

**King Alpha's Song in a Strange Land:  
Jamaican Migrant and Canadian Host in Toronto's  
Transnational Reggae Music Scene, 1973-1990**

**by**

**John Jason Collins Wilson**

**A dissertation  
Presented to  
The University of Guelph**

**In partial fulfilment of requirements  
for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy  
in  
History**

**Guelph, Ontario, Canada**

**© John Jason Collins Wilson, May 2013**

## ABSTRACT

King Alpha's Song in a Strange Land:  
Jamaican Migrant and Canadian Host in Toronto's  
Transnational Reggae Music Scene, 1973-1990

John Jason Collins Wilson  
University of Guelph, 2013

Advisor:  
Doctor Catharine Wilson

Reggae music facilitated a cultural dialogue between Jamaican migrant and Canadian host in Toronto during the 1970s and 1980s. Exchanges flowed across the city's ethnic frontier, bridging black and white youth together in an 'oppositional' and musical movement. While migrants enacted their Jamaican ethnicity in places where reggae was played, many non-Jamaicans satisfied a curiosity in the music of their migrant friends.

This study examines the process of migration of people *and* music as seen from both the migrant and the host's perspective. It is as much about black Jamaicans as it is about white Torontonians. Twenty Jamaicans and twenty non-Jamaicans were interviewed for this project. Though reggae became an expected part of Toronto's musical vernacular, the Canadian version meant different things to different people. Indeed, sometimes the only thread that tied the varied experiences together was that Toronto was the place where reggae happened.

Still, as a hybrid, reggae had rather evolved outside of *place*. It was a transnational musical form, constantly updated by influences traversing the 'Black Atlantic' in an on-going and triangular musical conversation. While Jamaican migrants

carried their music with them wherever they went, radio and sound systems broadcast British and North American musics back to Jamaica, informing new musics being created there. Simultaneously, Jamaican music was reimagined by West Indian immigrants, their children and even non-Jamaicans living in Britain's urban centres and, later on, in Toronto. Yet, as popular as it may have been, *Reggae Canadiana* never reached the heights it might have and was not nearly as successful as its British counterpart.

Nevertheless, the majority of migrants in this study believe that an association with reggae music gave them a psychological advantage in their own acculturation process. Reggae music also served as a bridge between migrant and host, without which, many non-Jamaicans believe that they would have had little or no contact with the Jamaican-Canadian community in Toronto. The impact of this contact transcended a shared affection for music and engendered a vital multicultural dialogue that is somewhat removed from Canada's official governmental version of multiculturalism.

Talking about music is like dancing about architecture.  
~ Thelonious Monk

Anyone can cook.  
~ Chef Gusteau

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

–	ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	vi
I	<i>WHEN WE REMEMBERED ZION:</i> INTRODUCTION	1
II	<i>WE’VE GOT TO SING IT TOGETHER:</i> HYBRIDITY IN THE REGGAE TEXT (SLAVERY TO WWI)	43
III	<i>REQUIRED FROM US A SONG:</i> TWENTIETH CENTURY MUSIC ON THE BLACK ATLANTIC	74
IV	<i>BY THE RIVERS OF BABYLON:</i> JAMAICA TO TORONTO	95
V	<i>KING ALPHA’S SONG:</i> PLACE AND MEANING IN TORONTO’S REGGAE TEXT	134
VI	<i>WORDS OF OUR MOUTHS:</i> BUILDING THE BRIDGES	189
VII	<i>ACCEPTABLE IN THY SIGHT:</i> BLACKNESS, WHITENESS AND REGGAE	225
VIII	<i>MEDITATIONS OF OUR HEART:</i> IN SEARCH OF THE CANADIAN SOUND	255
IX	<i>A STRANGE LAND:</i> CONCLUSION	290
–	EPILOGUE	299
–	APPENDIX A: Questionnaire A	302
–	APPENDIX B: Questionnaire B	303
–	APPENDIX C: The Reggae Cover Song Tradition	304
–	APPENDIX D: Select Discography	326
–	ENDNOTES	332
–	BIBLIOGRAPHY	380

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to thank Dr. Catharine Wilson for her supreme guidance and effort throughout this journey of mine. Dr. Wilson provided me with the necessary clues to make sense of what I had found, not to mention the kind direction I so required to articulate it here. I am also grateful for the efforts of Professors Alan Gordon, Barbara Lorenzkowski, David Monod, Bruce Muirhead, James St.G. Walker, and the late Rex M. Nettleford. Without their humbling expertise and thoughtful encouragement, this project would not have been possible.

I greatly appreciated the financial assistance of the Social Science and Humanities Research Council Doctoral Scholarship and the Ontario Graduate Scholarships I received throughout the course of my study. I am likewise indebted to Vivian Crawford and all at the Jamaican Institute in Kingston, as I am to Professor Michael Tooley, Peter Kiernan, Janet Morgan, Sebastian Cook, Juli and Dave Genoa and Klive Walker for filling in so many blanks for me along the way. The journey began many years ago, and I have Professors Richard Reid and Henriette Donner to thank for recognizing a scholar lurking in the soul of this high-school dropout.

This project is, of course, about the people and their music. I would like to thank the fifty one people that were willing to open up their hearts to me. It was an honour and a privilege to hear your stories. I hope that I got it right, or at the very least, got it close.

I could not have managed without the support of my wife Alana. She is the best human-person I know. Finally, I would like to thank my Dad for convincing my Mom to immigrate to Toronto on 21 March 1966. And I'd like to thank my Mom for – at least

that one time – listening to my Dad. In a *hoose fou o'* Ayrshire folk, there was little doubt that I would grow up fiercely Scottish. But as a result of that brave move and, growing up where I did, alongside my dearest friends, I grew up a little Jamaican too. *Walk Good!*

## CHAPTER I

### *WHEN WE REMEMBERED ZION: INTRODUCTION*

Canada is a place of impacting cultures. It is a nation where one culture often collides with another, yet over time, may come to share and observe similar values and cultural traits. The Jamaican experience in Toronto is no exception, revealing, as it does, a collision between migrant and host. Reggae music facilitated a cultural dialogue between Jamaican migrant and Canadian host in Toronto during the 1970s and 1980s. In *re*listening to the discourse and musical exchanges taking place along the city's ethnic frontier at this time, we dial into a variety of social issues that were crucial to both migrant and host. These issues include: racism, the immigration and acculturation process, constructions of both 'whiteness' and 'blackness', and the host's patent curiosity in Jamaican music and culture. All of these matters informed the evolution of an indigenous and multicultural Toronto reggae scene. Through reggae, migrants were at once able to enact their Jamaican ethnicity, and access, at least in some measure, the dominant society. In this sense, reggae was part of a successful acculturation strategy for the Jamaican migrant. At the same time, a significant segment of Toronto's non-Jamaican (and mostly white) youth culture of the late 1970s and 1980s were, for a variety of reasons, drawn to the Jamaican music of their migrant friends. That music soon became an expected part of the city's musical vernacular.

Reggae is a hybrid. It is also a transnational popular music form. For over forty years, reggae's trans-oceanic sound has relayed back and forth across the Black Atlantic with Jamaican migrants, labourers, domestics and, of course, musicians. It has at once articulated a Caribbean diasporic consciousness while transcending it, emerging as



something new in urban outposts like London, Birmingham and Toronto. It has, like ska before it, united sometimes seemingly strange bedfellows: Punk rockers, new wavers, rude boys and Rastafarians have all been brought together by this Jamaican music that has echoed down urban streetscapes, boomed across multiracial neighbourhoods, cut through working-class spaces of labour, enveloped the schoolyard, and claimed many night clubs. Crucially, reggae brought black and white youth together in Toronto in a sometimes highly-politicized, ‘oppositional’ movement that rebelled against the status quo of the late 1970s and 1980s.<sup>1</sup> Since then, Jamaican reggae has leaped from the status of ‘folk music’ or ‘underground music’ to an international billion-dollar industry with a global infrastructure, millions of fans and thousands of artists of various ethnicities throughout the world. In terms of international popularity, and when compared to countries of similar size and population, Jamaica’s musical output is matchless.

Reggae was not constrained to one *place*. Scholars have used the conceptual and interconnected frameworks of motion, encounter and identity to assess how cultural expressions (for our purposes: music) have been advanced and altered through communication routes that transcend national borders.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, scholars from the black transnational study tradition have proven how ‘local’ is inextricably linked to ‘transnational’ or ‘global’ through systems of production and consumption and also through systems of thought and meaning.<sup>3</sup>

More recently, though, some scholars have demonstrated how an emphasis on globalization has perhaps overshadowed the uniqueness of the ‘local’.<sup>4</sup> The ‘local’ remains, as various academics argued, crucial to studying memory-making, remembering and commemoration through the course of historical inquiry.<sup>5</sup> This line of inquiry is not,

however, altogether new. As early as 1973, Clifford Geertz articulated his semiotic approach to culture that demonstrated how people are forever spinning webs of significance to make sense *of* and give meaning *to* the human experience.<sup>6</sup> Establishing systems of meaning is, as Geertz observed, “as real and pressing as the more familiar biological needs.”<sup>7</sup> These systems of meaning produce culture and so become the collective property of a particular people in a particular place at a particular time. The ‘local’ gets complicated though, when the collective property of it is transported from one place to another. While retaining an essence, the *old* is, necessarily, rooted in the *new*, and so experiences a transnational transformation. This was certainly the case for our study. Toronto, as *place*, was crucial to the cultural and musical blending that ensued between migrant and host, and gave meaning to the resultant reggae music made in the city.

‘Meaning’, then, conjoined as it may be to broader patterns linking people and processes across nation states, remains grounded in and constantly modified by the ‘local’. In other words, the roots of a *riddim* delivered in *Kingston 12* may very well bubble through the Black diaspora, yet when it is broadcast to, consumed by, and reinterpreted through ‘other’ on the ethnic ‘frontlines’ of a city like Toronto, it will imbibe new connotations and will therefore vary – sometimes slightly, sometimes vastly – from the initial intention of the original musical and lyrical text.<sup>8</sup> And that is, of course, how music has always behaved.

The popular music that was developed in Jamaica in the late 1950s and 1960s evolved in concert with various processes in that country, not least of which was the significant increase in labour migration, chiefly to the United Kingdom and later to

Canada.<sup>9</sup> Ska, rocksteady and reggae came to Canada through the transnational flow of labour migration and musical ideas.<sup>10</sup> Toronto in particular served as an urban flashpoint for these processes.<sup>11</sup> And so, ska, and rocksteady and reggae after it, were developed by what Joseph Heathcott described as, ‘working-class people in motion’. These musics provided the soundtrack for many Jamaicans who headed north to Canada.<sup>12</sup>

Jamaican migrants broadcast reggae on the streets of Toronto. And while there were separate immigrant enclaves, the borders between these enclaves and the host society were porous enough to allow the drum and bass line to penetrate Toronto’s mainstream youth culture. Pockets of Jamaican migrants existed in the city’s east end and Scarborough. Jamaicans also boasted significant numbers in Malton near Lester B. Pearson International Airport. Perhaps most famously though, there were the main Jamaican enclaves of the Jane and Finch Corridor (which more broadly extended east to Keele Street and south to Sheppard Avenue) and the ‘Black Bottom’ (running south from Eglinton on Bathurst) and by extension Eglinton West Avenue which is now known to most as ‘Little Jamaica’.

Few of the musical migrants involved in this study who moved into these communities mentioned above, laboured under the assumption that they would make their living exclusively at music. Most didn’t. Yet, the names of those reggae musicians who at one time or another possessed a Toronto address reads like a *who’s who* of the reggae encyclopaedia. Indeed, some of the genre’s true pioneers had, at one time or another, called Toronto home. Additionally, indigenously produced reggae music in that city grew to a formidable quality that was recognized both in Canada and in the country of reggae’s birth. As a reggae outpost, Toronto had its West Indian Federation Club, Club

Jamaica and later the city's central nerve for reggae the Bamboo Club on Queen Street West. These venues roughly paralleled London's Flamingo, Sunset Club, The 59 and A-Train.<sup>13</sup> Yet, while it may have brought together a multi-hued youth culture in downtown Toronto, Canadian reggae did not, for a variety of reasons, experience the same successes that its British counterpart enjoyed.

This is not a migrant study in the traditional sense. Rather it is, at least in part, a study of the process of migration of one group (Jamaicans) and the migration of music (reggae) as seen from both the migrant and the host's perspective. It is therefore, as much about black Jamaicans as it is white Torontonians.

The zenith in Jamaican migration to Canada came in the 1970s and while some work has been done on this diaspora in various countries, few scholarly works have concentrated on the Jamaican experience in Canada, and fewer yet have appraised the host society's response. Furthermore, most historical works in immigrant literature have hitherto focused on the immigrants' adaptation to the host society in both economic and material terms and have not viewed this process through a musical lens. I aim to fill in this gap in the existing literature and show how the transnational and organic nature of reggae music served as a conduit between migrant and host. Through a multidisciplinary approach, I will incorporate a traditional social-historical review alongside a musical and ethno-musicological appraisal of the influence of Jamaican music on the Jamaican immigrant community and other Torontonians. Through traditional sources such as mainstream and community newspapers, music trade magazines, government documents, Canadian-produced reggae music and oral evidence, I will be able to explore the cultural

dialogue and diffusion that occurred between Jamaicans and non-Jamaicans in Toronto during the 1970s and 1980s. Importantly, the music of Canada's golden age of reggae can be used as a prism through which various inquiries of a more theoretical kind can shine. Through this prism, one can witness how the reggae text, its performers and audiences have changed over time and adjusted to fit a Canadian context.

Though the project at times harkens back to various periods (early twentieth century Jamaica, post Second World War Canada and Thatcher's Britain to name a few), the ostensible open date for this work is 1973. This was a year that saw the arrival of Jamaican reggae legend Leroy Sibbles to Toronto's northwest neighbourhood the Jane-Finch Corridor. The year 1973 was also when reggae exploded on the international scene with the unexpected cult success of the Jamaican film *The Harder They Come*. The close date is 1990 when the multiracial Toronto reggae act, the Sattalites, first won the Juno Award for Best Reggae Recording at the tail end of Canada's golden age of reggae.

With twenty Jamaican participants and twenty non-Jamaican oral interviews, there is the possibility for both *emic* and *etic* accounts from each group.<sup>14</sup> We at once get the benefit of the 'actual lived experience' according to the migrant, while viewing the same experience from the perspective of the host, and *vice versa*. For all involved, then, we immediately get the opportunity, to borrow from Burns: "*to see ourselves as others see us!*"<sup>15</sup> All participants had some reasonable link to the Canadian reggae scene. That is to say: many of the respondents, twenty five of the forty, are (or were) themselves musicians. The other fifteen were involved directly with the music industry and include reggae concert and festival promoters, radio DJs, authors, journalists, publicists, a photographer and one record company employee. Nineteen of the twenty Jamaican

respondents were born in Jamaica.<sup>16</sup> All of the Jamaicans immigrated to Canada between 1965 and 1989 (and seventeen of these before 1980). Four of the Jamaican and two of the non-Jamaican interviewees were female. All of the respondents, including the non-Jamaicans, were at least in their teenage years during Canada's golden age of reggae (nominally 1982-1990) and were in some way active in it.

There were two questionnaires assembled for the interviews: one for the Jamaican migrants and one for the non-Jamaicans (*see appendixes A and B*). These questionnaires were used as launch-pads for conversations that sometimes (and happily) went in wildly divergent directions. The interviews were one on one and lasted anywhere from twenty five minutes to three hours.

In addition to these forty main interviews, a few interviews with first generation Canadians of Jamaican heritage were conducted to add nuance to the difference in the acculturation process for the Jamaican and indeed the direction that Canadian reggae took over time. For further musical context, a few interviews with legendary reggae artists were also undertaken. These included ones with Jamaican guitar virtuoso Ernest Ranglin, as well as British reggae icons, former UB40 members Ali Campbell and Michael Virtue and former Aswad frontman Brinsley Forde.<sup>17</sup> As the folk traditions of the British Isles are linked with indigenous Jamaican folk musics, English fiddle legend and folk historian David Swarbrick was also interviewed for this work.<sup>18</sup> Connected as I have been with the Canadian reggae scene, I was able to arrange many of the interviews by simply lifting the telephone. Yet, I also interviewed a few key members of Toronto's scene with whom I had no prior relationship.

In the interest of transparency, I am not Jamaican. I have, however, been a reggae artist now for thirty years. As such, and by virtue of growing up where I did in North York Ontario, I have lived among Jamaicans all of my life. I have also enjoyed a great many successes in the reggae world and have had the privilege of playing and recording with some of the genre's true greats (*see* Epilogue). I have had as much fun playing with the not-so-famous too. Still, I will leave the question of whether or not I possess an 'insider perspective' up to the individual reader.<sup>19</sup>

Reggae is nevertheless part of *my* culture and has been a fixture of my personal day-to-day environment since I was a child. Perhaps the impetus for such a study was having, for the last three decades, been asked by the media and others: "what's a white guy like you doing playing reggae?" The most remarkable aspect about this question is that I have rarely been asked it by Jamaicans and never, at least in my memory, by Jamaican musicians, whether in Canada, Britain or in Jamaica itself. My stock answer to this question is: though I may be a Scottish-Canadian, reggae chose me and I have sincerely dedicated much of my life to the promotion, proliferation and performance of Canadian reggae. It has been immensely satisfying.

This closeness to the subject, however, produces both pros and cons for the historian. One of the issues I had to tackle with the oral reports was the question of 'me' in the history of Canadian reggae (although my band Tabarruk only really began to take off in 1989, a fact that helped in determining the close date for the project). While I have asked my interviewees to avoid discussing me too much in the history, I have inevitably 'come up' in the discussions. In one respect, my decades-long connection to Toronto's Jamaican community and reggae scene has afforded me the access that would likely not

be available to many other historians and musicologists in pursuit of the same answers. The bulk of my interviewees were comfortable and familiar with me, and I with them. On the other hand, this familiarity may have led some of the interviewees to tailor some of their responses. This is not to say that my subjects avoided vexatious topics to spare my feelings. On the contrary, such familiarity allowed for some exploratory and sometimes sensitive dialogue. Still, there was, as far as professional historians go, an unusual familiarity and comfort level with the subjects that needs declaring.

The work is loosely chronological and is focussed on three geographical centres: Toronto, Jamaica and the United Kingdom. As migration has been an inescapable element of Jamaican history, the chapter titles for this work are borrowed from the Melodians' classic 1970 reggae cut 'By the Rivers of Babylon'. The song articulated the cyclical nature of Jamaica's people in motion.<sup>20</sup>

We begin in chapter two, '*We've Got to Sing it Together: Hybridity in the Reggae Text*', by establishing the transnational context of Jamaican music, and by revealing the transoceanic and triangular musical dialogue that was occurring between Britain and Jamaica, Jamaica and Canada, and Canada and Britain. We will, for example, examine the spheres of European, and particularly British influences on Jamaica's popular and traditional musics. From the late seventeenth century onwards, African folk traditions intersected with European ones in Jamaica's cultural economy. The resultant creolized Jamaican folk musical tradition was continuously updated by outside influences (especially British and American popular and folk musics) and ultimately played, by the second half of the twentieth century, a significant role in the emerging Jamaican exports of ska, rocksteady and reggae. This is important when we assess the effect that these



exports had on the host community when they made their way to Toronto in the second half of the twentieth century.

Chapter two will also allow us to reveal early twentieth century constructions of ‘race’. From here, we will consider how some characters – including those who were pivotal to the preservation and proliferation of Jamaica’s folk traditions – trouble these constructions and anticipate, by several decades, new ideas of whiteness as found in more recent scholarship. These perceptions have in part confounded reggae scholarship, reducing the multiplicity of meanings found in the reggae text to a monolithic reading that privileges post-Garvey Jamaicanness associated with blackness and Rasta reggae and its attendant iconography at the expense of other influential stakeholders.

In chapter three, ‘*Required from us a Song: Twentieth Century Music on the Black Atlantic*’, we will behold the maturation process of Jamaica’s popular musics which were built on the island’s earlier folk traditions. Though Jamaica experienced a cultural renaissance that saw Afro-Jamaican art and music brought to the forefront, the island was still highly influenced by British cultural sensibilities during this time. Jamaica’s musics in particular, were continually updated throughout the twentieth century by both British and American musical currents. During the second half of the twentieth century the Jamaican musics of mento, ska, rocksteady and reggae bloomed and were ready for export to Toronto and other ports of call. These exports were brought to Toronto by the Jamaican migrant and had a profound effect on the non-Jamaican youth sub-culture of that city in the 1970s and 1980s. Yet, by the time it reached Toronto, the non-Jamaican host was already familiar, if unconsciously, with some of reggae’s musical signifiers. By putting Jamaican reggae under the microscope, we find DNA that can in

*some* measure explain why non-diasporic musicians and enthusiasts embraced Jamaican reggae music to the extent they did within the urban centres of Britain and Toronto.

In chapter four, '*By the Rivers of Babylon: Jamaica to Toronto*', we will examine the role that music played in the acculturation process for the Jamaican subjects interviewed for this project. *Push* and *pull* factors brought many Jamaicans to Toronto during the 1970s and 1980s. The official policies of the Canadian Government were often calibrated to popular and pervasive attitudes about race and culture in Canada, and only when economic or labour needs called for it, did Canada open up its doors to Jamaica workers, including the many migrant musicians in this study. As migrant musicians or musical enthusiasts, most of the subjects herein believe that they had an advantage over other migrants in the acculturation process through music. The majority of subjects feel that they were able to draw strength from the sense of community that music (and musicians) could provide, and were able to build bridges through music into the city's mainstream culture.

In chapter five, '*King Alpha's Song: Place and Meaning in Toronto's Reggae Text*', we review the dynamic relationship between place and meaning as it pertains to the text of Toronto's reggae. We will revisit the places where differences between migrant and host were negotiated and sometimes, over time, celebrated. From here, we will *relisten* to the cultural dialogue that occurred between Jamaican migrants and non-Jamaican Canadians across metaphorical bridges that lined Toronto's ethnic frontlines during the 1970s and 1980s. It was in these places that Jamaican ethnicity was enacted by the migrant and was observed and, to a certain degree, mimicked by a mostly white non-Jamaican youth culture that was fully intoxicated by *Jamaicanness*. Canadian reggae texts

were crafted *in* and *with* those places that bridged migrant and host together. These texts at times both reinforced and resisted meta-narratives of Canadian multiculturalism and indeed the Jamaican musical art form itself. Ultimately, Toronto's reggae protagonists, fans and critics imbued their own assorted meanings on reggae.

Having identified some of the metaphorical bridges we will, in chapter six, '*Words of Our Mouths: Building the Bridges*', behold these bridges in operation. Toronto's Jamaicans personally introduced reggae to non-Jamaicans through various means, including, being classmates at school, lending albums and singles, attending reggae concerts or dances together, or simply sharing marijuana. At the same time, many white non-Jamaicans were highly influenced by British musical trends that were often responding to the UK's own Jamaican population. Punk music, the second wave of ska (or the Two Tone movement), and the popularity of English reggae bands like Aswad, Steel Pulse and UB40 were trends that had great currency with Toronto's youth culture in the late 1970s and into the 1980s. Indeed, given the strong bonds between the three countries, reggae as a genre was constantly being updated by musical trade winds that blew within a triangle: north from Jamaica to Britain, and then westerly from Britain to Canada.

Some non-Jamaicans were also profoundly affected by the international rise of Bob Marley and his music. Through him, a few non-Jamaicans turned to Rasta. Others still were attracted to his endorsement (and other reggae musicians' endorsement) of marijuana, a fact that blended with the recreational drug culture found in other popular musics of the day. These various bridge-building activities in the leisure and private

spaces along the frontline opened up the possibility, at least for some, for more meaningful and long lasting relationships between migrant and host.

In chapter seven, '*Acceptable in Thy Sight: Blackness, Whiteness and Reggae*', we examine the constructions of 'race' and assess how these notions were sometimes applied to the reggae artists of Toronto. Continuing our examination of the metaphorical bridges, we will also reveal the individual *bridge-builders* who sought out advantageous access points where musical crossings were rendered easier. We also reveal the bridge-builders' antithesis, the *gatekeepers* who were active within both the migrant community and the dominant society, and who chose to draw their bridges skyward when they felt their vision of reggae had been compromised. Indeed, some gatekeepers viewed participation in musical bridge building operations as an act of disloyalty to the Jamaican group and any resultant 'sound', as an offense to an imagined 'authentic' Jamaican text. Interestingly, many of the *gatekeepers* were from the dominant society: journalists and ethnomusicologists who had a limited idea of what Canadian reggae should sound and look like. Their arguments were based on outmoded constructions of whiteness that rarely characterized those whites involved in the city's local reggae scene.

The majority of people interviewed in this study, however, do not believe that bridge-building between Jamaican-Canadians and other Canadians in the 1970s and 1980s had in any sense eroded the Jamaicanness of the Jamaican migrant. Nor do the interviewees believe that the resultant music of such intermingling – reflecting as it did, a valid Canadian text – threatened the authenticity of the reggae genre at large. In viewing the bridge from both sides we are able to access the multiplicity of opinions from the

subjects herein regarding whether or not they believe reggae in Canada helped to improve relationships between migrant and host.

In chapter eight, '*Meditations of Our Heart: In Search of the Canadian Sound*', we examine the *Canadianness* evidenced in the local scene and how that element may have both helped and hindered the proliferation of Canada's reggae music and its makers. Specifically, we will review the sonic quality that the respondents felt differentiated the Canadian sound from the Jamaican and British forms. By extension, we will review the lyrical themes that were prevalent during the golden age of Canadian reggae and ask whether or not Canadian-specific subjects within the indigenous text served the local artist. More often than not, Canadian reggae artists were compelled to chase the Jamaican sound and generic post-Garvey imagery. These acts continued to look to the island for inspiration and, importantly, validation. Some brave migrant acts like Messenjah, Lillian Allen and Truths and Rights and multiracial acts like 20TH Century Rebels and the Sattalites, however, sought to articulate a Canadian-centric experience within their song and found some success, at least artistically, in so doing. The latter band in particular was successful in conveying a multiracial expression that simultaneously reflected the experiences of those on stage with those in the audience. As such, it is worthwhile examining how non-Jamaican/mostly white participation in the reggae scene was viewed by the Jamaican migrant, the media and other non-Jamaicans.

