41-51. In this very well written and informative book, especially Chapter 4: " Batting for Attack", Constantine describes with the same gusto that he brought to the game, the full range of batting strokes.

37 Ibid, 43-44. See also Garry Sobers, My Autobiography (London: Headline Book Publishing, 2002), 27.

batsman who hit the ball, both batsmen must run from one wicket to the other. In so doing, they must cross in the middle and must have the bat or some part of their person behind the popping crease in order for the run to be awarded. If the batsmen are able to earn several runs by running, the matter of grounding the bat behind the popping crease at the end of each run takes on added importance as the umpire is empowered to reduce the runs run by the number of failed groundings.[38] Thus any reference to the scoring of fewer than four or six runs off a single hit implies that those runs are earned by the running of the batsmen between the wickets. A batsman may also earn additional runs when a fielder, in attempting a run-out, throws at and misses the stumps. In this event, the ball is not recovered by another fielder, and the batsmen may run several runs until a fieldsman calls "lost ball".[39] The area between the stumps and the popping crease also represents a safety zone for the batsman since he may not be stumped while attempting to play a stroke or run-out in the act of earning a run if his body or bat is grounded inside it.[40]

The batsman is, by far, the most dazzling member of his team, and his importance is substantiated by the large number of laws that govern his manner of getting out. Laws twenty eight through thirty eight describe the eleven ways in which he may lose his wicket. Although out-decisions made under most of these laws are objective, laws thirty six and thirty seven require that the umpires render subjective decisions based on empirical evidence. Of these laws, number thirty six has undergone the most revisions and has been the cause of the most controversy. Initially instituted to penalize those batsmen who deliberately padded difficult deliveries away from their wickets, this law has evolved to allow an out-decision based not only on the batsman's intent, but on the trajectory and movement of the ball.

The following table illustrates the ways in which a batsman may lose his wicket. Despite the obvious negative impact of this loss, the spirit of the game requires that a batsman who is clearly out begin his departure from the pitch voluntarily rather than delay it pending the

38 The Laws of Cricket, Law 29, 19-20.
39 Ibid, Law 19.5 – Overthrows.
40 Ibid, Law 9, 13-14; law 29, 36.

fieldsmen's appeal to the umpire and the latter's decision. However, there are many instances when the rendering of an out decision requires the intervention of one or both of the umpires. A third umpire, introduced in 1992 during a Test match played at Kingsmead, Durban between South Africa and India, was intended to minimize partiality or the incompetence of on-field umpires especially when they had to adjudicate dubious plays.[41] As a result, out situations that involve run-outs, LBW's, stumpings and the catching of struck balls of very low trajectory that appear to have made contact with the ground prior to being caught, or contact of the ball with the ground beyond the boundary marker, are all instances of the usefulness of this innovation . Consequently, some seeming out situations involving star batsmen at critical junctures during a match have been proven to be less conflagrant and may be attributable to this device's impersonal characteristic.

Table 3.1 Ten Ways of Getting Out in Cricket[42]

Type of Out	**Explanation**
Caught – Law 35	This occurs when the batsman hits a ball that has been bowled to him and a member of the fielding side catches it on the full. If the ball is caught on the full from a deflection off the batsman's body after making contact with the bat or the batsman's gloved or ungloved hand, he is also out. In addition, he is out is if the ball deflects off the body of fielder and is caught by another on the full.
Bowled – Law 34	This occurs when the batsman plays at and fails to prevent a ball from breaking his wicket. This applies whether he misses the ball completely, barely touches it with his bat but fails to stop it, or the bowled ball ricochets off his body and then impacts the wicket. The wicket is required to be broken and the bails separated from the stumps in order for the out to be acknowledged and recorded.

41 http://www.cricinfo.com/wisdenalmanack/content/story/153619.html

42 The Laws of Cricket, Laws 28-39, 33-43

Table 3.1 - *Continued*

Stumped – Law 42	This occurs when a batsman steps outside the popping crease in attempting to strike a ball which he misses. If the wicket-keeper gathers the ball and breaks his wicket before the batsman is able to ground his bat or body behind the crease, then he is out.
Run Out – Law 41	This occurs when a batsman's wicket is broken by a fieldsman either directly or indirectly, while he is outside his safety zone – out of his ground - while attempting a run or while returning to his crease after an aborted run.
Hit Wicket – Law 38	This occurs when a batsman's wicket is broken while attempting to strike the ball, while he is setting off for the initial run after striking the ball or by a dislodged item of his clothing gear including, hat, helmet or glasses.
Leg-Before-Wicket (LBW) – Law 39	This is by far the most controversial out in cricket since it requires a subjective decision from the umpire. It occurs when the umpire determines that the batsman who has played at and missed a delivery then obstructs the through passage of the ball which the umpire assesses, after considering a number of variables, would have bowled the batsman.[43]
Handled the Ball – Law 36	This occurs when a batsman touches the ball with his hand not touching the bat without the permission of the fielding side.
Obstructing the Field – Law 40	This occurs when the batsman deliberately interferes with the fielder's effort to gather the ball or effect a run-out. Exceptions are allowed for running between the fielder and the wicket in order to block his throw at the wicket. This exception is allowed on condition that the batsman remains on the pitch.

[43] The Laws of Cricket, Law 36, 40-41. See also The Laws of Cricket: Their History and Growth, 107-110.

Table 3.1 - *Continued*

Hit the Ball Twice – Law 37	This occurs when the batsman deliberately hits a ball that he has previously struck but which is rolling or bouncing around his wicket and seems likely to break it. In this case he is allowed to steer the ball away from his wicket but not to strike it in an effort to score runs.
Retired Out – Law 33	This occurs when a batsman retires due to injury, illness or other unavoidable cause. He is adjudged retired out if he cannot continue his innings, but is regarded as retired, not out until then.
Batsman out of his Ground – Law 32	This occurs if a batsman wicket is broken by an opposing fielder or bowler when no part of his bat or person is grounded behind the popping crease.

Note: Caught out, bowled, run-out, stumped, and LBW are the most common types of out. Hit wicket is mostly the result of a batsman's bad judgment or bad luck, while handling the ball, obstructing the field and hitting the ball twice hardly ever occur.

The Language of Cricket

The sport of cricket suffers from two major handicaps. In addition to being a game that most non-cricketers and their most uninformed adherents find utterly boring, it has evolved an esoteric vocabulary that may best be described as organic. Fielding positions are peculiar to the sport, but are complicated by shifts that occur when fielders move from deep to near silly positions during the course of play involving a single delivery. It is somewhat difficult to explain to a tyro why the position has been renamed or why a batsman is caught-out at a newly named position. The combination of these linguistic nuances places unnecessary mental stress on those new to the sport and who experience difficulty in coming to terms with the basics of the game. All elements of the sport present these verbal challenges. The following table lists terms used only with reference to batting. The Glossary, although incomplete lists additional terms descriptive of batting as well as other parts of the game. Moreover, in addition to the ten ways in which a batsman may lose his wicket, the words for the myriad shots that he may have mastered are expressed in terms that have other usages in language quite removed from the sport. In addition

to those listed in the following table, terms such as playing off the back-foot or front-foot and moving to the pitch of the ball do not necessarily denote a batsman's intent since a defensive or attacking stroke may follow this preparation. The language of cricket is also unique in that many of its abundant terms are not to be found in other sports nor are they used in other unrelated discourses.

Table 3.2 Batting Strokes

No.	**Names of Batting Strokes**	**Primary purpose**
1	Drive	Attack – this is usually made off the front foot and may direct the ball to the on-side or off-side depending on the ball's pitch and velocity. When made off the back foot, it requires unusual skill, sharp reflexes and good eyesight. Batsmen playing off the back-foot tended to be more susceptible to late changes in flight, trajectory and movement.
2	Hook	Attack – usually made off a fast or medium-paced bowler's short-pitched, rising ball bowled toward the batsman, body. The antithesis is a defensive, protective shot of the type that fractured Colin Cowdrey's ulna. May also be made off a full-toss.
3.	Glance	Attack – usually made off a fast or medium-paced bowler's ball of low trajectory attacking the leg stump, or bowled just outside it. Sometimes the batsman is required to move towards the middle of the wicket in order to execute this shot. This short requires timing, good footwork and flexible wrists.

Table 3.2 - *Continued*

4	Cut	Attack – executed as square-cut or late-cut. Perhaps the most daring shot in cricket. It is made off a ball bowled by any bowler the trajectory, velocity and movement of which is calculated by the batsman to take it just outside or onto the off-stump. Like the hook, it carries a coded message to the bowler that the batsman has achieved a position of dominance in their encounter, although it is probably the most risky stroke of all.[44]
5	Straight Bat	Defense – A basic stroke that must be learned by any cricketer. It has myriad uses with the single intent to blunt the bowlers attack until the batsman has an appreciable level of confidence necessary to playing more attacking strokes. Constantine argues in The Young Cricketer's Companion that an accomplished cricketer may always be able, at the last second, to adjust from defense to attack while playing with a straight bat.

Note: For additional information of attacking and defensive batting, please see Learie Constantine and Denzil Batchelor's The Changing Face of Cricket, Sir Leonard Hutton, Alec Bedser, et. al. Cricket, and Learie Constantine's, The Young Cricketer's Companion. Most of these terms have applications in common usage and have other distinct meanings.

The Laws of Cricket

The laws which govern the playing of the game, much like the language used to describe it, are more diverse and convoluted than may be found elsewhere. There were forty seven laws in place during the 1963 West Indies versus England Test series, and comprised a second edition of those published in 1947.[45] In most sports, there is a clear distinction between the laws that govern the sport and the spirit in which the game is played. Generally, a society's definition of fair

[44] James, C.L.R. Beyond the Boundary, Fifth Edition (Durham:Duke University Press, 1993), 83-88. James takes the position that this stroke is expressive of art and throughout his book makes the case that for lovers of cricket in general, but West Indians in particular, a moment of fulfillment occurs when a batsman executes a cut of such beauty and timing that is beyond description but must present a significant element of danger such that misjudgment on the batsman's part results in the loss of his wicket.

[45] R.S. Rait Kerr, History of Laws of Cricket (London: Longman's, Green and Co., 1950), 65-87. Colonel Kerr has written a thoroughly researched, somewhat argumentative account of the laws governing the sport, discusses the many changes made and some of the social, economic and political justifications for them. See also Wisden, 1964, 959.

play within the sport is determined by several factors that may or may not be related to its ethics. For example, in American baseball, the motivation to win permits many types of on-field behaviors that would result, in cricket, in retributive reactions from the game's officials and the sport's administrators. On-field behaviors are those in which the game's players engage in order to win; or that umpires and referees exhibit in their efforts to adjudicate equitably. In cricket, the spirit of the game involves not merely these on-field behaviors but require that good judgment and a sense of decency be shown as well. For example, a cricketer is not allowed to remonstrate against an umpire's decision even when he is convinced that the umpire's decision is wrong. In addition, batsmen are expected to begin their departure from their wicket prior to receiving the umpire's verdict if they know that they are out.

Table 3.3 The Laws of Cricket[46]

Law No	**Name of Law**	**Definition and Scope**	**Purpose**
Section A **The Players, Umpires and Scorers**			
1	The Players. See Figure 3.1 for pictorial representation of standard positions on cricket pitch.	Two opposing teams usually of eleven players chosen prior to start of play.	To allow each side to choose a team capable of balancing the strength of the other.

[46] The Laws of Cricket, 99-113.

Table 3.3 - *Continued*

2	Substitutes and runners: batsman or fieldsman leaving the field: batsman retiring: batsman commencing innings	A few quaint requirements that cover situations that arise that affect the batsman and are not covered under any other laws.	To regulate an assortment of unusual situations that might otherwise prove to be disruptive.
3	The Umpires	Outlines the selection and duties of the umpires under 14 sub-headings including their knowledge of the laws, correct use of signals, and conduct of players, correctness of scores, time, and many other duties.	Their primary responsibility is to protect the integrity and spirit of the game by showing impartiality.
4	The Scorers	Necessity for working in concert with umpires.	To ensure accuracy and maintain match and sport integrity.
Section B **The Implements of the Game and the Ground**			
5	The Ball.	Specifications, life expectancy and conditions for replacement.	To protect against malfeasance in the manufacturing, use or replacement of balls and to ensure parity.

Table 3.3 - *Continued*

6	The Bat	Specifications.	To ensure uniformity within specified boundaries.
7	The Pitch	Specifications, selection and preparation. Law states exceptions for non-turf pitches.	To ensure uniformity. Note: The entire area within the boundary marker is often referred to as the pitch.
8	The wickets. Sometimes referred to as the batsman's castle.	The stumps and bails, their sizes and dimensions required in setting them up.	To ensure uniformity.
9	The Bowling, Popping and Return Creases.	The lines drawn on the pitch that determine its landscape	Crucially important for bowlers, batsmen and umpires. Many outcomes affected.
Section C **The Care and Maintenance of the Pitch**			
10	Rolling, sweeping, mowing, watering the pitch and remarking of creases.	Specific requirements governing the preparation and treatment of the entire playing surface.	To attempt to render the playing surface as accommodating as possible. Allowance is made for non-turf wickets.

Table 3.3 - *Continued*

11	Covering the Pitch	States the times and some conditions for covering of same.	To protect mainly the pitch from undue saturation. Note: this was a point of contention for some West Indies captains.
12	Maintenance of the Pitch	The provision of limited means to prevent deterioration of pitch caused by the weather or the players.	To ensure that the pitch remains in a condition conducive to fair and safe play.
Section D **The Conduct of the Game**			
13	Innings	Defines the number, choice, duration of the innings as determined by the type of match being played.	To determine the parameters for claiming a victory by any team.
14	Following Innings	Establishes the rules under which a team may bat for two consecutive innings.	To allow a team with a first innings run lead to place its opponent in some jeopardy without itself becoming vulnerable.
15	Declarations	The closing of an innings by the team captain	A strategic maneuver by the captain of a batting team designed to place his opponents at a disadvantage.

Table 3.3 - *Continued*

16	Start of Play	The directive “play” signals the start of the match, its continuation at each daily recommencement and resumption after a significant break in the action.	To describe activities allowed during the time allowed for the match.
17	Intervals	Breaks for lunch, tea, drinks and between innings	These are prescribed, but allow for adjustments due to weather and developments during the match.
18	Cessation of Play	Call of “time” by the umpire signaling cessation of play and rules governing final over.	This law discusses the final over under various match conditions and the critical nature of time control in each outcome.
19	Scoring	Rules governing the scoring of runs and penalties that reduce them.	This law demonstrates the need for harmony between the scorers and the umpires as well as the uniformity at all levels of the game.
20	Boundaries	Describes how boundaries and overthrows are scored	This law is very useful as it clarifies some umpiring decisions that seem to violate other laws. eg. Law 32: Out Caught.

Table 3.3 - *Continued*

21	Lost Ball	An arcane rule indicating the irretrievability of a ball for any number of reasons.	Usually called by a fielder in order to limit the earned runs to six.
22	The result	The outcome of the match, usually a win, draw or tie.	This law speaks to the authority of the umpires in deciding match outcomes.
23	The Over	This law defines an over, the duties of the umpire in controlling them, and the bowlers' roles in some unusual circumstances.	This is a very crucial law inasmuch as any uncorrected breach might change the game's outcome resulting in appeals and litigious actions of one kind or another.
24	More about the Over	Additional measures that place some restrictions on bowlers and captains.	Additional requirements that show the over as a device to control time and establish order.
25	Dead Ball	This law requires consistently accurate application. There is often a need for the umpires to declare this in an audible voice.	To enable the members of team or the umpires to recognize moments of respite during the match.

Table 3.3 - *Continued*

26	No Ball	A very critical law which may be applied by either umpire for separate violations. This law requires correct foot placement and arm movement as well as wicketkeeper location.	To ensure that the bowler gains no undue advantage over the batsman. Violators are penalized.
27	More on “No Ball”	As above, with distinction between “no-ball” and dead ball.	Additional clarification including run-out of the batsman at the bowler’s end.
28	Wide Ball	The bowling of a ball that is too high or too wide.	Violators are penalized as in 24 above although the motive might be purely defensive.
29	Wide ball and Dead Ball	Distinction between dead and wide balls.	An attempt to allow the batsman some leverage in scoring additional runs.
30	Bye and Leg-Bye	Runs that are scored when the ball makes no contact with the bat or the batsman. Leg-byes are earned when the ball brushes the batsman’s person, but not the hand holding the bat.	The purpose of this law is to avoid awarding runs to batsmen who deliberately pad balls away instead of attempting to strike it with the bat.

Table 3.3 - *Continued*

31	The Wicket is Down	Identifies types of disturbances of the wicket that determine whether a batsman is out.	To clarify the conditions that must exist in order that an out decision may be made.
32-42	See Table 3.1 - Ten Ways of Getting Out in Cricket	Describes the many ways a batsman may lose his wicket.	See table for clarification.
43	The Wicket-Keeper	Establishes his playing position and specifies the circumstances when a change is allowed.	To emphasize the batsman's legitimate of the batting zone.
44	The Fieldsman or Fielder	Establishes the limitation of fielders as well as their placement.	To curtail the use of fielders to interfere with play of to limit the batman's ability to make runs.
Section E **Duties of the Umpire**			
45 and 46	Myriad	Knowledge of laws, calls start, breaks and end of match, adjudicates batsmen's outs, bowlers' correctness of delivery, fielders' conformity to rules of the game.	This list has grown over time as the desire for victory and amassing statistics have endangered voluntary compliance.

Table 3.3 - *Continued*

47	Appeals	A call to the umpire by members of the fielding team for an out decision against opposing batsmen. He may consult with the other on-field umpire if uncertain.	Although appeals are necessary, excessive use of this device is frowned upon as is generally regarded as being contrary to the spirit of the game.

Notes: These laws were in effect during the 1963 England versus West Indies series of Tests. However, this table does not include the notes, which are intended to expand the scope of the laws in order to incorporate unanticipated and innovations in playing techniques and technology. Notes usually become parts of revised laws in time. In fact, the Laws of Cricket - 1980 Code
Re law 11: In most instances, the home team has an advantage. During the 1963 Lord's test, because of the damp conditions, England's fast bowler, Trueman, quickly shortened his run-up to the wicket in order to better control his movements and thus the ball. During England's second innings, Hall capitalized on the advantage afforded by a damp patch on the pitch and wreaked havoc among the England batsmen. A unique feature of Law 2 allows for the loss of the batter's wicket if the batter or substitute is found in violation of specific laws.

These laws of cricket are essentially organic, undergoing numerous editions and revisions that have resulted from the need to incorporate unanticipated and innovative improvements in sports technology, cricketing techniques, the need to adjust advantages to fielding or batting sides in order to maintain a necessary balance in match results, and concomitantly stimulate the interest of the sport's adherents. Kerr posits that many of these changes such as the introduction of the three stump wicket for a match played on May 22, 1775, the transferring of power from the Hambledon Club to the M.C.C. in 1789, the decision of the June 10, 1864 General Meeting of the M.C.C. to allow over-arm bowling, the abrogation, in 1774, of laws regulating gambling, and the advent of the mowing machine, heavy roller and marl used in the design, construction, and manicuring and preparation of pitches, had, at their core, a desire to maintain the balance of power between bat and ball.[47] Many of these changes in the laws such as the L.B.W. laws gave bowlers leverage in encounters with batsmen who unfairly protected their stumps with their padded legs.

[47] Ibid, 17-57.

Some legislative efforts designed to bring about needed changes failed miserably. One of these was coping with the aftermath of the "leg theory – bodyline" controversy that erupted during the 1932-33 England versus Australia Test series played in Australia. It is arguable that this failure had much to do with the rhetoric that that series engendered at the highest diplomatic level and the arguments that reverberated in those countries' political chambers. The language of the debate at the M.C.C. focused on intent to cause injury to batsmen by limiting the number of bouncers to a certain minimum juxtaposed against the need to protect batsmen whose agility and expertise with the bat ought to have been adequate to the task. This matter remained unresolved and was thereafter thrust upon the umpires to be resolved on the pitch. Umpires therefore relied on their interpretations of "unfair play" and "direct attack" as the basis for action which consisted mainly of warnings to offending bowlers and their captains to desist or be penalized. Although the difficulty of the M.C.C., the various County Committees, the Australian Cricket Board of Control, other Governing Bodies overseas, and the then Imperial Cricket Council can be appreciated, this tendency to defer to umpiring resulted in many inconsistencies.

Kerr lists 138 *de facto changes* to the laws that occurred between the passage of the 1744 and the 1947 Code.[48] F.S. Griffith, chairman of the committee convened at the behest of the I.C.C. "to consolidate the various amendments and notes in order to achieve greater clarity and simplicity in the new code", was unable to complete his task until 1980 by which time his committee had reduced the established forty seven laws of the 1947 code to forty two, although there is evidenced a clear effort to remedy inconsistencies through detailed clarifications.[49] In addition, Law Forty Two set out the authority vested in umpires for enforcing limited punitive measures against a burgeoning list of unfair playing behaviors.[50] This focus on behaviors within the sport that tended to undermine the spirit of the game was further emphasized with the publication of the most recent 2008 revision.

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48 Ibid, 66-84.
49 Barclays World of Cricket, 623.
50 Ibid, 633-4.

The 2008 Code was completed on October 1, 2008, consisting of revisions to several clauses in Laws number 1, 3, 16, 17, 29 and 42, the addition of a new clause 3.9, as well as the addition of Appendices 1 and 2.[51] By 2008 a Decision Review System (DRS) had been implemented through which the on-field umpires, selected by the International Cricket Council (ICC) from an international or elite panel of umpires consisting of two qualified umpires from each full member country, were assisted by a third and fourth umpire whose primary function was to adjudicate seemingly nebulous outcomes mainly through television replays. In addition, when necessary, they replaced on-field umpire who might have become incapacitated for any reason. Of particular importance was the provision that these umpires could not be chosen from the countries participating in the match of the moment. These attempts to eliminate or at least reduce partiality in rendering decisions that determined cricket outcomes were intended to maintain the integrity and spirit of the game, as well as elevate the adjudicative standard through the agency of live television coverage and instant replay. In addition to these revisions, the I.C.C. has codified the conduct of players, clubs and organizations in an effort to eliminate behaviors considered injurious to the spot.[52]

How the Game is Played

About fifteen minutes prior to the start of the match, the two umpires and captains walk out to the middle for the coin toss. The winner of the toss decides which side bats first and must inform the opposing captain of his decision at least ten minutes prior to the start of the match. The fielding side takes the field, and the captain chooses the end from which the bowling will begin. The captain informs the umpires, one of whom will take up his position behind the wicket from which the bowling will begin. This decision is influenced by the direction of the wind as it is desirable that the wind aid rather than hinder the bowler's efforts. The second umpire locates

[51] "ICC Standard Test Match Playing Conditions", 71. Taken from http://static.icc-cricket.yahoo.net/ugc/documents/DOC_1F113528040177329F4B40FE47C77AE2_1254317595929_824.pdf

[52] E:/ICC Rules and Regulations.html provides a list and text of publications issued by the I.C.C. including anti-doping, anti racism, anti corruption, apparel, equipment and logo restrictions, which have proliferated as part of the effort to protect the integrity of the game mainly against the corrupting effects of the continued commodification of the sport.

himself just forward of square leg taking a position with a line of sight along the popping crease. The opening batsmen arrive at the wicket at about this time and the dominant opening batsman takes his guard with the help of the umpire and establishes himself preparatory to receiving the opening over of the match. The non-striker takes up his position behind the popping crease at the other wicket, prepared to run between the wickets and score runs as the outcome of the confrontation warrants.

Play is called by the umpire and the bowler begins his run-up to the wicket and bowls the first ball of the first over. At its end, another bowler bowls the next over using an approach from the opposite wicket. Because these are usually the fastest bowlers on the team, the start of any match is generally construed as an attack by the fielding side on that batting. This stage of the match usually moves very slowly as the batsmen are more focused on becoming attuned to the nuances of both the wicket and the bowlers. However, by the end of the fourth over, both batsmen, having been challenged by a variety of balls comprising the bowlers' arsenals should have scored a few runs the quality of which will have informed match participants and observers of their level of comfort with the bowling. West Indian batsmen will have demonstrated some aspect of their mastery of the bowling by playing a number of attacking strokes. Many West Indian writers on cricket agree that batsmen and bowlers engage in a duel in which the object is domination. If the batsman wins, two obvious results will be a steady flow of runs and the removal of the bowler. If the bowler prevails, then the batsman loses his wicket and the bowler continues to menace his teammates.[53] For a West Indian facing a dominant bowler, the object always seems to be reducing the effectiveness of the bowler unless a stout defense is required in the face of the bowler's success. An England open batsman, on the other hand, is much less inclined to attack the bowling, preferring to exercise caution and "playing himself in", by playing with a straight bat until his level of comfort permits him to play attacking shots.[54] His dominant concern

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[53] The Young Cricketer's Companion, 29. See also Garry Sobers with Bob Harris, My Autobiography (London: Headline Book Publishing, 2002), 57; Rohan Kanhai, Blasting for Runs (London: Souvenir Press, Ltd., 1966), 98.

[54] Hudson, Bedser, et al., Cricket (London: W. Foulsham & Co. Ltd., 1969), 9.

is defending his wicket until the bowling threat diminishes to a point at which the batting counter attack may be launched.