As popular as it may have been, *Reggae Canadiana* never reached the heights it could have, given the wealth of talent, Toronto's large Jamaican demographic and the multicultural makeup of some of its acts. The scene fell well short of the successes realized in its British counterpart. There were many reasons that contributed to the

arrested development of Toronto's reggae culture, and many of these corresponded with broader trends in the music industry, international reggae and notions of who should play reggae and what that should sound like.

#### HOW CAN WE SING KING ALPHA'S SONG IN A STRANGE LAND?

In terms of migration historiography, academics have viewed the West Indian immigrant experience in Canada through a variety of lenses and have used multiple approaches to frame their studies. These approaches have included: histories of immigration policy and policymakers, investigations on 'race' and systemic racism as explored through institutional, legal, political and labour studies, and ultimately migrant narratives and cultural histories. Researchers concerned with these two latter approaches have used oral history to achieve their respective aims and many of these scholars are now aware of the ever-growing body of transnational literature that corresponds to the black experience in Canada.

Prior to the Second World War, Canadian historians did not conduct ethnic studies *per se*. Academics who chose to review the black migrant experience usually adhered to those prevailing tenets of the early part of the twentieth century, that is to say, immigrants were seen as a problem to be solved. While some scholarly initiatives began to address the more generic black-Canadian experience after the war, there were virtually no studies undertaken on West Indian-Canadians until the social history explosion of the 1970s. New and multi-disciplinary methods in the post-colonial age have since accelerated our understanding of the migrant's experience and have updated or replaced earlier, oversimplified interpretations.

West Indian migrants in this study and others, have expressed a disconnect between their own material reality with the Canadian government's portrayal of multiculturalism. A few critical works have measured the success of the concept of multiculturalism in the Canadian context. Howard Palmer's 'Reluctant Hosts: Anglo-Canadian Views of Multiculturalism in the Twentieth Century' (1994) and Neil Bissoondath's *Selling Illusions: The Cult of Multiculturalism in Canada* (1994), for example, have greatly sharpened our perception of a notion that is not so easily understood.<sup>21</sup> In particular, Bissoondath's stunning, if controversial work caused shockwaves in various academic spheres of influence, challenging as it does, the government brochure version of multiculturalism. Bissoondath's refreshing work defied popular and 'polite' thinking on the idea of multiculturalism, identified the lack of meaningful dialogue on the topic, and asked whether or not the concept was an ideal to be pursued.<sup>22</sup>

Bissoondath's description of his experience at the main cafeteria in the Ross Building of York University was one that surely resonated with anyone who attended the institution, including this author:

Chaos is always subtly ordered, and it did not require a very discerning eye to decode the chaos of the Central Square cafeteria. Indeed, a map could be drawn, various sections coloured in to denote defined areas. To highlight, for instance, the table at which Chinese students congregated behind a wall of Cantonese; or the tables over in the corner protected by the raucous enthusiasm of West Indian accents; or the table more subtly framed by yarmulkes and Star of David pendants. To approach any of these tables was to intrude on a clannish exclusivity. It was to challenge the unofficially designated territory of tables parcelled out so that each group, whether racially, culturally or religiously defined, could enjoy its little enclave, its own little "homeland," so to speak, protected by unspoken prerogatives.<sup>23</sup>

In essence, Bissoondath argued that Canada, and its urban centres in particular, had simply projected the Central Square cafeteria: a collection of ethnic protectorates. To criticize these protectorates was to be at worst ‘racist’, and at best wholly *un*Canadian. Bissoondath believed he was viewed as a kind of traitor, “unwilling to play the game by indulging in a life best described as ‘Caribbean North’.”<sup>24</sup> And those who indulged in such a life, establishing racial and cultural exclusivity, were only following the desideratum of an official multicultural policy.<sup>25</sup>

I too have stated during many interviews that the government brochure sense of multiculturalism is a misleading representation and that my own personal experience of *real* multiculturalism, or interculturalism as it has been called by some scholars, is a place where cultures in fact collide before meaningful dialogue commences.<sup>26</sup> Cliques really began to take shape after grade school and I too encountered the designated territory of tables at my own junior high school. That I summoned the ‘courage’ to sit down one day with some of my grade school-era Jamaican friends (and their Jamaican friends) to play dominoes at Elia Junior High’s cafeteria had vast and wonderful ramifications for me.<sup>27</sup> I had penetrated the inner sanctum. I engaged the Jamaican beyond the stereotype, just as they would come to engage me beyond the Scottish stereotype.

Rumours, good and bad, lie in the shadows cast by official multiculturalism. Superficial rumours suggested that all of my Jamaican friends would have great rhythm, love ackee and saltfish, hate winter, be quick to anger and play threatening, bass-booming reggae. And so, I was understandably surprised with my friends: Eli, who could not possibly hope to find ‘beat one’ if his life depended on it; Lincoln, who was allergic to ackee; Robbie, who tired quickly of summer and couldn’t wait for hockey season;



Charles, a gentle giant who possessed the patience of a Buddha; and my surrogate parents Mr. and Mrs. Harvey, who for years hoped that I would grow out of this ‘reggae’ thing and concentrate on classical piano. These realities demonstrated the variance in what was supposedly a homogeneous group. The ‘narrowness of ethnicity’, as Bissoondath has called it, was, in my experience, happily trumped by the wildly different tastes of the various individuals who happened to be born in Jamaica. As such, these friends helped me to unfasten reality from official multiculturalism’s chassis.

The governmental brochure version of multiculturalism, then, is flawed and cannot be effectively legislated. When, for instance, a popular radio show asked me to put a band together for one of their live broadcasts, the producer asked me what the ‘make-up’ of the band was. I began to explain that I was going to bring a bassist, a tenor saxophonist, a drummer and so forth. I was interrupted by the producer who explained that she really wanted to know what the band members’ cultural background was: what was the ‘ethnic make-up’ of the band? This barometer of ‘ethnicity’ is, sadly, the true test for prescribed Canadian multiculturalism that undermines musical or artistic considerations. It didn’t matter what my band might sound like, it was important that they suited the prescription of what a reggae band should look like (the irony of it being for a radio show notwithstanding). Needless to say, the producer was delighted to hear that I had a Sri-Lankan, a Trinidadian, a Jamaican and a St. Lucian in my mix which I presume, for her at least, nicely offset my Scottishness. With all CRTC requirements apparently satisfied, and on the strength of our multiple hues, we had the gig. Alas, meaningful cultural dialogue really only occurs on the frontline: that space where different cultures collide every day in a very physical sense, where differences are negotiated and where

similarities are acknowledged with a quiet earnestness by people who are simply trying to live and, in our case, make music.

The Canadian government's move to deracialize its immigration policies during the 1960s figured large in the lives of such people. Yet, these amendments were also not without their flaws. Vic Satzewich's article 'Racism and Canadian Immigration Policy: The Government's View of Caribbean Migration, 1962-1966' (1989), for instance, posed a gutsy challenge to the notion that a meaningful 'deracialization' of Canada's official immigration policies had occurred in 1962.<sup>28</sup> The seemingly random whims and discretionary powers held by individual immigration officials could and often did decide which West Indians would access Canadian shores.

Certain protocols that were developed even after the revolutionary steps of the 1960s were taken had still managed, as Satzewich confirmed earlier, to achieve racialized ends and managed to benefit only an elite class of immigrants. Differing slightly from Satzewich's findings, K.W. Taylor presented two alternative theories of racial discrimination as it has applied to Canada's official governmental policy on immigration in his article 'Racism in Canadian Immigration Policy' (1991).<sup>29</sup> Taylor shone a light on Canada's immigration practices through the prism of both 'conventional' and 'racist' theory. Cleverly, Taylor made the important observation that a 'points system' which privileged those who were educated was in effect – given the high cost of educational training – a modern 'head tax'. And so, like Australia and South Africa had done, Canada too adopted protective measures within the letter of the law that allowed for the successful juggling act of eliminating unwelcome immigrants while maintaining a modicum of 'fairness' within the *language* of legislation.

Regardless of policy, West Indians were actively sought after by Canadian employers to fill nursing and domestic positions. By the 1950s, Canadian civil servants began to seek out young, healthy, educated black women in the Caribbean who had no dependents to come to Canada for domestic work. Given the pre-points system attitudes of many Canadians, this workers' programme obviously contradicted contemporary immigration policies, allowing as it did, black immigrants into Canada to work. The experience of these black West Indians evolved from a place of isolation – felt most by the earlier, smaller wave – to a graduated sense of community following the emergence of West Indian neighbourhoods in Canada's urban centres in the 1970s. Christiane Harzig's "The Movement of 100 Girls': 1950s Canadian Immigration Policy and the Market for Domestic Labour' (1999), reviewed those West Indian women who were recruited to work in Canada as domestic servants between 1955 and 1967.<sup>30</sup> Similarly, the subject of black immigrant nurses in Canada was addressed from a feminist perspective by Professor Karen Flynn in 'Experience and Identity: Black Immigrant Nurses to Canada, 1950-1980' (2004).<sup>31</sup> Flynn found that earlier waves of nurses took pride in mixing with other races and cultivated relationships with 'others' on their own initiative and terms.<sup>32</sup> Some of the children of these domestics and nurses would play a role in Toronto's nascent reggae scene.<sup>33</sup>

Pan-Canadian attitudes and constructions of 'race' directly informed the policy making of Canada's lawmakers. Several key works speak to the role that institutions and the law have played in affecting the life of black Canadians. James Walker's *Race, Rights and the Law in the Supreme Court of Canada* (1997), for example, challenged assumptions one might have had about Canadian tolerance, at least as it applied to the

first half of the twentieth-century.<sup>34</sup> Walker's book examined the relationship between Canadian-bred racism and the very highest level of Canadian law. Throughout each of his four case studies, Walker aptly demonstrated how judges and legislators reflected common attitudes towards 'race' that pervaded the nation. Walker was able to reveal broader, nationwide belief systems: namely, that many Canadians regarded racial discrimination as a 'common sense' philosophy.<sup>35</sup>

Many of the migrants in this study had to deal with constructions of blackness as they applied to law and official policy in Canada. As Caribbean blacks were incorporated within a global labour market, they had to adapt to Western policies, racialized laws and prevailing attitudes towards blackness. Sociologist Vilna Bashi examined the various ways by which demographics and economics intersect with conceptions of 'race' and black ethnicity in particular.<sup>36</sup> In 'Globalized Anti-Blackness: Transnationalizing Western Immigration Law, Policy, and Practice' (2004), for example, Bashi took a transnational approach suggesting that there exists a conspiratorial world order (held primarily between the United States, the United Kingdom and Canada) that has uniformly constructed the racial category of 'black' and placed it at the bottom of the heap in terms of state policy making.

Many governments, including Canada's, successfully attempted to dissuade the immigration of blacks from the Caribbean, a pattern that persevered into the late 1960s. Various arguments were put forth that suggested the Canadian climate was too cold for Caribbean blacks.<sup>37</sup> There was also a pattern of issuing temporary contracts of labour and service that have carefully specified a limited time period for black workers, soldiers and seamen to ensure that, after they had fulfilled their duty, they would return from 'whence

they came'.<sup>38</sup> A paradox was created when existing immigration policies that were ambivalent towards blacks, were tested by various labour initiatives within nation states like Canada that specifically targeted black Caribbean labour, as was the case for the domestic servants and nurses of the 1950s and early 1960s.<sup>39</sup> While the language of immigration policies became less 'overtly racist', there still existed a non-racial language that enabled nation states to achieve similar racialized ends. Yet, the call for black Caribbean domestics, nurses and seasonal labourers was loud and forceful. In the end, these labour needs triumphed over the racist obstacles found in Canada's immigration policies.<sup>40</sup>

A few works have addressed the migration process itself. When a shift in Canadian policy occurred in the 1950s, more and more West Indians (and Jamaicans in particular) began to regard Canada as a viable destination. Yet, there were West Indians in Canada before even this period and some significant biographical works have rendered the lives of certain pioneer agents for change within the black community in Canada. Bromley Armstrong's lifelong crusade, for example, was captured in *Bromley: Tireless Fighter for Just Causes* (2000).<sup>41</sup> Likewise, Donna Hill's work with Harry Gairey, *A Black Man's Toronto: The Reminiscences of Harry Gairey* (1981), has added to our perception of the black Canadian experience.<sup>42</sup> Don Moore's account of his own life in Canada, however, has arguably set the bar for historical biographies of black Canadians in *Don Moore: An Autobiography* (1985).<sup>43</sup> It was Moore, alongside the Negro Citizenship Council, who successfully lobbied Ottawa to allow domestic labourers from the Caribbean to come to Canada in the 1950s. During his campaign, Moore brazenly identified the racial prejudices that informed immigration policy making in Canada,

comparing Canadian immigration policies with those of the Apartheid regime in South Africa. The Council – with Moore in the vanguard – helped to affect real and positive change in Canada’s immigration regulations. With scarce material on West Indian migrants who arrived prior to the 1960s, Moore’s work provides a precious window into the ever-changing experience for twentieth century black Canadians.<sup>44</sup>

Jamaicans who took the leap of faith and moved to Canada found life in Toronto to be better than it had been in the Caribbean. Subhas Ramcharan’s ‘The Adaptation of West Indians in Canada’ (1974), was one of the first and certainly one of the most significant theses to review West Indian acculturation in Canada.<sup>45</sup> Principally a sociological study, Ramcharan sought to consider the racial background of West Indian migrants as a variable separate from the actual migratory process itself, an original line of reasoning for the times. Ramcharan found that ‘satisfaction’ with Canada and ‘integration’ into Canada’s dominant society was calibrated with the immigrants’ occupation, length of residence in Canada and skin colour. Indeed, lower class, darker skinned West Indian immigrants were found to be less satisfied with their Canadian experience and were also less likely to integrate into the dominant society. The more successful strategy, argued Ramcharan, remained with those immigrants who were able to penetrate the social and economic mainstream.

However good life would become in the north, Jamaican migrants still experienced a variety of ‘social-psychological processes’ in their move to Canada. The migrants adopted different strategies to reduce acculturative stress. Alwyn Gilkes’ ‘Among Thistles and Thorns: West Indian Diaspora Immigrants in New York City and Toronto’ (2005), measured the necessary resilience that the migration processes

demanded of the immigrants.<sup>46</sup> A comparative history, Gilkes reviewed English-speaking West Indians who migrated to New York City and to Toronto who had been, in various manners, restricted from fully integrating into the dominant societies of these cities for reasons of ‘race’ and ethnicity. Perhaps one of Gilkes’ most interesting discoveries, however, was that the study showed that these ‘restrictions’ were more acute for the West Indian group in Toronto.

Previous acculturation models saw ‘integration’ into the broader society as the best strategy for immigrants as it ‘minimized acculturative stress’, a fact supported by Ramcharan’s findings in the 1970s.<sup>47</sup> Gilkes’ research, however, challenged this notion. Instead, immigrants listed ‘ethnic identity’ and ‘intra-cultural socialization’ at the top of the group’s strategic list for reducing acculturative stress.<sup>48</sup> Gilkes study, then, is indicative of current diasporic approaches that privilege ‘race’ over any particular national identities, a fact that resonates with some of the interviewees herein.<sup>49</sup> A similar doctoral thesis was Terry-Ann Jones’ ‘Comparative Diasporas: Jamaicans in South Florida and Toronto’ (2005).<sup>50</sup> In it, Jones examined the differences in the ‘contexts of reception’ in terms of the racial and ethnic composition of the two receiving societies, as well as the variations between American and Canadian immigration policies and the nature of the two different labour markets. Essentially, Jones found that while the difference in variables between the two communities was slight, Jamaican migrants in South Florida made more money and were better educated.<sup>51</sup> By way of explanation, Jones cited the fact that South Florida has a far greater native-born black population than does Toronto. Ergo, there exists in Florida a more comprehensive and black-friendly infrastructure for Jamaicans to exploit. Given the geographic proximity between Miami

and Kingston (versus Toronto and Kingston), Jones argued that the conditions for Jamaicans to enjoy transnational connections were far more hospitable in South Florida. While Jones' study is more concerned with 'reception' and less so with what the various migrants brought to their respective new homelands, 'Comparative Diasporas' remains a welcome addition to the broader Jamaican-Canadian narrative and serves as a corrective to those labouring under the misapprehension that Canada affords its black population greater upward mobility than its southern neighbour.<sup>52</sup> With this in mind, Gilkes and Jones' work, like Bissoondath's before them, rather poked holes in the merit of official multiculturalism as an ideology serving Canadians constructively. Official multiculturalism, then, did not safeguard but rather fuelled cultural intolerance.<sup>53</sup> These recent studies have also managed to shed further light on various stages of the immigration life cycle and have likewise revealed new dynamics between immigrants and the dominant group and between the immigrants themselves.

Multi-disciplinarians continue to stretch the boundaries of transnational scholarship and authors of strictly 'nation-state' surveys are now, if not dwindling in number, then perhaps more cognizant of international patterns and relationships among 'peoples'. Initially an anthropological term, *transnationalism* has transcended other disciplines, including history, and has measured the emotional, political and sometimes even physical attachment to their cultural homeland that migrants retain in their adopted land.<sup>54</sup> With a transnational approach, researchers have been able to, as historian Kevin Kenny confirmed, 'transcend the nation-state as the primary unit of historical analysis, searching for reciprocal interactions and the sensibilities they nurture among globally scattered communities.'<sup>55</sup> Through such inquiry, scholars are better able to position



single-group migration studies in a broader international context, a fact that is of course, important to the Jamaican migrant.<sup>56</sup>

Taking an ‘international’ approach regarding questions of ‘race’, international constructions of whiteness and blackness and how they relate to immigration, is not an entirely new development. Indeed, it would be difficult to overrate the impact (and shelf life) of Robert Huttenback’s research of the 1970s. In many ways, Huttenback’s work shares if not the language, then certainly the sentiment of modern transnational scholarship. Importantly, Huttenback identified the significance of the ‘Natal Formula’ on the immigration policies of the self-governing British colonies, first in his article ‘The British Empire as a White Man's Country’ (1973) and later in his watershed *Racism and Empire: White Settlers and Coloured Immigrants in the British Self-Governing Colonies, 1830-1910* (1976).<sup>57</sup> By employing this elaborate and systemically racist scheme, colonies were able to maintain, as Huttenback confirmed, ‘the fiction of a viable imperial philosophy.’<sup>58</sup> In other words, governments like Canada were able to achieve racialized ends without appearing obviously racist.

Head-taxes, restrictive labour agreements, financial solvency requirements and language tests may appear at first blush to be germane only to the history of immigration policies within a given nation state.<sup>59</sup> Yet, there was a transnational quality to these policies that transcended borders and oceans, serving as they did, leaders in Canada, New Zealand, South Africa and Australia who wished to reduce or eliminate non-white settlement.<sup>60</sup> By reviewing the international nature of shared immigration legislation throughout the Empire and indeed, the idea of white nation-building as a safeguard

against the world's other races, Huttenback's was a work that truly gave form to modern transnational scholarship.

The question of a transnational association between a given diaspora and/or between white settlers of the British Empire was being considered by other historians of the new history age. As early as 1978, Janice Monk posited some pertinent questions: 'why did racism develop when it did in these particular contexts?' and, 'how much can policies and events be explained by the cultures and behaviour of the immigrant groups as well as by that of the colonists?'<sup>61</sup> Though such queries might now be dressed differently to suit twenty-first century sensibilities, the spirit remains with scholars who are today, pursuing more global currents. Historian Alastair Bonnett, by example, examined the construction and consolidation of whiteness and 'white identity' among several countries, which was a response to the perceived threat posed by non-European peoples. In 'Whiteness in Crisis' (2000), Bonnett reviewed how immigration policy crafters throughout the Empire began drafting more radical and exclusionary acts of legislation to reduce and eliminate non-white immigration in the early part of the twentieth century.<sup>62</sup>

Australia was at the heart of white-identity making. Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds' *Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men's Countries and the International Challenge of Racial Equality* (2008) spoke to the centrality of Australia in this process and how that country's legislation inspired the other self-governing British colonies, including Canada.<sup>63</sup> Indeed, this Australian-made defensive project was attractive to many countries that subsequently developed their own variation on the 'White Australia' theme. Such white nation-building did not, as Monk verified in 1978,

allow any room for cultural pluralism.<sup>64</sup> Yet, it is through these historical lenses – so used by Bonnett, Lake, Reynolds and Huttenback before them – that we are now better able to observe those international conversations and sharing of ideas that took place during the emergence of the truly transnational notion of ‘white identity’.

The problem with these important works, of course, is that they tend to set absolute parameters. Lesser works, that ‘build’ on these more solid efforts, as we shall see, have employed such a rigid definition of ‘white identity’ that they leave little room for the exceptions. And there were exceptions: abolitionists and later internationalists, anti-modernists, activists, artists, authors, and yes, musicians too, who test some critical race theories.

Still, the larger transnational questions enjoy (and should do) great currency among Jamaican and Canadian academics who wish to develop and improve a similar body of diasporic West Indian literature. A more recent example was Dennis Conway and Robert Potter’s article ‘Caribbean Transnational Return Migrants as Agents of Change’ (2007).<sup>65</sup> Conway and Potter posited that, contrary to previous perceptions, migrants who return to the Caribbean were no longer simply retirees, but rather were more diverse in all manners of speaking and have been able to affect positive change following their return to island society.<sup>66</sup> As such, return migrants now possess ‘multiple identities’ and have adopted transnational strategies living, as they do, ‘in and between two worlds.’<sup>67</sup> The authors also demonstrated that contemporary island societies have, over the course of modernization, graduated from isolated and unsophisticated communities to integrated networks that have staked a claim in the broader global economy. In terms of new scholarship, Conway and Potter’s article was also of merit for its addressing of the

‘multilocal’ possibilities available to some West Indian migrants, adding to and testing extant paradigms of the return migrant’s identity.

While attention to emigration processes, the nature of changing identities, and the prospect of multi-local lives are attractive avenues of scholarly inquiry, we must retain a reverence for the ‘micro’ and the ‘local’ and their profound effect on the dissemination of ‘global’ patterns, including the constructions of ‘race’, the crafting of policies and indeed, the exchange of cultural and musical ideas. It is the ‘local’, after all, that informs the trajectory of Toronto’s transnational reggae scene.

Jamaicans were not a homogeneous group. Some scholars have, for instance, drawn into question the notion of ‘groupness’ among ethnic groups.<sup>68</sup> In Barbara Lorenzkowski’s *Sounds of Ethnicity: Listening to German North America, 1850-1914* (2010), the author cleverly chose to view ethnicity as something that is practised, something that ‘happens’, instead of seeing ethnicity (or culture for that matter) as a strict set of inflexible norms and monolithic ideals that are usually too cumbersome to yield optimum historical analyses. Instead, ethnicity as ‘practice’ allows room for a multiplicity of lived experiences and for the organic nature of what it means to enact ethnicity.<sup>69</sup> Lorenzkowski, in part, building on Rogers Brubaker, helped identify the fleeting character of ethnicity as an event: ‘everyday encounters, practical categories, common-sense knowledge, cultural idioms,’ and so forth, express the performance-like behaviour of ‘doing’ ethnicity.<sup>70</sup> Reggae in Toronto, then, allowed the Jamaican a way enact his or her Jamaicanness that was not just culturally satisfying for the migrant, but also attractive to some non-Jamaicans who were part of the city’s music-savvy youth culture.

While considering these trends in migration scholarship, it is hoped that this work will add a new dimension, one that measures the impact that the ethnic group in question had on the host society. Through an equal number of oral interviews between both migrant and host, we will be able to pursue not only the migrant's process but also the host's response to Jamaicans and their music on the streets, at schools, in the nightclubs, and on the airwaves around Toronto.

#### OWNERSHIP OF THE REGGAE TEXT

While the Jamaican migrant may have brought the main ingredients for the reggae music that would eventually be made in Toronto, the non-Jamaican host certainly added to the broth, creating a uniquely Canadian style of the Jamaican art form. Who then owns the Canadian reggae text? Part of the trouble with quests for 'ownership' of the 'authentic' reggae text is evinced in its audience. Bob Marley's live audiences were largely white. Burning Spear – many people's idea of the defender of Rasta reggae's 'truest' text – has made most of his money in Europe and North America playing to audiences that boast sizeable white contingents. Today, as it was by the mid-1970s, reggae artists, especially Jamaican ones make most of their living *outside* of Jamaica. As Leroy Sibbles observed as early as 1982:

Nothing's happening in Jamaica. They've even stopped selling the cheaper disco 45s in Jamaica because nobody's buying them. Most people who do recording down in Jamaica don't bother to release the songs down there. They export them. All the reggae records are being sold abroad.<sup>71</sup>

In terms of a 'music industry', then, Jamaican artists have relied on a global audience, especially in Europe and North America, to fuel the reggae machine.

Despite the fact that a significant amount of reggae texts were crafted, performed and disseminated by non-Rasta Jamaicans – dreadlocks, the smoking of marijuana, the sartorial requisites of *ites* (red), gold and green, and devotion to Haile Selassie (at least publicly) have cumulatively assembled the normative iconography associated with the popular music called reggae. Deviations from these expressions could be deemed ‘inauthentic’, at least by those who, often for commercial reasons, wished to adhere to a strict teleological narrative of Jamaican music. The seemingly irresistible image of Bob Marley, then, gave reggae its ‘face’. While putting reggae on the world stage, this ‘face’ drew strict limitations on what reggae *could* and certainly *did* mean to a great many of its faithful practitioners, including those in Canada.

Moreover, Jamaican musicians are themselves diverse. Rastafarians make up less than one percent of Jamaica’s population and while they are disproportionately represented in reggae music, many non-Rasta Jamaicans have been pivotal to the development of the genre.<sup>72</sup> Carlene Davis, an Afro-Jamaica reggae and gospel artist who spent a few years in Canada, provides one apt example of such diversity. As a Christian woman, Davis troubles some people’s perception of what a reggae artist should look or sound like.<sup>73</sup> Yet, no one in Jamaica would deny that she is a *bona fide* reggae star who has always been comfortable expressing and stretching her elastic reading of the Jamaican musical art form:

I can’t help where I’ve been. I started out singing folk music in England and I’ve done pop and country and a whole bunch of things since. Whatever I’ve heard is going to come out, it just flows naturally.<sup>74</sup>

Interestingly, Davis believes she enjoyed more artistic freedom when she returned to Jamaica after her time in Toronto:

In Canada, it seemed as if I would have to project myself totally as a reggae artist if I wanted to make it. I couldn't sidetrack, I'd have to be pure. Here [*Jamaica*] there's room to spread out – the Jamaican audiences will listen to anything. I love reggae, but here I don't have to stick exclusively to it.<sup>75</sup>

Though existing ideas about what reggae should look and sound like outside of Jamaica pervaded Canada's music intelligentsia, Jamaicans in Jamaica, it would seem, were far less exclusionary. Feeling artistically pigeon-holed, Davis returned to live in Jamaica in 1981, just missing out on Canada's golden age of reggae.<sup>76</sup>

There are other important examples that complicate the reggae stereotype in Jamaica. Hopeton Lewis, whose 1966 hit 'Take it Easy' is considered by most to be the first rocksteady song ever, is a Christian.<sup>77</sup> Jimmy Cliff, whose soundtrack to *The Harder They Come* introduced reggae to the world, is Muslim. So too is Prince Buster: the man who delivered ska to England. Bob Marley was indeed a Rasta, but his father was a white Englishman. And UB40, though continuously maligned by journalists in official reggae 'histories' (if they're included at all), are the world's most commercially successful reggae band after Marley and his Wailers, and are multiracial as well as being an assemblage of Rastas, agnostics and atheists. In many of these authenticities, one's skin colour and faith system (or lack thereof) is irrelevant. Yet, many of reggae's documentarians seem to concentrate on only a *part of* and not the *whole of* the music's texts.

Debates around racial interpretation in music have long been waged in the literature of other genres like jazz and blues. In terms of the latter, there are those at one end of the spectrum, like Amiri Bakara (1963) and more recently Guthrie Ramsey (2004), who argued that black music, is a vernacular articulation of the racial experience.<sup>78</sup> Still, a number of scholars have positively blurred the racialist binaries of folk/commercial and

black/white. The notion that blues was neither purely ‘black’ nor purely ‘white’ is not, however, a new argument. Newman White raised this point as early as 1928 with his *American Negro Folk Songs* and many scholars like Paul Oliver (who formerly argued for the racialist perspective), David Evans and Elijah Wald, have since added nuance to White’s argument.<sup>79</sup> Similarly, jazz scholars – perhaps more so than any other genre – have tackled issues of race within the evolution of that music. In general terms, much of jazz scholarship, with some notable exceptions, has demonstrated an integrationist’s perspective, that is to say, a ‘colour blind’ approach. Rudi Blesh (1975), James Lincoln Collier (1978) and more recently Scott DeVeaux (1997) and Scott Saul (2003) have addressed the melange of cross-racial influences that informed the growth of jazz.<sup>80</sup>

When compared to blues and jazz, reggae scholarship has some catching up to do. Unlike UB40’s lot in the body of reggae literature, Bill Evans – one of the most influential post WWII jazz pianists – does not merit an asterisk beside his name in jazz histories to denote ‘white pianist’.<sup>81</sup> Moreover, few ethnomusicologists would question the various ‘authenticities’ of jazz played by musicians who may not even be from the United States. While attention might have been drawn, for instance, to the Scandinavians that comprised Oscar Peterson’s European rhythm section, it would take a bold soul to question Ulf Wakenius and Niels-Henning Ørsted Pedersen’s proficiency, much less their motives for playing America’s art form. It should also be noted that Jamaican jazzers – of various hues – have likewise been accepted by the jazz intelligentsia.<sup>82</sup> Indeed, Jamaicans like Joe Harriott, Monty Alexander and Ernest Ranglin have made significant contributions to the proliferation of ‘American’ jazz. Yet, the fruits of reggae roots (and



routes), when adopted by many non-Rasta, non-Jamaicans and even non-blacks around the world, has been held, by some, under deep suspicion.

Compounding the problem for reggae is that its attendant scholarship is quite small and has not yet had the chance to mature like the bodies of literature associated with jazz, folk, blues and even rock and roll. There also have not been the major pitched battles between competing academics around questions of ‘authenticity’, ‘race’ and ‘commercial exploitation’ that have been addressed in the literature of other genres. And so, discourse on ‘authenticity’ persists in the small body of reggae literature.

Simply put, scholars need to accept the multiplicity of ‘new’ traditions and authenticities in the reggae text. George Lipsitz, an American Studies Professor at the University of California, for example, felt that British reggae band Musical Youth’s representation of reggae was ‘disconnected’ from the genre’s ‘organic’ roots. Lipsitz believed this to be indicative of the record-industry’s ‘commercial remodelling’ of the reggae text. Vitaly, Lipsitz does not consider that the idea for Musical Youth (who were the first black group to appear on MTV) and their hit song ‘Pass the Dutchie’ (which sold over four millions copies) was the product of existing Jamaican texts and had been conceived entirely by Jamaicans.<sup>83</sup> Professor Mike Alleyne confessed that there is no absolute formula for reggae and that as a hybrid text in the first instance, reggae was influenced by and has sought to assimilate elements of other musical styles. At the same time, Alleyne has also argued that “the very popularity of reggae which has led to its global adoption among various artists and audiences, has contributed significantly to its ideological diffusion and creative dilution.”<sup>84</sup> I would argue that reggae is still an organic,

hybridized text that is continually being recontextualized by singers and players of instruments, to reflect their own respective, personal authenticities.

While informative, many works on Jamaican music follow a linear narrative that largely ignores the extra-musical processes operating outside of the music industry proper.<sup>85</sup> Having jettisoned important social and cultural processes, these ‘definitive’ stories are usually agenda-driven, that is to say, they dictate – according to taste – those ‘essential’ works that the reader should investigate (*read purchase*).<sup>86</sup> By extension, reggae’s historiography has been largely journalistic-based and is often lacking in deeper cultural analysis and is not grounded with academic bibliographic support. Indeed, a separate historiography section could be written to cover the popular literature on Bob Marley alone.<sup>87</sup>

The greater part of reggae’s body of literature often adheres to a strict teleological reading of Jamaican music that is anchored at one end by the mento of the post Second World War era (though this genre is rarely thoroughly addressed) and at the other end by dancehall and, in some cases, its influence on other genres like *reggaeton* and hip-hop.<sup>88</sup> The Rastafarian doctrine, having captured the minds of Jamaica’s urban youth from the mid-1960s onwards, is privileged within many of these readings.<sup>89</sup> Fleshing out the important linkages between Rasta, the drum, blackness, poverty, slavery, oppression and its oppositional responses found in the texts of ska, rocksteady and reggae is a valid and necessary approach for scholars. There were, however, ramifications to what would become the standard representation of Jamaican music through this approach.

Still, there have been some strong scholarly contributions that have addressed important cultural, political and social contexts associated with Jamaica’s many musical

genres.<sup>90</sup> Denis Constant's *Aux sources du reggae: Musique société et politique en Jamaïque* (1982), for instance, provided a decent analytical assessment of the Rastafarian roots reggae text.<sup>91</sup> Another example can be found in Edna Brodber and J. Edward Greene's *Reggae and Cultural Identity in Jamaica* which aptly demonstrated the important oppositional position that reggae has embraced from its infancy, as well as illuminating the national conditions of poverty and decline that accompanied reggae's bloom.<sup>92</sup> Olive Lewin (2000), Marilyn Rouse (2000) and Kenneth Bilby (1999) have each surveyed Jamaica's folk musics and positively blurred the lines between the island's traditional folk music traditions with the island's more popular musical exports.<sup>93</sup> Bilby's assessment was perhaps most useful as it locates the intersections between the traditional and the popular. This approach resists the linear teleological readings so often found in the journalistic approach.

Mento, Jamaica's own self-styled calypso and perhaps the most familiar of Jamaica's folk music traditions, has remained a neglected area of study. There have been exceptions. In his stunning 2008 PhD Dissertation, Daniel T. Neely explained that given its importance to the island's cultural narrative, a certain vision of mento was utilized by various socio-political and cultural agents to serve the country's tourist development after the war and ultimately its march to independence in 1962.<sup>94</sup> Evolving out of the quadrille, mento is a breezy music usually performed by a singer, an acoustic guitar, banjo, hand-held percussion and a rhumba box. Lyrically, the music is both topical (just like its predecessors within the Jamaican folk music tradition), and/or racy, with *double entendres* that are often sexually suggestive. Mento helped to legitimize and sustain the

cultural nationalism that sprang up in Jamaica during the late 1930s and was greatly accelerated following the Second World War.<sup>95</sup>

It was during this ‘cultural awakening’ and period of nation building, however, that the average Jamaican became exposed to many external musical influences. While Afro-Jamaican traditions were being lauded in Jamaica by influential social agents, they had to compete with popular British and American musical currents that were played at Kingston dances and over the radios of those who could afford one. In his highly readable article “‘Local’ and ‘Foreign’: The Popular Music Culture of Kingston, Jamaica, before Ska, Rock Steady, and Reggae’ (1987) Robert Witmer posited that reggae’s explosion was directly calibrated to the larger Jamaican narrative and a growing sense of national pride.<sup>96</sup> In an earlier article entitled ‘African Roots: The Case of Recent Jamaican Popular Music’ (1981), Witmer offered:

The Jamaican [popular] musician of the 1960s found himself in a climate of social change committed to the goals of modernization and Westernization, but also to an inward-turning celebration of indigenous culture and ‘blackness’.<sup>97</sup>

This blackness was explored in Michael Veal’s *Dub: Soundscapes and Shattered Songs in Jamaican Reggae* (2007) which mined the reggae sub-genre of dub music in an effort to demonstrate the continuity between it and the conceptual and aesthetic tendencies found in African art and music making.<sup>98</sup> Similarly, Norman Stolzoff considered reggae’s successor: dancehall, not only as a ‘music’ but also as a ‘social space’ where issues of race, class, gender, sexuality and religion were negotiated, constructed and deconstructed in *Wake the Town & Tell the People: Dancehall Culture in Jamaica* (2000).<sup>99</sup>

Cultural historians have employed the transnational approach to assess how identities and even cultural forms can transcend political borders.<sup>100</sup> Jamaican musical

exports of ska, rocksteady and reggae evolved in much the same way and, at times, rather ignored, or were at least ambivalent to matters of nationhood. With this in mind, reggae's text must then be viewed as a cultural form whose meaning moved and adapted across time and space and was neither permanently nor exclusively rooted in one nation's meta-narrative. As a result of the globalization of the genre, new (and multiple) meanings of reggae music emerged and began to be addressed by some scholars. Timothy Rommen, for instance, compared the parallels between the Rastafarian messages in reggae with that found in the fledgling genre of Christian reggae in North America in his 2006 article 'Protestant Vibrations? Reggae, Rastafari, and conscious Evangelicals'.<sup>101</sup> Similarly, Jorge Giovannetti explored the curious use of reggae by white Puerto Ricans to articulate an expression or symbol of that island's elite culture in his article of 2003 entitled 'Popular music and culture in Puerto Rico: Jamaican and rap music as cross-cultural symbols'.<sup>102</sup> Timothy Taylor's section on reggae in *Global Pop: World Music, World Markets* (1997) was another scholarly work that successfully considered the emerging pluralistic 'authenticities' in reggae/dancehall/bhangra fusions in Britain, as evidenced in the highly successful South Asian Brit Apache Indian.<sup>103</sup> Likewise, Joseph Heathcott, playing on historian Paul Gilroy's recurring motif of 'roots' versus 'routes', explored the trajectory of ska's routes that traversed back and forth across the 'Black Atlantic' in his useful article 'Urban Spaces and Working-Class Expressions across the Black Atlantic: Tracing the Routes of Ska' (2003).<sup>104</sup> The history of ska, for Heathcott, "illustrates the central theme of movement between the local and the transnational in the formation of identities and in the creation of cultural forms."<sup>105</sup> Indeed, ska, in terms of a global music, developed out of a "transnational network of labour and music migration".<sup>106</sup> Perhaps

most importantly, Heathcott brings ska into the mix of those transoceanic cultural forms that, although mainly the preserve of the working class, have successfully engaged people of different races and religions and, importantly, a multiracial and urban youth sub-culture.<sup>107</sup>

Reggae music can be likewise viewed as it had a profound effect on black and white youth culture in the urban centres of Britain and later Toronto. It also informed British popular musics (especially punk) during the 1970s. Written a quarter of a century before Heathcott's article, Simon Jones' *Black Culture, White Youth* (1988) still ranks among the most important assessments of how reggae music operated as a bridge between black and white youth culture in the urban centre.<sup>108</sup> Sebastian Clarke's *Jah Music* (1980) is likewise commendable for its consideration of the mixing of black and white youth subculture in the urban centres of a nascent British reggae scene.<sup>109</sup> Dealing with an earlier time and an altogether different scene, Stuart Henderson's *Making the Scene: Yorkville and Hip Toronto in the 1960s* (2011), is useful for its analysis of *place* and music in the urban centre of Toronto.<sup>110</sup> It was in Toronto's Yorkville community that, with folk music serving as soundtrack, the Hippy 'peace and love' mantra of the mid-1960s had given way to the reality of drug-dependency, disease and violence by the end of the decade. Still, the oppositional aesthetic found within the folkies' happier times in Yorkville resonated with Toronto's black and white reggae music makers nearly twenty years on and three kilometers to the south on Queen Street West.

Black and white youth also come together in Dick Hebdige's work *Cut 'n' Mix: Culture, Identity and Caribbean Music* (1987). In it, Hebdige locates the intersection between punk and reggae's subcultures. The work remains an important frame of

reference for scholars of cultural studies.<sup>111</sup> Hebdige examined the dynamics and behaviour of race in the fledgling punk scene of the late 1970s and how the oppositional text and aesthetics of reggae dovetailed nicely with, and informed the former.<sup>112</sup> Impressively, Hebdige not only acknowledged the unifying elements found in the two genres, but also addressed – years before other scholars did – the limitations in such unification:

...at the heart of the punk subculture, forever arrested, lies this frozen dialectic which beyond a certain point (*i.e.*, ethnicity) is incapable of renewal, trapped, as it is, within its own history, imprisoned within its own irreducible antinomies.<sup>113</sup>

For Hebdige, as it was for Jones, reggae and blackness resonated with disenfranchised punks and their attendant nihilistic values of ‘anarchy’ and ‘decline’.<sup>114</sup>

Finally, Klive Walker’s *Dubwise: Reasoning from the Reggae Underground* (2005) was the first (and remains perhaps the only) significant work to appraise Canadian reggae in a meaningful way.<sup>115</sup> As Walker rightfully attested in his seminal work:

In a variety of different forms, reggae – particularly, Canadian diasporic reggae – has become a permanent and vital feature of Canadian culture that, in part, expresses the experience of Caribbean-Canadians.<sup>116</sup>

While this is most certainly true, it must also be said that Canadian reggae has at times transcended the exclusive preserve of the Caribbean-Canadian and has come to represent and reflect a valid Canadian-centric authenticity, complicating extant constructions of blackness, whiteness, and quietly celebrating the immense hybridity so prevalent in the music’s original Jamaican text.

\*\*\*

In 2008, a Global Reggae Conference was held at the University of West Indies’ Jamaican campus to help assess and address the recent spike of scholarly contributions

that had been made to the slight body of reggae literature. In her opening plenary at the conference, award winning Jamaican cultural historian Erna Brodber observed that reggae music of the 1970s had created a black space.<sup>117</sup> For Brodber, reggae was:

...an incubator for a kind of knowledge that needed to work its way out of the ground and into the minds of the young descendants of Africans enslaved in Jamaica. Not just chatter among the platters; the early reggae allowed meditation while you danced and even if you did not want to be black, you could at least understand why others would want to be. Reggae made converts, but it also produced an environment that was sympathetic to those who wanted to be more than listeners to the works of the ‘singers and players’, the only professionals mentioned by the Psalms as being there.<sup>118</sup>

This is so. Moreover, reggae is synonymous with the struggles and triumphs of black Jamaicans throughout the diaspora, including those in Toronto. Most reggae, and certainly most of the best reggae has been written, recorded and performed by black Jamaicans (while it need not be restated, I ask you to keep this declaration in mind throughout the dissertation). This study, however, explores the plurality existing within the lived reality of the reggae experience. It is interested in, as Brodber alluded to, the ‘converts’ that reggae has made. Toronto, with its massive population of expatriate Jamaicans and with its importance to the global reggae scene, provides us with a sound case study: a *place* to not only show how Jamaican music claimed a foothold on the streets of Toronto and infiltrated that city’s mainstream, but also a space to test the prevailing ‘absolutes’ of reggae being the exclusive preserve of a black Jamaican and Rastafarian experience.

The Canadian reggae experience, then, is a story of success. An examination of it will reveal how the cultural bridge-building between migrant and host was initiated and how the multiple identities of the city’s youth sub-culture coalesced on Toronto’s ethnic frontlines in the 1970s and 1980s. In some manner, the study might serve as an example



of best practices that demonstrate how this peculiar version of multiculturalism brought migrant and host (and other migrants for that matter) together in Canada. This ‘version’, though, is largely unrecognizable from the cliché governmental prescriptions and portrayals of multiculturalism that do not resonate with the migrants consulted herein.

The Canadian reggae experience is also, however, a story of failure. The lack of commitment to reggae from the mainstream music industry, residual public attitudes towards race and ethnic music in general, and the lack of cohesion in Canada’s domestic reggae community itself, number among the reasons that helped to chase Leroy Sibbles (among others) back to Jamaica and prevented Canada from competing with other international reggae markets like the United Kingdom. Despite being stacked with talent and a huge West Indian population, Canadian reggae stagnated after its golden age in the early to mid-1980s, and it never came close to approximating its far more successful British counterpart.

## CHAPTER II

### *WE'VE GOT TO SING IT TOGETHER:* HYBRIDITY IN THE REGGAE TEXT (SLAVERY TO WWI)

Reggae is a hybrid. Reggae is not homogeneous. Jamaican music emerged out of a transnational and multi-generational collision between African and European traditions, musical and otherwise. Folk musics and customs from West and Central Africa collided with European ones, especially those from the British Isles. Sea shanties, dances and ballads, for example, traversed the Atlantic and were coopted and reimagined by Jamaicans of various hues. Indeed, melodies from all over the world flowed through the hubs of Jamaica's cultural economy and were picked up and adapted by the locals. The skillful Jamaican tunesmith could gut a song of its original context and use its rawness for a new and wholly Jamaican composition.<sup>1</sup> This process continues to manifest within the reggae oeuvre wherever it is crafted.

Over the course of two centuries, a hybridized version of these Afro-European traditions sprouted in Jamaica's cultural hothouse, flowering in the musics of mento, ska and later rocksteady and reggae. By the early 1970s Jamaican reggae – informed as it had been by African and European musical, folk, pedagogical and religious customs – was ready for export to the world. Like the sea shanties of an earlier time, reggae too, would be recontextualized by many different peoples, including those of a certain age and disposition living in Toronto Canada.

This chapter is not, however, remotely intended as an exhaustive musicological overview of the trajectory of twentieth century Jamaican music. To this end, the reader may note that I am glossing over the variety of African and even Latin influences found

in Jamaican music. This is intentional. For the purposes of linking reggae's past with its present, Britain with Jamaica, Jamaica with Canada, and Canada with Britain, we concern ourselves here with the spheres of European, and particularly British influences on Jamaica's popular and traditional musics. These influences are, again, only *a* part of a much larger palette found in the musics that have given so many Jamaican artists worldwide recognition. Yet, these ingredients have also played a significant role in the important creolization processes occurring within the musical culture of Jamaica, and indeed, Jamaican society at large.

Locating some of the British influences is a way to explain – *in part* – the degree to which non-Jamaican and even non-diasporic participants, music makers, audience members and writers alike, embraced reggae music around the world, especially those in the urban centres of Britain and in Toronto. Encrypted within the reggae that was ferried to Canada *via* the Jamaican migrant were signifiers not wholly unknown to the Canadian host. Despite its seeming exoticness, its oppositional qualities, and its articulation of the black struggle, reggae was for many non-Jamaicans – and perhaps only on a subconscious level – familiar. Through investigation, we are able to flesh out some of these long-standing processes that have directly affected various Jamaican and non-Jamaican respondents within this project, processes were repeated on Toronto's ethnic frontline.<sup>2</sup>

At the same time, a re-reading of the collision between African and European traditions in Jamaican society reveals the issues of 'race' and 'racial dynamics'. Unpacking the way in which 'race' behaved in Jamaica in the twentieth century is a daunting task. It is, nevertheless, essential to see how anthropologists, musicians and

folklorists trained in the British school, heard, collected and disseminated the folk songs and stories of Jamaica.

Whiteness, at least in the early twentieth century, is branded with characteristics such as privilege, prejudice, domination and possession of an acute indifference to ‘other’. Indeed, this monolithic notion still abides across several disciplines. Yet, considering the age in which they lived, two individuals in particular trouble this popular and prevailing construction of whiteness. It is not surprising then, that early twentieth century folklorists like Walter Jekyll and Astley Clerk – who eschewed privilege, rejected empire, and valued the ‘African’ in the Jamaican – have been too untidy for some scholars to unpack. Ignoring the uniqueness of Jekyll and Clerk’s whiteness, however, is endemic to an issue that has confounded reggae scholarship, a point we will return to later on. While a man like Jekyll was certainly unique for his time, his empathy *for* and understanding *of* black Jamaica was less so. The Jekyll archetype stretches backwards towards lighter pallored Jamaicans like George William Gordon (executed for his role in the Morant Bay Rebellion) and Zachary Macaulay (the Scottish born plantation bookkeeper turned abolitionist), just as it springs forward to touch people like future Island Records founder Chris Blackwell (instrumental in bringing reggae to the world), and multiracial reggae bands like England’s UB40 and Canada’s Sattalites. All of these people have, to varying degrees, complicated the whiteness construct.

It was, however, the music of the British Isles, more so than its people, that figured early and often as an organic agent in Jamaica’s traditional and popular musics. It is organic, because the music emanating from Britain continued to inform Jamaican music from the latter’s eighteenth century cultural economy right through the twentieth

century, in much the same way original Jamaican music would profoundly influence musical trends in Britain after the Second World War. Canada – caught somewhere in between – acted as both reservoir and tributary of Jamaican culture, sailing centuries' old musical ideas back and forth atop the trade winds of the Black Atlantic.

## MELODY AND RHYTHM

The late Jamaican scholar Rex Nettleford spoke to the constant negotiation of identity that oscillated between the 'melody of Europe' and the 'rhythm of Africa', a tension that not only dominated the evolution of the island's musical culture, but also dominated issues with Jamaican identity and indeed Jamaican scholarship for the past fifty years. As Nettleford explained in 1970:

In the absence of a strongly preserved cultural memory and in the wake of the deliberate uprooting of ancestral institutions by the slave system among the African immigrants, the African slave was to become the nearest thing to a *tabula rasa* on which the new vocabulary of creole existence could be written. As a result, some of his descendants today boast the claim that of all comes to the Plantation societies of the New World, the African has been the prime agent of creativity through which all the experiments in the new living have been carried out. He therefore becomes the richest expression of all the contradictions, the failures, successes, the fears and hopes of the new society. He is black man, white man, brown man and all the 'in-betweens' rolled into one. He is Europe's melody and Africa's rhythm, at once the dissonance and the harmony of both.<sup>3</sup>

Certainly, many Jamaicans have celebrated the Afro-Euro blend and its attendant creolization processes, as Quadrille dance expert Caroline Muraldo testified:

As the cultures of Africa and European contrast in so many ways and were the main influences on Caribbean culture, the creolization process resulted in Caribbean culture existing on a continuum, the influence of each continent residing at opposite ends. At the centre dwell the parts of Caribbean culture, which can be attributed to nowhere else but the Caribbean.<sup>4</sup>

There are, however, inherent problems in assigning ‘origins’ to specific musical or folk traits, and despite their importance in documenting Jamaica’s folk traditions, early twentieth century folklorists contributed, though perhaps indirectly, to a romanticized vision of Jamaican ‘folkness’.<sup>5</sup> This dangerous vision rather set the bar for what *was* and what *was not* to be later deemed culturally ‘authentic’.<sup>6</sup>

More recently, scholars have argued that the very idea of ‘African’ and ‘European’ survivals in Jamaica’s folk art and music were themselves constructions.<sup>7</sup> By extension, this black and white binary has been used at different times to serve a national cultural narrative that during the early twentieth century privileged the European quotient in the Jamaican. At its worst, colonial social agents and proponents were able to use the ‘found’ European survival in Jamaican folk to legitimize ideas about colonial social control and the intellectual basis for European hegemony.<sup>8</sup> This, however, changed over time. Though denigrated from the advent of slavery, all things ‘African’ later became crucial to Jamaica’s ‘nation building’ in the years leading up to and during its obtaining independence from Britain in 1962.<sup>9</sup> Come Independence, the pendulum had swung so far in this direction that, despite vague allusions to the African rhythm/European melody model in various ‘histories’ of Jamaican music, the European quotient was often referred to pejoratively, or at the very least, was soft pedalled in favour of the African quotient.<sup>10</sup> Henceforth, Jamaican music, and especially reggae was viewed through a very narrow lens. The ‘African’ elements were lauded by scholars, musicologists and journalists. And it was the ‘African’ that, for many, carried that essential oppositional swing within Jamaican music. This ‘African rhythm’/‘European melody’ hypothesis is well-worn and in need of further nuance.