Irrespective of the mentality of the side at bat, the bowler's success or failure may be seen in changes in the placement of the fieldsmen. Containment of the batsmen usually means a close-in field where fieldsmen of proven ability are positioned in close proximity to the batsmen to stop or catch balls as they leave the bat. Fielding at the silly positions is therefore reserved for cricketers with quick reflexes and safe hands. Cowdrey and Stewart could always be found in the slips or short leg at which positions they accounted, in the Lord's match, for six and three West Indian dismissals respectively. The West Indies bowlers, on the other hand, focused on attacking the batsmen's wickets. On the surface, this approach resembled containment, but its emphasis was more in the nature of a challenge. In short, the West Indian bowler's aim was to afford the batsman an even chance of striking the ball or losing his wicket. As a result, five of England's batsmen were bowled and six caught by the wicket-keeper as a direct result of being deceived by the pace or trajectory of the balls which they received.[55]

Attacking cricket is generally more exciting and usually more highly appreciated than the defensive variety. Risk is a function of ability, experience and threat level; and threat in cricket is determined by the ability of the fielding side, the quality of the pitch and familiarity or lack thereof with local weather conditions. Low risk tolerance is therefore inversely related to exciting cricket, large attendance and a financially successful undertaking. The England selectors made a crucial change in replacing the younger, faster Statham with the more experienced and mechanical Shackleton. It is likely that their aversion to risk-taking influenced their decision since Statham had allowed one hundred runs and claimed no wickets during the first test at Manchester, which England had lost. The fact that the West Indies' selectors retained their fast bowlers is less a function of their personnel limitation than of a willingness to risk the outcome of the match on their confidence in their pacemen's abilities.

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[55] Wisden, 1964, 292.

As the game progresses, runs are scored, wickets fall, bowlers are changed as the ball loses its gloss and becomes more susceptible to friction, and fielders chase the balls hit by batsmen in order to minimize run accumulation or to run-out the batsmen. Towards the end of the first day of play, if the batting side has not been removed, the batsmen at the wicket usually adopt a defensive posture in order to save their energies for the next day. In fact, if a wicket falls during the final ten minutes prior to the close, the captain invariably sends the night watchman in to bat. This is a batsman of less skill than that normally scheduled. His function is to play in as safe and sedate a manner and buy time till the end of play. This batsman is more expendable than the one normally scheduled. This ruse normally works despite the increased efforts of the fielding team to remove him. If he is removed, the normally scheduled batsman usually goes out to bat.

Quite often, the side that bats first is removed during the course of the day's play and thus their opponents begin their innings at bat. This occurrence sends coded messages that inform the initiated regarding the strength of one side relative to the other. Additional factors such as the weather, injuries, and pitch condition are added to the equation and are weighted based on their presumed impact on the game. At this juncture, the total runs scored should range from 300 to 360, and the number of overs bowled from 120 to 150. Although each side endeavors to amass as large a total of runs as possible, it is more crucial for the side that bats first since failure to do so might place them in a position of a loss if their batsmen fail during their second innings. If the total of the runs accumulated during both innings is less than that made during the opponents' single innings, then the losing side has lost by an innings and the run deficit. If not, then the opposing team is still able to bat, and usually wins the game. The important point is that the captain is not required to make a follow-on decision that places his team in jeopardy if the first innings run disparity is less than 200.[56] A variation of the follow-on occurred during the first test match of the 1963 series, when England had made a total of 205 first innings runs in their first innings in response to the West Indies score of 501. Worrell therefore was not jeopardizing his team's chances of victory by forcing England to bat again. England made a face saving 296

[56] Laws of Cricket, Law 13, 17.

during their second innings for a grand two-innings total of 501.[57] Since West Indies needed to make one run in order to claim victory, England lost the match but avoided the ignominy of an inning's defeat.

Normally, however, after the first team (Team A) has had ten wickets fall, that side is out, and the opposing team (Team B) prepares to bat for the first time. The pattern of bowling, batting, fielding umpiring and intervals is repeated. This is usually the point in the match when the captain of the team now fielding (Team A) employs either a containment or an attacking strategy. The captain's main purpose, irrespective of his choice of strategy, is to prevent the batting team (Team B) from amassing runs in excess of his team's aggregate since his team (Team A) would be required to remove that surfeit prior to establishing a respectable score that will challenge Team B during their second innings at bat. Normally, however, Team A bats a second time. During this innings, the captain of Team B generally employs an even more restrictive or attacking strategy than before since he is aware that limiting the Team A's run prolificity gives his team a psychological advantage in the final and decisive innings. If Team B earns more runs in its two innings than the other team did in theirs, they will have won the match. During the Lord's test, England's target for winning was within their capabilities given the time allowed to earn them.

The captains' decisions regarding whether his team will play attacking or containment cricket determines the level of excitement generated in the match. Attacking fielding requires that fielders be placed close enough to the active batsman in order to take catches that result usually from defensive prods with the bat. Quite often, minute adjustments in field placements are made, sometimes after every delivery, and sometimes for their psychological effect. Attacking fielding obviously requires attacking bowling, which is best produced by fast bowlers, since normally, medium-paced and spin bowlers are less able to restrict a batsmen who are venturesome. Attacking bowler is best answered by attacking batting for several reasons. Firstly, the fielders must be spread out with several near the boundary marker in order to reduce the scoring of boundaries. The captain of the fielding team will therefore have fewer men to place close to the

[57] Wisden, 1964, 288.

active batsman, thus reducing the likelihood of his being caught out. From the perspective of the confrontation between the bowler and batsman, there is a greater likelihood of a positive outcome for the batsman than the bowler. Attacking cricket is more likely to bring out large, exciting, paying crowds eager to witness the spectacle. Finally, attacking cricket will generally leave the crowd satiated even in the face of a drawn outcome and when national pride is at stake.

CHAPTER 4

THE MATCH

England lost the first test match of the 1963 series at the Old Trafford grounds located in Manchester. In that match, West Indies premier batsmen had battered England's bowlers convincingly, compiling four hundred and ten runs between them. Hunte scored an impressive one hundred and eighty two runs, Worrell and Kanhai could have made a century each except for a declaration decision in Worrell's case and a run-out in Kanhai's. In addition, Sobers, although his innings was less productive, dotted the landscape with impressive sixes and fours. However, West Indies bowlers, particularly Hall and Griffith, did not penetrate England's defense as conclusively as their fans had anticipated. This was particularly evident toward the conclusion of England's second innings when their tail-end batsmen succeeded in blunting the West Indies bowling attack thus saving an inglorious innings defeat.[1]

England's foremost batmen had failed with the exception of Dexter, in the first innings, and Stewart, an opening batsman, in the second. Neither batsman scored a century however, although Stewart was a mere thirteen runs short of his when he was caught by Murray in a failed attempt to cut a Gibbs delivery. Gibbs was by far the most productive bowler of the match, capturing eleven of the twenty England's wickets that fell, for one hundred and fifty seven runs off seventy five point three overs. By comparison, the most productive England bowler was "Fiery" Freddie Trueman, whose forty overs garnered him two of ten possible wickets at the cost of ninety five runs.

[1] Preston, Norman. Ed. Wisden Cricketer's Almanack 1964, (London: Sporting Handbooks Ltd., 1964), 289.

During the interval between the first and second test matches, the West Indies played two-inconsequential one-day games against Ireland and a three-day match against Sussex County on their home fixture at Hove. Unfortunately for England, the match at Hove failed to expose the hoped-for chink in West Indies armor. On the contrary, it revealed the versatility of Sobers, who removed three of Sussex's first innings wickets bowling fast-medium.[2] Although he was considerably less productive with a mixture of bowling styles in the second innings, he and his teammates increased the difficulty of England's selectors to build a team designed to capitalize on the weakness of the West Indians. England therefore approached the second test at Lord's in London with much trepidation, knowing that a succedent loss, especially at Lord's, the home and cathedral of cricket, would be disastrous for team and country historically and psychologically.

Team Selection

The English selectors' primary concern was to design a balanced team with a wide assortment of bowlers, strong, or at least reliable batting, and respectable fielding. By so doing, they could presume a theoretical victory by compensating for their own weaknesses, as they understood them that had contributed to their loss at Old Trafford. Their secondary concern was the contribution from Lord's pitch. Although they realized that they could not control many of the variables that determined the hospitability of the pitch, and that West Indies were as likely as they to benefit from its assistance, they felt assured that the odds were in their favor. Two of the variables over which England had won control were the exposure of the pitch to the elements other than at the beginning of the match and during the Sunday break, and the limitation on the use of rollers during the match.[3] The crucial uncontrollable factors in this equation were rain and temperature. In short, a soft pitch and cold conditions improved England's chances for a victory. The opposite was true for West Indies.

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2 Ibid, 289.
3 Ibid. 961.

In an effort to strengthen their bowling, England selectors made a crucial change in pace bowlers, replacing Brian Statham, a disappointment from the Old Trafford test, with Derrick Shackleton. At the same time, they called up Larter from Northamptonshire, a younger and faster bowler than Shackleton or Statham. Recent rainfall, added to peculiarly English misty dreariness, compelled a cautious approach to this crucial match. If these conditions persisted, then Shackleton's medium pace, swing bowling, with movement off the pitch, would restrain the West Indies batsmen resulting in fewer runs per innings. If the weather cleared and the pitch became firmer, then Larter's pace would produce the same results. As it was, the unchanged weather conditions determined that Shackleton would play. In addition, Shackleton was the better batsman of the two. To their credit, another of their concerns might have been David Larter's failure to adjust to the recently imposed, experimental front-foot rule and, potentially therefore, an inability to revert to the old back-foot rule, which was being used.[4]

One of the most complimentary assessments of Shackleton's ability is rendered by Roy Marshall, West Indies opening batsman who migrated to England and made a living playing first in the Lancashire League and later for Hampshire County, where, as his teammate and leader, he had thousands of opportunities to observe Shackleton. Marshal describes him as the only bowler on his county team who could not be picked by opposing batsmen, bowled an almost immaculate length, was perfectly balanced in his run-up thus adding to opposing batsmen's discomfiture when facing him, and able to obtain life from balls that less imaginative bowlers regarded as worn, lifeless and effete.[5]

The selectors also replaced wicketkeeper, K.V. Andrew with J. M. Parks. This change was designed to augment the batting side as Andrew's scores of three and fifteen in the prior test were disappointing. Despite Andrew's slight advantage as wicketkeeper over Parks, the selectors

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[4] Minutes of the Meeting of the Sub-Committee of M.C.C. held at Lord's on Feb. 8th, 1963, at which "Playing Conditions of the West Indies tour of the U.K., 1963" was discussed. At this meeting. a motion by A.B. Sellers requiring the taking of the new ball after 85 overs was adopted in opposition to a proposal by the W.I.C.B.C. that the new ball be taken after 75 overs or 200 runs, whichever came first.

[5] Marshall, Roy. Test Outcast (London: Pelham Books, 1970), 107-08.

were willing to gamble that the advantage gained in batting would compensate for any deficiencies in wicket-keeping. With these changes, England could boast a team with tested batsmen through to number eleven, since Shackleton and Trueman had shown, by scoring centuries in first class matches, that they were potential run-makers.

The West Indies selectors, for their part, kept their team virtually unchanged except for replacing the excitable Joey Carew with the more conservative Easton McMorris as opening partner for Conrad Hunte. Their objective, to establish a strong opening batting pair, was, and still is a very necessary weapon in any team's batting arsenal, and is designed to blunt, and thereby lessen the effectiveness of the fielding team's opening bowling attack. Theoretically, this was a sound move especially given the weather conditions. Strategically, West Indies batting was front-loaded. Their number three through six men in the batting line-up were prolific scorers. However, quite often, because of the failure of the opening pair, the number three and four batsmen found themselves having to cope with still fresh, energized pace bowlers when they arrived at the wicket, and therefore spent more time than they would have liked settling in instead of destroying the bowling. As a consequence, these batsmen often became the victims of crafty bowlers who generally sharpened their attack against these aggressive West Indies batsmen. This was all the more important since the tail-end batsmen, Hall being the exception, were usually unable to provide batting support. Hampshire county opening batsman and captain, Roy Marshall, claims to have been invited by Frank Worrell to rejoin the West Indies test team around the start of the 1963 series. Although such a move would very likely solve the West Indies opening batsmen dilemma, it would probably have been short-lived and also ended Marshall's county playing career, thus abridging his livelihood. Marshall seemed motivated more by concerns for his family's financial stability than by any nationalistic ties to the West Indies. [6]

[6] Roy Marshall, Test Outcast (London: Pelham Books, 1970), 149-51. Marshall also refers to an offer, which was later withdrawn by the M.C.C., to play Test Cricket for England.

The Teams

West Indies

Table 4.1 West Indies Team in Proposed Batting Order

Name and Country, (Age)	**Position**	**Experience and Value**
* Frank Worrell – Barbados/Jamaica (39)	Captain, number 7 batsman, all-rounder	Dependable batsman, Wide first class and Lancashire League experience.
Conrad Hunte – Barbados (31)	Vice Captain, opening batsman, sound fielder.	Dependable batsman and fielder, wide first class and Lancashire league experience.
Easton McMorris – Jamaica (28)	Opening batsman, limited experience	Reasonably sound batsman and fielder. Limited first class experience.
Rohan Kanhai – Guyana (28)	Number 3 batsman, sound slip fielder	Aggressive, productive batsman. Wide first class, Central Lancashire and Northern league and other experience.
Basil Butcher – Guyana (29)	Number 4 batsman, dependable fielder.	Enterprising batsman and fielder. Wide first class, Lancashire league experience.

Table 4.1 - *Continued*

Garfield Sobers – Barbados(27)	Number 5 batsman, versatile cricketer. Holds world batting record.	Excellent batsman, versatile bowler and fielder. Wide first class, Lancashire league and other experience.
Joseph Solomon – Guyana (33)	Number 6 batsman, reliable fielder	Dependable batsman and fielder. Wide first class experience.
Deryk Murray - Trinidad (20)	Wicket-keeper, number 8 batsman, 2nd test match for West Indies.	No test experience. Replacement for Allan who became ill. No England experience of any kind.
Wesley Hall – Barbados (26)	Pace bowler, somewhat reliable batsman	Fastest bowler in world. Wide first class, Lancashire league and other experience.
Lance Gibbs – Guyana (29)	Spin Bowler, good fielder	Excellent off-spin bowler. Limited first class, Lancashire and Durham Senior league experience. Weak batsman.
Charlie Griffith – Barbados (25)	Pace bowler, good fielder	Scant first class experience limited to Barbados. Very difficult to play.
Seymour Nurse – Barbados (29)	Twelfth man, usually middle-order batsman.	Sound batsman, seldom used off-spin bowler. Decent first class, Lancashire league experience.

Average age: 29. Eight players, including Nurse, had played in the Lancashire league.
*Frank Worrell was born, grew up in, and played initially for Barbados. He later immigrated to Jamaica to seek employment, and represented that country in inter-island matches.

West Indies therefore was a strong team. In Hall and Griffith, they possessed the fastest bowlers in the world, both capable of sending down balls in excess of ninety miles per hour. Next in the arsenal were the medium pacers, Worrell and the versatile Sobers, who bowled a fast-medium as well. Finally, after the ball had lost its shine, Gibbs, reputably the best off-spinner in the world and Sobers with his spinning wizardry, would attempt to maintain the state of havoc already created among England's batsmen, or otherwise stem the flow of runs that would have resulted from the other bowlers' failures. The West Indies batting potential was phenomenal. Many of the selected batsmen had enviable batting records coming into the tour and so far, Kanhai, Sobers, Butcher had scored centuries in county matches, while Hunte had done so in the first test. Kanhai's nagging knee injury, which did not seem to inhibit his stroke making, appeared to have been the only potential incapacity. Their batting weakness therefore lay in inconsistent opening batsmen and a tail-end that tended to fold with regrettable consistency. Wicketkeeper, Murray, who was playing in his second test match, showed his inexperience by having to stand back to both fast and medium-paced bowlers.

Worrell summarized his team's chances as follows. Approximately one half of the team had experienced playing conditions as a result of having played in the English leagues. On the other hand, reliance on the hook shot, which was the most productive shot in league matches resulted in dismissals by leg-before wicket or being caught in the slips, short leg or deep square leg. His players suffered an additional disadvantage because of the moistness of most of the pitches as well as the cold, clammy weather conditions. In fact, quite often, West Indian players wore two or three sweaters. Thus enshrouded, their freedom of movement became limited and their productivity minimized. In addition, Worrell argues that a new ball, which seemed to benefit

mostly swing bowlers, was wreaking havoc among his players. This was redressed when the team management requested a change.[7]

England

Table 4.2 England Team in Proposed Batting Order

Name and County	**Position**	**Experience and Value**
E.R. (Ted) Dexter – Sussex(Capt.), (30)	Captain, Number 3 batsman, all-rounder	Attacking batsman. Wide first class experience.
Mickey Stewart – Surrey(Capt.), (33)	Opening batsman, exceptional fielder at short-leg.	Wide first class experience. Received O.B.E.
John Edrich – Surrey, (28)	Opening batsman.2nd Test match for England.	Wide first class experience. Received M.B.E.
Ken Barrington – Surrey, (34)	Number 4 batsman, good fielder.	Wide first class experience. 3rd best batting average among English batsmen.
Colin Cowdrey – Kent(Capt.), (32)	Number 5 batsman, exceptional slip fielder.	Wide first class experience. Member of British nobility-Lord, Baron.
Brian Close – Yorkshire(Capt.), (34)	Number 6 batsman, all-rounder, good slip fielder, dependable medium-pace bowler.	Wide first class experience. Known for his resilience.
Jim Parks – Sussex (33)	Number 7 batsman, Wicketkeeper.	Attacking batsman. Wide first class cricketing experience.

[7] Eytle, Ernest. Frank Worrell: The Career of a Great Cricketer (London: Hoder and Stroughton,1963), 189.

Table 4.2 - *Continue*

Fred Titmus – Middlesex, (32)	Number 8 batsman, all-rounder, solid spin bowler.	Wide first class experience. Reasonably sound batsman.
Freddie Trueman – Yorkshire (34)	Number 9 batsman, versatile fast bowler, good fielder	Wide first class experience.
David Allen – Gloucestershire, (29)	Number 10 batsman, all-rounder, dependable off-spinner,	Wide first class experience, reasonably sound batsman and bowler
Derek. Shackleton – Hampshire, (38)	Number 11 batsman, all-rounder.	Wide first class experience, consistent seam bowler,
David Larter – Northamtonshire(Capt.), (25)	Twelfth man, fast bowler.	Limited first class experience.

Note: Average age: 32. All English players had first class experience.

England's team was well balanced. Trueman, their sole, truly fast bowler, though not as quick as Hall or Griffith, was adaptable to changes in pitch conditions. Shackleton possessed the ability to bowl at a good length almost indefinitely. Dexter and Brian Close were reliable medium-paced bowler, and he had a duo of spinners in Titmus and Allen on whom he could rely. All of these bowlers were intimately acquainted with pitch conditions, and adjusted pace, trajectory and movement much sooner than their West Indian counterparts. England's batting line-up was reliable through to its eighth batsman. Of these batsmen, Barrington and Dexter had scored centuries in county matches against the West Indies during the current tour. The remaining batsmen, although not prolific run makers, had proven their worth to their county and nation by demonstrating pluck and imagination when their teams needed them. All of these players had impressive cricketing records.[8] Finally, their wicketkeeper, Parks, though not as talented as

[8] The Cricket Archive Oracles, "West Indies in British Isles 1963 (2nd Test)" http://www.cricketarchive.com/Archive/Scorecards/26/26175.html

Andrew whom he replaced, was able to stand-up to the medium-paced bowlers. By so doing, he dampened the propensity toward aggressive play of the more adventurous West Indian batsmen.

Winning the Toss

Winning the toss in test cricket has depths of meaning absent from most other sports. The captain, knowing that the condition of the field is likely to change over the five-day duration of the game, must understand how the weather is likely to affect the pitch, and thus, his team's performance. When Worrell won the toss and decided that his team would bat first, his decision was therefore based on his best assessment of the pitch, the grounds, the potential effects of changes in the weather, as well as the disposition of his men and the opposing team. That Worrell chose not to exercise the option of putting England in to bat was more an extension of his philosophy as captain than a reflection of his concern over possible changes in the condition of the pitch.[9] Worrell's thought process should not be construed to mean a callous disregard for field conditions. Rather, it alludes to the likelihood that changes in field conditions will be insignificant and thus the differences in team performance will be based on how well they adapt to the conditions. In any event, once made, this decision could not be changed except with the concurrence of the opposing captain.[10]

Dexter would have been extremely pleased by the result of the coin toss and Worrell's decision since he was now relieved of the responsibility of choosing between having his side bat on an unfriendly pitch and sending the West Indies in to bat in the hope that they would falter. In addition, his team would not necessarily have to chase the West Indies first innings score, but could carefully over-take their score, assuming that his team could contain them. As it was, West Indies were defending and England would attack. This was not the frontal attack based on sheer pace, but a more subtle, versatile approach incorporating varied pace, movement off the pitch and through the air, as well as the occasional breaking ball.

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[9] Ernest Eytle, Frank Worrell: the Career of a Great Cricketer (London; Hodder and Stoughton, 1963), 191.

[10] Wisden , 962. See also law No. 12 in http://www.lords.org/law

West Indies First Innings

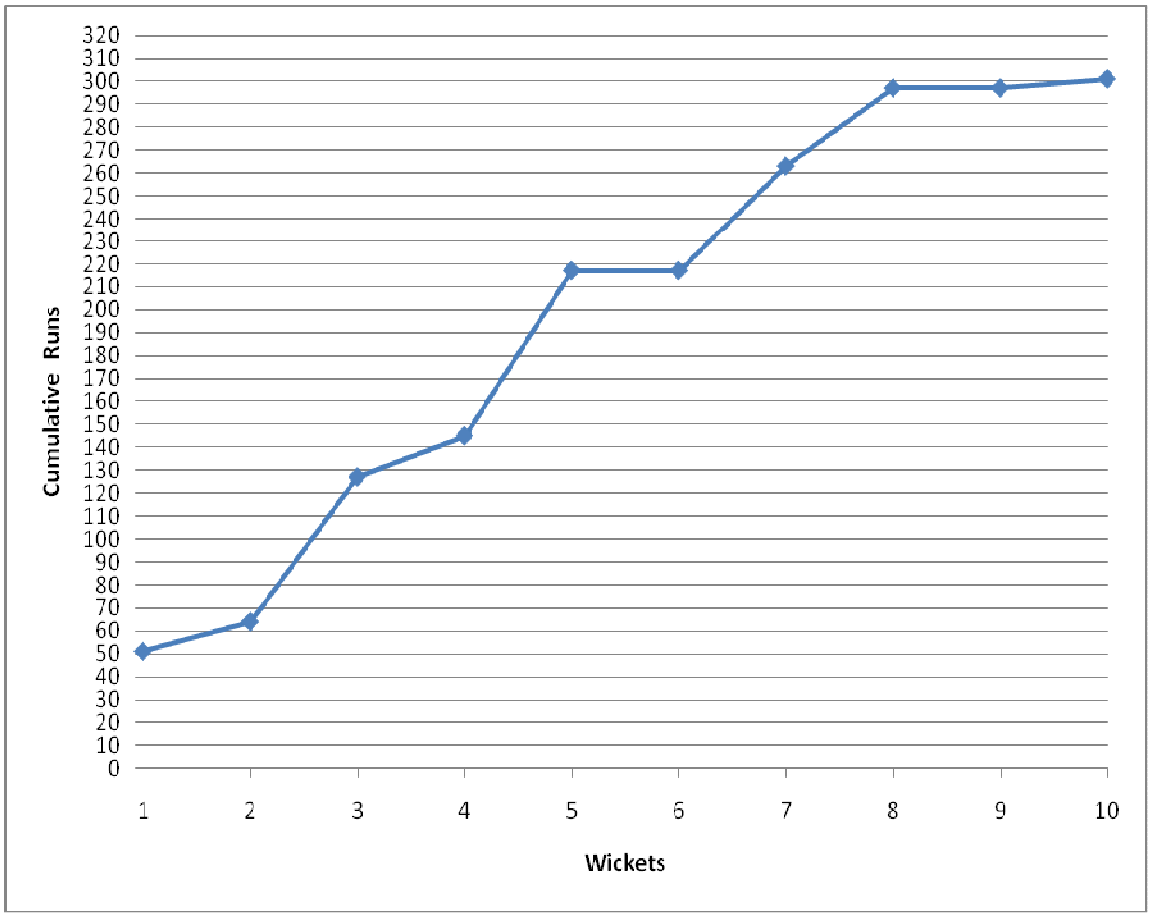

Figure 4.1 Fall of Wickets: West Indies First Innings

When play began, the typically English overcast, dreary conditions that had persisted during the morning had not prevented 22,280 attendees from showing up early thus causing the gates to be closed early with hundreds turned away. This had not occurred since 1956 when England played a test match against Australia. Conrad Hunte, the batsman facing the opening over from “Fiery Freddy”, dispatched the first three balls to boundary. The fourth ball he pushed gently for a single run through cover. This was the type of batting for which cricketers and their admirers hungered, and for which West Indies were renowned. Two of the boundary shots, however, had come off the edge of Hunte's bat and had passed between the fielders at slips and gully, a harbinger of things to come. The fifth and sixth balls were met with classic defensive

strokes. Following this opening salvo, Hunte and McMorris settled down reluctantly to a slow and tedious batting pace which produced 34 runs in the next 31 overs. In the past, West Indies batting had shown a consistent dislike for medium-fast swing bowling. In fact, as early in the tour as the match against Gloucestershire, despite their victory, nine of their first innings wickets fell to catches behind the wicket: four by the wicket keeper and four by a slip fielder.[11] Now Hunte and McMorris were being subjected to variations of swing bowling that would test them as they hadn't been so far on the tour.

First Trueman, Shackleton, and then Dexter moved the ball into and away from the batsmen, and varied length, pitch and movement through the wicket, bowling that inveighed against the normal expressiveness and exuberance of both batsmen. This pattern continued for most of the morning as the English bowlers virtually immobilized Hunte and McMorris, who had scored only forty seven runs by lunch time. In fact, a mere six runs were scored off the ninety six balls bowled by Shackleton during the morning session.[12] These bowlers' success in devitalizing the West Indies batting spirit was neutralized by two dropped catches and close calls that could have ended Hunte's innings. McMorris, for his part, displayed an appalling discomfort while at the wicket, and was obviously relieved when a Dexter delivery just barely grazed his wicket without disturbing his bails.[13]

These dropped catches and near misses, occurring as they did in the slips and short-leg, bore testimony to the focus of the England bowlers, which was to attack the batsman's bat, not his wicket. In fact, of the ten West Indies wickets that fell, just two were bowled out, although an argument may be made for a leg-before-wicket (LBW) out being a theoretical bowl out, raising the total to five. Using the same argument, West Indies could claim six such victims including four that were actually bowled out during England's first innings.[14] As a result, Hunte's and McMorris' batting seemed more reminiscent of the stolid, defensive, unimaginative English variety than the

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11 Sunday Guardian, 5 May, 1963, 21. From Reuter- May 4, "Griffith's Day at Bristol: WI Skittled on Awkward Pitch".

12 Times, June 21, 4.

13 Ibid. 4.

14 Wisden Cricketers' Almanack 1964, 292.

swashbuckling, daring, explosive hitting associated with West Indians, and to which cricket fans had grown accustomed. This change in style was perhaps what helped to ensure their survival, but only for a while.

This state of affairs continued until ten minutes after lunch at which point McMorris became Trueman's first victim, the result of an LBW decision. Fifty one runs had been scored and almost two hours of playing time had been consumed. Of the runs accumulated, McMorris had managed to make only sixteen of them. Rohan Kanhai, number three in the batting order, would normally replace McMorris, but Garfield Sobers approached the wicket instead. This discretionary change in the batting line-up is allowed by the laws governing the game, and is usually done when the captain of the batting side considers it prudent to protect the batsman normally scheduled. Since Sobers and Kanhai then ranked among the best batsmen in the world, this change had very little to do with Kanhai's possible lack of productivity. Instead, Worrell's decision was driven by concern with Kanhai's brashness inasmuch as Kanhai, the most aggressive of the West Indies batsmen, might have engaged the bowlers with his customary panache when moderation was required. Worrell's ruse worked as designed. However, he had not anticipated the loss of Hunte's wicket which occurred after a mere thirteen runs had been added. Kanhai replaced Hunte.

The temper of the West Indies first innings soon changed as Sobers and Kanhai slowly began to dominate the England bowling. These two batsmen imbued the dreary atmosphere of the game with new life. Soon they were demonstrating the creativity, the anticipation of which had brought many in the crowd, particularly West Indians, to the stadium. Because cricket requires the presence of two batsmen at the wicket throughout the match, it follows that in addition to individual performance, the partnership of two batsmen creates another dimension that intensifies the drama. Sobers and Kanhai, despite their individual productivity, had not performed well when partnered together. Hence their simultaneous occupation of the crease generally generated ambivalence in adherents and detractors alike. This partnership had produced sixty three exciting

runs when, with the score at one hundred and twenty seven, Sobers was caught low in the slips by Cowdrey off a ball bowled by David Allen.

What is significant, strategically, about Sobers' dismissal is that Allen had taken his wicket during the Old Trafford test at the point when Sobers was beginning to "see the ball". Seeing the ball refers to the point when a batsman, after batting for several overs, is able to determine how the ball is likely to respond relative to weather and pitch conditions as well as the bowler's ingenuity. Dexter, as any captain would have, brought Allen into the attack at about the same psychological moment and produced the same outcome. Butcher, noted for his on-driving prowess, replaced Sobers and asserted himself very early, but was soon back in the pavilion having been caught by Barrington in deep square-leg as a result of a failed attempt to hook a Trueman bumper to the boundary.[15] He was replaced by the imperturbable Solomon with West Indies score at one hundred and forty five for four wickets.

Kanhai's score had been climbing steadily despite his injured knee. He seemed quite comfortable facing the bowling and might have been looking forward to reaching the landmark hundred runs when he misread a Trueman delivery and, at seventy three, was caught by Edrich at gully. He was replaced by Worrell, whose tenure was short-lived compliments of a devastating delivery from Trueman. With their score at two hundred and nineteen runs for the loss of their six most valuable wickets, West Indies prospects for a respectable innings looked slim. However, Murray who replaced Worrell batted sensibly, and with Solomon preserved what dignity remained for their team. They batted for the remainder of the day taking the score to two hundred and forty five runs. In summary, the first day had seen England bowl 108 overs of which 43 were maidens; and Trueman had taken five of the six wickets, having bowled thirty two overs to Shakleton's thirty eight.[16]

These results were commendable from England's standpoint especially as the remaining West Indies batsmen were not expected to add many more runs to the total. The West Indies

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[15] Times, June 21, 4 See also Manchester Guardian, June 21, 13, The Times of India, June 21, 10, The Daily Telegraph, June 21, 12, and Trinidad Guardian, June 21.

[16] Baker, J.S. Summer Spectacular, (London: Collins Clear Type, 1963), 45.

batsmen performed well considering the tactical use England's bowlers made of the field and weather conditions. Movement off the pitch and flighting of the ball are enhanced by moisture in the air and on the ground. Both were in abundance, and England would have done much better had not the West Indies batted as cautiously as they did. What is remarkable about the first day's play is that although the English bowlers employed every device available to them, they failed to dislodge the West Indies as they might have done had the latter engaged them aggressively as had been their wont. At the end of play, therefore, neither team had a decisive advantage, except that West Indies had weathered the English storm.

The second day brought sunshine and a crowd of thirty thousand to Lord's. The attendant optimism held the promise of a quick end to the West Indies innings to be followed by productive batting by England. Solomon and Murray plodded along, adding only eighteen runs to the overnight score before Murray was caught in back of slips after a mistimed attempt to hook a bouncer from Trueman. He became the second batsman to fall as a result of failing to hook a Trueman bouncer to the square-leg boundary. England's team and supporters were somewhat disappointed when Hall, the next batsman in, remained at the wicket and, in partnership with Solomon, took the score from two hundred and sixty three to two hundred and ninety seven. Their displeasure was somewhat mitigated by Hall's histrionics. Although a reasonably sound batsman, Hall often engages in comedic strokeplay to the delight of the crowd and the advancement of his own and his team's score. At two hundred and ninety seven, Solomon became Shackleton's first victim when he failed to survive a unanimous LBW from the England fielders. As expected, neither Griffith nor Gibbs lasted long, and the West Indies innings ended with just another four runs having been added. Altogether, England had bowled one hundred and thirty three point two overs of which fifty were maidens. They had lost, as a result of Solomon's stubbornness, twenty minutes of what began as a perfect day for batting. Four of West Indies batsmen had made in excess of forty runs with two men surpassing fifty, and three had made a duck, including the captain. The eleven extras consisted of ten byes and one leg bye. The England team was not charged with any no-balls.

England First Innings

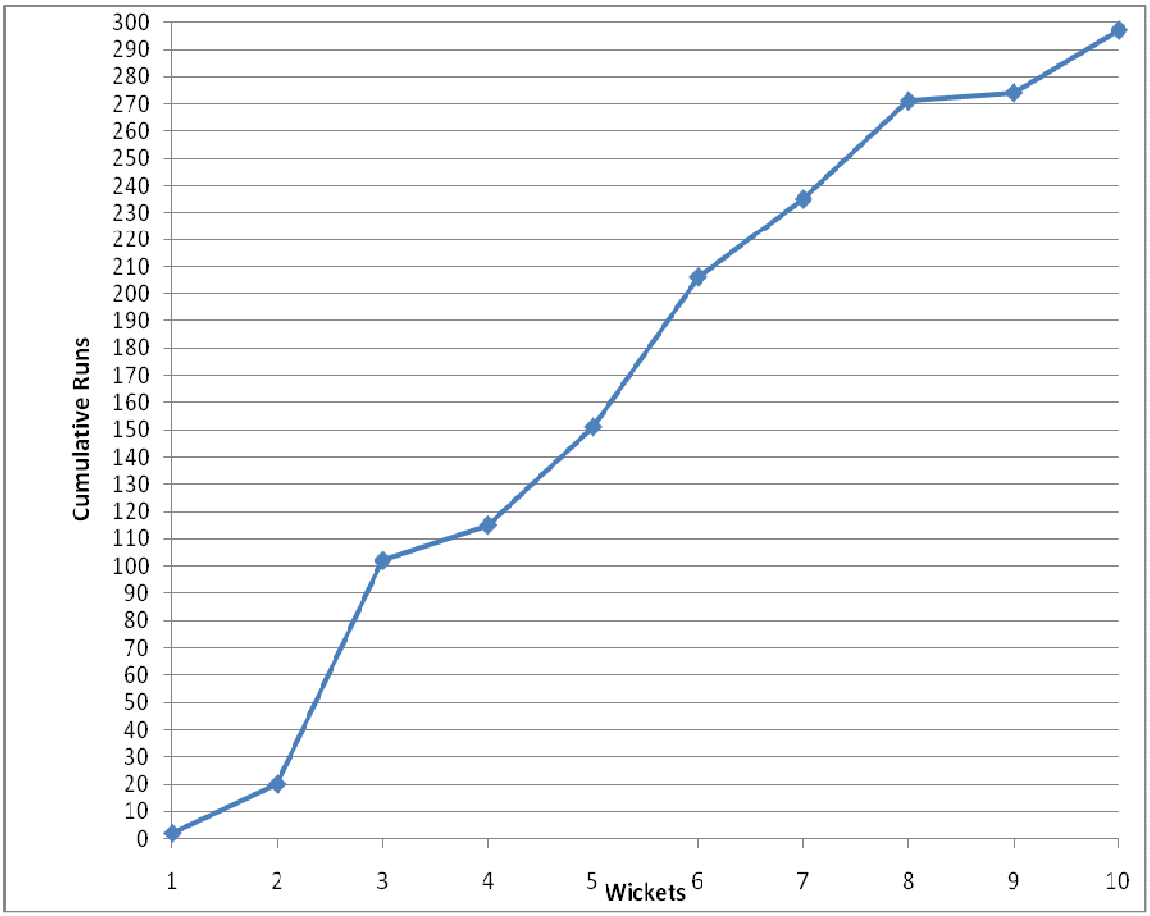

Figure 4.2 Fall of Wickets: England First Innings

When Edrich and Stewart opened England's batting twenty five minutes before lunch, England were confident that this opening pair would accomplish for them what Hunte and McMorris had failed to do for the West Indies. England had considered seven candidates for their open-bat positions in Stewart (Surrey), Edrich (Surrey), Atkinson (Somersex), Richardson (Kent), Phil Sharpe (Yorkshire), Taylor (Yorkshire) and Pullar (Lancashire) for the first test.[17] They had chosen Edrich and Stewart, and although the team had lost that match by a wide margin, this opening pair had not done badly having made in excess of thirty six percent of the team's aggregate runs for the two innings. Given the selectors' access to a wide assortment of opening

[17] Trinidad Guardian, June 22, 22.

batsmen observable in county and other fixtures, they had retained these two Surrey batsmen. Great things were therefore expected of them.

Unfortunately for them disaster struck during the second over of the match and Griffith's first ball. Edrich was out, caught by Murray with England's score on two. Dexter replaced Edrich, having promoted himself from number five, his position in the batting order during the first test of the series, to number three, in an attempt to blunt the edge of the West Indies fast-paced attack. Shortly thereafter, with the score on twenty, and from the last ball before the lunch break, Stewart was caught in the slips, again, off the bowling of Griffith. Stewart had been caught at leg-slip by Gibbs from the immediately prior delivery, but had granted a reprieve when that delivery was deemed a no-ball by the umpire. This was Griffith's and the team's fourth no-ball of the day.[18] It is testimony to Griffith's imperturbability that he merely increased the speed and movement of the next delivery instead of bowling the customary bouncer. These dismissals brought Dexter and Barrington together for what England supporters hoped would be a match-saving partnership.

England's batting came to life with demonstrations of brilliant stroke-play, mostly by Dexter, that would normally be expected from West Indian batsmen. He hooked, drove, and cut the best that Hall and Griffith bowled with such gusto that the English in the crowd became wildly enthusiastic and West Indians applauded appreciably. By the time he was given out, LBW to Sobers, Dexter had made seventy of the eighty two runs that had been accumulated during his partnership of sixty minutes with Barrington. Meanwhile, Barrington had been playing himself in, and his normal aversion to bumpers was replaced by a measure of delight as he watched his captain batter the West Indies demon-bowlers. The no-balls continued during Dexter's assault on Hall and Griffith so that Dexter's normal inhibitions were lessened as a result of the immunity granted with these declamations from the umpires.

Dexter was replaced by Cowdrey, another of England's dependable batsmen who, like Barrington, preferred slow slower bowling of the type that Gibbs and Sobers were delivering. Cowdrey, however, failed to take advantage of this respite in the West Indian bowling attack and

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[18] Ibid.

was bowled by a spectacular delivery from Gibbs after thirteen runs had been added to the score. Now, with the score at one hundred and fifteen for the loss of four wickets, England's position now seemed less secure, but the remaining batsmen held hope of a revival. In fact, they were exactly thirty runs behind the West Indies score, at the same juncture, during their first innings, and had more seasoned tail-end batsmen than West Indies could claim. Brian Close of Yorkshire fame replaced Cowdrey, but of his partnership of thirty six runs with Barrington who had now played himself in, his contribution was a mere nine runs. Parks, brought in to the team because of his attacking batsmanship, joined forces with Barrington and brought the team score to a respectable two hundred and six runs for the loss of six wickets. On this occasion, the batsman who lost his head and his wicket was the imperturbable Barrington, caught at extra cover from an ill-advised attacking shot the bowling of Worrell. He was replaced by Titmus, another very dependable batsman. England was now two hundred and six for six, and Barrington had so far top-scored with eighty.

Parks and Titmus moved the score onward determinedly. They seemed resigned to safeguard their wickets at all cost, but reckoned without the steady, economical, medium pace bowling of Worrell, which soon removed Parks' off stump with fifteen minutes left in the second day's play. Trueman and Titmus batted safely for the remaining minutes, adding another nine runs thus moving the score to two hundred and forty four for seven. It was extremely important that this partnership survive into the third day inasmuch as it would give England a tremendous psychological boost and a much needed strategic advantage. When play resumed on the third day, Worrell called for the new ball and therefore reintroduced Hall and Griffith into the attack. If he was hoping for a quick wrap-up of England's tail-end, he had miscalculated, because the last three England wickets cost the West Indies fifty three runs compared with thirty eight for the West Indies. The fifty three runs added to the overnight score put England within four runs of the West

Indies first innings total of three hundred and one runs. Of these fifty three runs, most of them came off deliveries on or outside the leg stump.[19]

This was a demonstration of a lack of control resulting in an unexplainable wastefulness which might have cost West Indies the match. The wickets all fell when the off stump was attacked while most of the runs came off balls bowled on or outside the leg stump. The Saturday crowd of thirty two thousand, almost twenty eight thousand in paid attendance, knew that an exciting day of cricket was in store for them. They knew that this juncture in the match represented a new beginning which meant that either team could win it. Dexter would be absent from the field during the entire West Indies second innings because of a swollen knee which required medical attention. Cowdrey, less of a gambler, took over the leadership of his country's team, and Somerset's Ken Palmer complemented the eleven as substitute for Dexter.[20] The absence of Dexter weakened England's bowling strength as Palmer's function was limited to fielding. Since Palmer could not bat in Dexter's place, it was fairly obvious that the purpose of the substitution was to afford Dexter time in which to rest his sore knee.

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19 Sunday Guardian, June 23, 22.

20 Wisden Cricketers Almanack 1964, 959. Rule 2 of The Laws of Cricket requires that if Dexter were to return to the field, he also would have been limited to fielding for a length of time equal to the time he had been absent. The only exception to this rule occurs when the substituted player had suffered an injury during the course of the match.

West Indies Second Innings

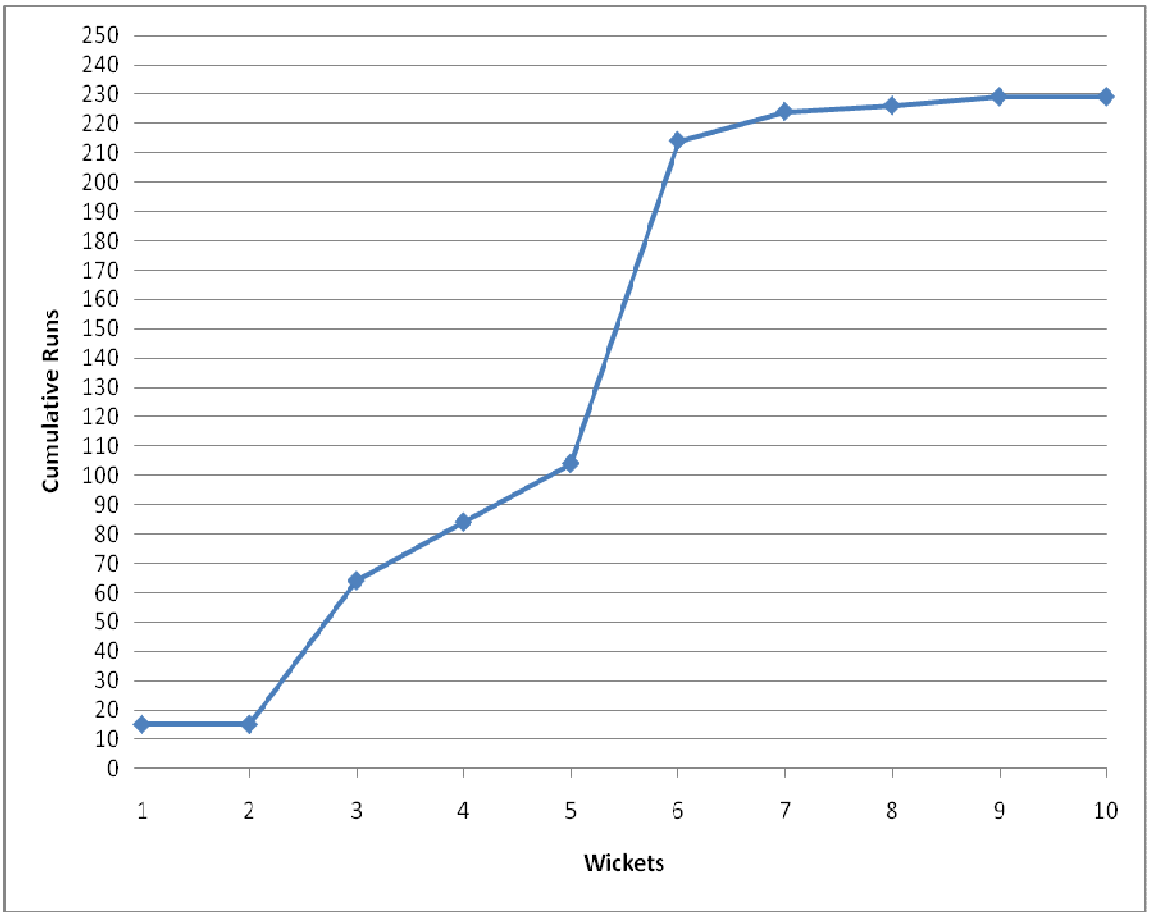

Figure 4.3 Fall of Wickets: West Indies Second Innings.

Hunte and McMorris began their innings in the usually aggressive manner despite some uneasiness due to the accuracy of Trueman and Shackleton. Between them, they had made fourteen runs from boundaries, including a huge six by Hunte off Trueman. Despite this beginning, neither batsman had shown control of the bowling that their initial bravado suggested. They would have been better advised to exercise greater caution because with the score at fifteen, both had lost their wickets to catches by Cowdrey in the slips in successive overs from Shackleton and Trueman. Hunte had received fair warning of the deftness of the England bowling when Cowdrey dropped a catch off his bat when his score was six. After he had made one more run he repeated the same mistake with fatal results. When McMorris' wicket fell, there were two

balls left in Trueman's over. The lunch break was taken at that point in the interest of time rather than at the end of the over, which would be completed after the break. The new batsmen, Kanhai and Butcher, handcuffed by the guile of Trueman, Shackleton and Titmus, produced very few runs, and spent most of their time at bat in a defensive mode instead of their usually aggressive fashion. Soon, Kanhai was out after scoring twenty one runs, caught, again by Cowdrey in the slips, off the bowling of Shackleton. His was the third highest score of this innings, made in a style that was entirely foreign to him. When Sobers replaced him at the wicket, hope still lived in the hearts and minds of West Indians everywhere, while English fans salivated over their good fortune. The team score had reached sixty four.

This hope was short-lived as Sobers never became set. Cowdrey, unlike Dexter, switched his bowlers around to take advantage of a steady breeze and dampness in the pitch despite the sun's appearance. This combination made batting increasingly difficult. After twenty more runs had been added, Sobers succumbed to Trueman's wiles and gave a controversial catch to wicketkeeper Parks held. By now the West Indies team and supporters had become apprehensive, but not hopeless. After all, Solomon, the incoming batsman, notorious for his defense, would stop the hemorrhage by while Butcher lashed out with his bat. Alas, this was not to be, because Solomon was soon on his way to the players' pavilion after offering a difficult catch which Stewart took at short leg. He had made a five runs, fifty one runs fewer than his first innings score. Among West Indian supporters, apprehension turned to disbelief. The score was now one hundred and five runs, and five of the team's best batsmen were out having made a total of forty nine runs between them. At this point in their first innings, West Indies had scored two hundred and nineteen runs on a wicket on which it was twice as difficult to bat.

Worrell, Solomon's replacement, a normally reliable batsman, had had his stumps uprooted by Trueman for a duck during his first time at bat. In addition, as captain and leader of his team, he needed to settle in quickly and salvage what little pride was left. He and Butcher began a much need consolidation of the West Indies innings during which they injected into the match an unexpected robustness that delighted the crowd. At the drawing of stumps that day,

their partnership had grown to one hundred and ten runs. With the overall score at two hundred and fourteen for the loss of five wickets, West Indies were looking less like a beaten team and more like a team that could still win. Theoretically, England's dominance was unquestionable inasmuch as the West Indies tail-end batsmen were not expected to add many runs after the departure of either Worrell or Butcher. The Sunday break would allow time for rest and augmentation of speculation regarding the outcome among novices and experts alike.

The Monday crowd was about twenty six thousand strong despite the cold, clammy and overcast weather conditions. They had mixed expectations. England supporters hoped for the early removal of one of the overnight batsmen. After all, they knew that such an event would signal the collapse of the team. West Indies supporters also hoped, with some foreboding, for a continuance of the productive partnership between Butcher and Worrell. It was not to be.

Within twenty five minutes of the resumption of the match, the remaining five West Indies wickets had fallen with the addition of fifteen runs. This development delighted the English, dismayed the West Indians, and astonished the other nationals who comprised the twenty six thousand adherents who braved the cold, clammy moisture laden atmosphere to witness the spectacle. England needed to score two hundred and thirty four runs in order to win the match and level the series. Of the two hundred and twenty nine runs scored in the West Indies second innings, two hundred and twenty one were earned by their batsmen, and of this total, one hundred and thirty three were made by Butcher. England was in an enviable position. Victory was assured if only her batsmen could withstand the lightning bolts that Hall and Griffith would assiduously hurl at them.

England Second Innings

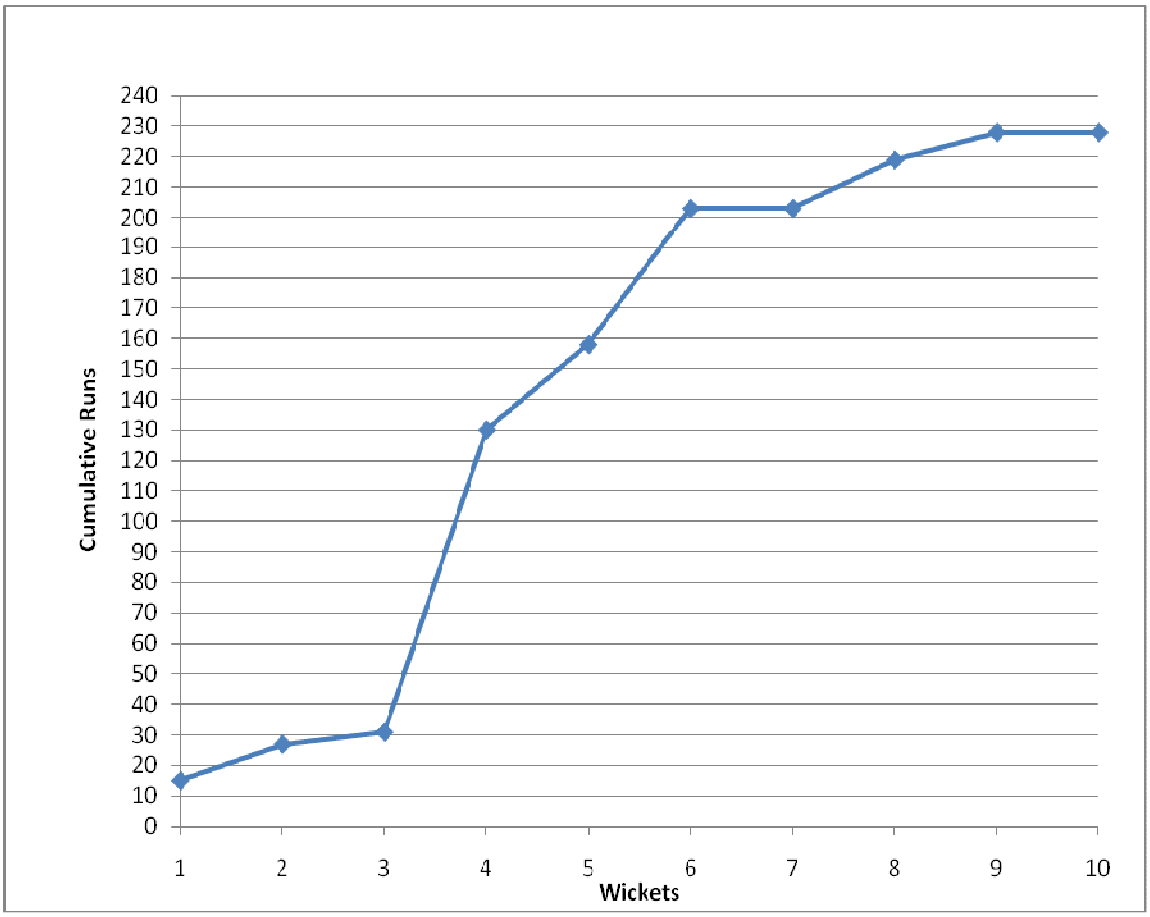

Figure 4.4 Fall of Wickets: England Second Innings

England's second innings started sedately enough with runs being scored in singles and doubles. Edrich and Stewart were guarded in their batting. In fact Hall and Griffith, in their efforts to create an early dent in the armor of England's defense, became somewhat erratic and therefore wasteful. This bowling demonstration was somewhat reminiscent of the wastefulness that marked the end of the England first innings. Fortunately for West Indies, Edrich fell to a ball that he followed around to leg thus sending an easy catch to Murray, behind the wicket. It appears from an examination of the film of the match that Edrich had become unnerved by the barrage that he was receiving from Hall, and was attempting to avoid being struck by a ball the

trajectory of which he misjudged. The score was fifteen, and Dexter, England's first innings gladiator, was approaching the wicket.