## AFRO-JAMAICAN

European influences had come to Jamaica hand-in-hand with colonial subjugation. Three centuries prior to independence, the British had banned the drum in Jamaica. Hans Sloane, whose collection helped to kickstart Britain's Natural History Museum and who was also the man who brought chocolate milk to Europe, visited Jamaica in 1688. While there, he and his French colleague, the musician Baptiste, bore witness to the music that African slaves were playing and singing in 'the ring'.<sup>11</sup> Sloane sketched drawings of the various African instruments that were used in the performance which were foreign to the Europeans, while Baptiste notated, to the best of his abilities, the songs he heard. These songs, according to the Irish overseer who acted as a go-between for Baptiste and the slaves, emanated from the Angola, Papa and Koromanti traditions.<sup>12</sup> As Sloane explained, the slaves:

...formerly on their Festivals were allowed the use of Trumpets after their Fashion, and Drums made of a piece of a hollow Tree, covered on one end with any green Skin, and stretched with Thouls or Pins. But making use of these in their Wars at home in *Africa*, it was thought too much inciting them to Rebellion, and so they were prohibited by the Customs of the Island.<sup>13</sup>

Still, the drum survived through the efforts of the faithful who persevered with their covert African worship ceremonies, hidden from the watchful eye of the slave drivers. Indeed, Kumina drumming and the Pocomania Revival with its funde, kete and repeater drums were alive and well in Jamaica and refused to perish with each new generation who became increasingly removed from their antecedents in Angola, the Ibo and Yoruba peoples of Nigeria, the Mandingos of Sierra Leone and the Coromantees (or Koromantis) from Ghana's Gold Coast who founded the dreaded Maroon tribe.<sup>14</sup>

For twentieth century academics, however, there was some debate as to whether or not African ‘survivals’ had actually survived. Jamaican sociologist Orlando Patterson and Barbadian-born historian Edward Kamau Brathwaite, for example, took contrary stances in the question as to whether or not true African ‘survivals’ could be found within Jamaican culture.<sup>15</sup> In *The Sociology of Slavery* (1967), Patterson argued that every African institution that the slaves had brought over with them to Jamaica – including family, marriage and religion – had been virtually wiped out with slavery. Thusly, true African culture had, according to Patterson, been unable to persist.<sup>16</sup> Brathwaite on the other hand, contended in *The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica, 1770-1820* (1971) that Patterson’s work missed those aspects of African-based cultures that were invisible *to* or ignored *by* the planter society.<sup>17</sup> These traits played a crucial role in Jamaica’s resultant creole culture, and afforded much of the defiant, oppositional quality so crucial to reggae music.<sup>18</sup>

It is useful to remember that Jamaica’s slaves were not a homogeneous group. Intra-African creolization processes in music and language were occurring among the slaves themselves from the moment people from different regions of Africa were introduced to each other. Anthropologist Kenneth Bilby observed that the historical literature relating to the earliest developments of creolization is, to be charitable, imprecise. Yet, concrete evidence of creolization is apparent in the documented musics and dances of the past and in, as Bilby stated, “the many continuities of context, style and form displayed by their present-day musical descendants.”<sup>19</sup> The Western Kwa and ‘Angolan’ cultures were coalescing throughout an acculturation process that saw the former’s upper register singing and eight-stringed harp matched by the lower register of



the latter's two-stringed lute.<sup>20</sup> The result was a pidginized African sound, wholly produced in the Americas.

While European traces of melody may have been captured by slaves, they had been adapted and subsequently reimagined into something wholly original. This point was missed by many of the earlier folklorists. Normally, slaves were coerced into playing music that was pleasing for their masters.<sup>21</sup> And so learning European tunes could be for many musicians, a strategy for their own survival.<sup>22</sup> While the slaves may have produced a faithful rendering of the quadrille that was pleasing to their masters, the musicians developed their own unique style that could at once be both musical and, surreptitiously, 'oppositional'.<sup>23</sup> In this way, music behaved in much the same manner as language: ridiculing the masters, exaggerating their pomposity, and rebelling against or 'opposing' the circumstances that slavery brought with it. This rebellious quality in the music, like Jamaican Patois, was held in deep suspicion by many of the island's upper and middling classes. It was not until the latter part of the twentieth century when Patois, ska music and later rocksteady and reggae was embraced by most Jamaicans as the cultural and liberating parlance of independence.

An overarching African presence persisted in mento and was likewise manifest in the musics of ska, rocksteady, reggae, dub and dancehall. The pulsing of the burru Nyabinghi drum, for instance, replicated the thumping of a human heart. With emphasizes on beat three, it is the 'one-drop' that recalls the ominous time kept by a plantation's human machinery. It is this heartbeat that has shaped the trajectory of popular Jamaican music from its inception.<sup>24</sup>

Over the course of the colonization period, however, many Jamaicans turned away from African traditions in favour of European Christian ones, and often looked with suspicion upon the raw elements of Pocomania. As Earle Heedram recalled his childhood in Jamaica:

When I was a kid living in the middle of the town, certain times in the evening...and all through the night you could hear the drums, the Pocomania drums. And I remember my mother always telling me 'don't listen to that', but you could never ignore it, and it went on all night. It was the Rastas up in the hills, but it would just waif through and that stays in my mind. You never saw them, but you'd hear the music all night.<sup>25</sup>

Defiantly though, the drum was and remains the most pervasive element in Jamaican traditional and popular musics.

The European influence could not sterilize the African in the Jamaican. Moreover, the European influence cannot be considered the dominant feature of any of Jamaica's current musics. Importantly though, it *is* a feature: a sometimes perceptible pattern, a sometimes hidden stitch in the hybridized fabric known as Jamaican reggae. This is significant when we consider what happens to reggae when it is carried from Jamaica by the migrant musician out to the rest of the world, including Canada, and when we assess the process by which non-Jamaicans embraced reggae through appreciating, performing or indeed writing about it. Indeed, there are likely more white-skinned journalists making a career out of writing about reggae than there are white-skinned musicians making a living out of playing reggae. Though it was not always the intention of its black Jamaican proponents, the appeal of reggae – given its DNA – has always been cross-racial and cross-generational.

## DR. JEKYLL AND THE FOLKLORISTS

In a modest cemetery in the small coastal village of Lucea in the parish of Hanover lie the remains of the eccentric gardening-folklorist and anti-modernist Walter Jekyll. The Englishman had a deep reverence for Jamaican folk traditions and left the single most important collection of Jamaican folk music: *Jamaican Song and Story: Annancy Stories, Digging Sings, Ring Tunes, and Dancing Tunes* (1907). This work remains a vital ethnographic tool for anthropologists, ethnomusicologists, historians, musicians and folklorists.<sup>26</sup>

Jekyll's contribution to Jamaican culture, however, transcended his ethnographic work. As the island's wise guru, Jekyll was often called upon to settle many important questions of music, literature, religion, botany and science for the islanders.<sup>27</sup>

Intellectually, it was difficult to best him, yet Jekyll earnestly shared his wealth of knowledge with his Hanoverian neighbours and with Jamaicans in general.<sup>28</sup> One admirer confirmed that Jekyll's day was: 'devoted to giving help to someone. Music lessons for this one, singing lessons for another... was there anything not understood, it was always "Ask Mr. Jekyll".'<sup>29</sup> It was the centrality of music in Jekyll's Jamaican life, though, which produced the most essential part of his legacy. Given his parents' musical pedigree, his direct association with Mendelssohn and Lamperti, his piano and vocal competence and his renowned, window-open piano performances from his living room, Jekyll captured the imagination of many Jamaicans who were able to directly or indirectly benefit from his rich musical mind.

Jekyll's collection is important because it reveals the transoceanic nature of Jamaica's folk music traditions. But more, a review of Jekyll's character, inclinations and

predispositions, redresses the misrepresentations of the author. Walter Jekyll complicates extant constructions of whiteness.<sup>30</sup> A member of England's ruling class, Jekyll was an aristocratic rebel who rejected much of the cachet of Empire and all that modernity promised. Although he was in the swim of so many historical currents, the round Jekyll did not fit smartly into the square moulds that some scholars have chosen for him. Indeed, those scholarly efforts that do treat Jekyll often have him couched in an antagonistic colonist-to-colonial role with his protégé, the poet Claude McKay.<sup>31</sup> The folklorist anticipated late-twentieth century attitudes towards 'race'.

The Jamaican legacy bestowed by the Englishman also intersected with a future Jamaican-Canadian music star. Buried in the very same cemetery with Jekyll are the parents of Earle Heedram. Born in Lucea only sixteen years after Jekyll's death, Heedram – the "Mighty Pope" – would become the first black solo artist to be signed to a major record label in Canada with RCA Records in 1977.<sup>32</sup> Before coming to Canada in the 1960s, Heedram attended Rusea's High School in Lucea where only a generation previous, promising students, urged by their teacher, endeavoured upon the eight-mile trip to Bower Hill on Saturday mornings to hear Jekyll discuss literature and music.<sup>33</sup> Miss Irene Dixon, the local piano teacher, also began a tradition of sending Jekyll some of her more gifted students so that he might help them prepare in advance of their examinations.<sup>34</sup> Heedram too, would walk to Miss Dixon's for his niece's bi-weekly lessons with Jekyll's musical colleague. Apart from his contribution to the national culture of Jamaica, Jekyll greatly added to the local musical culture of Lucea and inspired community stalwarts like Dixon to administer formal instruction to Hanover's musical hopefuls like Heedram and his niece.

Jekyll's collection demonstrated a 'vernacular' Jamaicanness that fused African and European influences and folk traditions, and Jekyll was less invested in the amusical agendas that informed the works of so many of his contemporaries.<sup>35</sup> The purpose of his *Jamaican Song and Story*, it would seem, was not to evangelize, nor to assist in building a national orthodoxy for England and Empire. Neither was Jekyll's collection a means of confirming a racial hierarchy with whites at the top. Challenging the bible, questioning 'progress', and frowning upon colonial expansion as he did, Jekyll was more concerned *with* and ever in the hunt *for* the 'real thing'. In chasing Jekyll's hunt for African survivals, the counter-trends that existed along the touchlines of Britain's dominant society are made visible for the modern scholar.

Jekyll had found the 'real thing' in his friend and protégé Claude McKay. The black McKay would become Jamaica's poet laureate of the twentieth century and – writing as he often did in Jamaican Patois – was considered by many to be the Robert Burns of Jamaica.<sup>36</sup> The following passage from McKay's literary classic *Banana Bottom* (1933) paid homage to his mentor, couched here in the guise of Squire Gensir, a character McKay based entirely on the real Walter Jekyll:

How different his life had been from the life of the other whites. They had come to conquer and explore, govern, trade, preach and educate to their liking, exploit men and material. But this man was the first to enter into the simple life of the island Negroes and proclaim significance and beauty in their transplanted African folk tales and in the words and music of their native dialect songs. Before him it had been generally said the Negroes were inartistic. But he had found artistry where others saw nothing.<sup>37</sup>

Certainly, Jekyll was born into privilege on 27 November 1849 at Bramley House, Guildford in Surrey. Despite being ordained a Deacon, the Harrow/Cambridge-educated man openly rebelled, questioned the Bible, turned his back on a life in the church and

took a keen interest in the new criticisms of Christianity that Darwin's findings had inspired.<sup>38</sup> In short order, Jekyll would also turn his back on England.

A variety of reasons may have contributed to Jekyll's exodus to Jamaica. Initially, Walter may have been inspired by the paintings of Marianne North, one of the Jekyll family's many celebrity-friends.<sup>39</sup> The Jamaican climate also suited Walter's struggle with respiratory issues and a battle with asthma was given as the 'official' reason for leaving England. Still, Jekyll may have been homosexual and, as this was in the age of the Oscar Wilde-styled witch-hunt, the former reverend's lifestyle might have figured in his decision. In any case, Jekyll sailed from Southampton to Jamaica on 24 October 1894.<sup>40</sup>

Walter, like his famous gardening sister Gertrude, never married and when the siblings were travelling together in Italy, Jekyll met the Parisian-born English painter Hercules Brabazon who may have introduced 'homosexual desire' to him.<sup>41</sup> If Jekyll was homosexual, however, he cannot be counted among those several other active and repressed homosexuals of his day, who worked fervidly for the colonizing causes of the Empire.<sup>42</sup> For Jekyll, Jamaica was a retreat not an outpost, and the musical horticulturalist soon created a life that eschewed the obligations of Britain's dominant class. Once there, Jekyll became obsessed with the folk traditions of the Jamaican people and, but for one brief return visit to England in 1895, he never left Jamaica again.<sup>43</sup>

Walter chose to give up his life within Britain's elite social circle and opted to 'live like a peasant except for his books.'<sup>44</sup> Jekyll was reacting *to* and rallying *against* modernity. In his search for the vernacular, he was led back to the land where even the simple act of tilling a garden could be regarded as a form of protest against encroaching

modernity.<sup>45</sup> Mostly though, Jekyll lamented the presumed abandoning of folkways in not only England, but also around the world. As such, his collection of Jamaican songs and stories was his most poignant response. Yet Jekyll's collection, unlike others of his era, would not help to nurture an orthodox English culture. Walter was not in the nation-building game.<sup>46</sup> Instead, *Jamaican Song and Story* embraced another tradition and allowed for, in no small measure, the history of 'other'.

Attitudes towards national identity for the likes of Jekyll, McKay, *et al*, spoke to an early twentieth-century utopian 'internationalism'. This internationalist philosophy could link the colonized and racially oppressed with others who were not bound to nation-building prerogatives.<sup>47</sup> Internationalists, perhaps as a strategy for healing the displacement caused by slavery, began to re-imagine the Empire and gave value to 'otherness'.<sup>48</sup> Internationalism was in many respects akin to the classless utopia of prehistoric times so imagined by the English anthropologist Edward Tylor and offered suitable articulation for those like Jekyll who cared little for 'progress' and rejected modernism. Importantly, internationalism also anticipated – by a century – new ideas of whiteness.

Many scientists and intellectuals of Jekyll's age, however, *were* interested in proving the racial superiority of whites and shared little interest in 'others'. Skin spectrometry, craniology, linguistics and eugenics became, as Colin C. Eldridge confirmed, "the tools of renewed racial prejudice."<sup>49</sup> Primitive anthropology too could be used as such a tool by some and though Claude McKay may have "devoured greedily" the six-penny reprints of Herbert Spencer's work, that philosopher's theory of 'survival of the fittest' was soon used in 'scientific racism' to illustrate the superiority of whites.<sup>50</sup>

Folklorists and anthropologists too, could, in their pursuit of English purity, be vaguely racist as they sought to render blacks as a separate, inferior species.<sup>51</sup> Jekyll was certainly not interested in helping assemble a racial hierarchy. While some of his field-notes conjure up images of a musical ‘noble savage’, Jekyll did not see himself as a member of the superior Anglo-Saxon race.<sup>52</sup> Though Jekyll was privileged by virtue of his class, position and skin colour, the collector was aware of the privilege afforded lighter skinned people on the island.<sup>53</sup> Ergo, to view Jekyll as but a garden-variety colonist, as some have done, does a disservice to the man whose ideology suggests a more complex character.<sup>54</sup> Importantly, he never retreated back to England with his findings to share with the social elite. Jekyll never yearned to leave his Jamaican ‘laboratory’ for home, he was already home.

Jekyll’s collection was assembled at a time when ‘white nation’ building was occurring throughout the English-speaking, self-governing colonies of the Empire.<sup>55</sup> His was, after all, the age of the ‘Natal Formula’. First employed in the British province of Natal at the end of the nineteenth century, representatives of the colonial governments were impressed by how the Natal Formula – employing impossible tests of literacy on would be non-European/non-white immigrants – was able to greatly reduce and in some cases eliminate undesirable immigration without affronting the Empire’s façade of egalitarianism which boasted a spirit of freedom to all subjects of Britain. Thus, while the language of immigration policy was not necessarily exclusionary (as it did not specifically discriminate on racial criteria), a racialized outcome of keeping non-white immigrants out of the colonies – including Canada – was achieved.



The construction and consolidation of whiteness was emerging throughout the British colonies during the early twentieth century. This construction was an extension of the late nineteenth century move, as described above, to establish the racial superiority of whites. Yet, it also addressed the ‘vulnerability’ in the state of the ‘white race’ that many influential social and political agents in the British colonies felt needed correcting.<sup>56</sup> This feeling was exacerbated when Japan defeated Russia in 1905 in the Straits of Tsushima. This was one of the few times in history that a white army had been defeated by a non-white force.<sup>57</sup> The consolidation of this white-identity was well under way when Jekyll was writing his book. Lord Milner’s public address in 1903, for example, proclaimed:

The white man must rule, because he is elevated by many, many steps above the black man; steps which it will take the latter centuries to climb, and which it is quite possible that the vast bulk of the black population may never be able to climb at all.<sup>58</sup>

When such white-identity building left little room for cultural pluralism, Jekyll’s collection, by its very nature, did.

Still, the presence of a white, aristocrat in the mountains of Jamaica must have presented an unnatural set of conditions for Jekyll’s source singers. The bulk of Jekyll’s collection was culled at his Jamaican home where he would sit his subjects “down to their recital and make them dictate slowly; so the stories and songs are in their *ipissima verba*.”<sup>59</sup> For Walter, amendments, improvements or changes of any sort were not tolerated except in the case of toning down the language or subject matter lest the volume found its way into a nursery.<sup>60</sup> Rather, Jekyll was interested in a strict reading of the ethnological data; it was always about the melody, the ‘very word’, the ‘article’, the ‘real’ Jamaica.<sup>61</sup>

## MR. CLERK

Following closely in the footsteps of Walter Jekyll, was Astley Clerk who was born in Montego Bay in 1868 and was likewise on the hunt for the ‘real’ Jamaica. Clerk’s paternal grandmother was a “mistress of African descent”. In Jamaica’s incredibly nuanced parlance relating to racial hues, Clerk’s father was, according to the *Jamaica Journal*, “the second son of a dark skin ‘coloured’”, while his mother was of “Scottish ancestry.”<sup>62</sup> Clerk’s interest in Jamaican folklore and music was manifest in the establishment of the Cowen Music Rooms in Kingston. Here, Clerk organized concerts, musical competitions and began the long-standing annual Christmas show at Kingston’s Ward Theatre.

Perhaps more importantly, at least in terms of this project, Clerk collected some 400 Jamaican folk songs, a number that far exceeded Jekyll’s seminal collection. Moreover, Clerk notated the music and vocal stylings of some of Jamaica’s street vendors of his time, which were then performed by Spanish Town’s famous tenor Granville Campbell.<sup>63</sup> In 1913, Clerk gave a lecture on ‘The Music and Instruments of Jamaica’ and in that same year, took on the Institute of Jamaica for its ‘British elitism’ and its decision to withhold certain texts from Clerk throughout the course of his research.<sup>64</sup> As such, the racially-mixed Clerk provides another example of someone who complicates the ‘construction’ of whiteness.

Clerk edited the Kingston-based periodical *Winkler’s Musical Monthly*, a periodical that published open-debates on the subjects of ‘race’ and music, and more specifically, estimations on the ‘value’ of the ‘African’ element within Jamaican music.<sup>65</sup> As the *Jamaican Journal* attested, Clerk:

...proclaimed his resolution to any ambivalence in favour of Jamaica. This was exceptional for his time and even more so given the privileged social and racial status which he enjoyed in society.<sup>66</sup>

Like Jekyll, Clerk famously defended the use of Patois for the island's poets, including

Claude McKay. As the *Daily Gleaner* reported, Mr. Clerk:

...attaches importance to native dialect, and joins issue with those who would discourage its use as a means of poetic diction, for the reasons that it is the vernacular and, therefore, a true representation, it has its own peculiar charms, on investigation it can be made to disclose the history of our people: on certain important lines of development, it has its own individuality and genius and inimitably conjures up images too elusive for description in the words by the most erudite English. It is true to its function as a vehicle of thought.<sup>67</sup>

The folklorist was awarded the Musgrave Medal in 1937 for his work in the development of Jamaican orchestral music and through his efforts to preserve the folklore of Jamaica.<sup>68</sup>

Half a century after receiving his medal and 3,000 kilometres to the north in Toronto, Clerk's grandnephew Dr. Tomaz Jardim, one of the world's foremost collectors and authorities of Bob Marley's music, would take up reggae guitar.

Jekyll and Clerk's remain the only works of their kind before Jamaica's move to develop its native culture began in the years leading up to the Second World War. This move inspired new interest in African heritage and its potential in buttressing the country's cultural narrative, and it drew heavily on Jekyll and Clerk's findings.<sup>69</sup> The evidence suggests that Jekyll and Clerk were hardly moved by the European heritage in Jamaican musical culture.<sup>70</sup> At the same time, both collectors complicated notions about whiteness and blackness during the early twentieth century.

## THE COLLECTION

Musically, Walter Jekyll was quite qualified to undertake a study such as his. A competent pianist, Jekyll possessed a fine voice and commanded a broad knowledge of music.<sup>71</sup> Jekyll used a piano “to record the native airs he wrote down.”<sup>72</sup> The real Jekyll also gave a daily performance. At precisely one o’clock each afternoon, and with the windows wide open, Walter Jekyll played his only luxury, a grand piano.<sup>73</sup> Jekyll used multiple singers to capture and correct any nuance of a given melody.<sup>74</sup> This proved difficult for the collector as the source singers “varied the tunes according to their whim.”<sup>75</sup> Still, source singers that tilled the soil were often cast as the ‘musical noble savage’.<sup>76</sup> This was a recurring theme for folklorists in Jekyll and Clerk’s time. The English folklorist Lucy Broadwood, for example, was delighted that nearly all of the Dunsfold singers were illiterate.<sup>77</sup> Seeking to untangle the African influences from the dominant colonial culture of the island, the ‘folk’ in the Port Royal Mountains, just beyond the reach of the ever-growing metro pole of Kingston, may have similarly satisfied Walter Jekyll’s pursuit.

Jekyll was upfront with his readers when he felt that he had lost the scent during the hunt:

What I take to be certainly primitive about them is the little short refrains, like “Carry him go’long” (Dry Bone) and “Commando” (Annancy and Hog). These suggest tapping on a drum...some of the tunes are evidently popular songs of the day...but others are a puzzle, showing as they do a high order of melodic instinct.<sup>78</sup>

Such observations hammer home the author’s suppositions about what African ‘survivals’ might or should resemble, but they also give Jekyll’s work an elasticity that avoids an absolutist approach.

The author declared that his was not a definitive collection, but rather “a mere sample both of stories and song” and that districts outside of the Port Royal Mountains would, necessarily, have their own ‘sings’ that were reliant on their own local topics.<sup>79</sup> Jekyll collected his stories and song at a time in Jamaica when those in their seventies could remember the days of sugar and slavery.<sup>80</sup> The ethnographer witnessed first-hand what Philip Sherlock has dubbed, “the living roots”.<sup>81</sup>

Jekyll also became the first to document, at least *his* idea of the Jamaican interpretation of Annancy.<sup>82</sup> Annancy the spider served as the central figure of this collection of parables and songs of the animal-fantasy variety.<sup>83</sup> As Rex Nettleford explained, Annancy was the nation’s folk-hero who throughout Jekyll’s collection embodied the Jamaican spirit “in his ostentatious professions of love, in his wrong-and-strong, brave-but-cowardly postures of bluff, in his love for leisure and corresponding dislike for work, in his lovable rascality.”<sup>84</sup> Perhaps most importantly, though, *Brer* Annancy had been a survivor, one who captured the imagination of his audience, helping them to survive racism, inequity, even slavery. Jekyll explained that his Annancy stories were, as far as he knew, “more or less alike throughout the island.”<sup>85</sup>

The collection, then, illustrated the evolution of a real, indigenous Jamaican folk tradition through the hybridity of African and European influences. Jekyll broke down the collection into four separate parts: 1) ‘Annancy Stories’, that often, but not always, included an accompanying piece of music; 2) ‘Digging Sings’, that were sung during field labour and were distinctive given their ‘call and response’ style; a ‘leader’, tailoring his lines to topical and humorous matters, would ‘raise’ the tune and the ‘bobbin’, or refrain, would be sung by the rest of the men; 3) ‘Ring Tunes’, an extension of those

Annancy songs that referred to ‘playing in the ring’, that had originated in part from English children’s games; And finally, 4) ‘Dancing Tunes’, that reinterpreted those popular melodies that had been disseminated in Jamaica by visiting sailors.<sup>86</sup>

Part of Jekyll’s view on hybridity was revealed in McKay’s *Banana Bottom*: Squire Gensir showed Bitia Plant a native Jamaican tune from the ‘hill country’ that had been fiddled and sung to a dance called the ‘minto’ but whose melody was originally Mozart’s.<sup>87</sup> Her imagination captured, Bitia asked Squire whether there were other Jamaican tunes that had not been ‘original’, to which the Jekyll character replied:

Some are; some aren’t. I don’t think it matters. Everybody borrows or steals and recreates in art. Next to enjoying it, the exciting thing is tracking down sources and resemblances and influences.<sup>88</sup>

Perhaps unapologetically then, hybridity would be a dominant feature of Jekyll’s collection.<sup>89</sup>

At times, Jekyll seems to mourn the hybridity of European influence within the collection, whilst otherwise taking obvious delight when something was ‘thoroughly Jamaican’, or ‘typically Jamaican’.<sup>90</sup> Likewise, Jekyll explained that the ‘Dancing Tunes’ demonstrated a “marked departure from what may be called the Jamaican type of melody.”<sup>91</sup> This was due chiefly to the fact that the bulk of ‘Dancing Tunes’ had come from popular tunes that had been spread by sailors visiting the seaports of Jamaica.<sup>92</sup> Still, Jekyll stressed this adoption of ‘local topics’, pointing out that while melodies may have been retained, “the tunes are refitted with a complete set of new words, describing some incident which has lately happened in the district, or some detail of daily life.”<sup>93</sup> This particular function of hybridity serves as a golden thread, spanning the earlier folk

traditions of Jamaica, through to the modern genres of ska and reggae, including the Canadian variety.

According to the folklorists involved in Jekyll's collection's publication, at least eleven of the fifty-one stories were either directly or indirectly of European origin.<sup>94</sup> Yet, even within these eleven, as folklorist Alice Werner cautioned, there existed independent African prototypes.<sup>95</sup> Straight African stories, like the European ones, were also modified to suit Jamaican sensibilities.<sup>96</sup> Charles Samuel Myers, who also wrote an appendix for the first edition entitled 'Traces of African Melody in Jamaica', confirmed Broadwood's assessment that Jamaicans had learnt many of the songs via sailors' shanties but stressed that "a community does not adopt exotic music without at the same time exercising selection" and that "adoption always involves adaptation."<sup>97</sup> Though his assessment almost certainly satisfied an underlying colonial prerogative, Myers rightfully claimed that a song is "modified to suit the current canons of taste."<sup>98</sup>

The constructions of 'Africa' and 'Europe' in the discourse as used in the works of early twentieth century folklorists were able to reinforce contemporary notions regarding European and Colonial racial superiority.<sup>99</sup> The language used by English folklorist and assistant to Ralph Vaughan Williams, Lucy Broadwood, for instance, spoke to a dangerous consensus so held at this time. Discussing Walter Jekyll's collection of Jamaican songs and stories in 1907, Broadwood highlighted the *mimetic* quality of Jamaica's singers and musicians, in other words, their ability to mimic European melodies and song.<sup>100</sup> Though it is unlikely that Jekyll himself felt this way (for reasons explained above), these conclusions were later galvanized in the works of two Americans: the ethnomusicologist Helen H. Roberts and the folklorist and ethnographer

Martha Beckwith. Writing in the 1920s, Roberts and Beckwith further articulated the perceived dialectic of ‘African’ and ‘European’ survivals in Jamaican music and drew the distinction between the African rhythm and the European melody. Though they never visited Jamaica, Roberts and Beckwith contributed to a racially and ethnically defined body of research concerning that country’s musical traditions. Their work, as Daniel Neely explained, “equated organized melodic aptitude with modern European progress, and rhythm with a state of under-development and darkest Africa.” Importantly, neither Roberts nor Beckwith consulted Jekyll over the course of their research.<sup>101</sup>

While Broadwood’s interpretation of Jekyll’s collection may have likewise reinforced a colonial prerogative of European racial superiority, her contribution to Jekyll’s work – an appendix entitled ‘English Airs and Motifs in Jamaica’ – established a connection, or, at the very least, engendered a consideration of those ‘European’ melodies that had traversed the Black Atlantic and arrived in Jamaica.<sup>102</sup> Despite circumstance and tone, a dispassionate re-reading of Broadwood’s analysis does indeed suggest the possibility of linkages between European melodies and Jamaican songs. Certainly, the *Europeanness* of Jamaican musics may not be terribly obvious, nor celebrated, nor much discussed for a variety of reasons, but this does not alter the shared DNA of reggae, rocksteady and mento, with the quadrille, strathspey and hornpipe.<sup>103</sup>

The Jamaican-born bassist Peter Holung, who moved to Canada in 1975, spoke to the residue of the British influence on his homeland:

The English, out of all the European countries that occupied Jamaica, had the most influence because they were there the longest – number one – and they were the ones who started out the educational system in Jamaica [and] is still to this day what we know... So, because of that, England was able to train that sovereign nation in the way how England’s culture is... and that translated down into the poor, because what the poor do in Jamaica... they try to emulate people who



“have”... and that’s the English influence that we still have. We still drive on the left-hand side of the road; we still have the Oxford-York educational standard...and that just had a whole grasp on our culture. It’s bittersweet. They [English] gave us quadrille in music [and] dance. Quadrille, mixed with Kumina, mixed with Pocomania, those three things evolved into what reggae music is today. Long before there was ska and R&B, there was the quadrille; there was Kumina; there was Pocomania on the streets all the time.<sup>104</sup>

Before the slaves had come to Jamaica, the island’s first peoples, the Taino, had fashioned violins out of bamboo and reeds, which of course predated the arrival of the fiddles that came with Jamaica’s Irish and Scottish overseers and bookkeepers.<sup>105</sup> Yet, it was the English and Celtic melodies, dances and storylines as Holung suggested, that were absorbed into the canon of Jamaica’s folk tradition. This was what the Scots, Irish and English brought to the island’s cultural table. And so, the jigs, strathspeys, hornpipes and quadrilles were, as Professor Vivien Goldman correctly noted, “lurking in the soul of mento and other Jamaican musics.”<sup>106</sup>

Originating in the royal courts of France in the middle of the eighteenth century, the quadrille had, by the early 1800s travelled west to the British Isles before sailing on to Jamaica shortly thereafter. The dance officially called for four couples in a square; it is effectively square-dancing (which still commands some currency in Jamaica).<sup>107</sup> The quadrille soon became part of the musical vocabulary of the Scottish and Irish indentured servants who in turn, introduced it to Jamaica’s slaves. Plantation owners would use African slaves and indentured servants to perform the dance music for the former’s amusement.<sup>108</sup> These ‘Quadrille Bands’ usually comprised of a fiddle, fife and banjo and later the rhumba box, effectively a bass sansa.<sup>109</sup>

Two styles of the quadrille dance developed in Jamaica following emancipation in 1838: the so-called ‘camp’ and the more formal ‘ballroom’.<sup>110</sup> As in the tradition of

Trinidad and Tobago's Carnival, enslaved servants used the quadrille to mimic *and* ridicule their European masters.<sup>111</sup> There were five sections to the quadrille: *le pantelon*; *l'ete*, *la poule*, *trenis* and the *finale* (or *gallop*). Emancipated Jamaican slaves appropriated this fifth and final figure of the 'camp' style of the quadrille and from it developed mento music.<sup>112</sup>

Mento was, like ska and reggae would be later on, frowned upon by Jamaica's civil and religious elites.<sup>113</sup> And while there existed a sort of pan-Caribbean calypso that snuck into many of the islands, Jamaican mento was particularly popular and grew in fame with Jamaicans (and tourists) during and after the Second World War.<sup>114</sup> The genre, through singing stars like Stanley Motta, Ivan Chin, Slim and Slam, Stanley Beckford, The Jolly Boys, Ken Khouri and the later Toronto-bound Lord Tanamo would inform all of the major musical developments on the island in the twentieth century.

In some instances, non-Jamaicans – across centuries – have been able to discern the *Britishness* within Jamaican music. Sattalites' co-founder Fergus Hambleton has, over the course of four decades playing reggae, observed that:

Jamaican music is very absorbent, so it's able to absorb a lot of other traditions, you know I guess I've got an English-Scottish kind of background and certainly there's a lot of influence there...the Jamaican culture carries those kinds of elements, it just has those other different components that don't appear in the folk music of England and Scotland...but a lot of the themes are the same, and, of course, a lot of the folk songs came from England and went to Jamaica and were transformed there by adding in certain musical things.<sup>115</sup>

Canada's premier reggae sound engineer and Nelly Furtado's front-of-house mixer, Bajan-Canadian Jeffrey Holdip was uniquely positioned to assess the deep connections between the Caribbean quadrille and Scottish musical antecedents. At one end of the spectrum, Holdip has mixed Jamaican reggae legends like Augustus Pablo and Gregory

Isaacs, at the other end, Jeffrey's uncle was a fiddle player and toured Southwestern Ontario. Holdip observed:

All these musics...are dances: jigs, reels, hornpipes and the strathspey; the strathspey, that's mento...if you listen to the cadence of the tunes – and they're very complex, some of them can be very complex as a dance...it's a very complex music and time signature – but if you listen to those traditional Scottish folk, those dance musics, you can pick out the rhythm and go 'Jeez man, that's where those guys got that from.'<sup>116</sup>

Jeffrey himself learned how to play fiddle, including the various Scottish dances discussed, whilst he simultaneously embarked on a love affair with reggae music.

Some seventy years before Holdip made the connection between old and new worlds, however, Lucy Broadwood had already revealed several strains of the English, Scottish and Irish folk traditions found within Jekyll's compilation in her appendix of the collector's work. The interconnectedness of the newish Jamaican tradition with older and more current British folk traditions was something that was galvanized throughout the twentieth century in both popular Jamaican music and theatre. Annancy stories, by example, were featured in pantomimes that were produced by the Little Theatre Movement in Jamaica during the middle of the twentieth century. These presentations were themselves a hybrid of West African storytelling, loosely structured within a British Music Hall context where vaudevillian representations co-mingled with slapstick and pathos.<sup>117</sup>

Similarly, few scholars have examined the golden-thread of Jamaica's folk traditions and its effect on present day Jamaican music. A teleological reading of modern Jamaican popular music shows that dancehall artists have drawn on the folk tradition's use of the 'absurd', reggae artists on its storytelling elements, ska artists on its use of the topical and mento artists on the traditional instrumentation as well as the actual songs and

stories themselves.<sup>118</sup> Jekyll's collection, it would seem, has strengthened the golden-thread found throughout modern Jamaican cultural and artistic expression in supplying a companion text to the island's extant oral traditions.

Fortunately for modern scholars, Broadwood listed the most apparent adaptations of English, Scottish and Irish motifs numbered among Jekyll's collection. 'King Daniel', both premise (a parrot revealing a murder) and melody can be found in two of Professor Child's ballads: 'May Colvin' and 'Young Hunting'.<sup>119</sup> 'The Three Sisters' covers several extant 'world-wide' motifs found in not only the Child ballads, but also in a variety of African prototypes.<sup>120</sup> 'Pretty Poll', also off of the 'May Colvin' or 'The Outlandish Knight' storyline, has a melody that Broadwood suggested was, "rather reminiscent of one traditional air to the ballad sung still in different parts of England."<sup>121</sup> The melody of 'Man Crow' comes from a Worcestershire children's song 'A finger and thumb keep moving', while 'Saylan' counts no less than three English antecedents in 'The Maid freed from the Gallows', 'The Golden Ball', and 'The Prickly Bush'.<sup>122</sup> Likewise, 'Tacoma and the Old Witch Girl' borrowed from the triumvirate of 'The Keys of Heaven', 'Blue Muslin' and 'Madam I will gi'e you'.<sup>123</sup> 'War down a Monkland', was, according to Broadwood, a traditional tune of either English or Irish descent.<sup>124</sup> Broadwood observed that "'You worthless Becca Watson' was definitely a play on 'We won't go home till morning'."<sup>125</sup> 'Me lover gone a Colon Bay' originated from the children's game-song 'Here come three Dukes a-riding', while 'Crahss-lookin' dog up'tairs' emanated from a northern English and Scottish children's game entitled 'Hullaballoo ballie'.<sup>126</sup> 'Oh we went to the river' was quite similar to the Scottish dance-tune 'There's nae luck about the hoose', while 'Bahs, Bahs, you married you wife' also

originated from a Scottish or English dance-tune.<sup>127</sup> One of the more obvious examples of Scottish hybridity among Jekyll's collection of digging sings can be found in 'Gee oh Mother Mac' (*also known as 'John Tom'*):

*Gee oh Mother Mac, Gee oh John Tom;  
Gee oh Mother Mac, Gee oh John Tom;  
a me lassie gone, Gone oh John Tom.*<sup>128</sup>

Scottish links abound in Jamaican culture. Specifically, freed-slaves were more apt to take on Scottish names over English ones, as there had been fewer Scottish masters and a greater number of Scottish indentured servants.

There were several traces throughout the collection's texts that suggest lineages that were neither from a pure African, nor pure British Isles folk tradition. 'Man-Crow', at least the story portion, was a variation on the theme of 'Rombas'; a story that likely reached Africa via the Portuguese.<sup>129</sup> 'Parson Puss and Parson Dog' was, at least in part, derived from the French air 'Ah, vous dirai-je, Maman?' while 'Complain, complain, complain' was a derivative of the Italian 'La Mandolinata'.<sup>130</sup> And although traces of African American traditions and revival songs were sparse within the reverend's collection, Broadwood confirmed that 'Bungo Moolatta' was indeed a variation of 'O dem Golden Slippers'.<sup>131</sup>

For his part, Jekyll privileged what he considered to be pure African influences in the songs and was acutely aware of the rhythmic differences between the African and European folk song tradition, the former which gained:

...a peculiar and almost indescribable lilt from a peculiarity in the time-organization of the Negro. If you ask him to beat the time with his foot, he does it perfectly regularly, but just where the white man does not do it. We beat *with* the time; he beats *against* it.<sup>132</sup>

Such sensitivity to syncopation and nuance in the organization of musical time was crucial to notating such a collection. Dr. Olive Lewin, who annotated six collections of Jamaican folks songs in the 1970s, explained that “it was by his considerable knowledge as a musician that [Jekyll] made the most valuable contribution to this all too neglected field of scholarship.”<sup>133</sup> In this sense, Jekyll was uniquely positioned to conduct the study given his years of musical training, combined with his having lived on the island for, by 1907, over twelve years.

Among the ‘purer’ African influences, according to Jekyll, were the ‘digging sings’. These were sung during field labour and were often accompanied by the partaking of rum. The most common labour associated with these songs was during the digging of yam-hills. They are distinctive for their ‘call and response’ style: where one leader would ‘raise’ the tune which would be met with the ‘bobbin’, or the short chorus refrain, sung by the rest of the men.<sup>134</sup> The nature of the digging sing allows for some improvisation on the part of the leader, who can tailor his lines to topical and almost always humorous matters.<sup>135</sup>

Likewise, ‘ring tunes’, an extension of those Annancy songs and parables that refer to ‘playing in the ring’, originate in part from English children’s games. ‘Ring tunes’ differed from ‘dancing tunes’ which were grounded in the storytelling tradition. ‘Sally Water’ is the most common ring tune that begins with children ‘playing in the ring’, frantically culminating with a ‘wheel’, or a rapid turning dance; the child left in the ring thus becomes ‘Sally Water’.<sup>136</sup> Similarly, ‘Quaco Sam’, as found in the collection, was a central part of Jamaica’s creole musical culture in the 1830s.<sup>137</sup> The melody was derived from the Scottish tune ‘White Cockade’. The initial text of the song, relating to

the Jacobite Rebellions of 1715 and 1745 had undergone various updates and was even used as a marching song by the British during the 1812 war. The Jamaican version, however, while invoking the Scottish melody, also incorporates an Ashanti tradition; Quaco being the name given to a boy born on the fourth day of the week.<sup>138</sup> This sort of adaptation was noted by Astley Clerk who dated it c.1857 and described it as ‘Afro-Jamaican’.<sup>139</sup>

These were the sorts of Afro-Jamaican qualities of the island’s folk traditions that were privileged in Jamaica’s cultural renaissance prior to the Second World War. This movement gained even greater traction after Jamaican Independence in 1962. It was here, that popular poets and musical artists look inward to the island’s own creolized folk traditions. Yet, while they looked inward and exploited their own rich canon of folk music, the new musics that emerged out of the post-Independence era continued to be informed by external forces from the British Isles and also from the United States.

Still, the omnipresent British connection to the island remains apparent to anyone who visits Jamaica. As Jamaican reggae guitar legend Rannie “Bop” Williams explained:

We were definitely focussed looking on England for most of our early interests...We tried to speak like the English; we do like the English...at school we have those English teachers...Anyone will tell you that the English had a great influence on Jamaican people and our music, because they were the ones we used to dance to first and listen to and everything...We concentrated on English because we had our eyes on England.<sup>140</sup>

In 2012, Jamaica celebrated its fiftieth anniversary of Independence from Britain. In a survey conducted the year before, sixty percent of Jamaicans held the view that their country would have been better off had it remained under British rule.<sup>141</sup> While it is well outside the boundary line of this paper to assess such popular opinion polls, it does rather

help to add nuance to the back and forth flow of transoceanic cultural currents and how important *both* shores were to this process.



## CHAPTER III

### *REQUIRED FROM US A SONG:* TWENTIETH CENTURY MUSIC ON THE BLACK ATLANTIC

In this brief chapter, we will review the important musical and cultural conversations that continued between the UK and Jamaica during the twentieth century. During this time, Jamaican popular musics began to evolve out of the island's folk traditions. By the late 1930s, Jamaica began to experience a cultural awakening that privileged Afro-Jamaican art and music. In many ways, reggae, rocksteady and ska were directly responding to the growing sense of Jamaican national pride.<sup>1</sup>

Yet, the island continued to engage in a dialogue with British cultural sensibilities, as Jamaican musical trends informed movements within British popular music after the Second World War. At the same time, American jazz, country and western, and rock and roll all figured largely in the maturation of the island's indigenous popular musics. These American influences added yet another dimension to the Jamaican sound that would make it recognizable to the non-Jamaican.

The transnational nature of reggae music, however, extends beyond musical signifiers. From the colonial period, Britain's Protestant churches blended deeply with the island's African 'survivals'. Linked as they were with the Abolitionist movement, various Protestant faiths (Baptists in particular) and their music found favour among black Jamaicans.<sup>2</sup> Jamaicans who simultaneously practised Christianity *and* African faith traditions were ubiquitous. This religious legacy continued into the twentieth century and remained important to those who migrated to Toronto.

Similarly, the British educational system also informed the way some of Jamaica's music was institutionalized and disseminated. This was evidenced in the remarkable musical output from graduates of Jamaica's Alpha Boys School. Alpha graduates profoundly shaped Jamaican music both on the island itself and also in Britain and Canada. An Alpha alumnus, Jo Jo Bennett became a central figure in Toronto's reggae scene and would himself instruct future and hopeful reggaeists, including those from outside of the Jamaican-Canadian community.

A review of these cultural conversations is important as it helps to demonstrate the organic and transnational nature of the reggae text. It is likewise helpful in revealing the ingredients found within those popular musics that Jamaican migrants brought with them to Canada. The majority of Jamaican migrants in this study, as we will later witness, believe that these musics provided them with an advantage over other migrants in the acculturation process. At the same time, these Jamaican sounds – informed as they had been by British and American influences – were attractive to the youth sub-culture of Toronto in the 1970s and 1980s. Perhaps unwittingly, the young host – enthusiastic about reggae – was responding in part to the various recognizable threads within reggae's fabric.

## CULTURAL AWAKENING

Following the country's Labour Riots of 1938, Jamaica experienced something of a 'cultural awakening'. It was a period of nation building that privileged, perhaps for the first time, Afro-Jamaican culture. Afro-Jamaican art, storytelling and music began to find favour, at least superficially, among the island's lighter skinned elite. 'Blackness' was a

stock on the rise. And it was rising in concert with the country's move towards independence from Great Britain. To gain political traction for independence (or any issue for that matter), Jamaica's ruling and brown skinned class in the form of either the Jamaica Labour Party or the People's National Party, now had to consider and vie for the nation's black voters.

While Afro-Jamaican traditions were being lauded in Jamaica by these influential agents, these still had to compete with popular British and American musical currents. The latter forms were played at Kingston dances and over the nation's radios. As such, the average person living in Jamaica after the Second World War was exposed to many external musical influences.<sup>3</sup>

Many black Jamaicans nevertheless began to consider their country's own folk traditions in the years leading up to Independence in 1962. Most people living in Jamaica in the pre-independence period would have been familiar with the 'godmother' of Jamaican folklore Louise Bennett (*aka* Miss Lou).<sup>4</sup> Bennett, Jamaica's most important poetess and folklorist of the twentieth century declared that "the present generation of Jamaicans and especially we in the theatre are deeply indebted to Walter Jekyll for so faithfully and painstakingly recording the Jamaican folk stories and songs."<sup>5</sup> A graduate of London's Royal Academy of Dramatic Arts, the breadth of her knowledge of the island's folk traditions was unsurpassed. Moreover, her poetry often mixed the joyful metre of mento with sobering content and anticipated the critical black liberation poetry of reggae artists and dub poets of the 1970s. Bennett's 'Bans O' Ooman' (tackling gender discrimination), 'Colour Bar' (tackling Jamaica's preoccupations with race and racial bias), 'Pinnacle' (addressing the poor treatment of the island's Rasta), and 'Bans O'

Killing' poignantly articulated black Jamaican attitudes. The latter poem in particular, was a brilliant statement that defended Jamaican Patois by exposing the evolution of the English language itself:

Yu wi haffi kill de Lancashire / De Yorkshire, de Cockney... Yuh wi haffe  
tear...out Chaucer, Burns...an plenty Shakespeare (and)...ef yuh drop a 'h' yuh  
mighta haffe kill yuhself.<sup>6</sup>

Written as they were in the 1940s, Bennett's serious poems were fairly revolutionary.

And while her persona is so often associated with the merriness of mento and the reinterpretation of classic island folk songs like 'Linstead Market', her early critiques of colonialism should not be ignored as they demonstrate an 'oppositional' thread that ties early island rebel songs like 'War Down a Monkland' (1865), through Bennett's body of wartime-era songs, and forward to Marley's 'Blackman Redemption' (1981).<sup>7</sup>

Bennett is Jekyll and Clerk's collections come alive. But more, hers is not simply a faithful rendering of Jamaican folk songs, but rather is evidence of the organic nature of folk musics everywhere: adapting and adjusting in order to survive. Indeed, if one drew a line between Jamaica's folk song tradition and the later traditions of ska, rocksteady and reggae, that line would have no choice but to intersect with Bennett's impressive catalogue of work. As Walker confirmed, "Louise Bennett's poetry not only serves as sustenance for reggae but is also one of its integral building blocks providing the very language with which it communicates."<sup>8</sup> Marley, by example, employed dozens of the island's folk sayings throughout his anthology, and would have no doubt been familiar with Bennett's treatments. 'Concrete Jungle', 'Them Belly Full (But We Hungry)', and 'Simmer Down' are among the many Marley penned tunes that heartily harvested the folk traditions of Bennett's era and before.<sup>9</sup>

The folk traditions and collections of Jekyll's age – thanks to Bennett – also found expression in the Canadian context. Rupert "Ojiji" Harvey of Canada's Messenjäh recalled: "We used to all gather around the radio on a certain day when she came on. We never missed Louise Bennett."<sup>10</sup> The essence of Bennett's critical poetry, sped on by the black consciousness work of Edward Kamau Brathwaite and Robin "Bongo Jerry" in the 1960s, evolved into an art form unto its own and one that suited those artists reading from the various reggae texts of the 1970s and 1980s. This was, of course, dub poetry. And the UK's Linton Kwesi Johnson, Jamaica's Mutabaruka, and Canada's Michael St. George, Clifton Joseph and Lillian Allen are greatly indebted to Bennett, as were Jamaican-Canadian reggae acts like Ernie Smith and the aforementioned Messenjäh.

Reggae's link to its folksy past, however, has been undervalued by journalists and ethnomusicologists (a theme we will return to later on). As such, the role of earlier creolized Jamaican folk traditions in reggae has been in some manner ignored. These traditions nevertheless made their way to Canada *via* the Jamaican migrant musician. For Rupert Harvey, the incorporation of such traditions "was a natural progression for me, I didn't just go and learn folk songs, I grew up with that."<sup>11</sup> Witness Messenjäh's 'Emanuelle Road':

*Go down Emanuelle Road, gal and boy fe go broke rock stone  
Go down Emanuelle Road, gal and boy fe go broke rock stone  
Broke them one-by-one, broke them two-by-two  
Broke them three-by-three, finger mash no cry  
æmember play we a play.*<sup>12</sup>

It was this folk song, as performed by a Canadian band of Jamaican ex-pats that won over a sceptical Jamaican crowd when Messenjäh played on the island in 1985.<sup>13</sup>

## FAITH MUSIC

Non secular influences, especially of the protestant faiths, also made a significant impression on Jamaican musics.<sup>14</sup> Pentecostals, Methodists, Nazarene and Seventh-Day Adventists were among the Christian groups that took root in Jamaica. Yet, Jamaicans found a way to be Christian while retaining a special place for their African heritage and its attendant rituals. The Jamaican singer Carol Brown spoke to the elasticity that existed within the island's protestant denominations:

You know when you're from Jamaica...so many churches; you've got to visit one of them at some time. My mom had us in the Pentecostal, but I went to just about every church because my school friends would say 'my church is having a supper' or 'my church is having a concert' and as a young child you visit all the churches.<sup>15</sup>

Likewise, Mike Smith, before he came to Canada, was introduced to the various protestant varieties in Jamaica. Smith's dad was a Rastaman, his grandmother was a Baptist and his uncle's family was Seventh Day Adventist. He had a bit of everything, but feels he got his 'religion' through his Dad and therefore, Mike considers himself a 'partial-Rasta' and that's how he learned biblical stories through the Rasta lens of his father.<sup>16</sup>

Contrary to popular perception, though, there is only a surprisingly small number of Rastafarians in Jamaica: approximately 25,000.<sup>17</sup> Men like Joseph Hibbert, Archibald Dunkley and Leonard P. Howell helped to popularize the Rasta movement in Jamaica in the 1930s and 1940s. The Jamaican-born Hibbert grew up in Costa Rica where he was a member of the occult Masonic group called the Ancient Mystic Order of Ethiopia. Later, Hibbert, alongside Dunkley launched the Jamaican branch of Haile Selassie's Ethiopian World Federation in 1938, while Howell founded Pinnacle, the island's first Rasta

commune. Rasta's principal text is the *Kebrä Nagast*, an ancient and sacred text that merges Christ with the Old Testament. Haile Selassie is regarded by Rastas as the 225<sup>th</sup> regal descendant, tracing back to Menelik, son of Solomon and Sheba and thusly, a direct descendant of Jesus Christ. For Rastas, when Selassie was crowned King of Ethiopia in 1930, biblical prophecy had been fulfilled.<sup>18</sup> Earlier elements of the hard-core Rasta movement harkened back to Kenya's anti-colonial rebels' battle cry: 'death to the white oppressor', had, by the 1960s, been fine-tuned to call for 'death to black and white oppressors'. Even so, there remained a prevailing binary racialism in the movement's ideology.<sup>19</sup>

The socio-philosophical quotient of Rasta is deeply connected to the Pan-Africanism so prevalent in the works of Marcus Garvey.<sup>20</sup> Still, Rastas only account for approximately one percent of Jamaica's population.<sup>21</sup> This is important when considering the 'authenticities' of what scholars refer to as the 'text' of reggae, a music that was made – at least since its inception and through its glory years of the 1970s and 1980s – by a significant number of non-Rastas.

To be sure, post-Garvey themes like Zion and its antithesis Babylon remain ubiquitous in Rasta imagery and therefore reggae music. Zion and Babylon are not just metaphorical (though they can be used as such), but rather truly heaven and hell; righteousness and idolatry; utopia and a worldly system of oppression enforced by the devil's henchmen, politicians, soldiers and the police.<sup>22</sup> Willi Williams' 'Armageddon Time' remains one of reggae's most popular anthems and was later covered by punk rockers The Clash:

*A lotta people won't get no justice tonight  
So a lotta people going to have to stand up and fight now*

*But remember to praise Jehovah  
And He will guide you in this Iration  
It's Armagideon<sup>23</sup>*

The Pickering Ontario resident's statement on the gravity of the situation on earth has remained a veritable reggae anthem.