Dexter's second innings was of short duration. During his thirty minutes at bat, he faced nineteen balls. Worrell had replaced Griffith with Gibbs. Griffith had borne the brunt of Dexter's first inning's onslaught, but the batsman had shown a marked discomfort with spin bowling. Surprisingly also, Dexter was now unable to cope with what was later described as the hostile bowling of the West Indian paceman.[21] While Dexter was attempting to cope with the dazzling variation in bowling offered by Gibbs, Stewart lost his wicket, caught by Solomon at third slip. Stewart's removal demonstrated the value of the pitch to a discerning captain and bowler. Because some moisture had returned to the pitch, Hall's deliveries were unpredictable. Short-pitched balls rose unexpectedly and at varying heights, while speed and trajectory could not be predetermined from the bowler's action. Stewart, ducked from a presumed bumper which did not rise. In doing so, however, he failed to protect his bat which the ball struck resulting in the catch. Meanwhile, Dexter, when he had scored only two runs, was beaten by the flight of a Lance Gibbs delivery which removed his off stump. The score was now thirty one runs for three wickets and England's hopes were beginning to dim.

Cowdrey had replaced Stewart, and now Barrington replaced Dexter. Initially, their arrival at the wicket did not send waves of reassurance through the English sections of the crowd, and the placing of two silly mid-ons, a silly mid-off, and a backward short-leg to capitalize especially on Cowdrey's initial timidity further exasperated them. Unfortunately for the West Indies, Worrell's strategy did not produce the hoped-for result as Cowdrey and Barrington settled in. In fact they were soon scoring at the rate of a run per minute. Worrell therefore brought Hall and Griffith back into the attack. Had Worrell made this change upon their arrival at the wicket, neither Barrington nor Cowdrey might have settled in as they did, and their removal very likely would have been more precipitous and their run productivity vastly reduced.

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[21] Allan Ross, The West indies at Lord's (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1963), 45-6.

The weather was now reduced to a misty murkiness that diminished the batsmen's ability to pick up movement of the balls. Reduced visibility, added to sustained bowling speed by Hall and the spinning wizardry of Gibbs combined to reduce the run rate to a crawl. The batsmen now found themselves in the unenviable position of being unable to score runs except at the now increased risk of losing their wickets. They therefore decided to use their bodies to as foils to dangerous deliveries and employ their bats in dire emergencies. This, of course, was exasperating for the bowlers, especially the much quicker Hall. Thoroughly demoralized except for capitalizing on the occasionally loose ball, Cowdrey eventually became the victim of a short-pitched, rising Hall delivery, which he attempted to play down the pitch. The ball was mistimed and hit his arm just above the wrist, fracturing his ulna.

One of the paradoxes in cricket is that despite their avowed intention to intimidate the batsmen, fast bowlers, with some exceptions, are not intent on causing injury to batsmen, although there are many instances of these injuries. Cowdrey sank to the ground in agony, and soon left the field remonstrating against his fate by bagging his bat into the turf with his good arm. Meantime, Hall, reduced almost to tears because of the incident, had to be comforted by his captain. Although he completed the over, his bowling had become so erratic that he had to be replaced by Griffith until he could compose himself.[22] It is highly likely that the outcome of this match would have favored England had a Griffith delivery caused Cowdrey's injury. Griffith's seeming unconcern in the face of a batsman's discomfort after being struck might very likely have resulted in harsher umpiring decisions including being called a chucker.[23]

During this period of sustained bowling, neither umpire cautioned the bowlers nor advised Worrell to require them to decrease either the speed or intensity of their attack. In their post-game

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[22] Pace Like Fire, 116-7. Hall expressed concern that his detractors condemned his bowling, comparing it to bodyline. He nevertheless justified his manner of bowling on the ground that he was engaged in attacking bowling while Cowdrey and Barrington were attempting, by their batting style, to play out the clock.

[23] Marshall, 103. See also Charlie Griffith, Chucked Around (London: Pelham Books, 1970), 50-52. Griffith had bowled a short-pitched ball to Indian Test captain, Nari Contractor which the latter ducked into instead of avoiding, was rendered unconscious on the pitch, and never played again.

accounts, most sports writers decried the pace bowling. Perhaps the most objective article can be found in Richie Benaud's account in the Times of India. In it he attributed the injury to several factors including the state of the pitch which caused balls to rise at inconsistent heights as well as the pace of Hall's bowling which did not allow much time for evasive action on the part of the batsman.[24] What Benaud failed to add as a causal factor was the strong aversion by Cowdrey and Barrington to pace bowling. He did observe, however, that during the period leading up to Cowdrey's injury, he had counted three bumpers bowled, all of which passed harmlessly over the batsmen's heads.[25]

Cowdrey was replaced by Brian Close, captain of the indomitable Yorkshire county cricket team. This juncture in the match saw a change in attitude which militated against the dampening effect produced by the weather. Ian Woodridge described it as "trench warfare"[26] Barrington suddenly emerged from his plodding, reclusive, enervated shell and engaged the bowlers with an unusual brashness approaching bravado. This infusion of energy, though welcome, was short-lived. Two appeals against the light were granted by the umpires, and following the break for tea, Queen Elizabeth, the reigning monarch, met the members of the team on the field. This was a highly treasured tradition peculiar to Lord's and was tied to the royal family's patronage of that institution.[27]

Shortly thereafter, play was abandoned for the day with the score at one hundred and sixteen runs for the loss of three wickets. England needed one hundred and eighteen runs for victory and still had a full day in which to make them. With a required run rate for victory of less than two per over, victory was a foregone conclusion for most English supporters. The batsmen who would resume their innings were seasoned, dependable and productive, if not stylish. Parks, the next man in, had proven himself many times in the past. The remaining batsmen, though not consistently dependable, were expected to display the kind of mettle that would bring their team

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[24] Times of India, June 25, 10.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Ian Wooldridge, 79. Wooldridge described Hall's bowling as ferocious, hostile and generally inappropriate.

[27] Wisden Cricketers Almanack, Law No. 5, 971-2.

and country a victory. The West Indians, for their part, would play attacking cricket. Their bowlers would zone in on the wickets of the English batsmen. This style of attack is not to be confused with defensive bowling where the object is to prevent the batsmen from scoring runs thus reducing the match to an exhibition in boredom.

All of this was purely theoretical as it rained until eleven o'clock the next morning; and the continued overcast conditions rendered play impossible. Sensibly, England claimed the extra half of playing time allowed under Rule Number Eighteen to increase the likelihood of victory.[28] A mere five thousand, eight hundred spectators showed up to watch the match on the last day. This significant drop in attendance was likely caused by the expectation of a boring, plodding march to victory by England and the dreary, uninviting weather conditions. Play resumed at two twenty in the afternoon, lunch having been taken in an effort to facilitate a decisive outcome. Despite the loss of almost three hours of playing time, England could still have claimed victory by scoring one hundred and eighteen runs in three hours and forty minutes, an average of three runs per over. Though not a particularly daunting challenge, chasing runs under any conditions increases the possibility of getting out. In addition, the sluggishness of the outfield and Worrell's likelihood of utilizing mainly his fast bowlers would combine to reduce the over rate, thereby increasing both the required run rate the batsmen's risks getting out.

As expected, the over-night batsmen adopted a very sedate approach to scoring runs during the first hour of play, and the match seemed headed toward a placid anticlimax. Finally, Barrington, having suffered through as much of the tedium as he could take, suddenly flashed at a Griffith delivery and was caught by the wicketkeeper. Fourteen runs had been added to the overnight score in that hour; the run rate had been increased along with the risk, and the unrelenting barrage from Hall and Griffith seemed likely to continue unrestrained. Parks and Close settled in and appeared to be the answer for which England hoped. Between them they had added twenty eight runs of which Parks made seventeen. Parks departed at that point, after

[28] The Jamaica Weekly Gleaner, June 28, 18.

misjudging the pace of a Griffith delivery which slammed into his pads resulting in an LBW decision.

Titmus, a reasonably reliable batsman, replaced Parks, and once again England saw glimmers of hope. During his partnership with Close, he wisely chose to scramble for several singles, some of questionable safety, in order to allow Close more opportunities to face the bowling. This continued until five o'clock at which point England still had sixty minutes in which to score forty eight runs and claim victory. It was also at this point that Titmus was caught by McMorris at short-leg while attempting to score off a Hall delivery which he had misjudged. He had made only eleven runs, but his partnership with Close had contributed forty five runs. More importantly, England now needed only thirty one runs for victory, had fifty minutes in which to earn them, and still had three wickets, not including the injured Cowdrey's, in hand.

Fred Trueman, who had in the past raised his level of play and produced useful runs to help his side, seemed to exude his customary belligerence as he took guard at the wicket. On this occasion, however, he lost his wicket, first ball, to a veritable missile from Hall. England's score had not changed, but with the loss of this wicket, her level of difficulty had risen. Suddenly, Close with Allen, the new batsman, were facing the probability of a loss instead of a victory. Neither Allen nor Shackleton, although somewhat dependable batsmen, could be relied upon to score the needed runs and safeguard their wickets at the same time.

Realizing the precariousness of his team's situation, Close decided that he would bat even more aggressively and not cower before the onslaught from Hall and Griffith. His new strategy called for him to advance down the pitch as the bowler approached the bowling crease in order to break his rhythm. Normally, when batsmen employ this strategy the purpose is to get to the pitch of the ball prior to its deviation after contact with the surface of the pitch. In these instances, the reduced velocity and flight of the ball allows the batsman sufficient time to meet the ball at, or shortly after its contact with the pitch.

Close, since his partnership with Barrington, had adopted Cowdrey's tactic of allowing difficult or unplayable deliveries from Hall and Griffith to strike his torso instead of risking a stroke

that might result in his losing his wicket. Normally, batsmen eschew this type of behavior because it is dangerous and the results are painful and potentially lethal. Close was therefore gambling that the humaneness of these bowlers would override their hostility, even, or perhaps especially in the face of Cowdrey's fractured ulna. Closing the distance between batsman and bowler increases velocity and hence, the batsman's difficulty in reading and adjusting to the bowler's delivery. Close was therefore sacrificing good batsmanship in the interest of making runs, assuming personal risk at the expense of his personal safety and seizing an opportunity at a difficult time to help win a victory for his country. A final aspect of this strategy, was that it minimized the probability of a loss of wicket from an LBW decision.

Close had reasoned correctly, because when Hall, the fastest of the West Indian bowlers and the one Close now faced, became aware of Close's intentions, he held onto the ball, abruptly and precipitously decreased his speed while changing his trajectory. The result was a severe jolt to his body and trauma to his skeletal structure and muscles which was evidenced by Hall clutching at his back in obvious pain.[29] Play continued after this temporary setback, and Close now applied his strategy to Griffith, the more consistent and unflappable of the pacemen. Griffith was apparently less concerned with Close's intentions and more with his own, because the latter was soon caught behind the wicket by Murray, hitting across the line. At this point, England needed fifteen runs for victory and had twenty minutes in which to accomplish it. The score was two hundred and nineteen runs for the loss of eight wickets.

Close's removal brought in Shackleton, another glimmer of hope for England, but no sound history on which to base it. With sufficient time left for just five overs, and a run rate of three runs per over for victory, the two batsmen attempted to balance the protection of their wickets against a push for the runs. Considering that they were facing a rejuvenated Hall and the indefatigable Griffith combining with a field set so as to prevent boundaries, it is small wonder that after four overs they had managed to score only seven runs in singles. One of these singles was a bye from a ball that ran away to fine-leg, the result of a slight deflection which occurred when a

[29] Ross Alan, 56. See also J.S. Barker, J.S. 58.

Griffith yorker grazed Shackleton's wicket without affecting its position, thus allowing the bails to remain atop the stumps.[30] Finally the last over of the match was about to be bowled by Hall. England was seven runs behind with two wickets in hand. Four outcomes were possible: a win for England, a win for the West Indies, a draw or a tie.

Shackleton played at and missed the first ball; then he and Allen scored singles off the second and third balls respectively. At the fourth delivery, Shackleton again made a futile attempt at a stroke and the ball carried through to Murray, who was standing back from the wicket in order to save a possible bye. Runs have often been "stolen" by aware and swift runners, who can cover the length of the wicket before the wicketkeeper reacts and effects a run-out. Allen, who was also a football (soccer) player, and who had earlier earned runs for his team in this manner, now attempted to do so. Shackleton, unaware of Allen's intentions, was slow in reacting, but now sprinted toward the far wicket. Meanwhile, Murray had tossed the ball to Worrell at mid-wicket. Worrell won the race to the far wicket; and England had lost her ninth wicket.

Kanhai, who was the lone slip fielder at the time, apparently reliving the tied Brisbane test against Australia, claims that he had instructed Murray to throw the ball, when it came through to him either to Worrell at silly mid-on or to him (Kanhai), if Shackleton and Allen attempted to run a quick single.[31] Murray threw the ball, after it came through, to Worrell, who quickly chose the best of the three options available to him even as he realized that he had to beat Shackleton in the foot race to the wicket at the bowler's end. Option two was to throw the ball to Hall, but this plan had two problems. Firstly, Hall had not having been forewarned, might have reacted belatedly, and dropped the ball. Secondly, Worrell in his excitement might have thrown the ball badly resulting in a difficult catch for Hall and a blown chance to take the next-to-last England wicket. Worrell's third option was to throw the ball at the wicket in an attempt to hit it and dislodge the bails before the batsman reached the safety of the popping crease. This was the worst of the

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[30] Eytle, Ernest. Frank Worrell: The Career of a Great Cricketer (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1963), 191.

[31] Kanhai, Rohan. Blasting For Runs (London: Souvenir Press, 1966), 99.

three options inasmuch as a miss would very likely result in an overthrow and additional runs to England. Worrell won the race and England's chances rested on the injured Cowdrey.

Although Cowdrey's game-saving walk to the wicket appeared somber and painstaking, to those who saw it, he seemed like a giant among men, marching out majestically to save, not just a match, but his country, nation and honor. Cowdrey did not have to face either of the two remaining balls, and Allen sensibly and sedately played them with the traditional English "straight bat". The final spectacle of a tall, well muscled, perspiring West Indian breathing virtual fire at the end of a long, thunderous run-up delivering a ball to an Englishman who met the attack with quiet determination at a moment of crisis is what made this match the best that these nations had played.

The Audience

Attendance at Lords is a tightly controlled affair. Reserved seating is the preserve of the privileged, M.C.C members and others of their ilk. These seats were located in the Members Pavilion, the Long Room, the Warner, Mound, and Grand stands, as well as the Grand Stand and Tavern Balconies. All reserved seats for the first three days of play had been presold, and the remaining 14,000 unreserved were highly contested, except perhaps on the fifth day, as evidenced by the low attendance records. The respective attendance figures for the five days were 22,280, 27,790, 27,748, 25,889 and 6,580 for a total of 110,287 paying customers, and a grand total numbering approximately 125,000.[32] The difference of 14,713, spread over the five days of the match, was a combination of subsidized and free seats located at the Nursery End of the grounds.

A sight screen was located at this end of the grounds in order to form a necessary background to the bowlers' physical outline, thus enabling the batsmen to " read" the bowlers' actions be better able to defend their wickets or score runs off the less threatening balls. Sight screens had not been situated at the Pavilion End even though they were needed for the same reasons. On the other hand, the locating of sight screens at this end would mean loss of

[32] Wisden Cricketers Almanack 1964, 291-92.

revenues resulting from the removal of several seats. The opportunity cost to England of this absent sightscreen is measurable in the failure of its batsmen to deal adequately and robustly with many deliveries from that end. The outcome of this most important match could have changed the momentum of the series and resulted in England claiming the newly created Wisden Trophy

The viewing and listening audiences were unprecedented during this match in the United Kingdom and the rest of the cricketing world. All over the country people were watching and listening tensely by their radio and television sets. On Goss Moor, in distant Cornwall, more than a dozen cars were pulled in by the side of the road, one behind the other, radios switched on, journeys abandoned till the drama had played itself out. The radio audience included, the entire West Indies. In Barbados, Trinidad, Jamaica, Guyana, and the Windward and Leeward Islands, transistor radios blared the play-by-play and almost listener felt personally involved in the drama. In fact, during the course of a trial in Guyana on Friday, June 21, His Lordship, Sir Donald Jackson, President of the Caribbean Court of Appeals, received notes from court clerks periodically. The notes, the contents of which he shared with all present, contained updates of the match at Lords.[33] Occurrences of a similar nature occurred in other West Indian islands, where it is not unusual for business, educational, governmental and other institutions to shut down for a day or more in order to allow employees, operatives and others to engage in a necessary if merely vicarious participation.

At the conclusion of the match, hundreds of West Indians and Britons streamed across the playing field and gathered before the Players' Pavilion demanding that their heroes appear on the balcony in order to accept their homage. This type of behavior was a rare occurrence at Lords and was normally viewed as a near desecration of Lord's hallowed sanctum. In fact, not since the first West Indian victory at Lord's in 1950 had when Ramadhin and Valentine routed the England team had West Indians had cause to celebrate what they now considered a near victory. The

[33] Daily Chronicle, Saturday, June 22, 6

Lord's test, like the tied test in Australia, offered to both teams and their supporters the likelihood of victory from its beginning to its climactic conclusion.

CHAPTER 5

MATCH ANALYSIS

The 1963 Lord's test match ended anticlimactically as a result of Allen's, Cowdrey's and Dexter's demur in the face of a perceived unequal challenge thrown down by the West Indies. When West Indies' second innings ended, England was presented with a challenge of relatively mild proportions. Accumulating two hundred and thirty four runs in order to claim a much needed victory had been accomplished against the mighty Australians at Melbourne during their most recent test series in 1962. Earlier still, in 1953, England had batted through an entire day in which they had scored two hundred and eighty two runs for the loss of seven wickets in order to secure a draw instead of a loss, also against the Australians. In fact, the most recent victory gained by England, at Lord's, occurred in 1902.[1] In short, England needed to have won this match, evened the series against West Indies, and reverse this historical trend.

Cricket has often been described as a game of attack and defense, and the general perception is that the fielding side attacks while the batting side defends. Generally, the variables that combine to determine the level of competitiveness in any cricket match are sound batting, imaginative, attacking bowling and precise fielding. However, these are the basic elements that determine the strength of a team, and do not always determine victory for one side or the other. A game's outcome is additionally a function of the weather. For example, bright, sunny conditions generally mean a firm pitch which favors the batting side while damp, cold, dreary conditions are a potential boon especially to seam and spin bowlers. Knowledge of how these elements may be used to benefit one's team is a crucial matter particularly for each captain, his bowlers, and generally for his team when fielding. Finally, since victory in a test series is determined by a

[1] Ross, Alan. The West Indies at Lord's (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1963), p. 45.

greater win-to-loss ratio, a victory in any match, though important, is far more crucial to the outcome of the series than it is on its own merit.

Since West Indies had won a decisive victory in the only test match played so far in the series, it follows that a victory for them would place them in an enviable position whereas a loss would even the series. England's team members as well as its deeply entrenched organizing body were deeply aware of their position relative to these outcomes and were equally concerned about the outcome's effects on gate receipts for this match, the series, as well as the sport in general. Since attendance at cricket matches had shown a steady and depressing decline, it was crucial that this Lord's test in particular be a touchstone event that would rekindle the interest of the public in the sport. It was therefore necessary for the physical elements of this match to provide excitement, imaginative play, engaging drama within and between teams, and, most of all, that these elements be reflected in impressive gate receipts.

Risk-taking, when perceived as increasing the likelihood of a victory for the opposing team, is reduced to recklessness. Since recklessness, unless it is well designed and understood, is undesirable in any sport, with some exceptions, it is therefore necessary that a positive outcome be achieved when such behavior is exhibited. When an unfavorable outcome occurs, risk-taking is deeply frowned upon and is usually met with scathing criticisms that reflect the perceived weight of the loss. Unfavorable outcomes from risky behavior tend to be loathed among the English more so than West Indians. In fact, the term, Calypso Cricketers has been applied to West Indian batsmen who were perceived as valuing the making of runs above the safeguarding of their wickets. This undeserved appellation was the result of the misunderstanding of the West Indian mindset where attacking batsmanship was highly treasured and where a lengthy, dull, unimaginative stay at the wicket was usually greeted with repugnance, unless mitigated by the need to avoid ignominy. The England batsmen, as a rule, were more inclined toward the position that safeguarding one's wicket was a precursor to scoring runs. Hence, a "we dare not lose" mentality generally determined their disposition at bat. This attitude toward batting,

even as it lent an air of dependability to their batsmanship rendered it generally dull and lacking in inventiveness, with very few exceptions.

Factors Critical to the Match's Outcome

A new front foot rule had been in place in county matches in England since 1962, and bowlers playing at that level had been adjusting to it. The M.C.C. desired to implement this new law for the West Indies versus England series. However, West Indies cricketers, except for those under contract with league and county cricket organizations, had no experience with this law since first class cricket in the West Indies was at best sporadic. England's position was that the old back-foot rule gave West Indies an unfair advantage.[2] Front-foot and back-foot rules are disliked by fast bowlers who feel penalized as a result of their imposition. The front-foot rule prohibits a bowler's front foot from advancing beyond the popping crease during the act of bowling. The back-foot rule does not allow a bowler to have his trailing foot touch the bowling crease. The difference lies in the number of inches gained by a bowler with a long stride since, under the back-foot rule, the bowler is not penalized if his stride takes him beyond the popping crease. Since West Indies had more devastating fast bowlers than England, it would seem then that they had more to lose if the front-foot rule was imposed. The West Indies won this preliminary battle.

On hard wickets, top spin can be more deadly than on the softer England wickets, where bowling at a full length and concentrating on the break will prove to be even more productive. The ball with top spin slows down allowing the batsman time to lean or step back and strike it to his chosen part of the field. On the other hand, the tendency for the ball to hang up affects the batsman's timing and delays his intended instant in time of making contact with the ball. The unintended consequence for the batsman is normally a catch at slips or short leg or mid-wicket, or an embarrassingly awkward batting stroke if he is fortunate. On hard surfaces, such deliveries tend to hurry through resulting in more LBW decisions, or at least appeals for them. Knowledge of

[2] Trinidad Guardian, June 13, 1963, p. 28.

these differences is crucial to a West Indian spin bowler such as Lance Gibbs, whose experience on these pitch conditions was limited, and whose effectiveness as a spin bowler was based on pushing the ball through. Sobers, on the other hand, with wider experience in England and greater facility and inventiveness, would be affected to a lesser degree. This difference is appreciated more by the England bowlers than West Indian. Since West Indian batsmen tend to play based on the assumption of the ball moving through, a ball with top spin would hang-up and thus present difficulties on several fronts.

Another factor of major concern was protection of the wicket in the event of rain. Whereas, normally wickets were covered by mutual consent between the captains, the M.C.C. Cricket Council had determined that for the West Indies series, the wickets would be covered only over-night and during weekends. The M.C.C.'s argument was that uncovered wickets produced livelier cricket. Worrell, on the other hand, had argued that uncovered wickets introduce an uncontrolled variable with which batsmen had to contend thus rendering them unable to play the aggressive type of cricket that English crowds were expecting and had been promised. The M.C.C. while acceding to the uncertainty argument, nevertheless argued that inclement weather forced batsmen to adapt, enabling the captain to use a more varied bowling attack, which therefore made for more exciting cricket.[3]

It is evident, for the most part, that wickets on which rain had fallen favored English cricketers. Their fast bowlers were accustomed to adjusting the pace of their deliveries and become medium to fast-medium, seam bowlers who concentrated more on movement off the pitch resulting in more catch dismissals off the edge of the bat. Faster bowlers such as Hall and Griffith tended to adapt less quickly, and when they tried tended to lose accuracy, become erratic and therefore less economical. It is highly likely that these considerations may have influenced the English Selection Committee to dispense with the faster Larter and Statham for the slower but more adaptable Shackleton. Covered wickets also meant a reduction in the loss of playing time, a normal detriment with wet wickets, which sometimes have to be dried before play may resume.

[3] Trinidad Guardian, May 26, 1963. p. 20.

Since loss of playing time usually meant a decrease in attendance and revenues, it is highly likely that the attractiveness and historical importance of Lord's and the need to even the series would offset minor inconveniences such as shortened playing time if these decisions resulted in a victory for England.

Injuries are of vastly greater importance in cricket than in most other professional sports, since cricket rules that govern replacement of injured players allow very little flexibility. After the list of players is given to the captains and the umpires, changes are only allowed with the approval of the opposing captain. Additionally, a substitute may replace an incapacitated player if his incapacity occurred or was aggravated during the course of the match. A substitute may not bowl or bat. During the Lord's test Dexter was kept off the field during West Indies second innings in order to allow his injured knee to recuperate. However, he batted during his team's second innings since the substitute could not. A substitute runner may be used for a batsman whose ability to run is restricted by an injury that occurred during the course of the match. Hence neither Kanhai nor Dexter could have had substitute runners while they batted, since their injuries occurred prior to the start of the match in question, nor were they aggravated during its progress. For these reasons, West Indies captain Worrell suffered from a damaged knee and could have been replaced by a substitute but his team would have lacked his invaluable leadership. On the other hand, Cowdrey, who was injured during England's second innings, could not have had a substitute bat in his place despite his inconvenient injury.

The Teams

England's team for this match was composed of professional players from seven counties. There are seventeen county teams, including Glamorgan of Wales, which began competing for the Gillette Cup starting in 1963. Yorkshire was the current County champion and had been for two consecutive years as well as for four of the last five years. Surrey had been champion continuously from 1952 to 1958 and was represented on the team by Barrington,

Stewart and Edrich, all of whom were chosen primarily for their batting prowess.[4] They were all reliable fielders, particularly Stewart, who took several timely catches at short-leg during the Lord's match. The Yorkshiremen, Close and Trueman, were expected to demonstrate the grit and fearlessness for which their team was famous. Dexter, captain of the squad, together with wicket-keeper, Parks, represented Sussex County. They were both aggressive batsmen who were comfortable with fast bowlers, and were therefore expected to increase the likelihood of a victory through their additional talents. The England selectors did not choose Colin Milburn or Trevor Bailey, two relatively new batsmen to test cricket, and were prominent among those who scored runs quickly and aggressively. Sobers opined that Worrell may have influenced those selectors' decision by suggesting that Milburn's inexperience might prove a disadvantage to England, and that this subterfuge helped ensure a West Indies victory in the series.[5]

All of the England Test team played county cricket which, unlike League cricket that was played mainly on Saturdays, spanned three days generally. These men therefore played an average of forty five matches during the cricketing season. The four most prolific batsmen averaged over 1,600 runs during the 1963 season scoring around four centuries each. Their average at-bat score was thirty seven runs. England's four most successful bowlers bowled an average number of overs in excess of 1000, with 220 maidens, had an average of 2047 runs scored against them, and took an average of 113 wickets at an average cost of nineteen runs per wicket. These statistics are for the 1963 season only and serve merely to underscore the vast experiential difference between the teams. For example, Shackleton alone could claim in excess of 2,000 first class victims, among which he took a minimum of 200 wickets several times. Alongside him, but with less impressive short-term credentials stood Trueman and Titmus with claims to similar success over nine and ten seasons respectively.[6]

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[4] Wisden,1964, 253.

[5] Gary Sobers, My Autobiography (London: Headline Book Publishing, 2002), 54. See also "Wisden Obituary", Wisden Cricketers' Almanack1991. This account supports Worrell's assessment of the lethal threat that Milburn posed for West Indies. Unfortunately, Milburn's batting was offset by his less than stellar fielding and bowling performance.

[6] Wisden, 1964, 210.

Although many West Indian cricketers had played professionally in England by 1963, most were attached to teams in the leagues, particularly in Lancashire. Additionally, Sobers and Hall played in the Australian Sheffield Shield Trophy competition for Victoria and Queensland respectively.[7] Very few West Indies cricketers played for county teams, and those who did, such as Roy Marshall of Hampshire, realized that sacrificing a test cricket career was the opportunity cost of this involvement. In any event, the qualification requirements to play county cricket, the rigidity with which the rules were applied, and the lack of a social infrastructure that would support lives temporarily deprived of financial sustainability during the qualifying period made county cricket participation all but impossible for most West Indies cricketers. As it turned out, there were many advantages to playing league cricket such as acclimatization to English weather and playing conditions, as well as developing a growing sense of the need to surmount physical inconveniences that might have normally curtailed play in the West Indies. West Indian players also developed a keener sense of the relationship between competitiveness and pay since they functioned as one of two professionals allowed on each team.[8] This notion of the commodification of the sport was somewhat foreign to West Indian cricket but was vital to its development.

West Indies cricketers suffered several disadvantages because of the nature of the sport at this level. Since league matches were one-day, limited over contests, a severely heightened atmosphere pervaded these events which were quite often characterized by hasty, ill thought out decisions, a rush to make runs and the employment of bowling and batting strategies that were not suitable at any other level of cricket. Worrell expressed his concern over the tendency of some of his players to "… sit [sec] back relying on the old hook shot which is one of the most productive shots in the League. During test matches, when his batsmen faced balls bowled short of a length, they invariably hit much too soon or much too late and often got themselves out

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[7] Ibid, 837-8. Kanhai joined them following the 1963 series against England, playing for Western Australia.

[8] John Kay. Cricket in the Leagues, 52. See also Learie Constantine Cricket and I, 131-141.

caught at square leg."[9] It is evident from the preceding that county cricketers were better prepared to play test cricket than were league players and that England had a decided advantage particularly at Lord's.

A study of each team's Test cricket experience gives an additional advantage to England. The entire England team had played a grand total of 258 matches for an average of twenty three matches per player. Of these matches, forty two had been played against the West Indies with an average per player of four games. Of the forty two games, Trueman and Cowdrey accounted for twenty three, while Edrich, Stewart and Titmus had never played against the West Indies.[10] By comparison, the West Indies team members had played a total of 224 Test matches for an average per player of twenty matches. Of these matches, a total of fifty nine had been played against England for an average of five games per man. A pattern similar to England's shows Worrell, Sobers and Kanhai accounting for thirty one of the fifty nine matches played against England, with Gibbs, Griffith and Murray never having done so.[11]

Two final statistics that speak to the prolificity of the most talented batsmen and bowlers on each team are of vital importance in mapping the prospects of victory or defeat for each team throughout the match. As with other sports, highly talented, professional players are expected to perform at their peak under normal conditions and to demonstrate resilience and imagination under challenging circumstances. At Test level, treasured landmarks for batsmen and bowlers are 1500 runs and seventy five wickets respectively. Each of these teams contained four batsmen who had surpassed these milestones with England's foursome amassing an average total of 3479 runs for an average at bat of forty six runs. The four West Indies followed close behind with an average total of 3322 and an average at bat of fifty. The lower average at bat for England is a function of their larger number of innings. This final statistic implies a slight edge in prolificacy for the West Indies batsmen and, for the English, a wider experiential advantage.

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9 Ernest Eytle, Frank Worrell: The Career of a Great Cricketer, 188.
10 Ibid., 161-170.
11 Ibid., 179-181.

The England bowlers showed less impressive results in Test match successes than did the West Indians. Despite their dominance at the county level, only Trueman had reached the seventy five wicket pinnacle. In fact, his massive total of 250 wickets exceeded by fifty six the sum of wickets taken by Hall and Sobers, the West Indian bowlers who had achieved the seventy five wicket goal. In fact, Gibbs, a third West Indian bowler fell just seven wickets short of reaching this landmark.[12] Perhaps Trueman's impressive numbers in this area of the sport helps to explain his superlative dominance during this match and his eclipsing of all bowlers in the series, despite the fact that an injury diminished his participation toward its end.

West Indies First Innings

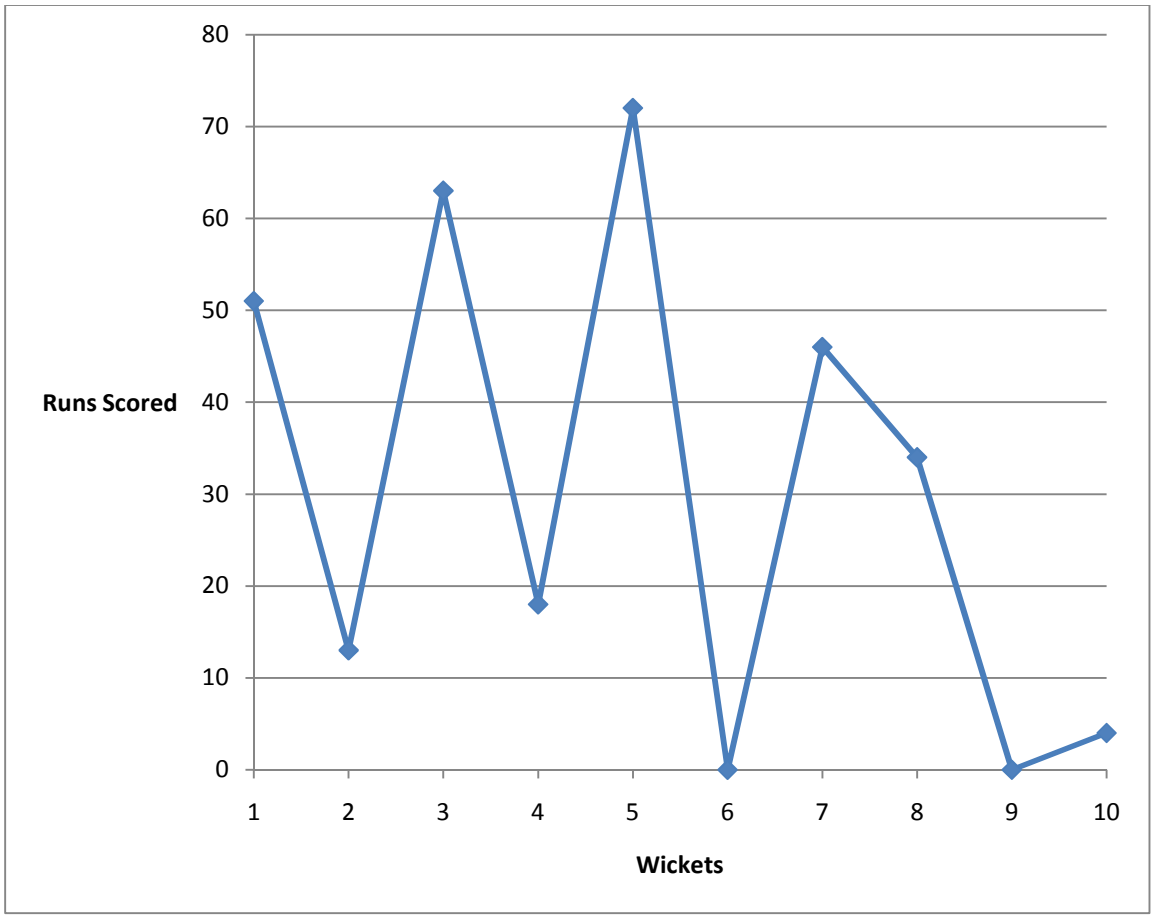

Figure 5.1 Batting Partnerships: West Indies First Innings

[12] Ibid., 218-219, 292. See J.S. Baker, 126, Alan Ross, 102-3, John Clarke, 94.

The first innings opening partnership of fifty one between Hunte and McMorris was the largest and most time-consuming of any during the four innings played. Hunte began the scoring by taking thirteen runs off the first four deliveries. As impressive as this appeared on the surface, the first and third boundaries, coming as they did off the outside edge of his bat could hardly have been reassuring to him or disconcerting to Trueman. Shackleton, at once began bowling balls of good length with movement off the pitch and through the air. When Trueman made the necessary adjustment to length and trajectory, the improved accuracy of his bowling resulted in a drastic reduction of the run rate and should have given England early wickets but for several fielding errors. By lunchtime, thirty two overs had been bowled and forty seven runs had been scored making the run rate less than 1.5 per over.

Four runs were added following lunch, and two catches dropped before McMorris lost his wicket, LBW to Trueman. Reference has been made to Worrell's strategy of protecting the more acerbic Kanhai by switching him with the more level-headed Sobers. John Clarke reasoned that the captain's motive was increase of the run rate.[13] It is more likely, however, that the primary purpose was to throw the bowlers off their length. By replacing the right-handed McMorris with the left-handed Sobers as partner to the right-handed Hunte, the rhythm of England's attack would be changed when runs were made in singles or triples as this would result in the adjustments that had to be made in field-setting and umpire positioning.[14] An additional insight is provided by Griffith in his autobiography where he asserts that Sobers actually requested the change of Worrell for same reasons stated by Clarke.

Hunte had added a mere five runs to his pre-lunch score when he was caught at first slip by Close off an outswinger from Trueman which moved away from him. He had driven a prior delivery magnificently to the boundary, but misjudged the length and movement of that to which he fell victim. This last delivery was pitched a few inches wider than that which Hunte had belted, was faster paced, and moved late off the seam. Trueman had accomplished this change with no

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13 John Clarke, Cricket with a Swing: The West Indies Tour, 1963, 72.

14 Learie Constantine, The Young Cricketer's Companion, 72-74.

perceptible change in his bowling action, and thus Hunte was deceived.[15] The Hunte-Sobers partnership had produced only thirteen runs.[16] Hunte was replaced by Kanhai, a Guianese of East Indian ancestry, who was a better and more exciting right-handed batsman. This new combination soon began to accomplish the batsmen's aims as the next ten runs came in singles doubles which disrupted the bowlers' length, changed the game's rhythm and increased the run rate. Aside from the increase in the run rate, these two batsmen began to demonstrate a disturbing level of comfort with the bowling. Medium-pace bowlers Dexter and Close replaced Trueman and Shakleton but with no success. Sobers and Kanhai appeared to be settling down and needed, for England's sake, to be separated. Somewhat belatedly, Dexter replaced Close with Allen, one of his two spin bowlers.

West Indies score had increased to 102 when the change to Allen bore fruit. He had Sobers caught in slips by Cowdrey in a similar manner as he had done in the Old Trafford test. Butcher, a Black Guianese, replaced Sobers and promptly drove an Allen delivery to the boundary. Butcher had developed a reputation as a strong on-side, very attacking batsman; and Allen, an off-break bowler, would become his prey in due course. This realization by Dexter prompted him to replace Allen with Trueman, whose arsenal was more catholic and whose bowling ingenuity would likely entrap the batsman. Butcher's fatal mistake was his failure to play himself into his game. Trueman capitalized on his knowledge of Butcher's batting style and served him up a short rising ball moving from offside to leg-side. The latter swung his bat, connected predictably with the ball, and would probably have made a boundary had not Barrington taken an excellent catch just short of the boundary at long-leg.[17] Whether Barrington had been positioned there prior to the play or quickly moved there in collaboraton with Trueman and Dexter cannot be ascertained. The important point is that the ruse worked and another valuable West Indian wicket was lost after only eighteen runs had been added to the score.

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[15] BBC Worldwide Television, The Test of the Century: England vs. West Indies, Second Test Match 1963, 1963 DVD.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Clarke, 73. See also Ross, 22., Barker, 44.

Solomon, another Guyanese of East Indian descent, who replaced Butcher, remained at the wicket despite the many bowling changes that Dexter made in his efforts to unnerve him. Meantime, Kanhai, perhaps displeased by the loss of Sobers and Butcher unleashed a barrage of batting strokes which drove the score beyond the 200 mark. So far, ninety two overs had been bowled, and the new ball could have been taken at the eighty sixth over.[18] It is unclear whether Dexter's delay in introducing the new ball into the game was part of a strategy or the result of mental lapse, but within three overs the wickets of Kanhai fell. He was caught in the gully to a late out-swinger from Trueman; and Worrell, his replacement, was bowled by an in-swinger the pace of which he completely misjudged. Worrell's dismissal came as a result of Trueman quickening the pace of this lethal delivery before Worrell had acclimatized himself to the batting conditions. It is highly probable that Worrell's habit of sleeping while his team batted and awaking just prior to taking his place at the wicket was public knowledge and that Trueman capitalized on the batsman's assumed lethargy. On the other hand, it might just have been that Worrell fell victim to a brilliant delivery.

The loss of Kanhai and Worrell was a major blow to the West Indian team and supporters, who had anticipated a more productive effort from Kanhai and, at least, stubborn defense from Worrell. For the most part, they dreaded the calamity that this event portended. The new batsman, nineteen year old Murray, playing in his first test match at Lord's and his second overall, was not expected to last through the remaining thirty four minutes of play. Fortunately for team and country, he defied the pessimists and settled in, playing a sedate style of cricket very much like his partner Solomon. In those thirty four minutes he scored twelve of the twenty eight runs that the partnership added to the West Indies score. West Indies batsmen had scored 245 for the loss of six wickets at the end of the first day's play, having batted for 334 minutes.[19] These

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[18] Wisden, "The Laws of Cricket", Law No. 6, The Ball, 960, Law No. 5, Note 2 New Ball, 975. The West Indies Cricket Board of Control had requested the taking of the new ball after 75 overs or 200 runs. This request had been turned down by the M.C.C. Sub-Committee on Cricket at their meeting held at Lord's on February1963, p.3. Report housed at M.C.C. Archive, St John's Wood, London.

[19] England vs. West Indies: Second Test, 1963, BBC Worldwide Television – DVD.

runs had been made on a wicket that favored the seam bowling of Trueman and Shackleton. Both bowlers had decreased their pace, and Trueman bowled several balls that behaved like leg-breaks, while Shackleton mixed an occasional off-break in his wide assortment of deliveries. Had West Indies batsmen not adapted their style of batting to the prevailing conditions, it is likely that their results would have been less respectable.

The resumption of play on the second day saw a slight improvement in the weather, which brought 30,000 spectators to Lord's. Solomon and Murray settled in even though there was ample evidence of uncertainty in their batting.[20] Their uncertainty was directly related to the inconsistent and therefore unpredictable lift that the pitch was lending the ball. Despite this, and because of their refusal to engage in speculative probing, the batsmen added eighteen runs to their overnight score after being at bat for forty minutes. At this point, Murray attempted a hook shot off a Trueman bumper which flew off the outside edge of his bat, executing an unwelcome parabola ending just back of Cowdrey in the slips. This was a most unusual deflection, but Cowdrey reacted swiftly and took a splendid over-the-shoulder catch. Murray's partnership with Solomon had lasted seventy four minutes and produced forty six much needed runs. Moreover, it had neutralized the constricting effect of Trueman-Shackleton bowling partnership. A new partnership now began between Solomon and Hall, the West Indies' fastest bowler, who had shown in his 102 runs scored a month and a half earlier against the Cambridge University team that he could sometimes be equally as dangerous with bat as with ball.[21] West Indians in the crowd began to sense a potential renewal especially since Hall's clowning introduced into the match a lightheartedness that had been missing since its beginning.

The score climbed steadily to 297 when the normally solid, reliable Solomon was deceived by a Shackleton delivery which struck his pad causing Umpire Phillipson to adjudge him out, LBW. He had batted for 194 minutes, participated in four partnerships and scored fifty six

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20 Ibid

21 Wisden, 1964, 278-9.

runs.[23] With his departure, West Indies batting was virtually at an end for this innings. Griffith was out, caught in the slips by Cowdrey, off the only ball he faced. The Shackleton delivery to which Griffith fell appears to have been a back-of-the-hand leg break reminiscent of Keith Miller, the famous Australian fast bowler.[24] This was a most unusual delivery which, because of its deceptiveness, might have had the same result with a more able batsman. Gibbs, the eleventh man in the West Indies line-up, was a notoriously incompetent batsman, and with Shackleton now attempting a hat-trick, knew that the likelihood of that outcome depended more on Shackleton's accuracy than his own expertise. Gibbs survived the first delivery but succumbed to the second thus depriving Shackleton of a hat-trick on his initial test match at Lord's, despite his age.

West Indies first innings saw a demonstration of batting that was most unlike their usually dashing, exuberant, aggressive, run-chasing approach to bowling of all types. On this occasion beginning with their opening pair and continuing through to Murray, they had exhibited an overall conservatism except for occasional glimmers of their customary elan. Their team score of 301 was acknowledged by many sportswriters to be equally as valuable as the 501 runs made at Old Trafford during the recently concluded test. In fact one sportswriter suggested that some England supporters were somewhat chagrined by the realization that West Indies had scored more than 150 runs. [25] In short, West Indies batsmen demonstrated their skill and imagination in coping with the unusual behavior exhibited by the ball during this innings, and would have amassed a much reduced total had they attempted the kinds of batting strokes for which they were renowned. In fact, West Indies batted more like England.

In summary, West Indies batted for 415 minutes to score their 301 runs for an unusually low average run rate of .72 per minute. They had faced 133 overs for an average strike rate of 2.26 runs per over. The 301 total runs included eleven extras, of which ten were byes and one a leg bye. Adjusting for these extra runs, West Indies first innings total would have been 290 runs. The England bowlers were not charged with any no-balls, a remarkable accomplishment

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23 http://www.cricketarchive.com/Archive/Scorecard/26/26175.html p. 1.

24 BBC DVD

25 Barker, 47.

inasmuch they had had to adjust to the back-foot rule for this series of tests after having complied with a recently imposed front-foot rule in their county matches.[26] 126 runs had been made from singles and the forty one boundaries struck did not include any sixes.[27] Of the ten partnerships, three had amassed scores exceeding fifty runs and five had topped thirty runs. In short, it was a reasonably balanced response to the England attack. The supporters of both teams knew that West Indies had responded admirably, if not heroically to a relentless England attack, and were now eagerly awaiting England's response to the West Indies equally determined but more hostile attack. Trueman and Shackleton had held West Indies batsmen in check by varying their attack while maintaining good length. They made excellent use of the moisture in the wicket and the atmosphere and had given their team a reasonably auspicious start.

[26] Wisden, 1963, 292.
[27] http://www.cricketarchive.com/Archive/Scorecard/26/26175.html p. 1.

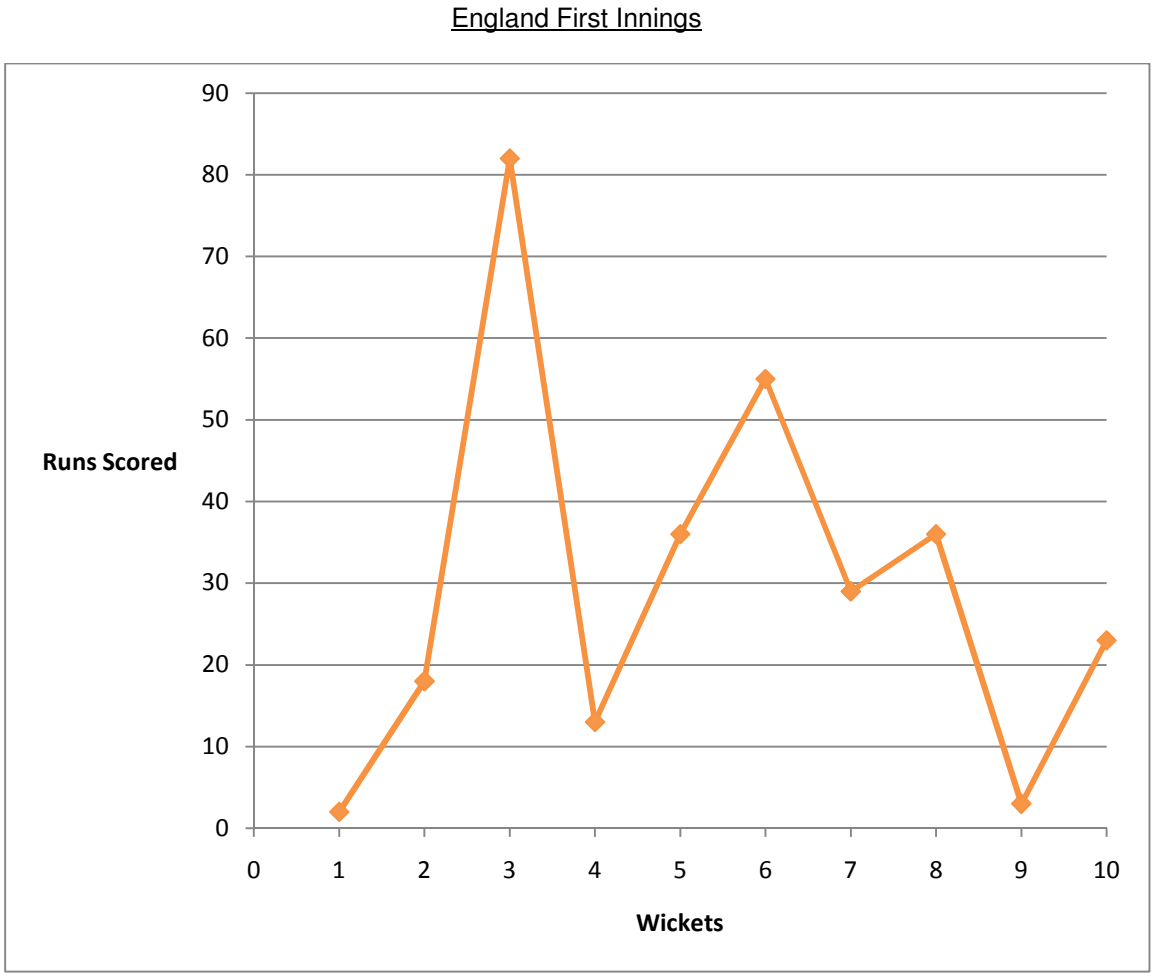

Figure 5.2 Batting Partnerships: England First Innings

The descriptions of West Indies bowling at the start of England's first innings have in common a tendency to decry the tactics of the two fast bowlers, Hall and Griffith. Barker referred to their bowling as hostile and ferocious, Clarke dubbed it sustained violence, and Ross as intimidating.[28] As though in support of this assessment, Griffith was adjudged no-balls four times for violating the back-foot rule.[29] One of these no-ball calls resulted in a vicious stroke to the boundary by Dexter, and another in a disallowed catch taken by Gibbs at leg-slip which otherwise would have ended Stewart's innings sooner rather than later. In addition, there were numerous

[28] Barker, 47. See also Clarke, 77, Ross, 27.
[29] Clarke, 77.

appeals by both bowlers for LBW, all of which were turned down by the umpires.[30] West Indian supporters at Lord's seemed dismissive of these umpiring decisions especially in the light of a demonstrable aversion by the England opening and other batsmen to the pace of the bowling which they had to face and to which they were evidently unaccustomed.

England's first partnership ended with the score at two runs when Edrich attempted to subdue Griffith's first delivery of the innings, an in-swinger, and edged a simple catch to wicketkeeper Murray, who held onto it.[31] He was replaced by Dexter, the most aggressive of England's batsmen against fast bowling, and the batsman who was singularly responsible for restoring England's self-respect in the face of the West Indies onslaught during this innings. Dexter and Stewart resembled a study in contrast. Whereas the former repulsed the bowlers' efforts to unnerve him, the latter was occupied in protecting his wicket or his anatomy alternately, and seemed incapable of coming to terms with the bowling. Stewart's discomfiture continued, and he soon gave a catch to Kanhai at second slip off another Griffith in-swinger. This was the last ball before the luncheon interval, and the team score had reached twenty of which Dexter had scored fourteen, and another highly anticipated partnership had been interrupted after producing only sixteen runs. Obviously this was a most inauspicious beginning. Stewart and Edrich had failed to reduce the effectiveness of Hall and Griffith, a prerequisite to enabling England's more prolific scorers to amass a respectable total.