Obeah traditions were likewise abundant in Jamaican folk music and the island's more popular musics.<sup>24</sup> 'Duppies', for example, are the souls of the dead. There are good duppies and there are bad duppies. They roam the earth at night and can assume various forms of both humans and animals.<sup>25</sup> For his part, Jekyll observed that "everybody in Jamaica believes in Duppy, and many women and children will not go out at night for fear of meeting one."<sup>26</sup> While Bob Marley and the Wailers' 'Duppy Conqueror' may be one of the most recognizable tunes dealing with the subject, future Canadian Ernie Smith's 'Duppy or a Gunman' was also a significant hit in Jamaica in 1974:

*It mus be a duppy or a gunman  
I man no fin' out yet  
I an I did so frighten  
All de daughter name I feget.<sup>27</sup>*

Superstitions and faith systems of both the European and African varieties, it would seem, all contributed to the melange of Jamaica's music. And Smith's hit still retains great currency in Toronto's reggae scene.

## ALPHA BOYS SCHOOL

The various musics that informed Jamaica's own traditions were given form through a British-styled school system which, together with the island's various Christian missions, had begun to cultivate a nation-wide musical culture at the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>28</sup> The instruments that British soldiers had brought to the island were,



by the 1880s, finding use among the members of Kingston's fledgling brass bands who regularly took their sound to the capital's main streets.<sup>29</sup> It was at this time that the European wind tradition began to coalesce with extant Afro-Caribbean musical forms in Jamaica, where further creolization occurred. More formally, European band masters were imported to assemble and train military brass bands in Jamaica.

Kingston's Alpha Boys' School was a conduit for this process. Alpha was founded in 1880 as a home for 'wayward boys' by the Jamaican-born Justina Ripall and her two close companions Josephine Ximenes and Louise Dugiol who sought to establish an orphanage in Kingston.<sup>30</sup> Ten years later, the school was given a boon when a group of sisters from the Sisters of Mercy in Bermondsey London, decided to lend a hand.<sup>31</sup> In terms of instruction, it was a classic case of tough love from the Sisters whom, as several Alpha grads have described, was a mixture of strictness and positive reinforcement.<sup>32</sup>

In 1892, the school boasted the Alpha Drum and Fife Corps. By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, the famous Alpha Boys' Band was firmly in place and would prove to be, for the remainder of the century, a blossoming nursery for not only brass band music in Jamaica, but also for the country's popular musical forms of ska, rocksteady and reggae.<sup>33</sup> The Boys' Band began operations after receiving a generous gift of brass instruments from the Roman Catholic Bishop of Jamaica in 1908.<sup>34</sup> This gift helped to establish the most important musical institution in the island's history. The products of which would, in one way or another, inform much of the essential Jamaican-produced recordings of the twentieth century.<sup>35</sup>

It would not be overstating the fact to say that a disproportionate number of foundational Jamaican musicians of the second half of the twentieth century were Alpha

Alumni. To this end, no fewer than four original Skatalites – Don Drummond, Tommy McCook, Lester Sterling and Dizzy Moore – were Alpha students. Reggae drumming legend Leroy “Horsemouth” Wallace, who studied under the Alpha school’s Lennie Hibbert, would provide the backing for essential Rasta anthems like The Abyssinians’ ‘Satta A Massagana’ and Burning Spear’s ‘Marcus Garvey’.<sup>36</sup> On reflection, Canadian reggae radio DJ David Kingston observed that:

If you listen to all the reggae drummers from Jamaica from Sly [Dunbar] all the way back, they all go back to Lloyd [Knibb] and they go back to Alpha [Boys School]...and what do you fucking learn? It’s military, they’re military drummers, those snares are all military, it’s the blood of the Scots rising, you get in your kilt and you go over the hill...if you listen to Lloyd and those Skatalites, it’s from steady, steady serious practise of military drumming, band marching, and where does that come from? You’re hearing things that are hitting you on a sub-conscious or conscious level.<sup>37</sup>

To be sure, there were more elements than military drumming techniques at play in the evolution of ska. Theophilus Beckford, for example, combined his Alpha schooling with American R&B influences like Rosco Gordon to become one of the chief architects of the piano off-beat in ska.<sup>38</sup> As the great Jamaican bandleader Sonny Bradshaw observed: “we didn’t have a School of Music...Alpha was the School of Music.”<sup>39</sup>

Alpha graduates had the benefit of training and being musically literate. This gave them an advantage over other musicians who were perhaps not as theory-savvy.<sup>40</sup>

Opportunities on the island were, however, sparse. And so, some grads possessed the necessary gumption to ply their trade in the UK. Tenor saxophonist Joe Harriott, for example, became a British jazz legend pioneering, as he did, an avant-garde form that even pre-dated Ornette Coleman’s more famous free jazz movement of the early 1960s.<sup>41</sup>

Other Alpha musicians found success in Britain with Jamaican music too. Ska-era trombonist Rico Rodriguez enjoyed something of a renaissance during the Two Tone

wave in Britain playing with The Specials in the late 1970s. Similarly, Vin Gordon was a central figure in the British reggae scene and appeared on several crucial Aswad cuts. And trumpeter Eddie Tan-Tan Thornton, whose dizzying resume includes sessions with Jimi Hendrix, The Beatles ('Got to Get You into My Life'), The Rolling Stones and Georgie Fame, still found time for reggae playing with Bob Marley, Boney M and Aswad.<sup>42</sup> Perhaps most notably, Desmond Dekker had what might be considered the first international Jamaican hit with the 'Israelites' in 1968 which charted in the UK, US and Canada.<sup>43</sup>

A few Alpha grads headed north to Toronto. Sheiks' saxophonist Headley Bennett (*aka* Deadly Headley), for example, relocated for a time to the Great White North in the late 1960s. As did Karl "King Cannonball" Bryan and 'Warrior' composer Johnny Osbourne, who led Ishan People – the first reggae band to be signed to a major label in Canada – before returning to Jamaica to embark on a highly successful solo career.<sup>44</sup>

One particular Alpha Boy, however, stayed in Toronto and would over time, become one of Canada's most influential reggae ambassadors. Jo Jo Bennett was born into West Kingston's notorious ghetto. When he was two, Bennett's mother took him to a children's home, hoping that he would have a better chance of it there. Jo Jo came to Alpha when he was ten years old and learned book-binding, gardening, shoe-making, carpentry and, of course, music. Under the tutelage of the classically-trained Rueben Delgado, Bennett picked up the trumpet (though he would later change to flugelhorn in Canada):

Well, in the military band, it was mostly the classical stuff, you know... Beethoven and all them guys but in a different form: like a brass band form. But it's the same classical type of music. Calypso and a little bit of classical because that's what I learn and that's what I grew up on.<sup>45</sup>

Jo Jo successfully made first solo trumpet in the Alpha Military Band and lead trumpeter with the Jamaica Military Band.<sup>46</sup> This was no easy feat. As the celebrated Jamaican dancer and author Ivy Baxter concluded in 1970, the Jamaica Military Band “formed...the nucleus of any musical ensemble.”<sup>47</sup> Alpha had given Jo Jo the gumption to survive as a working musician in Jamaica. His horn brought him to Toronto, but not before he served an important term blowing in Byron Lee’s group: one of the island’s most popular ska bands.<sup>48</sup>

#### THE MAKING OF JAMAICAN POP MUSIC: SKA

Technology had of course changed the way music had been carried and shared among the Jamaican public. Musical evolution and fusion were no longer reliant on what was carried by boat and by foot. The sale of broadsides, the advent of the gramophone and 78s and eventually the introduction of radio accelerated the island’s absorption of popular music from the British and American canon. From the late nineteenth century onwards, Vaudeville entertainments, ‘race’ records from the early blues and swing era and later still American R&B found currency among those Jamaicans who possessed the means to afford a piano, or a gramophone or later a wireless.<sup>49</sup> The famous early twentieth century Jamaican street-singing duo, Slim and Slam, drew as much from popular ‘outside’ musical currents as they did from Jamaica’s own folk heritage.<sup>50</sup>

By the late 1950s, American R&B was immensely popular in Jamaica, being played on popular radio shows on Jamaica’s Radio Jamaica and Rediffusion (RJR).<sup>51</sup> Before the ska craze took hold of the island, American R&B was king at the various sound system (or mobile discos) dances in the 1950s. It was at these dances where rural

dwellers and the urban proletariat could be exposed to the fresh American sounds without buying records and record players or even owning a radio.<sup>52</sup> And the American sound was immensely popular. Sound system DJs such as Tom The Great Sebastian and Duke Reid would carefully select the imported American records for their highly competitive (and often violent) dances. Rosco Gordon, Fats Domino and Louis Jordan were particularly popular.<sup>53</sup> Radio had acted just like the travelling sailors of one hundred plus years previous, broadcasting British pop, calypso from Trinidad and American soul, R&B, country and western and jazz.<sup>54</sup>

At first blush, country and western may seem like an odd choice, but it certainly was a crucial part of the puzzle. Country and western fit in with Jamaican's love of the western movie and frontier justice and would later inform the aesthetics of the island's rude boy. Moreover, the storytelling component of the music – especially artists like Johnny Cash – had great currency with Jamaicans.<sup>55</sup> Cash's tunes about violence, murder and prison were particularly popular in Jamaica. They were also really well-crafted songs. And so Johnny Cash, Patsy Cline and *Bonanza* had carved out a place in the popular culture of the island.<sup>56</sup>

Country and western's lyrics generally had a universality that resonated with people in Jamaica.<sup>57</sup> Toots Hibbert and future Jamaican-Canadians Ernie Smith and Earle "Mighty Pope" Heedram were profoundly influenced by country and western and in their own work, gave it, what Walker described as:

...a Jamaican flavour in a very creative way, because it was part of the building blocks, part of the tools that you use. Everybody's music is as a result of stuff that they've heard and that they've imbibed.<sup>58</sup>

When not imbibing Otis Redding, Heedram was devouring Charlie Pride, Hank Williams and Johnny Cash:

We used to sit up as kids listening to this radio station that used to come on short-wave from Miami. Strangely enough, it was a lot of country music...they're telling a story. God, I have periods where it's all I listen to, the pain in their voice.<sup>59</sup>

While playing some of Canada's more remote places for people who had not had a lot of contact with black people before, Pope was often called Charlie Pride.<sup>60</sup> Country and Western reminds seminal reggae guitarist and future Jamaican-Canadian Rannie "Bop" Williams about being in church with his mother. Cash's 'Ring of Fire' is Rannie's song!<sup>61</sup> Ernie Smith's country music experience is far more quantifiable. In 1975, a couple of years before Smith moved to Toronto, he wrote 'Tears on My Pillow', which was performed and produced by the American singer Johnny Nash. The single would be Nash's only number one single in the UK.<sup>62</sup>

Jazz music also deeply affected Jamaican culture and offered a space that united people who may have previously been separated by economics, race, and other signifiers. Jazz also anticipated the more liberal political climate that reggae brought in the 1970s.<sup>63</sup> For Jamaican musicians, jazz opened up their musical vocabulary. The improvisational sensibilities in jazz, for instance, can be found in Jamaican ska. Indeed, members of the Skatalites' horn section were all 'jazzers' first and were likely encouraged by the successes that ex-pat Joe Harriott, among others, was achieving in the United Kingdom.<sup>64</sup> Ska musicians trained in the Jamaican military tradition, then, would coalesce older Jamaican musical forms, like mento, and supplement it with these multifarious trends in British and American popular culture to produce a uniquely Jamaican sound.<sup>65</sup>

When it finally did arrive (unofficially in 1959), ska showed up with an attitude.<sup>66</sup> Born out of the music, ska's rude boy image – replete with high-cuff pants, suspenders and boots – came to embody a vast segment of Jamaica's disenfranchised youth culture that had left the island's rural areas to find work in cities like Montego Bay and Kingston.<sup>67</sup> These youth, including some women, were disillusioned with the lack of opportunities provided and so became highly oppositional, defying authority, speaking in highly codified Jamaican Patois, drinking white rum and Red Stripe (often to excess) and, for some, engaging in petty crime. The Mighty Pope recalled the early rude boy era before he moved to Toronto:

It goes right back to my mother. They were really particular about speaking properly and they did not like the way the [ska] records were and the things they were saying...it wasn't as vulgar as what's out there now with the rap, but it...wasn't proper English, it wasn't Queen's English.<sup>68</sup>

The rude boy image had been cobbled together by Jamaican youth *via* a variety of cultural commodities that had found their way to the island including western films and television shows like *Bonanza* and the James Bond film series, the first of which was filmed in Kingston (and specifically Rockfort) Jamaica in 1962.<sup>69</sup>

Ska's rough edge was part of its appeal. The 'rude boy' aesthetic became the face of ska. And ska artists also had a publicly relaxed attitude *to* and association *with* the Rasta movement. This association, however, didn't work for everyone. Ernest Ranglin, for instance, insisted on using a pseudonym on the first ska records he recorded on as a session guitarist because he didn't want his parents to find out he was playing ska.<sup>70</sup> If the Skatalites were the gritty 'downtown' Kingston ensemble, Byron Lee and the Dragonaires from the north coast became the country's polished 'uptown' act. And in what was one of the more controversial developments in Jamaica's musical history, the

Dragonaires, with guest singers Prince Buster, Eric “Monty” Morris and Millie Small, were chosen over the Skatalites to represent Jamaica at the 1964 World Fair in New York.

Still, it was the Skatalites – stacked with Alpha talent – who continued to produce success after success, often remaking hits from the American and British pop music world. The same year the band was overlooked for World Fair honours, for instance, it made good with an unlikely cover of Dmitri Tomkin’s ‘The Guns of Navarone’.<sup>71</sup> The song was based on the theme music from the movie of the same name that starred Gregory Peck, David Niven and Anthony Quinn. Having a pulse on the musical trends of Britain and America, then, was vital to Jamaica’s music producers. Bob Marley, for example, was given the job by producer/magnate Coxson Dodd to listen to the 45s coming out of the United States and to see which ones could be covered in a reggae style.<sup>72</sup> Indeed, Bob and the Wailers had once dressed in gold lamé jackets and did renditions of Burt Bacharach and Hal David’s ‘What’s New Pussycat’ and the Beatles’ ‘And I Love Her’.<sup>73</sup> Yet, such processes of adaptation simply continued a longstanding Jamaican musical tradition that had begun centuries earlier in the island’s ports where sea shanties, Strathspeys and quadrilles were reimagined for a domestic audience. This tradition continued when reggae arrived in the early 1970s.

#### REGGAE ROUTES: KINGSTON, LONDON, TORONTO AND BACK

Rock and roll had also managed to penetrate Jamaica’s airwaves. Bizarrely, it was the Canadian rock band Bachman Turner Overdrive’s ‘You Ain’t Seen Nothing Yet’ that was the first song that Peter Holung, honing his craft as a musician in Kingston Jamaica,



learned to play in 1974 before coming to Toronto.<sup>74</sup> Importantly, the Wailers, from the early 1970s onwards, began to explore a rock/reggae fusion that incorporated elements of rock's heavy sound.<sup>75</sup> American rock guitarist Wayne Perkins added pedal steel while American rock organist John "Rabbit" Bundrick supplied additional keyboard vibes to Bob's *Catch a Fire* album.<sup>76</sup> Though the former afterwards confessed that reggae was so foreign to him at the time, that he had no idea where beat 'one' was.<sup>77</sup> Later, two American lead guitarists would be added as fulltime touring members in the Wailers' fold including Donald Kinsey and Al Anderson. Later still, the Jamaican-born British guitarist Junior Marvin would serve as the Wailers' resident rocker. For some scholars, these may have been among the 'commercial compromises' that Marley made to achieve his success.<sup>78</sup> Importantly though, Marley's successes were recorded sometimes in part and sometimes wholly in England. Indeed, the centuries' old cultural dialogue drifting across the Black Atlantic may never have been more stirring as it was in 1976 when Marley crafted his genre-defining *Exodus* album in both Kingston and London.

Britain's reggae scene pre-dates the Canadian brand. In 2011, Legendary Jamaican record producer Bunny Lee declared that England was "the gateway to reggae music."<sup>79</sup> The British-Jamaican musical linkages had actually been growing stronger after Jamaica gained its independence from Britain in 1962, and the year Lee began working for Duke Reid's Treasure Isle label in Kingston.<sup>80</sup> Certainly, some of the more important staples in the canon of popular Jamaican music were recorded in England. From Prince Buster's seminal ska overture 'Madness', to Marley's above mentioned and London-produced *Exodus* (*Time* magazine's Album of the Century), England has always been a vital venue and launch pad for Jamaica's various art forms.<sup>81</sup> Just as the mother country

introduced the poetic works of Claude McKay to the world during the First World War, so too did England break ska, rocksteady and reggae to the baby-boomer generation. With strong ties to Britain, and endowed with its own significant West Indian population, Canada would also serve as a conduit between Jamaica and the world for the latter's global cultural transmission.

Millie Small's 'My Boy Lollipop' (1964), was a watershed moment in Jamaican music, and by extension *Reggae Britannica*. Produced by Chris Blackwell and arranged by Ernest Ranglin, then living in Britain, Small's single represented the first international hit for Jamaica's fledgling popular music. Some six million copies were sold and the song hit #1 in the UK charts and managed #2 on the American hit parade.<sup>82</sup> On the heels of this success, several ska artists chose to try the British market out by relocating there. Wilfred "Jackie" Edwards, Owen Gray and Bajan-born Jackie Opel all moved to London and experienced varying degrees of success.

Adaptation is not, however, a one way process. By the mid-1970s, *reggaeesque* arrangements began appearing in the material of the days' top pop and rock groups. The Eagles' 'Hotel California', 10CC's 'Dreadlock Holiday', Kate Bush's 'Kite', Steely Dan's 'Haitian Divorce', Paul Simon's 'Mother and Child Reunion' and Led Zeppelin's 'Dyer Maker' were among the many popular songs that used reggae (with, it must be said, varying degrees of integrity).<sup>83</sup> There were direct translations too. Bizarrely, Eric Clapton's version of Marley's 'I Shot the Sheriff' reached #1 on both the US and UK charts in 1974.<sup>84</sup> It was bizarre because Clapton had been the man whose drunken racist onstage remarks inspired the Rock Against Racism (RAR) movement.<sup>85</sup> American soul singer Johnny Nash also had some success with Marley's 'Stir it Up' and his own

reggaefied 'I Can See Clearly Now'.<sup>86</sup> While these 'tributes' demonstrated the significant inroads that reggae had made into pop's mainstream, the pop artists' actual treatment of the genre divorced the lighter aspects of the music from its original rebellious Jamaican text.

Some record companies sought to make reggae, rocksteady and ska more accessible to a wider British audience. One famous example was when the English-based Trojan Records added strings to Bob & Marcia's 'Young Gifted and Black'. While it might be argued that this was a classic case of co-optation, Bob Andy was pleased to be a part of the experiment: "I was very satisfied and very pleased with the strings. And so to hear a Jamaican recording – probably the first – to be so well endowed with such beautiful arrangements, it felt good to be a part of that."<sup>87</sup> Further, it is unlikely that even the more sceptical ethnomusicologist would draw into question Trojan's commitment to the proliferation of Jamaican music since 1968.

By the mid-1970s, British reggae was beginning to develop its own text. Initially performed by first and second generation West Indian musicians living in Britain, such as Matumbi, Aswad and Steel Pulse, the British reggae text soon branched out to include non-West Indian musicians. Multiracial bands like UB40, The Specials and The Beat took Jamaican music into even more British households.<sup>88</sup>

Indeed, British reggae had begun to inform aspects of Jamaican reggae. London's Aswad, for example, were particularly influential. Aswad was Burning Spear's backing band for the latter's classic Burning Spear *Live* album that was recorded on tour in 1977.<sup>89</sup> That same year, members of Aswad and Third World joined Bob Marley in a London studio to record an updated version of Curtis Mayfield's 'Keep on Moving'.<sup>90</sup>

And Dennis Brown, the “Crown Prince” of reggae, used Aswad’s ‘Love Fire’ rhythm track for his own ‘Promised Land’.<sup>91</sup> Spear, Marley and Brown were not fringe players on reggae’s periphery, they were leaders on the genre’s international stage and as such, had tacitly issued Aswad a stamp of approval. The music that had fused African and European musical traditions in Jamaica had been ferried by the Jamaican migrant to Britain. It had now come full circle back across the Black Atlantic to Jamaica *via* a British reggae band.

These were transnational, cross-cultural and organic sounds that had been centuries in the making. Reggae was, of course, grounded by the African drum, but it had also taken on the playfulness of a quadrille dance, the joy of mento’s off-beat strum, the discipline and instrumentation of a military brass band, the simplicity of a country and western storyline, the improvisational potential opened up by jazz, and the catharsis of a distorted rock guitar solo. As such, this sound evolved outside of any one *place* and was constrained to neither Kingston nor London.

## CHAPTER IV

### *BY THE RIVERS OF BABYLON: JAMAICA TO TORONTO*

Music played a significant role in the acculturation process for the Jamaican subjects of this project. And while this is not a traditional migrant history, the experiences of those interviewed roughly approximate the findings in other Jamaican-Canadian migrant studies. Perhaps the main difference, however, is that most of the subjects herein – given their close association with music and the music industry – believe that they had an advantage over other migrants in the acculturation process. The majority of subjects feel that they were able to draw strength from the sense of community that music and musicians can provide, and were able to build bridges through music into the city’s mainstream culture. For many, this was a good strategy for success in their new adopted land. Moreover, some of the interviewees feel that they were able to articulate the struggle of their own acculturation process through their art, which engendered much needed and worthwhile dialogue with non-Jamaicans.

Before we examine the findings of the oral reports, we must first, for context, review the evolution of Canada’s immigration policy as it pertains to Jamaicans. The official policies of the Canadian government were often calibrated to popular and pervasive attitudes about race and culture in Canada. These attitudes were often only trumped by either economic needs or outside forces that compelled Canada to further crack open its doors to Jamaican workers.<sup>1</sup> And it certainly was cracked open. From the end of the 1960s and right through until the 1980s, Jamaica provided nearly 40 percent of Canada’s total black immigration.<sup>2</sup>

At the same time, a variety of ‘push’ factors were compelling migrants to leave Jamaica in the 1970s and 1980s. Cyclical political violence in the country, for instance, convinced many Jamaicans to embark on a new life in Canada. Twenty-five and for some, even 45 years later, most of the subjects have now spent more time in Canada than they did in Jamaica. Most believe that their exodus to Canada was a worthwhile endeavour and that the burden of the journey was assuaged by music.

### JAMAICANS AND CANADIAN IMMIGRATION

It could be argued with some conviction that reggae’s zenith was achieved with the release of Bob Marley and the Wailers’ *Exodus* in 1977.<sup>3</sup> Recorded in England, this genre-defining album was dubbed ‘Album of the Century’ by *Time* magazine.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, the exodus story has long resonated with the Jamaican migrant, whether Christian, Rasta or otherwise. The Melodians, for instance, recorded ‘By the Rivers of Babylon’ in 1970 which liberally borrowed from *Psalms* 137:1 and spoke to the exodus theme seven years before Marley’s triumphant album:

*‘Cause the wicked carried us away, captivity, required from us a song.  
How can we sing King Alpha’s song in a strange land?’<sup>5</sup>*

Earlier still, in 1956, American singer Harry Belafonte, the son of a Jamaican housekeeper, introduced mento to the world with his phenomenally successful track ‘Jamaica Farewell’:

*But I’m sad to say, I’m on my way  
Won’t be back for many a day  
My heart is down, my head is turning around  
I had to leave a little girl in Kingston Town.<sup>6</sup>*

Migration for the Jamaican then, was commonplace. Invariably, someone's uncle had 'gon a Englan' to work in London's underground, while a sister might have 'gon a Cyanada' as a domestic or nurse. Yet, gaining landfall in Canada was not always so easily secured, as official policy ensured that the Jamaican-Canadian population would, for many years, remain low.

Generally speaking, the black population in Canada had been traditionally modest. The number of blacks living in Canada in 1881 was 21,400, less than half of one percent of the total number of people living in Canada at the time (approximately 4,324,000).<sup>7</sup> This number was more or less in stasis for the next fifty years, experiencing a small dip down to 19,500 blacks in 1931. From this point forth, black immigration into Canada was curtailed until after the Second World War.<sup>8</sup> The vast majority of Canada remained white and approximately half of the population claimed English, Irish, Scottish or other British extraction.<sup>9</sup>

'Race' commanded a significant role in the government's decision-making processes regarding who *was* and *was not* allowed into Canada. Black West Indians did not rate high on the *was* list. And while Canada may well have been a nation of immigrants, those black immigrants who got in were a select few.<sup>10</sup> As official policy gradually came to trumpet an 'open door' policy that encouraged immigration, the fine print set terrific restrictions on who could enter through that door. There was a biological argument crafted within the antiquated *Act Respecting Immigration* (1910) that still, at least prior to 1962, prohibited "the landing in Canada of immigrants belonging to any race deemed unsuited to the climate or requirements of Canada."<sup>11</sup> Simply put, the government suggested that the Canadian climate was too cold for Caribbean blacks.

While Depression-era racism in Canada may have lacked the chilling consequences that its American counterpart produced, the sentiment was, nevertheless, just as pervasive and ugly.<sup>12</sup> Some social theorists of the day were concerned about the future of British racial balance in Canada. One *Saturday Night* journalist, for instance, observed that Canada will have to devise a post-war immigration policy where “the cardinal consideration... must be to keep the British content in the population dominant.”<sup>13</sup> In the immediate post-war period, Canada’s immigration level did experience a significant increase, the likes of which had not been seen since the early 1920s. Yet, while the number of immigrants that came to Canada between the end of the Second World War and 1960 was considerable at over two million, the type of immigrant remained mostly British and nearly entirely white.<sup>14</sup> While Canadians, like most people around the world, had become acutely aware of human rights issues following war’s end, it took a long time for popular opinions and policy to catch up with the nation’s official sentiment that was expressed in the signing of the United Nations’ Declaration of Human Rights in 1948.