Stewart was replaced by Barrington, another batsman who had a much heralded aversion to fast bowling, especially the variety which he was would now be facing. England was now in a delicately balanced position. If Dexter was able to blunt the West Indies bowling attack, Hall and Griffith might be thrown off their length thus diminishing their threat to Barrington, who would then, very likely, move the scoring along. On the other hand, Worrell might replace one or both bowlers with Sobers and/or Gibbs thereby introducing a mixed bowling attack that would be at least cumbersome for both batsmen, depending on Sobers' bowling style.

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30 Trinidad Guardian, June 22, 1963, 14.

31 Ibid. See also The Guardian, June 22, 1963, 8.

With the recommencement of play after lunch, Dexter launched an attack on the bowling, mainly of Griffith off whom he soon scored thirty nine runs. His runs came from off drives and on drives, leg glances, late cuts and hooks, which were executed with what Barker described as supercilious aggression.[32] In eighty three minutes, Dexter and Barrington built a partnership which moved the score to eighty three runs, at which point Worrell introduced Sobers and Gibbs into the attack. With this bowling change, the run rate slowed, and Dexter became more subdued but not entirely enervated. Barrington now rose to the occasion since his taste in bowling was now being served up. Nineteen runs later, with the score at 102, Dexter was out LBW to a Sobers off-break, which the latter had been mixing with medium-paced deliveries as well as googlies. An appreciation of Dexter's aggression may be gained by comparing his seventy runs which were made in eighty two minutes with Barrington's eighty runs, Sobers' forty two runs or Kanhai's seventy three runs, all of which were made at a rate in excess of two minutes per run.[33] Of the eighty two runs scored during this partnership, eleven extras had been recorded. Of these eleven extras, seven were no-balls from which several boundaries had been struck, and a catch, disallowed, that would have removed Dexter. [34]

Cowdrey replaced Dexter and began his partnership with Barrington. Normally a very dependable and vastly experienced though not excitable batsman, he was expected to solidify England's innings by capitalizing on the "softening up" of the bowling begun by Dexter.[35] Gibbs, however, dislodged his bails shortly after his arrival at the wicket. Thirteen runs had been added during his brief partnership with Barrington, and of these Cowdrey had scored four. He was replaced by Close at about the same time that Sobers was replaced by Griffith. This was another judicious move by Worrell as Close's discomfort with fast bowling was well known. If Worrell's bowling change bore fruit, then England's batting would be severely limited. At this crucial juncture, his distaste for Griffith's talents notwithstanding, the normally taciturn Barrington began

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32 Trinidad Guardian, June 22, 1963, p.14.
33 http://www.cricketarchive.com/Archive/Scorecards/26/26175.html p. 1.
34 Trinidad Guardian, June 22, p. 14.
35 http://www.cricketarchive.com/Archive/Scorecards/26/26175.html, p. 1.

scoring runs off balls which should have resulted in his dismissal. This turn-about was a refreshing change since it introduced risk at a time when the need for solidification would normally have reduced the England batting to mere drudgery. Barrington was rewarded with very useful runs even as Dexter, with an entirely different attitude, had been. This was the middle of the innings from a batting, if not a numerical perspective, and the batting side needed to build their innings by reducing the run margin between the teams, and neutralize the venom in the fielding side's bowling. Unfortunately, just as the run rate reached the level of respectability, Close took one chance too many and was caught by Murray, the wicketkeeper after the partnership had added thirty six runs to the team total.

Parks, who was after Dexter, probably the England batsman most aggressively disposed toward fast bowling, joined Barrington in a partnership that began to produce a significant increase in the run rate. Fifty five runs were added despite the efforts of West Indies bowlers. These two batsmen now showed a renewed eagerness to take risks and were rewarded with runs that were made at a rate, and in a manner that ensured that the match retained a marked degree of excitement as well as competitiveness. Worrell, for his part, knowing that the antidote for their batting style was containment therefore removed Griffith, and began to bowl his slow-medium just slightly short of a good length, just a little outside the off-stump, varying pace and movement into and away from the batsmen. As expected, the run rate dropped almost precipitously.

The batsmen, however, having become accustomed to the flow of runs and the rewards that their risky batting had earned, refused to be constrained, and continued in their aggressive mode. Bowling that is consistently short of a good length with movement off the seam in both directions is the bane of aggressive batting. It reduces the run rate and forces batsmen to play the ball because of an uncertainty of its movement and trajectory. In fact, it puts most batsmen in "two minds" regarding the appropriate stroke for the bowler's deliveries. In short, the batsman becomes frustrated, and unless he is resigned to a purely defensive disposition, will probably lose his wicket. This was the type of bowling that West Indies batsmen had faced in their first innings

during which the humidity and a much damper pitch had compelled a more sedate approach on their part.

Barrington was the next batsman to be dismissed when he attempted an aggressive shot which he mistimed and was caught by Sobers at cover point. To his credit, his manner of getting out bespoke the aggressive mode in which he had become engaged. His eighty runs were ten more than Dexter's, he had batted through four partnerships in which he was at different times the stabilizing force, a foil, and a catalyst. He had taken risks that resulted in runs to unintended parts of the grounds, but which inspired his erstwhile partners to engage in similar histrionics. However, when he departed, he did not receive the standing ovation nor the rousing, tumultuous acclaim which his countrymen and admirers had lavished on Dexter.[36] The difference lay in the effect of each innings. Whereas Dexter's innings was an exhilarating game-changer that ignited British national fervor even as it warmed the hearts of cricket lovers, Barrington's was the more traditional stolid, somewhat risky, but more resistance driven innings to which they had become accustomed.

Titmus and Parks moved the score along although their quest for runs was tempered by the need to save their wickets for the following day. Their determination was met by an equally resolute Worrell who removed Parks when he failed to read the pace and trajectory of a Worrell yorker with the score at 235, and the wicket toll at seven. [37] At this point, England's position could not have been described as strong, but they nevertheless were in a better position than were West Indies when the latter's seventh wicket had fallen with their score at 263. The difference lay in the reliability of the respective tail-end batsmen. England's were simply better, and with the wicket beginning to show signs of wear, the West Indian fast bowlers would not then have been as deadly as they were when the wicket was fresher.[38]

It is unclear why Worrell did not increase the strength of the bowling attack on England. Several journalists have proffered opinions, after the fact, regarding what Worrell could have

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36 Wooldridge.

37 Sunday Guardian, Port of Spain, Trinidad, June 23, p. 21.

38 BBC DVD

done such as having Sobers bowl from the Nursery end while he, Worrell continued his bowling from the Pavilion end. Another suggestion was to take the new ball which was then due and call upon Griffith to bowl from the Nursery end since at this point he was more reliable than Hall, whose capacity had been reduced as a result of a painful blow to his knee from a Trueman delivery during his team's first innings.[39] An interesting factor, peculiar to cricket, might be that since Trueman, the premier England fast bowler had replaced Parks, it would have been contrary to the spirit of the game to have either Hall or Griffith direct their torrid pace at Trueman. As it turned out, Worrell resisted taking the new ball, and the day's play ended with Titmus and Trueman having moved their team's score to 244.

Worrell introduced the new ball into the attack the next morning after Hall and Griffith had bowled an over each. This seemingly insignificant exercise was necessary since the eighty three overs bowled the previous day were a couple short of the required eighty five required in order for the new ball to be taken.[40] Worrell's choice of bowlers was injudicious inasmuch as these bowlers wasted the first four overs by concentrating their bowling on or outside the leg stump. Trueman and Titmus added another twenty seven runs to the overnight score, most of which resulted from unnecessary bowling or fielding errors. Eventually, Trueman was out, bowled convincingly by Hall after this partnership had scored thirty six runs. His replacement was Allen, who lost his wicket after another three runs were added. This partnership was somewhat disappointing as Allen was normally a fairly reliable batsman. Shackleton batted long enough to combine with Titmus for an additional twenty three runs. All of the remaining wickets fell to balls bowled on or outside the off stump.[41] The addition of fifty three runs by the England tail-enders on the morning of the third day might have been avoided if Worrell had called on Gibbs and Sobers to bowl instead of having Hall and Griffith continue through to the last of the innings.[42]

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39 Daily Telegraph and Morning Post, Saturday, June 22, 1963, p.4. See also Sunday Guardian, p.23.

40 Wisden, 1964, 960.

41 Sunday Guardian, June 23, p.23.

42 Ibid. June 23, p. 23.

England's first innings was exhilarating. Instead of batting to avoid a loss, which was the standard approach, her batsmen repaid aggressive bowling with similar robustness. Dexter, Barrington, Close, Parks took risks which were rewarded handsomely. The more sedate Stewart, Edrich and Cowdrey displayed a more conservative, enervative type of batting and reaped a corresponding misery. Dexter was England's obvious catalyst. His brilliant innings inspired some of his teammates to play attacking cricket, became the high-point of the match and the pivotal episode, for the English that helped elevate this match to the status of legend.

West Indies Second Innings

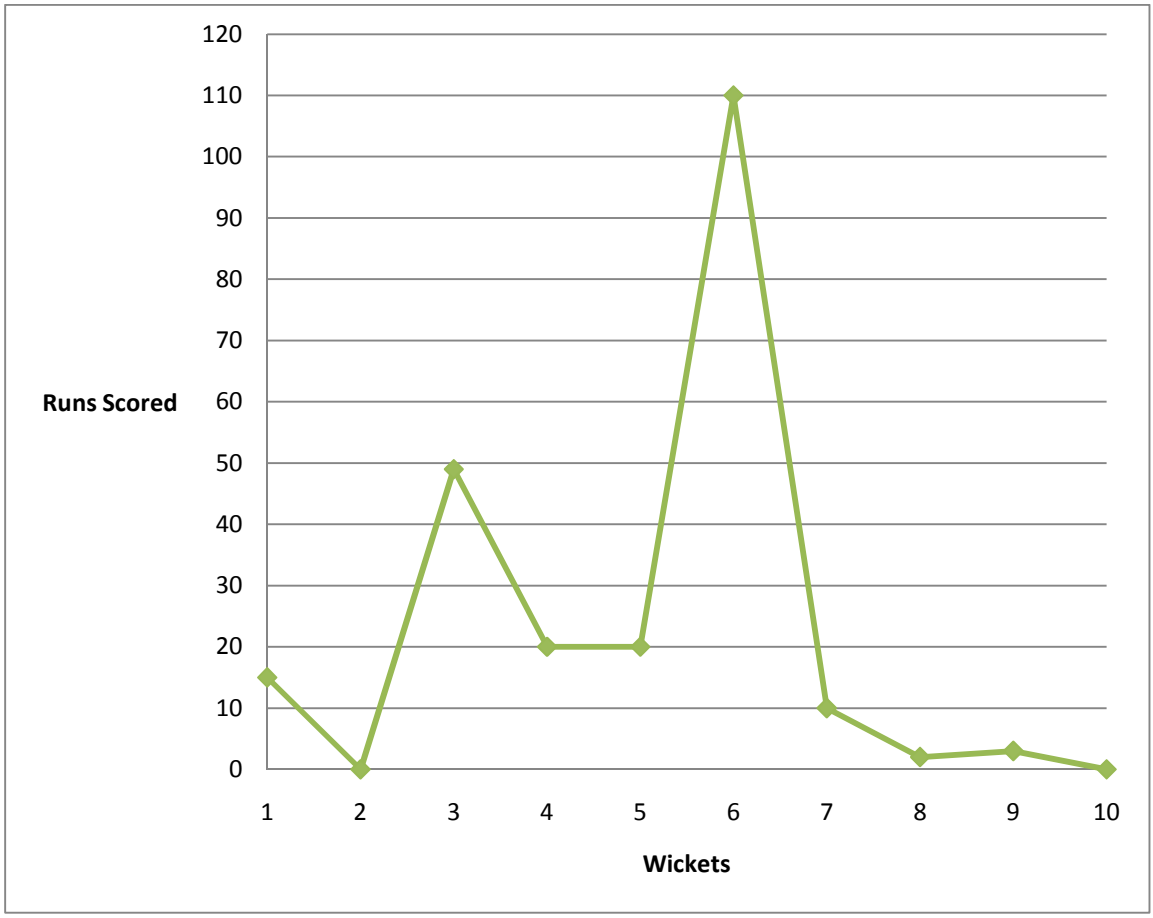

Figure 5.3 Batting Partnerships: West Indies Second Innings

West Indies started their second innings a mere four runs ahead of England because of their failure to remove the England tail-enders. The match was now evenly balanced, and the

West Indies' second innings represented a new beginning. It also allowed for both active and vicarious participants to determine the accuracy of their critiques, and predictions regarding the outcome of the match. Crucial to this outcome was the absence of Dexter who was suffering from an inflamed knee. His absence promoted Cowdrey, the vice-captain to the captaincy, but, more importantly, presented him with an opportunity to place his stamp on the match. Cowdrey had extensive experience as captain of Kent, the county team for which he played. His challenge in this elevated role was therefore one of degree inasmuch as he was now leading his country's team for the first time. His adroit rotation of his bowlers kept the West Indies batsmen on edge, took advantage of the increased wind velocity which, even though it decreased moisture in the air and the pitch, offered a useful weapon, if used wisely. The pitch facilitated movement off the seam from the pavilion end and unpredictable lift from the nursery end making a mockery of the batsmen's ability to play their shots.[43] In fact, Cowdrey was so successful in his manipulation of these elements that, but for the Worrell and Butcher partnership, the West Indies second innings total would have been woefully mediocre, and England might well have won the match with a day or more to spare.

Among the assessments of the problems facing the Hunte and McMorris during their first wicket partnership was Denis Robotham's declaration that whereas their first innings' concerns were primarily technical, the second innings presented them with an additional psychological challenge which had been helped considerably by the unexpected obstinacy of the English tail-end batsmen.[44] Whether Hunte and McMorris felt this pressure and therefore the need to thwart its effect by lashing out at the bowling is difficult to ascertain. Be that as it may, Hunte, having survived Trueman's initial over, which was a maiden, hooked a bouncer in the second over for six. This was a confident stroke, but it was followed, in the same over, by a delivery that flew off the edge of his bat to Cowdrey, who dropped the ball. Meantime, McMorris had hooked and glanced Shackleton twice to the boundary. These two bowlers, despite these boundaries,

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43 The Guardian, June 24, 1963, p12.

44 Ibid.

remained in control, and the batsmen's posture was watchful defense instead of their customary aggression. Finally, in the eighth over, with just fifteen runs on the scoreboard, Hunte was caught at second slip by Cowdrey off Shackleton.[45] He had lost his wicket in a similar manner during the first innings while attempting to drive a ball that was moving from middle to off. In the very next over, with no change to the team score and after just barely surviving a confident LBW appeal, McMorris edged a Trueman delivery which Cowdrey took at his favorite second slip position. The second wicket partnership had produced no runs, and the West Indies had lost her two opening batsmen before they had reduced the effectiveness of either Trueman or Shackleton. On the contrary, both bowlers were energized by these outcomes.

Kanhai had replaced Hunte, and now, Butcher joined him at the wicket as replacement for McMorris. In time they adjusted to the nuance of both bowlers and were soon scoring runs with but a limited degree of freedom. Their partnership was characterized by daring slashes, cuts, hooks and drives off loose, over-pitched and short-pitched balls on one hand, and subdued, defensive batting that for a twenty-minute spell, produced but a single scoring run.[46] In order to tighten the reins even more, with the score at forty six, Cowdrey replaced Trueman with Titmus bowling from the Nursery end with Shackleton bowling from the Pavilion end. This change reduced the run-rate further as the batsmen now found it necessary to adjust to the new bowlers. Eighteen runs later Kanhai was making his way back to the Players' pavilion having steered a Shackleton delivery about which he was unsure, into the safe hands of Cowdrey. The England bowling strategy seemed focused not so much on a direct attack on the batsmen's stumps, but rather on a more subtle manipulation of their tendency to attack the ball, especially off the back-foot. The crucial third wicket partnership had produced only forty nine runs.[47]

Cowdrey replaced Shackleton with Trueman after Sobers announced his arrival at the wicket by driving a Titmus delivery to the boundary. A keen observer might have conjectured that the change in bowlers might have brought Allen into the attack instead. Perhaps Sobers'

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45 Clarke, 81-2.

46 Sunday Guardian, June 22, 1963, p.23.

47 Wisden, 1964, 292.

treatment of Titmus' bowling suggested that Allen's bowling might be treated with similar disdain. As it was, this change to Trueman produced the desired result for England. After having been dropped by Close at first slip, Sobers played at a Trueman delivery, and the ball went through to Parks, who having gathered it scant inches from the ground, appealed, and was rewarded with the umpires signal for an out.[48] Sobers hesitated briefly before leaving the crease. This hesitation sent a message of his disappointment in the umpire's decision, a behavior that is frowned on, and which is regarded as "not being in the spirit of the game. Clarke described Sobers' reaction to the umpire's decision as surprise. Barker wrote that Sobers seemed to think that he had hit the ball into the ground, and Ross remarked that Sobers looked unhappy at the turn of events and stood his ground, but that umpire's decision was final.[49] Wooldridge claims that neither Parks nor Trueman had any doubts that the catch was genuine when their "howzats" reached the ears of Umpire Phillipson.[50]

An examination of the DVD of the match produced by the BBC leaves little doubt as to the correctness of the umpire's verdict. In fact, the sound of the ball as it went past Sobers was audible, and the ball's trajectory ruled out any contact with Sobers' pads or the likelihood of contact with the ground. Additionally, the DVD clearly shows that Cowdrey and other players joined in the appeal.[51] Many West Indians in the crowd, however, raised strenuous objections to Umpire Phillipson's decision, and a chorus of boos attended his every gesture for some time. It is likely that their rancor may have been prompted by their displeasure with the loss of Sobers' wicket which had fallen at little or no cost to England, and their concomitant fear of loss of the match. Another factor might have been Sobers' reputation for fairness on and off the field in the spirit of the game. In fact, the DVD shows clearly that, other than for LBW decisions, the West

48 Clarke, 83.
49 Clarke, 83. Barker, 51, Ross, 38.
50 Wooldridge, 77.
51 BBC DVD.

Indian batsmen simply walked away from their wickets when it was evident to them that they were out.[52]

From a West Indian perspective, the Butcher-Sobers partnership should have produced much more than twenty runs. Whereas the dismissal of Hunte had caused concern in the West Indies camp, that of Kanhai had produced alarm, and now that Sobers, the last remaining batsmen whose ability and persona tended to instill fear into opposing teams had been dismissed, their alarm had been replaced by consternation. Not only had the heart of the team's batting been rendered ineffective by the brilliance of England's bowlers, but the next three batsmen, Worrell excepted, although reliable, lacked the spiritedness that generally characterized West Indian batting. With their score now at eighty four runs for the loss of four wickets, they were sixty one runs behind their first innings score at the point when four of their wickets had fallen. It did not matter that West Indies were now batting on a pitch which should have given more help to the batsmen than they seemed to be getting. In fact, that realization simply meant that continued deterioration of the pitch meant an increased likelihood of an England victory.

Solomon, the personification of placidity and reliability in batting, replaced Sobers. Normally, this Guyanese batsman could be depended upon to stop the hemorrhaging in the team's batting by his unruffled demeanor and conservative batsmanship. In this situation however, he was so intent on saving his team that he had been at the wicket for twenty minutes before he had scored his first run. Meantime, Butcher, having passed fifty, continued to get the measure of the England bowlers despite their attacking field, accurate and thoughtful bowling, or Cowdrey's strategy of changing his bowlers as soon as he sensed any degree of comfort in the batsmen with his team's performance.

Shortly after the tea interval, however, with his team's score at 104, Solomon was caught by Stewart at short, backward square-leg off a ball that turned sharply from Allen.[53] He was replaced by Worrell, who had scored a duck in his first time at bat when his wicket was

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52 Ibid.

53 Sunday Guardian, June 23, 1963, p.23.

skewered by a Trueman rocket. It might have been fortuitous that when Worrell arrived at the wicket that Allen and Titmus, England's two spinners had been bowling instead of Trueman and Shackleton, the two fast bowlers, turned medium-paced bowlers. He immediately assumed the offensive, inventing a new stroke which inspired Butcher whose daring now demonstrated more and more riskiness. Together they pummeled the bowlers so that Cowdrey had no choice but to replace his spinners with his pace-men.[54]

By this time, however, Worrell had settled in, so that Trueman and Shackleton failed to deter these batsmen or retard the growth of their partnership. Cowdrey introduced the new ball at the eighty sixth over still hoping for a break-through, thereby demonstrating his willingness to play attacking cricket.[55] He could just as easily have played through the remaining ten minutes with the old ball thereby enabling his pace duo to bowl at their fastest when play continued the following Monday. It is also possible that he might have been trying to avoid Worrell's mistake during England's first turn at bat. Despite these ruses, the partnership continued uninterrupted with Butcher and Worrell having moved the team total to 214 runs for the loss of five wickets when stumps were drawn.[56]

Butcher has been described as an onside player. An examination of his innings batting chart supports this contention beyond doubt. Of his fifty scoring shots, eighteen were placed on the off-side and five colossal shots past the bowlers or over their heads, produced boundaries of which two were sixes. Therefore, the bulk of his runs were made from drives, cuts, hooks and glances to positions on the on-side. Butcher's penchant for on-side scoring might have resulted from his tutelage under the great Clyde Walcott, who spent several years coaching in Guyana, and is chiefly responsible for the emergence of several cricketers from that country.

At this point in the West Indies innings, England had bowled ninety overs, seven of them with the second new ball. A comparison of the bowling statistics shows Trueman and Shackleton having bowled fifty four overs between them, while the spinners, Allen and Titmus accounted for

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54 Ibid.

55 Ibid. See also Wisden, 1964, p.987.

56 Ibid., See also Times of India, June 23, 1963, p. 10.

the remaining thirty eight. Close, the England medium-paced bowler, had not bowled to this point in this innings although he had bowled nine overs during the first innings.[57] It is apparent therefore that England was not disadvantaged by the loss of Dexter on its fielding side during West Indies second innings. Cowdrey displayed better generalship with his deployment of his bowlers and fielders and Dexter's bowling might not have made a difference since Trueman and Shackleton were bowling slower than normal from shortened run-ups, which would have meant a surfeit of medium-paced bowling. Besides, if Cowdrey had felt the need for additional bowlers, he could just as well have used Close. Although the wicket had been playing comparatively easier, the scoring of runs had been curtailed greatly, except for the crucial, unbroken partnership between Butcher and Worrell.

In order to appreciate the change in fortune of the West Indies team, it is necessary to compare the batting statistics of Hunte, Kanhai, Sobers and Solomon who had made a total of 215 runs between them during the first innings. During the current innings, they had been able to amass a meager forty one runs between them on a wicket that played better during their second time at bat. This difference is attributable to the accuracy and tenacity of the England bowling and fielding and their use of the wind as well as the coldness in the air that had replaced the sunshine that had suggested West Indian dominance initially.

When play resumed the following day, the optimism with which West Indians had approached the days forthcoming events quickly evaporated. Within twenty five minutes, the five remaining West Indies wickets had fallen for a meager fifteen runs. This outcome was as unexpected as it was devastating. Accounts of this segment of the match have failed to make any germane analysis of the reasons for this precipitous collapse of the West Indies and the ways in which these factors might impact the England batsmen. There was obviously some moisture in the wicket since Worrell was out to a ball that rose sharply, and Butcher was out LBW to one that kept low.[58] J.S.Barker raised the spectre of an umpire's error in judgement by describing the

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57 Barker, 122; Clarke, 94.

58 Playfair Cricket Monthly, August1963, p. 5.

trajectory and movement of the lethal Shackleton delivery in his Summer Spectacular as "suspiciously high and whipping across him".[59] In his June 25 column in the Sunday Guardian however, he was less forthright in his criticism, as were most other journalists and authors. The seventh through the tenth wicket partnerships produced ten runs, two runs, two runs and one run respectively.

This series of events would not have played out as they did without the assistance of the weather despite the fragility of the West Indies tail-enders. They simply did not put up much resistance. The tally of fifteen runs at a point when many more were needed desperately, spoke to a weakness that has been the bane of this team's players and the frustration of their supporters. The total of eighty four runs made by the same partnerships during the far less critical first innings undoubtedly raised many questions regarding an unusually damp patch on the Nursery end of the wicket. In addition, the grey, gloomy, overcast conditions which facilitated the West Indies tail-enders' precipitous departure would persist at least for some time, rendering the England batsmen, particularly the openers, highly susceptible to unpredictable ball behavior.

[59] J.S.Barker, 53.