The symbiotic relationship between popular attitudes toward ‘race’ and the country’s immigration policymaking had endured well after the Second World War. Meanwhile, Caribbean blacks were being incorporated within a global labour market where they adapted to Western policies, racialized laws and prevailing attitudes towards blackness. Some scholars have suggested that a conspiratorial world order (held primarily between the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia and Canada) existed at this time, uniformly constructing the racial category of ‘black’ and placing it at the bottom of the heap in terms of state policy making.<sup>15</sup> These First World governments monitored



one another's handling of black immigration policies. While the language of immigration policies became less overtly racist, a new, non-racial language emerged that enabled nation states to achieve similar racialized ends.<sup>16</sup> A real paradox was created when existing immigration policies that were vague regarding blacks, were tested by Canadian employers specifically interested in black Caribbean labour. This was, of course, the case for those Jamaican domestic servants and nurses who came to Canada (and mostly Toronto) in the 1950s.<sup>17</sup>

The old argument of 'climatic unsuitability' was increasingly viewed with suspicion by some Canadians in the 1950s. Certainly, there was no evidence supporting any discernible negative effects on the Jamaican migrant due to the weather.<sup>18</sup> "The Government", as the *Canadian Unionist* explained in 1954, "has itself admitted that it has no statistics available to support [*climatic unsuitability*]."<sup>19</sup> Fewer and fewer people then, believed that this weather theory held any water.

Pressure had been cooking from inside Toronto's black community too. The Toronto-based Negro Citizenship Council, led by the Bajan-born Don Moore had been applying force on Ottawa from the 1950s onwards. The council was one of the first black delegations to be received in Ottawa (1954) where they lobbied for, *inter alia*, the admittance of West Indian nurses and domestic labourers into the Canadian workforce. This proposal found favour with some MPs given the country's growing need for both nurses and domestics. The brief the council presented to Walter Harris, then Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, recommended several amendments to the country's immigration policy. Specifically, the brief called on officials to review the definition of 'British Subject' and that it:

...be amended in the Canadian Immigration Act, so as to include all those who are, for all other purposes, regarded as “British subjects and citizens of the United Kingdom and commonwealth.”

And that:

The provision be made in the Act for the entry of a British West Indian, without regard to racial origin, who has sufficient means to maintain himself until he has secured employment.<sup>20</sup>

During his campaign, Moore brazenly identified the racial prejudices that informed immigration policy making in Canada, comparing as he did, Canadian immigration policies with those of the Apartheid regime in South Africa. The Council – with Moore in the vanguard – helped to affect real and positive change.<sup>21</sup>

On the strength of Moore and company’s efforts, Canadian immigration officials began to seek out young, healthy, educated black women in the Caribbean who had no dependents to come to Canada for domestic work in the late 1950s. This workers’ programme, however, contradicted prevalent attitudes towards blacks of the country’s pre-points system era, allowing as it did, black immigrants into Canada to work who did not necessarily meet the sponsor requirements as set out in the nation’s official immigration policy. Yet, the demand for domestics – especially in Toronto’s upper-scale neighbourhoods – prevailed over other considerations including most significantly, the country’s ‘racial balance’.<sup>22</sup>

While these initiatives satisfied a labour demand for domestics and nurses, they fell short of converting extant attitudes that pervaded Toronto, not to mention the rest of the country. The earliest wave of Jamaican nurses, for example, experienced a sense of isolation in Toronto and racially-based obstacles did much to deter the migrants’ access to that city’s mainstream society. Many of the nurses, for instance, were demoted to aides

and assistants upon their arrival in Canada. Strong-willed Jamaican women, however, pushed back and successfully argued for equality on the grounds that they had been British-trained. They were, after all, nurses, not ‘black nurses’ of some lesser value.<sup>23</sup> This particular wave of workers also took pride in mixing with other races and cultivated relationships with ‘others’ on their own initiative and terms.<sup>24</sup> When, by the late 1960s and early 1970s, West Indian neighbourhoods began to flourish and take root on Eglinton Avenue and Bathurst Street, the sense of isolation that Jamaican nurses and domestics had felt began to, give way to a greater sense of community.<sup>25</sup>

Long before this sense of community could emerge, Canada’s flagrant bigotry of the Second World War era had given way to the quiet, but equally abhorrent racism that has so defined much of Canada’s race relations. Systemic racism continued to find expression in many different ways during the 1950s. *Saturday Night* journalist Gordon Donaldson, for example, confirmed that in the small community of Dresden, Ontario, blacks were refused “a shave in a barbershop, a game of pool or a meal in a restaurant because they were Negroes.”<sup>26</sup> In another instance, Sault Ste. Marie’s *Daily Star* came to the defence of a local resort owner who refused black guests as not to offend American tourists.<sup>27</sup> Likewise, in a survey of Toronto landlords, fifty percent of the respondents admitted that they would *not* rent apartment houses to blacks.<sup>28</sup>

This disconcerting survey is rendered even more troubling when one considers the black population in Canada at the time. In 1958, the total number of “Negroes” in Canada was under 25,000.<sup>29</sup> And while Canada’s problem with ‘discrimination’ was relatively small when compared to the monstrous one that was percolating in the United States, it was not, as Donaldson affirmed, “because Canadians are noticeably more tolerant than

anybody else but because the Department of Citizenship and Immigration has done its best to keep Negroes out.”<sup>30</sup> As such, very few Jamaican blacks had managed to slip into Canada since the First World War and the country’s black population in general was in stasis. Nevertheless, one third of 4,400 blacks who managed to arrive in Canada prior to 1961 came from Jamaica.<sup>31</sup>

There were some reforms to the regulations of Canada’s immigration guidelines in 1962. ‘Official’ policy was now inching away from the preservation of a British racial balance.<sup>32</sup> Ironically, real change in Canada’s immigration policy, at least as far as Jamaicans were concerned, was in part accelerated by outside pressure from Britain. When official immigration policy, not to mention popular attitudes in Canada remained stubbornly in favour of white Europeans, many West Indians chose instead to go straight to the mother country. In 1960 alone, some 60,000 West Indians made the trek across the Atlantic to Britain to take up jobs that the British themselves did not want.<sup>33</sup> With the rising standard of living in Britain in the post-war era, a plethora of new menial and manual labour jobs needed filling and many West Indians filled that breach.<sup>34</sup> Jamaicans from the skilled and professional set were also making their mark in British society as lawyers, engineers and doctors. And so, there were plenty of success stories for Canadian politicians and officials to consider greater Jamaican migration to Canada.

It would appear that Jamaicans were not put off by warnings of growing racial prejudice in Britain and its outposts. British welfare workers were keen to report the visible successes in London’s ‘ghetto’ of Brixton, which apparently boasted “the closest and most harmonious integration possible.”<sup>35</sup> Regardless of the individual immigrant’s skill set, the British government could not really refuse the Jamaicans’ entry into Britain

in these years before Jamaican Independence, as they were, at least prior to 1962, British themselves. The UK authorities *could*, however, implore Canada to open up its doors, a move that was welcomed by many West Indians.

Many Jamaicans wanted to come to Canada. West Indian Commission workers in London predicted that somewhere in the neighbourhood of thirty percent of West Indian émigrés to Britain in the early 1960s actually favoured Canada over Britain if given the choice, and that Canada was positioned to attract the top echelons of West Indian society.<sup>36</sup> As Patsy Pyne of the Commission's London office explained in 1961:

You should remember that most West Indians are hardworking and ambitious. The ones that would choose Canada would be mainly from that group attracted by the possibility of good salaries and education for their families. A lot of them would be the sort that wouldn't ordinarily go to Britain at all – the middle class of person earning around £1,000 a year in professional or skilled work. And you know, to be blunt about it, we West Indians really are rather a better bet for Canada than some of your present immigrants. We think far more in North American terms than Europeans do, we are well accustomed to North American customs and values. For us, there's little real change involved in moving from one English-speaking Commonwealth area to another in the same hemisphere. All we ask is the chance to prove this to you in practice.<sup>37</sup>

While the degree of 'change' involved in moving from Jamaica to Canada might have surprised Pyne, Jamaicans and West Indians at large would indeed get their chance to prove their worth in Canada. But apart from the nurses and domestics that had come in the post-war era (and the other precious few who were highly-skilled), many Jamaicans would have to wait for Canada to further crack open its doors.

The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, established in 1963, officially recognized those Canadians who counted neither English nor French heritage. The argument remained, though, whether or not the 'deracialization' of Canada's official immigration policies had yielded meaningful change, as the results had been much the

same as they were in the previous three decades. In actuality, recruitment of Jamaicans into Canada was still very much informed by enduring racist attitudes. The seemingly random whims and discretionary powers held by individual immigration officials, not to mention the racist residue surrounding the issues of sponsorship, could and often did decide which Jamaicans would access Canadian shores. Such whims were at odds with the Canadian Government's advertisements that pedalled an idyllic multiracial Canadian society.<sup>38</sup>

The crack widened in 1966 with the introduction of the *White Paper*. Upon its delivery, Liberal MP Jean Marchand, the Minister of Manpower and Immigration, diplomatically apologized for the delay:

No one who understands the immigration problem will be surprised that this white paper could not be produced quickly and easily...There are few issues, indeed, that bring into play so comprehensively all the delicate balances and tensions of our Canadian society. Our problem is to avoid the ill consequences of these inevitable complexities. Immigration policy and procedures have to adjust to changing circumstances.<sup>39</sup>

In reality though, Canada had dragged its feet and could no longer ignore the 'changing circumstances', nor postpone the inevitable and necessary revamping of its attitude towards immigration.

The White Paper promised to be expansionist and non-discriminatory. Yet, the much-touted 'points system' that Canada adopted in 1967 was not without issue, privileging as it did, those who were educated. Some historians have argued that given the high cost of educational training, the points system was a modern day 'head tax'.<sup>40</sup> Like Australia and South Africa, Canada also adopted protective measures within the law that allowed for the successful juggling act of maintaining a modicum of 'fairness' within the *language* of legislation while eliminating unwelcome immigrants.<sup>41</sup> Still, the paper

established, as Marchand declared: “a new balance between the claims of family relationship and the economic interest of Canadians as a whole.”<sup>42</sup> This meant that a new immigrant could bring family members who were dependents prior to gaining citizenship. It was a step that anticipated Trudeau’s equally expansionist ‘family reunification’ measures of the early 1970s.<sup>43</sup> The days of preserving a British racial balance were, at least for official governmental decrees, over.

The new direction in immigration policy forever changed the complexion of several Canadian neighbourhoods. In 1971, some 34,400 blacks were living in Canada which accounted for roughly 0.2 percent of the total population. In only ten years, that number dramatically increased by sevenfold to 239,500, and blacks accounted for one percent of Canada’s population in 1981.<sup>44</sup> By 1991, the number had more than doubled again and 504,300 blacks accounted for roughly 1.9 percent of the total population.<sup>45</sup>

Jamaican émigrés led the way during the boom period of black immigration into Canada. Between 1970 and 2000, over 130,000 Jamaicans migrated to Canada.<sup>46</sup> And during the 1970s and 1980s, over 175,000 people, or 40 percent of Canada’s total black immigration, was of Jamaican ethnicity.<sup>47</sup> By 2001, Canada’s 211,700 Jamaicans were the fourth largest non-European ethnic community behind the Chinese, East Indian, and Filipino communities respectively.

With regards to this study, 96,715 Jamaicans relocated to Toronto during the 1970s and 1980s. This number represented 83 percent of the total number of Jamaicans living in Canada.<sup>48</sup> When one considers that only 34,400 blacks were living in the whole of Canada in 1971, the trebling of the number of blacks living in the city of Toronto alone in the space of twenty years was quite remarkable.<sup>49</sup>

Today, the Jamaican population in Toronto towers over other Caribbean groups. According to the *2006 Census*, 160,210 people living in Toronto were of Jamaican ethnicity and 93,840 of these were born in Jamaica.<sup>50</sup> People of Jamaican origin accounted for approximately 45 percent of the 352,220 blacks living in Toronto. In terms of a Ward-by-Ward breakdown: 12.7% of Metro's Jamaicans were – as of 2003 – living in Etobicoke North (Ward 1); 9.5% in Scarborough Rouge (Ward 42); 8.5% in the Jane-Finch Corridor (Ward 8); 7.5% in Scarborough East (Ward 43); and 6.7% in Eglinton-Lawrence (Ward 15).<sup>51</sup>

In more recent times, Lawrence Heights (roughly Lawrence Avenue and Bathurst Street), has been nicknamed the 'Jungle', a moniker that corresponds with the infamous neighbourhood of West Kingston. The 'Village', which was part of what an older generation might refer to as the 'Black Bottom', roughly covers the St. Clair and Eglinton area.<sup>52</sup> It was into this neighbourhood that many of Canada's early ska and reggae pioneers like Jo Jo Bennett relocated.<sup>53</sup>

Perhaps the most famous Jamaican enclave in the city, however, is the Jane and Finch Corridor.<sup>54</sup> Designed as a 'model suburb' in the 1960s, the corridor's labyrinth of high-rise and low-rise apartments was Canada's answer to an American-style urban 'project'. Few of the city and social planners working with the Ontario Housing Corporation, though, could have anticipated the impact that rapid urban growth would have on the area.<sup>55</sup> Though it was designed to accommodate new immigrants and, more generally, a higher-needs population with low income and public housing, the community was bereft of the necessary social infra-structure to sustain itself and became a haven for criminal (mostly drug) activity. Fortunately, several community-driven initiatives in the



past two decades have managed to reverse and repair the corridor's poor reputation. As of 2005, Jamaicans accounted for approximately 9% of the Jane-Finch population.<sup>56</sup> It was into this neighbourhood that so many Jamaican migrants would move, including Leroy Sibbles, perhaps the most important figure in *Reggae Canadiana*.

## MOVING OUT OF BABYLON

Cyclical violence has plagued Jamaica for centuries. From the Maroon-led victory over the British in the eighteenth century, to the Morant Bay Rebellion of the nineteenth century, to the union unrest of the 1930s, down to the high water mark of political violence of the late twentieth century, Jamaicans have often had to adapt or flee from highly treacherous and unpredictable social climates. And since the late 1960s, Canada has been a popular destination to flee to.

Political violence ravaged the island, engaging as it did, Jamaica's poorest in gang warfare and was perhaps the single most important *push* factor behind the northbound exodus to Canada. Colonial Jamaica had essentially been a feudal banana republic run by twenty-one 'brown' skinned families. It was from within these families that the country's two major political parties emerged. The first was the Jamaican Labour Party (JLP), founded in 1943 by William Alexander Clarke Bustamante. Though he had been a trade unionist who had been imprisoned for subversive activities and was in the vanguard of the anti-colonial movement of the 1930s, Bustamante's party platform would roughly come to represent the interests of the elite. The second party was the People's National Party (PNP), founded by Norman Washington Manley (a cousin of Bustamante's), which appealed more to the socially minded populist. By the early 1970s, only a decade after

securing independence from Britain, the island was particularly treacherous, hosting a ‘tribal’ war between supporters of the PNP and the opposing JLP.<sup>57</sup>

The PNP leader and incumbent Prime Minister during this era was Michael Manley, Norman Manley’s son.<sup>58</sup> Manley roared into power in 1972 with a convincing majority: thirty-seven seats against sixteen of the JLP’s Hugh Shearer (Manley’s cousin).<sup>59</sup> Manley’s opposition during the 1970s was the ethnomusicologist and Harvard-educated Edward Seaga. Seaga, who in 1955 had co-produced a field recording of Jamaican spiritual drums, proved to be a formidable opponent for Manley and both men had their respective ‘hard-liners’ who were not afraid to use brute force and intimidation tactics to make their point.<sup>60</sup>

If Seaga served an American master, Manley’s idealistic views dovetailed better with Castro and the Soviet prerogative.<sup>61</sup> In terms of a Canadian connection, Manley’s ties to that country were forged, bizarrely, in the Second World War when he served with the Royal Canadian Air Force.<sup>62</sup> Two decades later Manley cultivated a relationship with Pierre Trudeau, whose relaxed attitude toward the far left including Castro and the charming Jamaican prime minister, allowed for the passage of many Jamaicans to Canada.<sup>63</sup>

The 1976 edition of the Manley-Seaga saga harkened a new age of violence for the island. During the build-up to the election, Kingston became a violent and lawless police state. This turbulent climate was equally unforgiving to musicians, including the island’s folk hero Bob Marley who that year, survived an assassination attempt.<sup>64</sup> Yet, the violence endured long after the 1976 election had been decided. On 4 January 1978, for instance, political violence once again shook the island with the Green Bay Massacre

where five JLP members were killed in an ambush. It was in this fragile atmosphere that many chose to leave Jamaica or, at the very least, send their children to England, the United States and, of course, Canada.

Musicians too, left the country for their own personal safety. After having written ‘Jah Kingdom Go to Waste’, Ernie Smith knew his life was in danger. The song was considered incendiary by the Jamaican Government who banned it from radio under the *Emergency Measures Act*. Smith packed his bags for Toronto in 1978.<sup>65</sup> The hostility continued, however, right through into the next decade. The 1980 election was just as ‘crippling’ to the nation, leaving some 750 dead before the last ballot was counted.<sup>66</sup>

Not everyone, however, was trying to get out. Manley’s platform gave other young Jamaicans hope. Concert promoter Denise Jones, for instance, returned to Jamaica for a period in the mid-1970s:

It was a time of the non-aligned nation, the great Manley-Trudeau relationship. And at that time, Jamaica was at the height of democratic socialism where it was young people were going to Cuba to be trained as doctors. And we were saying [*to the US*] we’re an independent nation and we’re not your guy in the Caribbean.<sup>67</sup>

Northbound traffic nevertheless grew heavier between Kingston and Toronto, and while Toronto might have promised ‘cold’, it also promised peace for many who had to suffer the build-up and fallout of one bloody election after another.

## TAKING THE LEAP OF FAITH

Jamaican migrants, like most who chose to leave their homeland took a leap of faith and left the Caribbean in hopes of securing a better life in Canada. Employment for Jamaican migrants living in Canada diversified during the 1970s. While positions for

nurses and domestics slowed a little, there was a small increase in professional and technical opportunities for the migrants. There was also a significant jump in entrepreneurial and technical positions available to the newly arrived Jamaicans. Skilled work also increased, and between 1970 and 1974, 17 percent of the migrants were involved in assembly, fabricating and manufacturing work.<sup>68</sup> Jamaicans wanted to work; according to the 1986 census, over 79 percent of Jamaican women and 86 percent of Jamaican men held full-time positions in Toronto's labour force, which was above the Canadian norm.<sup>69</sup>

The processes involved in coming to Canada, however, demanded a certain mental resiliency from the immigrants. As demonstrated in a variety of academic studies, the Jamaican migrant's acculturation strategy in Canada has changed over time.<sup>70</sup> Previous acculturation models saw 'integration' into the broader society as the best strategy for immigrants as it reduced acculturative stress. These studies also showed that Jamaican's 'satisfaction' with Canada and the extent of 'integration' into Canada's dominant society was calibrated with the immigrants' occupation, length of residence in Canada and skin colour.<sup>71</sup> Indeed, lower class, darker skinned Jamaican immigrants were found to be less satisfied with their Canadian experience and were also less likely to integrate into the dominant society. The more satisfying and 'successful' strategy remained with those immigrants who were able to penetrate the social and economic mainstream.<sup>72</sup> Musicians, as entertainers constantly in the public eye and, by virtue of the job, socializing with other Torontonians, may have had an advantage in exploiting this strategy.

The ‘success’ of such a strategy, however, has since come under scrutiny by other scholars and waves of migrants alike. Some scholars have, for instance, begun to consider the ‘social-psychological processes’ associated with migration from one place to another within the West Indian diaspora.<sup>73</sup> Predictably, studies have shown that migrants were restricted from fully integrating into the dominant societies of major North American urban centres for reasons of ‘race’ and ethnicity.<sup>74</sup> In response, many West Indian immigrants within some studies have listed ‘ethnic identity’ and ‘intra-cultural socialization’ at the top of the group’s strategic list for reducing acculturative stress.<sup>75</sup> It would seem that for some, enacting ethnicity within the ‘group’ setting, eating at the local Caribbean restaurant, visiting the local Caribbean barber shop, attending the Caribbean church, and generally operating within the ‘Caribbean North’ community, made the most sense for social-psychological success.

Toronto’s Jamaican Canadian Association (JCA) acted as the more official hub of *Jamaicanness* for those migrants who sought comfort within their own community.<sup>76</sup> Launched in August 1962, the JCA sought to bring together the disparate collection of nurses, domestics and university students who had relocated to Toronto. The first committee was comprised of Roy G. Williams, Bromley Armstrong, E. S. Ricketts, Miss Phyllis Whyte, Mrs. Catherine Williams, George King, Leyton Ellis and Kenneth Simpson. The original mandate of the association was to provide opportunities for new arrivals. This later expanded to include assisting migrants focus on the educational needs of children. Ultimately though, the JCA represented the Jamaican community as it participated in collective public activity in the city. By extension of this – and in an effort to reduce tension – the association was involved in liaising between the black community

and the Metro Toronto Police Force. The JCA advocated for a civilian review board for the police force, which was established in Ontario in 1981.<sup>77</sup>

For some more recent migrants, however, identifying with their blackness took priority over identifying with Jamaicanness in terms of a strategy for surviving acculturative stress. Further, some studies suggest that Jamaican migrants may have fared better in American cities like New York and Miami over Canadian centres like Toronto because these large American cities had a greater native-born black population and a more comprehensive and black-friendly infrastructure for Jamaican migrants to exploit.<sup>78</sup> In the face of these findings, though, Canada remained the more attractive option for many Jamaicans. Marcia Vassell, for instance, related how her black girlfriend, who had moved to New Jersey, compared her experience there to what she had known in Toronto:

You know my girlfriend...she says “everyday I’m reminded of race: when I’m here all my friends are multicultural and we’re so cool with each other and I go [*to New Jersey*] and even the blacks are not accepting me because they’re saying that I’m too ‘white’ or I’m too ‘proper’ or I’m too ‘this’ or I’m too ‘that’...they’re not accepting me, and the whites don’t accept me either.” And I’m like, oh, my gosh, you poor baby come home [*to Canada*].<sup>79</sup>

Others too, believed that the United States is less friendly and more ‘race obsessed’ than Canada.<sup>80</sup>

Still, for many Jamaicans, Canada’s multiculturalism policy did not safeguard, but rather fuelled cultural intolerance against the migrant community.<sup>81</sup> Despite this sentiment, the majority of Jamaicans interviewed in this study – as well as the ones in those studies referenced above – believe that their move to Canada was the right choice. And those dedicated to a life in music feel that they were better poised to negotiate the murky waters of the migration process than their fellow Jamaicans who were non-musical.

And so they came, some on solo missions to chase work or escape the growing violence, and others with a sibling to be reunited with mom under the new family reunification policy of the Canadian government. They came to working class neighbourhoods like Eglinton Avenue West and Bathurst Street in the city's core, to Jane and Finch in the city's north end, and to the Danforth in the east. They came to the city's newer suburbs like Malton by the airport. Here a sponsor, there a job, so many splintered Jamaican families were reunited in the Great White North. Twelve year old Mike Smith came to Canada on Air Jamaica in September 1974 with one of his sisters and took root in the College and Ossington area.<sup>82</sup> It was the same for Sunray Grennan, who along with his younger brother, flew to Toronto to meet their mother, a domestic, and moved into the Jane and Sheppard area in 1976.<sup>83</sup> Eighteen-year-old bassist Peter Holung thought his parents were sending him to Toronto for a couple of weeks in 1975. He did not know that the master plan was for him to stay in Canada, which he did, spending his teenage years in Malton.<sup>84</sup> JuLion King's mother was looking out for her son's best interests when she brought him to Canada in July 1976. In her mind, it was a safer place for JuLion to grow up and somewhere that might settle her young boy down a little:

With the violence and the change in the political climate, [*my mom*] had two young children. When you walk the streets of Kingston, Jamaica you're either a lion or sheep. And I didn't choose the sheep route. And [*my mom*] started to see changes in me as well, by the time I'm fourteen, fifteen and sixteen, and she realize...she didn't feel safe protecting us by herself. So she thought, 'well Canada would be a good place to be', so *she step off*.<sup>85</sup>

As violence was ramping up in advance of the 1976 Jamaican election, the lion was plucked from the streets of Kingston and now roamed Toronto's Don Mills and Sheppard neighbourhood.

While the majority of Jamaicans came to Canada in a piecemeal fashion that was calibrated to Trudeau's family reunification immigration policies, there were some cases where the whole family came to Toronto *ensemble*. Canada promised new financial opportunities for families like the Vassells who emigrated in 1975. As Phil Vassell explained:

Well I think it's the typical immigrant story: [*our parents*] saw this as a place where there were better economic opportunities for them and better education opportunities for their children...the older I got the more I realized how fortunate we were to have that. All they asked from us in exchange for that was that we got a good education and once you took care of that the rest would take care of itself.<sup>86</sup>

The Vassells chose Toronto's Oakwood and St. Clair area, near the 'Black Bottom'.

Education was valued by most Jamaicans who were hoping to give their children a better life and was a contributing factor to the Jamaican exodus to Canada. Mike Smith's mom, for example, wanted her children to have a good education and the economic reality of rural Jamaica could not compete with downtown Toronto.<sup>87</sup> It was the same for the Harvey family. Rupert "Ojiji" Harvey, future frontman of Messenjah, arrived in Toronto with his brother Carl, future musical director for Toots and the Maytals, in 1966 when the former was only eleven years old.<sup>88</sup> The Harveys were a distinguished Jamaican family and were concerned with the country's political uncertainty. Rupert's dad was a scientist and his mother a school teacher in Jamaica and they therefore met the pre-points system criteria for immigration to Canada. Indeed, Rupert's grandmother was one of the first black women in Jamaica to attend college; this was quite a feat given that her mother had been in bondage until she was ten years old.<sup>89</sup> Rupert, who was accustomed to raising donkeys and rabbits in the rural area of Clarendon Jamaica, experienced a significant culture shock when the family moved into



the Vaughan and Oakwood area of downtown Toronto. But like so many others, Rupert's dad brought the family north to Canada for a decent job and to give his boys a good education.<sup>90</sup>

Theatre and concert promoter Denise Jones had a similar experience. After graduating from high school in Jamaica, Denise, who was interested in performance, had won a scholarship to the Harlem Dance Theatre. Jones, now CEO of the entertainment group Jones and Jones, was persuaded *not* to take the scholarship by her parents who insisted that she choose another path, one that led her to Canada. That path brought her to the University of Windsor where she studied broadcasting and communications.<sup>91</sup>

Not all of the young immigrants stuck to their studies. The Mighty Pope's parents didn't want him to stay in Lucea Jamaica, where they felt he would be just hanging out and likely getting into trouble. The couple, encouraged by what they heard about the country from relatives who had already relocated, viewed Canada as a possible corrective for their son. As the Mighty Pope explained:

I didn't really have any ambition as to go do this or do that. My mother wanted me to further my studies and what have you. And I did do some courses. [With] the lady I stayed with, it was important that you go to school. And it was some data processing course that I was taking, but the minute I discovered Club Jamaica all that stopped, and really [I] just started hanging out there in the week, rehearsing and play on the weekend which I'm not very proud of it, but I didn't want to do anything else.<sup>92</sup>

Becoming the first solo black artist to be signed to a major label in Canada did much to reverse any disappointment that mom and dad may have harboured.