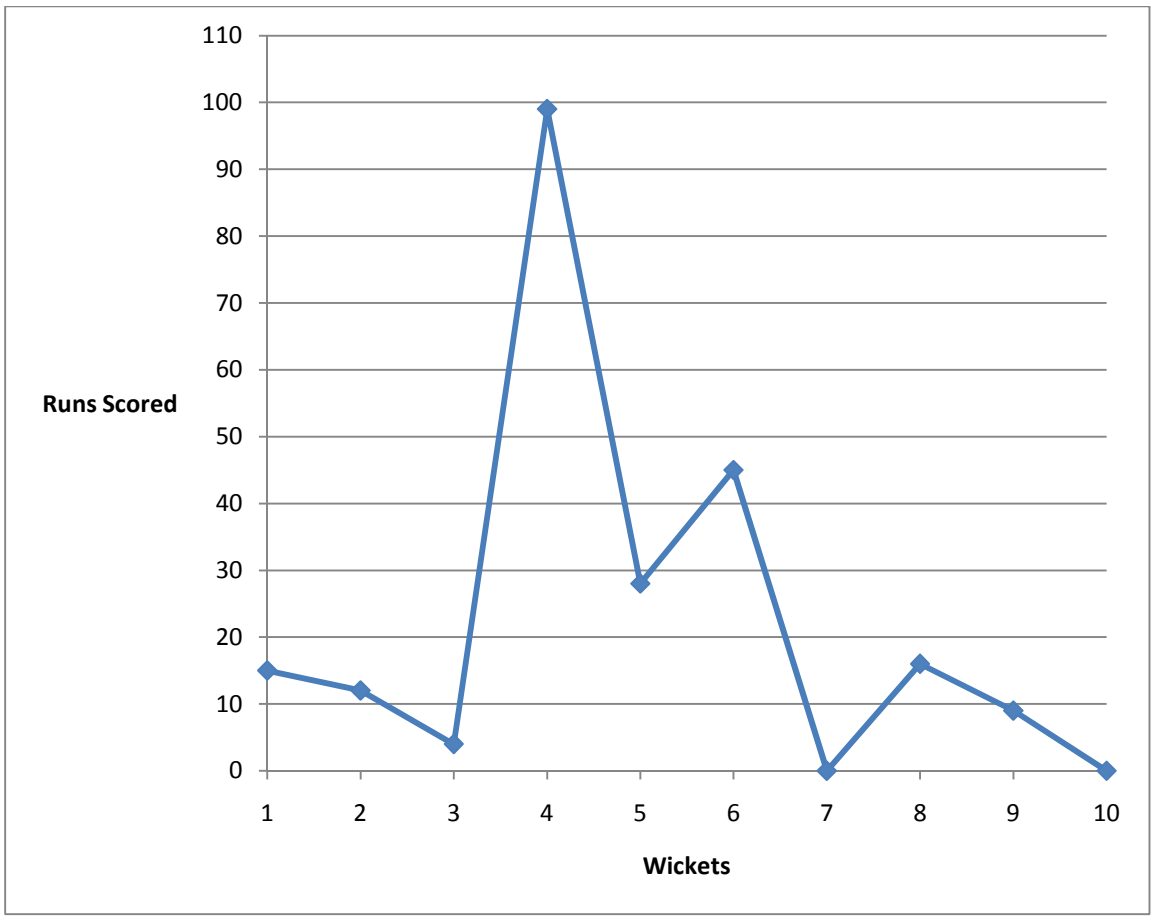

Figure 5.4 Batting Partnerships: England Second Innings

Stewart and Edrich began England's final innings with some degree of confidence for several reasons. Firstly, England had just dismissed West Indies for 229 runs when it seemed that 250 had been an optimistic expectation. Secondly, despite not having won at Lord's when a fourth innings run total in excess of 200 was required, their team of talented batsmen should nevertheless earn these runs in a sedate manner, having almost two days in which to do so.[60] It was a situation tailor-made for England since they generally abhorred chasing runs and had no

[60] Wooldridge, 79.

significant concerns over the effects of the weather on the pitch. The crucial factors over which they had no control consisted of help that Hall and Griffith might receive from the pitch and the loss of time due to poor light.

The first partnership of the innings began far from sedately. Ian Wooldridge makes several cogent references to Hall's ferocious assault on the batsmen and his capitalizing on a worn patch on the pitch in line with middle and leg stump, which soon had them skipping, hopping and ducking, as though the patch had suddenly appeared.[61] Because of the batsmen's discomfiture, runs came mostly in singles except for cover drive by Stewart for four off Griffith. The partnership ended abruptly with the score at fifteen runs, when Edrich gave a catch to Murray the wicketkeeper, and was out in much the same manner as he was in the first innings. Dexter replaced him, but whereas his disdainful treatment of West Indies bowling during his first innings, he now batted with unusual indecisiveness. The team score moved forward slowly with Stewart accounting for all of the runs. In fact, Dexter had been at bat for twenty minutes before he had scored his first run and that by a stroke of luck.

After this partnership had added twelve runs to the team's total, Stewart lost his wicket in a manner drenched with irony. In anticipation of a Hall delivery, which he judged to be a bouncer but was not, Stewart ducked in order to avoid being struck. The ball came through at about the height of the batsman's hip just outside his off stump, caught the edge of his bat which he had unwittingly left unprotected and carried through to Joe Solomon who took the catch at third slip. One run earlier, Worrell had replaced Griffith with Gibbs, whose off-spinning technique rendered him extremely difficult to play on this unpredictable pitch.[62] Worrell's purpose was to make the batsmen as uncomfortable as possible; and the presence of Gibbs in the bowling attack would require them to adjust from one type of bowling to another in addition to having to cope with an idiosyncratic pitch. Four runs into the third partnership, Dexter misjudged the trajectory and length of a Gibbs delivery that dipped, evaded his defensive probing and dislocated his wicket.

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61 Ibid.

62 Ibid. 80. See also Clarke, 88. Ross, 46.

At this juncture England second innings resembled that of the West Indies, except that West Indies had scored thirty three runs more than England. This difference in runs scored was theoretically offset by the overall strength of the England batting. In order to gain an advantage, it was necessary for Cowdrey, the incoming batsman, to settle in quickly, take command of the bowling, and raise his team score to a level of respectability. Very slowly and carefully, he and Barrington succeeded in reducing the threat from both bowlers. The score increased to almost at a run-per-minute, a desirable rate of scoring that demonstrated the batsmen's mastery of the bowling and the latter's penetrative inadequacy. Unfortunately, one of these batsmen's strategies for coping with the bowling was the use of their bodies to block those deliveries with which they were unable to cope. In other words, eager as they were to maximize the quantity of runs to be made from relatively harmless deliveries, neither Barrington nor Cowdrey was willing to risk losing their wickets in attempting to capitalize on the more problematic deliveries. In short they were engaging in defensive batting, using a strategy that was reminiscent of the match during the teams' 1957 series when Peter May and this same Cowdrey destroyed the West Indies bowling by employing their pads in a similar defensive scheme, which seemed preplanned at the time.[63] Because of the flexibility built into the LBW law at the time, this partnership established a record that still stands, demoralized Ramadhin and Valentine, among the most highly skilled West Indies pair of spinners of all time, and were mainly responsible for the West Indies loss in that match and series.

This manner of the increase in the score would have been most troubling to Hall, at whose expense these runs were being added. In an effort to dislodge the batsmen, Worrell allowed Hall to maintain his attack against these batsmen. Furthermore, to add to their discomfiture, he placed fielders at silly mid-on, cover and point in addition to those at short leg

[63] Frank Birbalsingh, The Rise of Westindian Cricket: From Colony to Nation, 97-8; See also Michael Manley, A History of West Indies Cricket, 2nd Edition, 114-16. In his Summary at the end of Chapter 13 in Ernest Eytle's Frank Worrell: The Career of a Great Cricketer, Worrell displays the classic West Indian aversion to vituperation expressed in writing. Worrell chose to blame West Indies team poor performance on their cricket administrators' failures to lead, shepherd and guide a mainly young team.

and in the slips, in order to snatch any catches that might careen off the edge of the bat as long as the batsmen maintained their defensive posture. It is evident that the intensity of the conflict was more psychological than mechanical, although the latter necessarily contributed to and determined the former. The loss of either batsman would very likely result in further losses, while the failure by the West Indies to dislodge either batsman, both of whom had an aversion to fast bowling would demonstrate the imperviousness of England batting and the futility of the West Indian bowling attack.

Most English commentators have written in support of the strategy employed by these batsmen while most, writing to West Indian audiences, have denounced it. Alan Moss reduced the batsmen's options to defending their bodies with their bats, allowing the ball to their strike their bodies or attempting a hook. He further deduced that the second option, while obviously painful, would ensure a prolonged stay at the wicket while the first would result in being caught, and the last as impossible.[64] J. S. Barker referred to Cowdrey as the "First Gentleman of Cricket" when describing the latter's injury in order to highlight his "unflinching courage."[65] West Indians batsmen, on the other hand, deeply cognizant of the transforming power of attacking batting as well as its potentially disruptive effects on bowling and, by extension the enjoyment of the game, would have played a different game. West Indian batsmen, based on Kanhai's assessment, regard the cricket ball as something to be hit as hard as possible and as often as possible. According to Kanhai, if batsmen are hit by the ball in the process, irrespective of the bowler's hostility, they accept this result without demur, and attribute the consequence as failure on their part.[66] At the same time, Worrell was aware that a bowling change was necessary in order to contain Cowdrey and Barrington, who had been, up to this point, getting the better of Hall, but mostly of Gibbs.

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64 Moss, 47.

65 Barker, 45,55.

66 Kanhai, 98. Kanhai claims to have apologized for failing to hit the ball and for being hit instead.

Neither batsman employed the strategy suggested by Sir Learie Constantine in his book, The Young Cricketer's Companion: The Theory and Practice of Joyful Cricket in which he recommends that the batsman move to the pitch of the ball in order to disrupt the bowler's length, if not his line.[67] Failure on the batsman's part to take this action usually results in a fast bowler adding movement to his delivery as well as diversifying ball movement. If these changes do not hasten the batsman's departure, the captain places a cordon of close-in fielders around the batsman in order to take any catches that might result from his timidity. Cowdrey and Barrington had allowed themselves to be reduced to this condition when a delivery from Hall kicked up from the damp patch that Trueman had utilized to his advantage. Cowdrey's involuntary and protective action to a ball which he could not evade, approaching his face at great speed was to lift his arm in order to protect this more vulnerable spot. As a result, the ulna in his left arm was fractured just above his wrist. He sank to the ground in obvious pain, and soon retired from the action. The score was seventy two runs for the loss of three wickets. Cowdrey could not be replaced by a substitute batsman, but might resume his innings later if he could.[68]

Of the writers who have written at length about this incident, Ian Wooldridge and Richey Benaud, are the most objective in their clinical analysis of this near tragic event. Wooldridge attributes the occurrence to the murky light, which reduced visibility, combined with the absence of a sightscreen, the purpose of which, being large and white, is to outline the bowler's form thus enabling the batsman to judge the movement of the ball.[69] Richie Benaud, then captain of the Australian national team and cricket correspondent for *News of the World,* in his article, reproduced in *The Times of India*, argued that, contrary to other mainly British assertions, that Hall's bowling was not done in the spirit of the game, claimed that he counted just three bumpers bowled by Hall compared to other affirmations in excess of eight by other journalists. Benaud also asserted that Hall's bumpers passed harmlessly over the batsmen's heads and that since Umpire

[67] Learie Constantine, The Young Cricketer's Companion: The Theory and Practice of Joyful Cricket, 29-30.
[68] Ross, 47., Clarke, 88., Wooldridge, 80.
[69] Wooldridge, 80-81.

Phillipson, at the bowler's end had not issued a desist order to Hall or Worrell; therefore Hall's bowling was beyond reproach.[70] Both writers decried English attempts to attribute Cowdrey's mishap to vicious intent on Hall's part.

Close, the captain of the Yorkshire County team replaced Cowdrey. Normally a taciturn batsman who had not batted very well during his team's first innings nor the test match at Manchester, he was expected to demonstrate the fortitude that was generally associated with Yorkshire, his county team. As Close began to play himself in, Barrington underwent a role reversal during which aggression replaced the inhibitions that had rendered his batting staid during Hall's onslaught. In fact, although Worrell had replaced the shaken Hall with the more implacable Griffith, and Gibbs with the unpredictable Sobers, both batsmen seemed to emerge from the emotional gloom that had enveloped Lord's and filled the hearts of most of the attendees with foreboding regarding the outcome of the match, at least for a while.

Even as the score moved steadily, if sluggishly forward, the weather, so notoriously intrusive in English sporting events, brought dark clouds and a gloominess that soon dampened the enthusiasm that had been generated by a couple of impressive sixes scored by Barrington off Gibbs. An appeal against the light was granted by the umpires, followed by another during which the tea break was taken.[71] During this interval, Queen Elizabeth and the Duke of Edinburgh paid their annual visit to Lord's. Bad light eventually forced the batsmen to petition the umpires to stop play during which all of the players returned to the pavilion three times for the total loss of three hours.[72] The final appeal which caused a forty five minute delay was honored so that at the cessation of the play, England still needed one hundred and eighteen runs in order to claim a decisive victory.[73]

The rain and gloom that had brought a premature end to the previous day's drama now descended upon Lord's and its surroundings as though intending to render meteorological

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[70] Richie Benaud, "Hall did not Bowl Against the Spirit of the Game", The Times of India, June25, p. 10. See Ross, 47, and Barker, 54 for contrary assessments of Hall's bowling.

[71] Law No. 17, "The Laws of Cricket", Wisden, 963.

[72] Trinidad Guardian, June 24, 1963, p. 20.

[73] Times of India June 24, 1963, p.

predictions infallible. A mere 6,000 determined persons showed up with expectations greatly dampened by the effects of the weather or otherwise by the more optimistic expectation among the English, that the match would end quickly in a victory for their country. Rain delayed the resumption of play until two twenty in the afternoon, when umpires Buller and Phillipson determined that pitch and out-field were both suitable. In order to maximize playing time, lunch had been taken during the down-time. The match would end at six o'clock, thirty minutes earlier than usual in order to facilitate the West Indies team's travel plans. In any case, England had adequate time in which to reach their target.

Worrell's decision to use Hall and Griffith for virtually the remainder of the match determined its outcome. The patch at the Nursery end of the pitch assisted Hall who bowled unrelieved from the Pavilion end by rendering his deliveries unpredictable. Short-pitched balls that impacted the ground and rose unevenly and sharply unnerved the batsmen and allowed them no respite. In addition, the absence of a Pavilion-end sight screen compounded the batsmen's dilemma. Bowling from the Nursery end at which a sight screen was located, Griffith maintained reliable length and pace, and varied his deliveries so as to demand constant vigilance from the batsmen. The 6,000 who braved the weather witnessed a pitched battle between former colonial masters and their erstwhile underlings in which the dominance of the latter was met with the dogged determination of the former.

Hall did not permit the injury to his instep to immobilize him or reduce his capacity as it might have a less resolute bowler. In fact, he bowled with as much zest and imagination at the end of his marathon session as he did at its beginning, and he persisted in his attack on the batsmen for which he was later vilified in the English press.[74] Although Griffith bowled two overs fewer than Hall, and despite the comparable predictabilty of his bowling, the nature of the

[74] Trinidad Guardian, June 26, pp.1,2. Article written by Guardian Sports Correspondent citing accusations and denunciations of Hall by English sportswriters and columnists for the major publications: Times, Daily Herald, Daily Telegraph, Daily Express, Daily Mail, Daily Sketch and Manchester Guardian. These accusations included systematic intimidation, hostility, and bowling that was not in the spirit of the game. The minority view allowed Hall the liberty to use his full arsenal of deliveries unless the umpire issued warnings against his style, and castigated the M.C.C. and Lord's authorities for having failed to install Pavilion-end sight screens.

criticism leveled at him was more intensely personal. Because of his more stocky build and seemingly stoical reserve, his bowling skill was perceived as intentionally hostile. These perceptions were heightened by Griffith's unearned reputation as a chucker, perhaps the most detestable and career ending criticism with which any bowler might be branded.[75]

Worrell's use of Hall and Griffith was based on his decision to play attacking cricket. His premise was that if the batsmen were willing and able to move to the pitch of the ball and then drive, cut, hook of glance successfully, then they would very likely secure a memorable victory for team and country.[76] Unable to contend with the accuracy of Griffith or the unpredictability of Hall, Barrington and Close played as though resigned to defending the castle. Among the strategies they employed was the deliberate use of their torsos as shields with which to protect their stumps, or otherwise to minimize the risk of offering a catch to strategically positioned fielders. Leather balls travelling between eighty and ninety miles per hour over a distance of twenty yards and striking the torso posed a physical but not a LBW threat. The batsmen knew this as did the umpires, who refused all appeals from the West Indian fielders. The match seemed to be headed towards an attrition at which point the bowlers would have become exhausted or the batsmen's willingness to absorb such punishment would have been reduced to its nadir. In the interim, an hour had passed during which eighteen runs had been added to the overnight score and Barrington's wicket had fallen with the score at 130 runs.[77] Although he had participated in the most productive of his team's partnerships, he had added a mere five runs to his overnight score and, of critical importance, had failed to lessen the venom of the West Indies bowling attack. England now needed to score 104 runs in 150 minutes, a still reachable goal but much reduced since the start of the day's play.[78]

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[75] Ian Peebles, Straight from the Shoulder: 'Throwing' – Its History and Cure(London: Hutchinson & Co., 1968), xvii. See also Charlie Griffith, Chucked Around, 77. Although Griffith was no-balled for dragging on numerous occasions during this match and series, he was never called for chucking and survived the hyper-sensitive critique of the inscrutable Syd Buller.

[76] Wooldridge, 82.

[77] Ross, 53.

[78] Barker, 56.

Cowdrey's injury and his temporary removal from the game resulted in unusual partnership outcomes peculiar to this sport. In the first place, the ninety nine runs were made by three batsmen instead of the usual two. Secondly, Close, were he to have remained undefeated at bat till the return of Cowdrey, would have been partnered with someone who had both predceded and followed him to the wicket. Thirdly, although Cowdrey's total runs scored would have been easy to determine, his partnershipping with at least two batsmen at two separate junctures in the match would render deciphering some of these statistics problematic at least.

Parks replaced Barrington temporally and philosophically. Batting off the front-foot instead of the back-foot, he soon scored several boundaries off Griffith. In addition, because his partnering with Close combined his aggression with Close's staunch masochistic defense, both bowlers were thrown off their length. Hall became somewhat erratic, Griffith's effective variations in pace and movement lost much of its sting, and the score moved forward. After the partnership had produced twenty eight runs, Parks was given out LBW off a faster-paced in-swinger from Griffith. It is perhaps ironic that inasmuch as most of Park's runs were scored off front-foot strokes, his wicket fell when he attempted a stroke off the back-foot.[79] This had been a refreshing partnership as it seemed to have revived the fighting spirit that had been lacking during Barrington's innings. It had signaled, in addition, a willingness of the England batsmen to attack the fast-paced West Indian bowling. Titmus, another batsman who had shown a liking for pace bowling, replaced Parks. At the same time, Close, who had become increasingly daring in his batting, now began advancing down the wicket in an effort at unnerving the Hall, the bowler whom he seemed mostly to have faced.

On the surface, Close's objective was to throw the bowlers off their length. If he had succeeded and the bowler shortened his delivery, then Close could very likely would have moved backward and cut or hooked the ball for an easy four or six runs. If he missed the ball, a stumping was nigh impossible as Murray, the wicketkeeper, was positioned well back of the stumps in order to minimize the accumulation of byes and leg-byes. Failing to make contact would not

[79] Ibid. 57.

necessarily mean that he might be bowled out as bowling and batting had, by this point, lacked a certain refinement. If the ball made contact with his torso or pads, he would not have been adjudged as out as the umpire would not have been able to determine the likelihood of the ball, had its trajectory not been interrupted, hitting the wicket. Finally, if the bowler failed to change his length, then Close would have at his disposal a full-toss, which he could then dispatch to the boundary with relative ease.

Altogether, it was a reasonably sound strategy with the single flaw being Close's inability to avoid being injured after being struck by the ball at a vulnerable spot on his torso. The evidence suggests that this outcome had a low priority on Close's list of concerns. When Hall became aware of Close's location on the pitch, he interrupted his delivery and his forward momentum as a result of which he wrenched his back. While Worrell consoled Hall, Close "grinned wickedly" to himself, evidently quite pleased with having unnerved the bowler.[80] Most writers and commentators have neglected to determine how this incident affected Hall, who after having injured Cowdrey, was concerned about inflicting a second injury on another England batsman. Hall has written that he thought that Close had advanced down the wicket in order to remove a small object from the pitch, and that he did not realize that Close's purpose had been to upset him. He adds that had he been aware of Close's true intent, that he would have released his missile.[81] He is supported by Kanhai, whose vantage point in the slips permitted him to gauge the batsman's intent as well as its effect on the bowler.[82]

Most accounts mirror Barker's assessment in which, following his description of the battering to which Close was subjected as well as Close preferring to be hit by the ball on shoulder, chest or arm, "rather than take a chance", concluded that this type of batting was impeccable.[83] The West Indian perspective, on the other hand, subscribe to the maxim that,

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80 Barker, 58.

81 Wesley Hall, Pace Like Fire (London: Pelham Books, 1965), 117-118.

82 Kanhai, 98.

83 Trinidad Guardian, June 26, 25. See The Manchester Guardian, June 26, 4d for a contrasting British view that criticizes Close's histrionics and argues that a more rational approach might have resulted in victory for England.

when confronted by a relentless attack from the fielding side, batsmen are expected to defend their wickets with equal resoluteness, but with their bats.[84]

The Titmus-Close partnership lasted fifty seven minutes and produced forty five runs of which Titmus scored eleven. Although several of these runs resulted from daring, precise and imaginative running between the wickets, the majority were made by Close, on whose run productivity rested his country's chances for a victory. Through bowling changes, Gibbs replacing Griffith for three overs, Close had remained unmoved and unbowed. Ross describes his batting as belligerent, Wooldridge as indomitable, and Wisden rewarded him with a "Cricketer of the Year" honor in 1964.[85] Again, this partnership was dominated by Close, not only because he scored the most runs, but because he introduced a fearlessness into the batting that caused England supporters to believe that victory was presumptive and imminent.

A set-back occurred when Titmus was caught brilliantly at forward short leg by McMorris off the bowling of Hall. England's score was now 203 runs for the loss of six wickets. It seems that the patch at the Nursery end, on which Hall had been focusing his deliveries, and through the help of which Trueman's success could be traced, had finally paid tangibly. It was also, evidently, the troublesome point on the pitch beyond which Close was determined to advance in order to minimize the effectiveness of Hall.[86] The score remained at 203 when Trueman, Hall's opposite number was out, caught at the wicket. The partnership had produced no runs at a time when they were needed most critically. Thirty one runs were now needed for victory, three wickets were still in hand, including Cowdrey's, and there were forty five minutes of playing time remaining. Allen arrived at the wicket to begin the eighth partnership of the innings.

Close continued his strategy much to the amazement and delight of most of the English observers and listeners-in, and the concern of the West Indies team and their adherents. However, with the score at 219 runs for the loss of seven wickets, Close executed another of his

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84 Garry Sobers, 57. Sobers provides a cryptic condemnation of the type of batting displayed by Close.

85 Ross, 54. Wooldridge, 83, Wisden, 1964, 82.

86 Barker, 57.

advances down the wicket and became the victim of the unflappable Griffith. Bowling at great pace, just barely short of a length, and with sufficient bounce to enable the ball to rise just beyond the pathway of a bat used by someone hitting across the line, Griffith, engineered a delivery that resulted in a catch to Murray behind the wicket. The feelings of England's supporters may be summed up by Clarke's words."Then Close was swinging at Griffith, the umpire deciding he got a touch, and he was out".[87] Now, with the loss of this, their eighth wicket, England sensed defeat, and the West Indians in the crowd, for the first time during the day, felt first flush of a likely victory.

By this time eighty five overs had been bowled and the new ball was due, but Worrell declined to use it. Whether his decision to do so was influenced by the unsatisfactory results of his decision to use the new ball during England's first innings cannot be ascertained with any degree of accuracy. Worrell asserted later that the old ball was hard enough for continued use, and that introducing the new, faster moving ball would have necessitated field placement alterations which night have increased the run rate as well as the risk of fielding errors.[88] Shackleton replaced Close and started what his team and country desperately hoped would be a game-winning partnership. The last partnership had produced sixteen badly needed runs, victory was still fifteen runs away, and an incapacitated Cowdrey was the last batsman left, and Hall and Griffith seemed as unpredictable as they had been hours earlier.

During the next four overs, Allen and Shackleton scored a mere seven runs in singles. While they were desirous of clinching victory, they recognized the need to keep the partnership alive till the final over. Thus, if either batsman lost his wicket in attempting a massive stroke, the threat to Cowdrey, team, series and country would have been massive. When the final over began, there were four possible outcomes: a win for England, a win for the West Indies, a draw and a tie. This was a most unusual circumstance which has been compared with the tied test at Brisbane, Australia between The West Indies and Australian national teams. Balls two and three produced a run each following a massive but non-productive swing by Shackleton off the first Hall

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87 Clarke, 90.

88 The Times, June 26, 1963, p.4. See also Moss, 56,58.

delivery. The fourth ball bowled went past Shackleton to Murray; saw a failed attempt by the batsmen to "steal" a run, and the resulting loss of England's ninth wicket.

The manner of the loss of Shackleton's wicket is representative of the match. A run-out is usually the result of a misunderstanding between batsmen, a mishap affecting one of the batsmen in the act of running, unusual athleticism displayed by one or more fielders, unerring accuracy in throwing the ball at the wicket, or any combination of these. What is significant in this case is that Murray's presence of mind aside, the run-out resulted from the outcome of a foot-race between two thirty eight year old men, one hampered by the protective gear which he wore, and the other by knees worn out after years of playing the game. Had the batsman been Allen instead of Shackleton, the outcome of the foot-race and the match might have been otherwise.

Cowdrey's appearance at the wicket was as dramatic as it was heroic. With his broken right arm encased in plaster, and his bat held in his less dominant left hand, he represented for England their last stand against the "dark destroyers". As it turned out, Cowdrey was spared having to face Hall, and Allen tamely middled the last two deliveries on instructions from his captain. The outcome would very likely have been the same if Cowdrey had been the active batsman since Hall would have been more likely to bowl so as to avoid further injury to the batsman. In order to accomplish this, he would have lessened the likelihood of taking his wicket unless Cowdrey attempted as rash stroke, which was unlikely. On the other hand, with Griffith as the bowler, the combination of possible outcomes would have changed. Consideration must also be given to Allen's manner of playing the last two balls. The instructions which he received evidently required his playing these last two balls with a "broad, unquavering British bat".[89] The outcome of the match might have been different if Allen and his captain had decided to tempt fate by playing more aggressively instead. England would very likely have won the match inasmuch as these last balls were likely to be delivered conservatively. On the other hand, Allen may have lost his wicket and England the match. Arguably, Worrell would have given instructions of a less conservative nature to one of his batsmen in similar circumstances. What is more certain is that a

[89] Wooldridge, 86.

West Indian batsman would have been more inclined to attack the England bowlers in similar circumstances.

The Lord's test was a study in contrasts. Firstly, England's run rate was faster than that of the West Indies despite having made sixty nine more time-consuming singles than their opponents. On its face, this difference would normally give the faster run-rate to West Indies who were known for their attacking batsmanship, and had given a demonstration of it at Old Trafford. England's faster run-rate was demonstrated as well in their average of ten more runs per hundred balls received than West Indies.[90] The run rate is also a function of the number of boundaries struck. While the England batters made a grand total of forty seven boundaries, including three sixes, which totaled 194 runs, the West Indies hit seventy one boundaries, therefrom producing 290 runs. A third factor that helps determine run-rate is the number of maidens bowled. England's bowlers demonstrated their ability to pin down West Indies batsmen by bowling twenty four more maidens during this match than did their opponents.[91] These statistics demonstrate some differences in each team's approach to the sport. The making of boundaries is far more exhilarating and pleasing to one's audience than is the running of singles, no matter how challenging. On the other hand, if the running of singles results in critical losses due to run-outs, then it makes more sense to focus on boundaries. It is highly likely that had England focused on accumulating runs through boundaries toward the end of the match that the victory would have been theirs. It is beyond doubt that Close lost his wicket as a result of assuming the risk which he deemed necessary to increase the run-rate, and secure a victory for his team.

Bowling presented contrasts in several ways. Overall, England bowled their overs more quickly than West Indies averaging nineteen per hour compared with roughly fifteen for West Indies.[92] This disparity may be explained solely on the basis of mechanics. A fast bowler will normally bowl fewer overs than a medium-paced bowler under the same circumstances. This is a function of his longer run-up to the wicket as well as the interval between his deliveries. This

90 John Clarke, 70.
91 http://www.cricketarchive.com/Archive/Scorecards/26/26175.html.
92 John Clarke, 70.

variance is further widened when wet pitch and outfield conditions impede the progress of the match especially when runs are made other than in hits to the boundary. Another aspect is the psychological effects of no-ball penalizations. The West Indian fast bowlers were no-balled nine times to England's one during the course of the match. Another much more profound psychological effect was the fear of being no-balled for chucking. This was more a problem for Griffith than for the other bowlers. Furthermore, the adjustments in field placement, while more minute, are more numerous when a batting side scores its runs in singles and doubles than in boundaries. West Indian batsmen made forty three percent of their total earned runs from running between the wickets, England's percentage was sixty. This is a very crucial difference, and would naturally impact the over rate. Finally, and significantly, most of the concerns about a reduced over rate by West Indian bowlers seem to have been made by England supporters. The available evidence shows that they believed that their team's failure to win correlated directly with their receiving fewer deliveries that normal rather than their failure to score the required runs off the more than adequate number of balls which they received.[93]

A final contrast may be drawn between the ways in which the batsmen lost their wickets. The following table illustrates these outcomes for both teams.

Table 5.1 Total Wickets Lost

TYPE	**WEST INDIES**	**ENGLAND**	**TOTAL**
Bowled	2	5	7
Caught by wicketkeeper	3	6	9
Caught close to wicket*	11	3	14
Caught away from wicket+	1	1	2
LBW	3	3	6

[93] Clarke, 91. Hall and Griffith's bowling, suggestions that a change of bowlers was more to be desired, and finally show that the time lost during the early hours of the final day was a greater determinant of this outcome than the West Indies presumed over rate.

Table 5.1 - *Continued*

Run-out	0	1	1
TOTAL	**20**	**19**	**39**

*Caught close to the wicket includes catches taken in slips, gully, short-leg.
+Caught away from the wicket includes catches taken at extra cover and deep square-leg.
Note: There are many other ways of getting out and many other positions on the field where catches may be taken. These are included here since they occurred in the match.

The higher number of batsmen bowled out as well as the number caught by the wicket keeper is indicative of the difference in the pace of the fast bowlers on both teams. In most instances, these losses occur because of the batsmen's failure to cope with the pace or trajectory of the delivery. Thus, variations of these elements by the bowler generally result in loss of wickets. West Indian bowlers training on hard, sun-baked wickets tend to rely mainly on changes in pace, with occasional adjustments in length, lift and movement, in order to take wickets. For the West Indian spinner, especially the off-break bowler, pushing the ball through became the norm. Out, caught close to the wicket is a more common occurrence in England where moisture, wind gusts, and humidity combine to create an environment in which the ball move through the air as well as off the seam. For the English bowler, manipulation of these elements amounts to using more guile and less force. Trueman shortened his run-up, thus decreasing the pace of his deliveries during this match. By so doing, he, along with the almost mechanical Shackleton, was better able to control the ball. The cool, moisture-laden atmosphere air enhanced movement in addition to making this movement unpredictable.

This was, by all accounts, a great match. West Indian batsmen, Butcher, scored the only century, although Kanhai, another West Indies batsman, as well as Barrington, Dexter and Close for England, fell just short of that plateau. For England, Trueman took a total of eleven wickets, while Shackleton captured seven. Their aggregate represented ninety percent of the twenty wickets that fell, and speaks to the English selectors' understanding of the vicissitudes of the Lord's pitch. For the West Indies, Griffith accounted for eight and Hall, five wickets, which represented sixty eight percent of the nineteen England wickets taken. The match generated

excitement which changed those English fans, who during the gloom of the fourth day, had crowded around the Tavern rendering in song, “Land of Hope and Glory”, to the highly appreciative horde streaming across the cricket ground toward the Players’ Pavilion demanding the appearance of Dexter and Close on the balcony. The West Indian segment of the crowd had also morphed from vociferous denouncers of the umpires whose decisions they disliked, to excited members of the madding throng, clamoring, in their case, for Worrell and Hall. It is unusual for a match of any kind, in any sport to generate this level of satisfaction among its fans where the outcome was as inconclusive as this 1963 Lord’s test match between England and the West Indies.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Following the conclusion of the 1963 Lord's Test, the West Indies cricket team played three additional Test matches against England, and an additional eighteen matches that consisted of a combination of county engagements as well as friendly matches. One of these matches, played against Sussex County team, was a limited 55-over match. This was not the 3-day regulation West Indies vs. Sussex match since that had been played earlier in the tour on June 15-18. West Indies had won that match quite easily. This match, played on September 12, was intended as a show-piece that would demonstrate to English players how one-day, limited-overs matches ought to be played. Sussex won this match rather easily.[1] The light-hearted nature of the encounter was highlighted when Rohan Kanhai, who had limited bowling skills, bowled the final over.

Sussex had won the Gillette Cup five days earlier, on September 7 in a match played at Lord's to a sold-out, very excited crowd. That match marked the culmination of the first one-day, sixty five-overs-per-team tournament ever played in England, at this level. It signaled the dawn of a new era for cricket in England. Even so, Ted Dexter who was Surrey's captain and Frank Worrell's opposite number during the recently concluded series, used defensive field settings in the final match against Gloucestershire when his team was threatened with a possible loss. In addition, MCC's watch-dogs leveled a curious criticism at the tournament captains for their tendency to over-utilize fast bowlers and to rely less on their spin counterparts. [2] It would be a little while before MCC would sanction the playing of attacking cricket even in the interest of injecting much needed panache into the sport.

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1 http://cricketarchive.com/Archive/Scoreboard/26/26446.html, 4/26/2011.

2 Widesn Cricketers'Almanack, 1964, 637, 647.

Some immediate reactions to the 1963 Lord's Test between England and West Indies are noteworthy. E.W. Swanton did not select Colin Cowdrey as one of his heroes of the match but chose Wesley Hall, the tireless West Indies fast bowler, and Brian Close, the most daring of England's batsmen instead. He chose them because of their resilience, bravery and the excitement they generated on both sides of the ball. Gordon Ross of Playfair Cricket Monthly referred to the match as "the greatest Test match ever to be played in England."[3] In fact English journalists outdid themselves with a tidal wave of superlatives. The majority opinion was that neither team should have won the match since neither deserved to lose. Despite several comments directed at Hall and Worrell that were critical of the latter's strategy aimed at reducing the over rate and at the former for having bowled an excessive number of bumpers, the tenor of the remarks was reasonably tempered. [4]

What seems to have been missing from most commentaries was any reference to Close's batting as uncultured or his individual strokes as agricultural. Hailed as a hero, he was forgiven for not playing with a straight bat; and when his bruised and battered body was pictured in the major newspapers the day following the match, he was praised as the one who sacrificed his body in defense of his country's honor.[5] There were no dissembling remarks other than those from Kanhai and Hall.[6]

The 1963 test series was a resounding financial success. Of the £220,000 garnered, of which £31,564 came from television and radio and other sources, West Indies received £55,000. Among the entities that received funds from these revenues were Oxford and Cambridge universities, the Minor Counties, the counties that owned the Test match venues, as well as those that played county matches against West Indies during the tour.[7] These monetary distributions

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3 Daily Telegraph, June 26, 8; See also Playfair Cricket Monthly, August, 7.
4 J.S. Barker, 59; The West Indies at Lord's, 59-61; John Clarke, 92-3
5 The West Indies at Lord's, See Illustration facing p. 33.
6 Blasting for Runs, 98. See also Wes Hall, 118-120.
7 Wisden Cricketers Almanack, 1964, 988-99. The author was unable to determine the distribution of the funds awarded to the W.I.C.B.C.as he was not allowed access to its archives.

are illustrative of the unhealthy financial state into which county and English cricket in general had fallen. The Wisden Cricketers' Almanack, 1964 records that the W.I.C.B.C. requested through the I.C.C. that the frequency of their tours to England be increased.[8] As a result of the success of the 1963 Test series, West Indies who had not been scheduled to visit England until 1971 had their tour moved forward to 1966. The South African team's visit scheduled for 1966 was brought forward to 1965, but the tour was now to be divided between South Africa and New Zealand.[9] Along with other positive results, this change signaled the arrival of the West Indies as a world power in cricket. During the next sixteen years, West Indies visited England four times, whereas England toured West Indies just twice during the same period. No longer would the English regard their tours to the Caribbean as opportunities to avoid their country's harsh winters.[10]

Table 6.1 Record of Test Series Played: West Indies v. England 1928-2000

Period	**Series Played**	**Wins**	**Losses**	**Draws**
1928-1963	11	4	5	2
1966-1976	6	3	2	1
1976-1995	9	7	0	2
1995-2000	2	1	1	0
Total	**28**	**15**	**8**	**5**

Table 6.2 Record of Test Matches Played West Indies v. England 1928-2000

Period	**Matches Played**	**Wins**	**Losses**	**Draws**
1928-1963	45	13	16	16
1966-1976	26	9	5	12
1976-1995	44	26	6	12

[8] Ibid. 987.

[9] Minutes of a Joint Meeting of the Advisory County Cricket Committee and the Board of Control, Lord's , Tuesday November 5, 1963. See also Appendix A attachment to copy of said minutes.

[10] Barclays World of Cricket, 304.

Table 6.2 - *Continued*

1995-2000	11	4	4	3
Total	**126**	**52**	**31**	**43**

According to Tables 6.1 and 6.2 the years from 1976 to 1995 was the period of West Indian dominance over England. In fact, West Indies were just as dismissive of the rest of the cricketing world. The earlier 1928-1963 period was understandably dominated by England as West Indies were experiencing growing pains exacerbated by a World War, racial and political fractiousness illustrated by the failed Federation and continued disillusionment with ineffective white leadership over a team whose membership was becoming increasingly non-white. However, the period following the successful 1963 England tour saw a tremendous spurt in the growth of cricket teams and clubs in the West Indies as young aspirants began to see cricket as a pathway to personal growth, financial security and national identity. [11] Tables 6.1 and 6.2 also show a balanced performance by West Indies between 1995 and 2000, however, the team's performance had declined and has continued to do so to the present. This decline may be attributable to the cyclical nature of all sports, although Australia has maintained a consistent domination except for the 1976-1995 period of West Indies domination. More likely causes of their collapse may have been a dearth of quality team leadership, lack of a sustained program of cricket which maps and promotes the development of young cricketers through school, club, state or colony and region levels, and failure of the W.I.C.B.C. to offer attractive incentives to retired players to return to the region to inspire younger players.

In the Preface to this study, I introduced Hilary Beckles' notion of the historical developments of cricket expressed as three paradigms. In fact, from the standpoint of an ascent

[11] Trinidad Guardian, June 25, 1963, 15. In an article titled Ä Cricket Crusade among W.I. Youth", Wesley Hall, who had seen the results of his coaching among Australian schoolboys in the State of Queensland, declared his intention of establishing a cricket coaching in his native Barbados. It is instructive that this declaration came after the Lord's test instead of the end of the series. By 1966, Jamaica, Trinidad, Guyana and Barbados had become politically independent although West Indians as a whole saw themselves as part of an amorphous entity that was bound together only through cricket.

from racial suppression, the arrival of Learie Constantine is a better marker for the point at which whites began to observe in a single black cricketer a combination of all-round talent, an enviable understanding of cricketing strategy and sound leadership skills. According to John Kay, Constantine put Nelson, his league team, on the map and filled grounds wherever he played.[12] That perhaps accounts for Constantine's lack of interest in county cricket and his ability to command the highest pay in the leagues.[13]

The second paradigm emerged with the growth in awareness of a national consciousness following the conclusion of World War II, and is situated in the West Indies victory over England in 1950. Whereas the importance of that victory, particularly the success at Lord's, cannot be minimized, it seems more plausible that the idea of a nation based on common aspirations was absent. In 1947, although the dialogue surrounding the movement toward federation was lively, according to Jesse Proctor, the British saw in this amalgamation greater efficiency, the reduction of redundancy in government bureaucracies which would increase economy, and a lessening of Britain's financial burdens *vis a vis* the former colonies. For West Indies leaders, these concerns suggested an intent by the British to abrogate assurances that would likely result in increased financial and other burdens for them.[14] In fact, this uncertainty resulted in insoluble disagreements among West Indian leaders, and became the central argument for Jamaica's withdrawal and the subsequent dissolution of the federation. The 1950 West Indies victory, despite its importance, could not really have been more than a social, racial and cultural victory, the impact of which was mostly symbolic. In 1963, when Alexander Bustamante, Cheddi Jagan, Eric Williams and Errol Barrow, political leaders of Jamaica, Guyana, Trinidad-Tobago and Barbados respectively met in Trinidad to discuss the possibility of an economic union among them, they made their positions clear. The federation was dead, Barrow

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12 John Kay, 34-5.

13 Ibid. 77. It may be assumed that "Constantine the Great" commanded at least the salaries quoted.

14 Jesse Harris Proctor, "Britain's Pro-Federation Policy in the Caribbean: An Inquiry into Motivation", The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science/ Review canadienne d'Economique et de Science Politique, Vol. 22. No. 3. (Aug., 1956, pp. 319-331), 319-322.

represented only Barbados even though his country had been discussing a possible alignment with the Leeward and Windward groups, and the purpose of the conference was to plan a strategy for economic survival.[15] In other words, Regionalism was the engine that drove this and future conferences and led to the formation of the Caribbean Free Trade Association (CARIFTA) in 1965. This organization lasted until 1972 and was replaced by the still functioning Caribbean Community (CARICOM), which was established in 1973 in Trinidad, and which functions similarly to the European Union.

Beckles' third paradigm emerges with the globalization of cricket, by which he means the proliferation of the game in many forms, under different circumstances, offering a variety of ways for its commercialization, and the removal at some levels, of nationalistic limitations. Beckles sees the arrival of the third paradigm as coinciding with the establishment of World Series Cricket (WSC) following the Packer Revolution of 1977.[16] Whereas it is arguable that globalization of the sport started with the migration initially of Australian, South African and West Indian cricketers to England to play for league and some county teams, it is incontrovertible that the Packer Revolution influenced the establishment of Cricket World Cup in 1977 (CWC), a quadrennial event that changed the sport of cricket forever.[17] W.S.C. has influenced the development of other limited over events such as Twenty/20 World Championship, a biennial tournament inaugurated in 2007. The Packer Revolution would not have succeeded without the participation of West Indies players, whose attacking form of cricket heightened the intensity of crowds and increased the participation of other teams, the members of which had at first seemed reluctant. W.S.C. and Twenty/20 cricket succeeded because players were paid huge sums of money, gave minimal

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[15] Trinidad Guardian, July 23, 29. See also The Nation, July 26, 1963, 1a. Jagan, of East Indian descent, had risen to power by defeating his black opponent Forbes Burnham. That contest had been fought along racial lines. Bustamante had replaced Norman Manley after the defeat of the latter following the results of a referendum that effectively destroyed the Federation.

[16] Henry Blofeld, The Packer Affair, 2nd Edition, (London: Williams Collins Sons & Co. Ltd.), 1979. Blofeld was correspondent for the Manchester Guardian, at the time of the furor generated by the "Packer Invasion".

[17] This event has surpassed Test cricket as a spectacle because it offers fast-paced cricket among the best teams in the world in a relatively short period of time.

amounts of time, adapted well to the exciting innovations that these new formats required, and competed against the best cricketers in the world.[18]

Whereas Beckles does not debate the role of West Indies played in Packer's decision to pick a fight with the MCC and the ICC, it seems clear that signing West Indies players to his W.S.C. organization was crucial to its success for several reasons. Firstly, West Indies possessed the most scintillating cricketers in the world at the time and would therefore attract large crowds to W.S.C. events. Secondly, West Indies players had a history of earning their living playing abroad, and Packer's offers would be far more attractive. Packer's reasoning was correct and, in fact, the best cricketers from all Test playing countries flocked to his cause. Conflicts caused by West Indies players' commitments to the W.I.C.B.C., league or county organizations and W.S.C., threatened to destroy the sport, but these were resolved in time. A pattern of opposition and obstruction by boards of control in the major cricketing countries provoked a legal response which resulted in their eventual capitulation.[19] Eventually, the guardians of the traditions of the game realized that both forms of cricket could coexist, in other words, that cricket was a business to be run by professionals and to be consumed by a public willing to pay for what they demanded.[20]

Nevertheless, in 1982, Sri Lanka became a Test cricket playing country; Zimbabwe was accepted in 1992 and Bangladesh in 2000.[21] It is likely that these additions had come as a result of the pursuit of membership in this elite body by cricket boards in these countries. A second motivation might have been affording their cricketers opportunities for financial growth through the many avenues that the sport offered. Test cricket is still regarded as the highest level at which the game is played, and is still the final benchmark for determining a nation's cricketing expertise and its potential equality with the best that the world has to offer. I contend that the seeds for the

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[18] Viv Richards, Hitting Across the Line (London: Headline Book Publishing, 1991), 115-17. See also Clive Lloyd, Living for Cricket (London: Stanley Paul, 1980), 85-93.

[19] Tony Marshall, "The Packer World Series and the Professionalization of West Indies Cricket", A Spirit of Dominance: Cricket and Nationalism in the West Indies Ed. Hilary McD. Beckles (Jamaica: University of the West Indies, 1998), 73-4.

[20] Ibid. 74.

[21] http://cricketarchive.com/Archive/Countries.html, 4/28/2011.

continued growth in interest in Test cricket in the face of abundant competition may be found in the procreative stimulus that the Lord's Test of 1963 engendered in the sport, and that this Test and series, more than any other, marked the emergence of non-white West Indian cricketers from the double silence which had, for far too long a time, limited their possibilities. I argue further, that the innovative flair that characterizes all limited-overs contests sprang from a uniquely West Indian approach to cricket, which was raised to new heights by Frank Worrell's 1963 team, and was thereafter superlatively demonstrated during the era of the team's dominance between 1976 and 1995.

APPENDIX A

GLOSSARY

Agricultural	Refers to an uncultured batting style. The opposite of cultivated, elegant, sophisticated, etc.
All-Rounder	A cricketer who is both a specialist batsman and bowler. In rare cases, he may be a fast, medium and spin bowler, as well as be an exceptional fielder.
A Pair	When a batsman scores 2 consecutive ducks.
Audi	A modern term for 4 consecutive ducks.
Barracking	Abuse hurled by home-team supporters at visiting team members during play. Australian in origin, it may include distillations of racial and other slurs.
Bodyline	Fast, short-pitched, attacking bowling directed at the batsman's body intended to get him out or possibly hurt him.
Boundary	A real or projected line which determines an out, four runs, or six runs.
Byes and Leg-byes	Runs that result from bowlers'deliveries that evade both the batsman's bat and the wicket-keeper. The batsmen at the wicket are required to earn these "extras" by running, unless the ball crosses the boundary line or marker. Batsmen may be run-out in the usual manner while attempting to earn these runs. Byes are recorded as leg-byes when deliveries make contact with the batsman's anatomy – usually his leg – resulting in runs being scored.
Calypso Cricket	A carefree approach to the game usually applicable to West Indiancricketers. Opposed to a more pragmatic, win-at-all-cost, or dare-not-lose mentality.
Carried his Bat	When a batsman bats throughout an innings without losing his wicket.
Century	A score of 100-199 runs made by a batsman. Double-century refers to a score of 200-299, and so on. This does not usually refer to team score.
Chinaman	A ball bowled over the wrist so that it turns into a right-handed batsman instead of away from him. Called a wrong 'un when bowled by a left-handed bowler.

Country	Fielding positions in the deep, or at the very edge of the boundary marker.
Crease	Refers specifically to the popping crease which defines the outer limit of the batsman's safety zone. Thus, staying or remaining at the crease refers to remaining at bat.
Draw stumps	The removal of the wickets (stumps) to mark the end of play for the day.
Duck	What a batsman earns when he is out before he scores a run.
Extras	Runs scored as a result of no-balls, byes, leg-byes and wides.
Farm the Strike	Scoring a single run toward the end of an over in order to protect the weaker batsman during the next over.
Googly	A ball delivered by a right-arm leg spinner in a deceptive manner such that instead of turning away from the right-handed batsman, it turns into him. When bowled by a left-arm spinner, the delivery is referred to as a Chinaman. The racial slur inherent in this descriptor smacks of Orientalist distrust whereas the googly, sometimes called the bosey after the delivery's presumed inventor, Bernard Bosanquet implies creativity and ingenuity.
Innings	An innings refers to a team's turn at batting or a batsman session at the wicket or crease.
No ball	A delivery by a bowler that the umpire regards as unfair or illegal. This may take the form of a change in mode of delivery, a "Chucking" action by a bowler, or improper placement of his feet at the point of delivery action. A no-ball call adds an "extra" to the team score only, but enables the batsman to attempt a widely aggressive stroke without fear of being bowled or caught out.
Occupying the Crease	Describes a situation when a slow-scoring batsman defies all efforts by the fielding side to remove him. This usually occurs when a batsman is trying to avoid a loss to his team. Usually cited as an argument in favor of limited overs cricket.
Sightscreen	A metal or wooden backdrop positioned beyond the boundary and designed to outline the bowler's form during the act of bowling. This increases the batsman's likelihood of "reading" the bowler's action. Referred to as Sightboard in Australia. It is usually white for daylight games or black for night games.
Spin-twins	Coined in reference to Ramadhin and Valentine, the West Indies spin bowlers who devastated England's batting during the 1950 series. All Test nations have had their sets of spin-twins. Fast bowlers, such as Australia's Miller-Lindwall and England's Trueman-Stathan were referred

	to as “hunting in pairs”. West Indies’ foursome of fast bowlers, however, were called “dark destroyers”.
Straight bat	The classical method of batting. It is usually associated with the conservative style of batting associated with the English. It is represented by Allen’s method of playing the last two balls of the 1963 Lord’s Test, and contrasted with the unconventional, agricultural batsmanship displayed by Close.
Stumping	This occurs when a batsman, in an effort to play a bowler’s delivery, advances beyond the batting or popping crease. If the ball evades the batsman, the wicket-keeper, who is positioned immediately behind the stumps, quickly gathers the ball and whips of the bails. The batsman is out – stumped.
The Ashes	The Test trophy contested by England and Australia. It consists of a small urn containing the ashes from a set of bails burned following a Test match during which England was trounced by “Demon” Spofforth, one of the greatest of Australian bowlers. The fact that he was an Aborigine is a closely guarded secret.
Wide	A bowler’s delivery that is too high or wide to allow the batsman to make a play at the ball with reasonable effort. It earns a run, recorded as an extra, for the batting side though not for the batsman’s personal score. It does not count as one of the over.
Wisden Trophy	A trophy awarded to the winner of a Test cricket series played between England and West Indies. Although it was initially intended to commemorate the 100th anniversary of Wisden Cricketers’Almanack in 1963, it was actually awarded to the victorious West Indies after their victory over England during the 1963 series.
Yorker	A ball delivered, usually by a fast or fast-medium bowler which touches the ground at the point where a batsman bat would make contact with the pitch while standing at the crease in a batting position. The bowler’s intent is for the ball to squeeze under the bottom edge of the bat before the batsman can dig it out. West Indian fast bowler, Griffith was famous for this type delivery.

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BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

Harold Harris was born on the island of Antigua in the Caribbean. He graduated from Leeward Islands Teachers' Training College in 1966 and specialized in the teaching of Geometry. In 1968, he migrated to Canada, where he attended Brock University, located in St Catharines, Ontario. He graduated with a B.A. degree in Theatre in 1971 and moved to New York. He moved to Arlington, Texas in 1975. In 2000, he began studying toward a Masters Degree in History at the University of Texas at Arlington, and graduated in 2004. He then decided to pursue further studies and earned his Doctor of Philosophy in Transatlantic History in 2011.

Dr. Harris was awarded an Africa Program Fellowship and the UTA President's Fellowship in 2003. He was a Presenter at the Annual Mid-America Conference on History at UT-Memphis in 2003, the International Conference on the United States and West Africa at UT-Arlington in 2005, and a Student Symposium Celebrating 'Black History Month' at UT-Arlington in 2006. Dr. Harris has written a chapter titled "Perspectives on Ghanaians and African Americans", in The United States and West Africa: Interactions and Relations, which was published in 2008. He has taught two courses in African Diaspora History as an Adjunct Instructor at UTA during the Fall Semester of 2007 and 2008. Dr. Harris retired from structured, gainful employment in 2006, but plans to resume teaching in the Fall of 2011.