Some Jamaicans openly sought a music career in Canada. Before joining Byron Lee and the Dragonaires in the late 1950s, Jo Jo Bennett had been honing his craft as the first solo trumpet player in the Alpha Boys' School Military Band. The future Sattalites

co-founder started touring with Jamaican music legend Byron Lee, including North America in 1965.<sup>93</sup> In 1967, the Sheiks had disbanded, with some of the players relocating to Toronto.<sup>94</sup> Enamoured with the city, Bennett had the idea of putting together his own Toronto ensemble with Barker and Tellwell. Yet, escaping the clutches of Byron Lee proved to be even more difficult than getting into Canada as Jo Jo recalled:

I'm thinking way out now in my head, oh fuck, "how can I get away and go back to Toronto?" [Byron] always hang on to all of the passports so you can't make no move...I said, "Byron, blah, blah, blah": the war started. It didn't lead to blows, but it was about too. It was about to man because I wanted my passport.

Ken from Ken and the Blues Busters, a singing group who was on the tour with Dragonaires was able to convince Byron to give Jo Jo his passport:

Here I go and get my freedom now...[I] didn't even go to bed, I went down to the bus station and I fall asleep on a chair there waiting to get a ticket to jump on the bus and come across the border. When I reach the border though the man say "Mr. Bennett where you going?" And I said, "I just finished a tour and I kinda physically tired, so I want to go spend a few days with my cousin here in Toronto." And he said, "okay, no problem Mr. Bennett you can go." And that was that.<sup>95</sup>

Thusly, did one of *Reggae Canadiana*'s foundational members step forward to blow his horn in the Queen City.

Rannie "Bop" Williams was equally hopeful of the feasibility of a Jamaican music market in Toronto. One of the most influential rhythm guitarists in Jamaica, Rannie "Bop" Williams was the first to play-up the mento rhythm style into reggae music and was a much sought after session player who recorded several critical sessions with Lee Perry, including some with Bob Marley.<sup>96</sup> As Rannie mused:

We were wondering when the Canadians were really going to get involved with this music. Because if they do get involved; then we have a chance to earn some money. So I try to help black Canadian, white Canadian to understand reggae music.<sup>97</sup>

Yet, Bennett, Williams and later Mittoo and Sibbles were very much in the minority as few of the musical Jamaican migrants laboured under the impression that migrating to Canada would produce or indeed sustain an indigenous reggae market.

Willi Williams, composer of the Clash's hit 'Armageddon Time', was perhaps more realistic about the relocation:

I decided to make it an adventure, to come and check it out and see what it was. And when I came here, I met some people here who...were part of my upbringing, my influences in what I was doing which was music, and namely Jackie Mittoo; I met Jo Jo Bennett, I met this brother over here, Jerry Sang [*and so forth*].<sup>98</sup>

Whether it was simply coming for the adventure, fleeing political violence and instability, seeking an education, making music or finding work, one general aim was central among all of the migrants' individual journeys, as singer Adrian Miller observed: "you know everybody was basically looking for a better life."<sup>99</sup>

## WELCOME TO CANADA

For many Jamaicans, Canada was a complete mystery. Outside of some cursory understanding of snow, hockey and 'Eskimos', few Jamaicans that migrated to Canada in the 1960s and 1970s knew what awaited them. Klive Walker believed that he possessed the same stereotype that most Jamaicans had about Canada, that it was cold and cultureless.<sup>100</sup> For Walker, Canada was a blank slate. Walker thought Lorne Green, William Shatner and Donald Sutherland were American. Now Klive finds himself defending or fighting off Canadian stereotypes back in Jamaica and England.<sup>101</sup> Coming from rural St. Andrew, Jamaica, with no television, Mike Smith could scarcely envision

what Toronto was like from his mother's letters home: "I couldn't imagine what snow was like."<sup>102</sup> The Mighty Pope's pre-migration appraisal of Toronto was similar:

Quite frankly, I did not know what to expect...in Jamaica we studied a book called *North America* and I remember reading for the first time about hockey – it didn't make sense to me – and another game, lacrosse which the mind couldn't even picture what it was. And what stuck in my mind was Saskatchewan and wheat. The book, looking back, wasn't that informative...And of course, it's totally different now...but really there was dearth of [*information*].<sup>103</sup>

Regardless of what they knew, Jamaican migrants soon became aware of Canada's severe cold weather.

Though governmental agencies had hoped to stem migration from Jamaica and the rest of the West Indies through the dubious 'climatic unsuitability' argument, the truth of the matter was that Canada's bitter cold winters profoundly affected newly arrived immigrants from the sunny island. As the Mighty Pope pleaded:

Take my word for it, and I came in December, now I've never seen snow, and just the darkness. I was totally depressed for months, you know, I wanted to go home.<sup>104</sup>

It was similar for future Calgary Reggae Festival Curator Leo Cripps:

I came in mid-January...the middle of winter, so experiencing snow was quite fascinating. The novelty wore off fast, however, as the winter months dragged on: the longing for familiar faces, places and food, the hardship of not having a job, therefore no money and just the everyday grimness of the outside cold.<sup>105</sup>

Mike Smith concurred: "You know what, we got along with the people okay, but the climate took a long time to get adjusted too."<sup>106</sup> Paul Bennett was disbelieving about the Canadian cold: "Landing in Canada at winter time, I really could not believe just how cold it was. That took a little bit to adjust to."<sup>107</sup> The shocking climate was not restricted to the heart of winter. When the two Harvey brothers went to the CNE at the end of their first Canadian summer in 1966, they were the only ones wearing sweaters because they

still thought Toronto's late 'summer breeze' was freezing.<sup>108</sup> It is perhaps not surprising, then, that in 1988 Rupert Harvey and Messenjah faithfully rendered their shivering experiences into song when they recorded 'Love is Summer in the Winter Time'.<sup>109</sup>

While the weather may have been chilly, some Jamaicans found everyday interactions with strangers in Canada to be equally cool. Growing up in the rural area of Cave Valley, Jamaica, singer-songwriter Wayne Hanson was surprised when people in Toronto didn't say hello when passing on the street. As Hanson observed, people in Canada were "a little bit more reserved. That was a little bit of a shock too."<sup>110</sup> Marcia Vassell also found Toronto to be "colder and not as friendly."<sup>111</sup>

Many black Jamaican migrants experienced equal measures of racism, ignorance and general curiosity upon their arrival in Toronto. Indeed, so few were the number of blacks in Toronto in the late 1960s that, as the Mighty Pope explained: "you'd see a black person across the street, you'd run over just to talk to them because they stuck out."<sup>112</sup> The culture shock, for both migrant and host, endured into the 1970s. Bassist Peter Holung remembers one particular day in 1975:

We went to Mosport and got lost and we stopped to ask for directions. And one of the guys [*travelling with Peter*] was Michael, a black Jamaican guy. We asked for directions and the guy who owned the farm came out and he touched him, he touched him like this [*touching arm*], 'cause he's never seen a black person before in his life.<sup>113</sup>

Coming from a country's whose motto is 'out of many, one people', Holung admitted that he hadn't known prejudice in terms of skin colour until he came to Canada.<sup>114</sup>

Teenagers found it especially tough going. Klive Walker, who was actually born in London to Jamaican parents but moved to Jamaica at age eleven, came to Canada in 1972 against his will:

I didn't want to come to Canada, I mean remember I'm 18 now...I'd made close friends, I didn't want to leave. I think my mother had to pack my bags for me...but once I got to Toronto and really settled in and recognized that there was a Jamaican community here that I could relate to, then all of that was washed away in a matter of a few months and I grew to really appreciate and love Toronto.<sup>115</sup>

Like Walker, JuLion King was less than impressed with his mother's decision to relocate to Toronto's Don Mills and Sheppard neighbourhood:

I was so vexed at my mother for bringing me here...I think it lasted for at least say a year where there was just limited conversation between us. George S. Henry [*Secondary School*] was a *tough lickle ting* because there were so many white people they were used to talk to people anyway them felt like it...One time my sister was in a class, and she come home every day crying and talking to my mom, but they never want [*to*] tell me, so me find out *seh* why she wasn't in an English class...Every time she would speak, this *breddah* at the back of the class would mimic her voice and make some *lickle* monkey sounds and ting...so I skipped class one day and went to her class and listened by the window and I ketch Mr. Man. So, when I see him after school, [*suffice to say*] *him never mek no more monkey sounds when me sister talk e?*<sup>116</sup>

King was not the only migrant of teenage vintage whose transition into Toronto could become intensely physical.<sup>117</sup> Upon his arrival in Malton, Adrian Miller recalled that he "had to fight and then assimilate. That helped shape the person I became."<sup>118</sup> Surviving racism shaped many of the migrants in this study.

Sometimes, it could be far more serious than a playground scuffle. The Jamaican migrant community was shaken up by the 1979 shooting death of Albert Johnson, a 35-year-old black man who was shot dead by two constables of the Toronto Police Force. The shooting and the subsequent acquittal of Constables William Inglis and Walter Cargnelli's manslaughter charges, was a watershed moment in Toronto's black community. Toronto Police made a discreet settlement with the Johnson family in a 1988 civil lawsuit.<sup>119</sup>

By the mid 1970s, various social agents determined that a crisis existed within Canada's race relations. Various studies were undertaken to appraise the situation and to advance recommendations that might soothe extant racial tension.<sup>120</sup> Anti-racist movements, such as the Urban Alliance on Race Relations, articulated a response by Toronto's black, Jewish and South Asian communities to hate-motivated violence against them in the city's public spaces.<sup>121</sup> These real life racial collisions were out of focus when compared with the governmental brochure of multiculturalism.

Racism – in any form – exacted a psychological cost from many migrants. Mike Smith, for example, described some of his negative encounters when he attended Kane Middle School in Toronto's Keeleleale neighbourhood:

Kids will pick on you for just about anything in school, sometimes there were some negative things in terms of the way you spoke...just saying the word 'orange' for example...we never said 'orange', we said '*horange*', or the number three, it's not 'three' but '*tree*'...so sometimes the kids made fun of you because of the way you spoke...Sometimes they would tell you to "go back where you came from". That was always a thing whenever you got into an altercation with anyone: "go back where you came from".<sup>122</sup>

These experiences were exacerbated with prevailing attitudes towards blackness in the broader Canadian society in the 1970s and also with the lack of black representation in the Canadian media. In fact, in a study done in 2007, over half the Jamaican Canadian respondents believed that they had been treated unfairly or experienced discrimination in Canada based on their race, religion, ethnicity, language and even their Jamaican accent.<sup>123</sup>

Jamaicans' own attitudes towards 'race' and class, however, had also been packed up along with the family belongings and brought to the new country.<sup>124</sup> These attitudes were reengaged and renegotiated in Canada, as Mike Smith explained:

I wouldn't say all of them [*white kids*], but sometimes you know what, that was the thing that you kind of felt, like they were better. And it seemed like some point in my life too I thought that they *were* better. Because...that's what I kept on hearing; that's what I kept on feeling...all of the commercials on TV were all about white people, I didn't see a lot of blacks on TV at that particular time. So, hey, they built such a great society I thought that these guys were better, they know what they're talking about...you know what, this is 'their' country, so, yeah, I believed that for a while, I believed that they were better than I was at many things.<sup>125</sup>

Like so many other migrants from all walks of life, Smith was fortified by his religion and the strength of his family and ultimately came to believe that "all men were created equally."<sup>126</sup>

While these experiences may have tested the resolve of some of the migrants, other experiences made them feel special. Smith recalled that some of his non-Jamaican friends were naturally curious and interested in his *Jamaicanness*:

[*They*] liked the way [*we*] spoke; they wanted to hang around the Jamaicans; they wanted to learn 'certain' words...and they thought the Jamaicans were pretty cool in the way they dressed and the way they played sports and so on.<sup>127</sup>

Indeed, some migrants felt that enacting Jamaican ethnicity was a far better acculturation strategy than trying to curtail it. Rupert Harvey, for instance, found that:

...a lot of black people when they come to these countries and they try to be who they're not in a way, thinking that people will like them if they conform, I found it was the opposite. I found that when you were a rebel and stuck to your culture and your ideas, that's when people actually liked you. So, 'to thine own self be true'. Not that I didn't accept Canadian and actually cross-bred it into my life, but the fact that I still was Jamaican and proud of it, is what made me have good white friends...I think it's the boldness of Jamaicans, in that our attitude has always been 'no apology: we are who we are'. And I think that resonates with people, no matter whether black or white or brown. People want that, they want to be bold.<sup>128</sup>

It was precisely this 'no apologies' attitude – commonly characterized as Jamaican 'feistiness' – that attracted many young non-Jamaicans to Jamaican culture, a theme we will further examine later on.<sup>129</sup>



The attraction was sometimes mutual. Many Jamaican migrants were happy to have been exposed to new cultural experiences. To its credit, the Toronto's school system helped to facilitate some of the cross-cultural exchange when the city's complexion began to change drastically in the 1970s. Initiatives such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), were specifically designed to foster understanding and encourage cross-cultural collaboration as Marcia Vassell recalled:

[UNESCO] was something that the schools, Winona, McMurrich, Oakwood, they all did that just so the students can get to know other cultures and just be comfortable with who they are and what they are and I thought it was great and I participated in all of the UNESCO carnivals...it was a great thing for the schools to do.<sup>130</sup>

While Vassell was delighted with the more official initiative of the multicultural era, other migrants were able to forge friendships with members of the host society through more informal means. As Sunray Grennan observed, just by virtue of where he attended school, he was exposed to and had “the opportunity to meet so many different kinds of people and learn about their culture and they're sharing my culture as well.”<sup>131</sup> These initiatives – official and otherwise – built bridges between young migrant and host.

Jamaican music and culture was accepted by many non-Jamaican Canadians; the extent of this surprised some migrants, as Grennan observed:

Somehow reggae music is a thing that brings people together and Canada is a place that I've seen this process [*happen*]...I think they [*non-Jamaicans*] loved the idea of the music that it was different and they were psyched about learning about it, it was very new to them...I didn't really expect that, but it was quite flattering to know that your culture has come so far and that other people would accept the culture and come and check it out and tell their friends.<sup>132</sup>

Others were less surprised, as Phil Vassell explained:

Being in Jamaica you're amazed at people that would come to Jamaica and record with Jamaican musicians. Living outside of Jamaica you then start to appreciate the *seductiveness* of the music and how it pulls people in. I think I was always struck by the magic of that, music taking hold of people.<sup>133</sup>

Reggae music itself, then, could beckon the non-Jamaican to cross the metaphorical bridge.

Certainly, Jamaica's pre-reggae culture was rich. From Claude McKay's poetry to Louise Bennett's folk art to Rex Nettleford's national dance programme of the early 1960s, Jamaican artists had built formidable inroads into the international art scene long before the first reggae 'one-drop' had been recorded. Yet, once it had been recorded, the success of reggae music dwarfed the rest of Jamaica's significant artistic output. Reggae greatly accelerated the cultural bridge-building between Jamaicans and non-Jamaicans.

The concurrent rise of reggae music around the globe with the migrants' adjustment period in Canada was a positive boon for many. This was a time when Toronto's youth were politically aware and even engaged with various international and domestic movements such as Apartheid and civil rights issues. For good and bad, the teenagers had inherited the position carved out for them by a previous generation. In the 1960s, the category of 'youth' had arrived on the political scene. Theirs was a generation influenced by 'New Left' ideologies that encouraged youth to ask questions and resist – at least for a time – the expectations set before them by their parents.<sup>134</sup> Politicized binaries were thusly constructed that pitted the young (under thirty, a force for good, oppositional and peaceful) against the old (over thirty, corrupt, conformist, racist and violent).<sup>135</sup> These binaries and the rebellious spirit of the hippies' generation were holdovers for many of Toronto's young people growing up in the 1970s and 1980s. And the internationally renowned Bob Marley had quite literally become the poster boy for

many of the city's young rebels. The reggae rebel helped to disseminate *Jamaicanness* to the non-Jamaican. Wayne Hanson, for one, confirmed that when Marley "brings Jamaica internationally, that does really facilitate it."<sup>136</sup> Toronto's non-Jamaican school children began to draw links between the 'Tuff Gong' (Marley), the gun-toting 'Rhyging' (Jimmy Cliff) and Jamaica's rebel music in general with their new Jamaican friends. Reggae's rise, it would seem, was the migrant's gain.

Many of the subjects involved in this study feel that being associated with Jamaica's popular music afforded an advantage in their own acculturation process.

Within the Jamaican community itself, music was, for Denise Jones:

...a place to go back to, it's a place to find the centre of yourself, your security...you know when you go over to somebody's house on a Saturday evening...we sort of sought out everywhere there was something cultural happening just to refurbish ourselves.<sup>137</sup>

Marcia Vassell agreed:

What music provided was this amazing outlet for when things get tough. And music in itself created its own community of people that you could draw on for support. In that sense I do believe we had an edge. And because my father was so heavily into the music, people came to us for their dose of reggae music. On the weekends, there was always something happening at our house.<sup>138</sup>

Music could communicate the various strains of acculturation, as Marcia's brother Phil

Vassell offered:

You know the expression "*a fe we music*", there's always that kind of ownership and pride of the music that I think a lot of people took with them. Because it [*music*] was able to express things that perhaps they themselves couldn't express; either they could go back in time or it could articulate things for them in a way that they might not be able to do.<sup>139</sup>

Loudly and proudly played at various family events, Jamaican 45s and LPs could, for so many of the Jamaicans in this study, articulate *Jamaicanness* within a new Toronto context.

While music could help Jamaicans enact ethnicity and provide strength in the communal setting, others used it for more solitary purposes, as Rupert Harvey explained:

I had a song inside of myself... I think the culture that I brought with me in the music, made us very proud of our heritage and made us very strong. I had a song in my head – always singing – and that’s not stopped by the way.<sup>140</sup>

Music from home, then, could help migrants adjust, heal and recharge on their own.

Yet, more than a place of comfort, music could also be a formidable tool. In short, being associated with Jamaican popular music could build bridges into the dominant society for new migrants, as Sunray Grennan observed:

I think music was that bridge – in terms of culture – for me to merge with other cultures. Because being so young and being that I could play this magical music from somewhere that everyone goes to on a vacation and suddenly they see this little guy and he’s playing reggae and he’s playing ska, and yes, that helped me to feel comfortable in Canada.<sup>141</sup>

Moreover, some migrant musicians believed that their musical calling gave them a direct advantage over other Jamaican migrants. Drummer Paul Bennett, for example, believed that music saved him from the same racially-charged scrapes and travails that his older brothers were continually involved with where he lived on Blake Street near Jones Avenue in Toronto’s Greek Town.<sup>142</sup> The Mighty Pope felt that he had an advantage as a singer simply because of the nature of the job: “There was sort of a carefree *joie de vivre*. Everything was fun... I integrated quite easily. It was a party atmosphere, [people] were brought together by music.”<sup>143</sup> Wayne Hanson echoed the Mighty Pope’s sentiments:

...you are on the vanguard, you’re in the limelight and many people are likely more inclined to approach a performer than they are another person who is not quite in the forefront.<sup>144</sup>

Indeed, many non-Jamaicans’ first interaction with Jamaican migrants, as we will examine later on, often occurred in a musical, sometimes party environment.

A few migrant musicians also saw the benefit of being able to broadcast their feelings and opinions outwards to a sometimes diverse audience who were willing to listen, as Adrian Miller confirmed:

I'm quite sure you have people who are non-musicians who might have the same kind of outlook like me. It's just that they probably won't be acknowledged because they're not a part of the arts scene that gives you a platform to stand on.<sup>145</sup>

As Miller illustrated, the migrant musician also had the means to draw attention to him or herself as Rannie "Bop" Williams observed:

I think [*music*] gave me an advantage, because some people who would see me and they don't pay me no mind, but as soon as I pick up my instrument, a lot of respect.<sup>146</sup>

Success on the stage, then, could sometimes help facilitate a better standing both within and outside of the Jamaican-Canadian community.

In terms of a career move, however, some musicians felt that coming to Toronto put them at an economic disadvantage, as Willi Williams observed:

Number one, if it was this country alone I couldn't keep my family together, I couldn't eat food, I wouldn't be able to pay my rent or anything. I had to go outside of here to do the thing that I love so as to make some money from it...It wasn't economically viable right here in Canada because...the system didn't allow that. Because even when we took our music to the radio stations they didn't play it and they still don't play even until today.<sup>147</sup>

Yet, regardless of how it specifically played out for the various individuals involved, the vast majority of migrants in this study believe that an association with Jamaican music afforded if not an economic advantage, then at the very least a psychological one over other migrants. Music was, remember, the 'place to go back to', the 'outlet for when things get tough' and so, a sound of ethnicity that was crucial to many Jamaican migrants' acculturation process.

## NORTHERN REFLECTION

A joint survey conducted by Statistics Canada and Canadian Heritage in 2002 found that 81 percent of Canadians of Jamaican origin felt a strong sense of belonging to Canada. Though it must be said, that 71 percent of these people similarly felt a strong sense of belonging to their ethnic or cultural group.<sup>148</sup> This speaks to the prevalence, comfort and usefulness of multiple identities among the migrants interviewed here, as well as those subjects who have provided the focus of some recent transnational literature.<sup>149</sup>

Still, not all migrants feel 'Canadian'. Working on his fourth decade in Canada, Adrian Miller does not feel Canadian:

I'm still what you'd consider an immigrant because you still need to make allegiance to the Queen, right, to get your papers and be looked upon as a so-called Canadian. And even when you get that, people still look at you as an outsider because living in this country everything is about image...even wearing this leather jacket, it's political.<sup>150</sup>

At the opposite side of the spectrum stands the Mighty Pope:

I can't remember not being Canadian. I've lived here more of my life...that's probably sacrilegious, some people hear me say would think, you know. But I know my culture and everything, but the formative years, it seemed like everything happened here for me.<sup>151</sup>

Nevertheless, identifying with the Jamaican culture first was, for some, simply easier than nailing down an often elusive Canadian one. Leo Cripps, for example, illustrated the changing scenarios of his experience:

...if I am in Jamaica I am referred to as Canadian and in Canada as Jamaican. I do feel and probably will always feel more Jamaican than Canadian. I believe just because of the attachment I have to the culture. Canada has many 'cultures' and identifying with any one is impossible. On the other hand it is easy to identify with the 'Jamaican' culture.<sup>152</sup>

And while Sunray Grennan loves Canada because it provided him with a hands-on education with other cultures, he still feels that he's 'always a Jamaican'. Paraphrasing a famous Sting number, Sunray confirmed: "I'm an alien, I'm a legal alien, I'm a Jamaican living in Canada."<sup>153</sup>

A great many of the interviewees, however, feel like they are 'in between', a fact that is examined in depth in recent Caribbean diasporic literature.<sup>154</sup> There are, importantly, subtle nuances in the definition of the 'in between' among the migrants. JuLion King, for example, feels that he is a Jamaican, but: "I'm exceedingly proud of Canada, my children are Canadian, but where you're born is where you're born."<sup>155</sup> It was the same for Peter Holung: "I'm kinda like in-between there. I didn't want to lose something that means a lot to me. That made me who I was."<sup>156</sup> These migrants have maintained 'multiple identities', adopting transnational strategies to live, as they do, in and between two worlds.<sup>157</sup> Klive Walker further explained: "I'm a true child of the diaspora, I'm not like the 1940s, 1950s immigrant that was leaving [Jamaica] to seek a better life in those kind of airy-fairy terms."<sup>158</sup> Though now, with three Canadian children, Walker also identifies with Canada. There is still something special about his Jamaican connection; it's where he went to high school and this at the time when rocksteady and reggae were evolving into that country's vernacular. Jamaica was, after all, the homeland of his parents.<sup>159</sup> As such, Walker, in his life and work, is uniquely poised to provide both the voice of the diaspora and one for anyone outside of the diaspora who happens to love reggae music.<sup>160</sup>

A few ‘in-betweeners’ have come to identify more with the black diaspora at large and less so with specific national identities. Phil Vassell’s feelings, for example, are well represented in the magazine he edits:

I think I’ve always identified with [*the black diaspora*].’ *Word* magazine consciously reflected the larger diaspora – not just Jamaica or reggae – but instead black music at large (jazz, reggae, gospel, blues).<sup>161</sup>

The black population was large enough in Toronto that Vassell saw the need for a publication like *Word* which could cater to those whose sense of identity transcended geo-political borders.

This elasticity in identity became even further stretched in the lives of the migrants’ children. Certainly, a disconnect existed for some second-generation Jamaican-Canadians who, unable to identify with the Canadian hegemony, were equally removed from their parents’ West Indian culture. For these children of Jamaican immigrants, cultural identity was sometimes developed along the aforementioned transnational/racial lines, where the cornerstones of dominant Canadiana were far less enticing than the tenets of African American youth culture.<sup>162</sup>

Others were not, however, so willing to yield their Canadian identity. Denise Jones, for example, related a story about how Jamaicans enacting ethnicity caused confusion for her son Jesse who was born in Sudbury. At school one day, Jesse had been explaining that he was born in Sudbury and the other children didn’t believe him. The others, as Denise explained, had been ‘telling him “you *mus* come from Jamaica not Sudbury!”’ It was important for Denise to let her sons know that they were Canadian and as such, there were no limitations for what they could achieve in Canada. Both of Jones’



children today regard themselves as Canadian and will – when pushed – freely say to their mother: “Mom, I’m not Jamaican.”<sup>163</sup>

Some Jamaican migrants in Canada have learned to explore and positively exploit multi-local possibilities. Willi Williams has been able to maintain his presence in the international reggae scene from his Pickering Ontario home through frequent trips back to Jamaica. In fact, Williams feels more connected to the music scene in Jamaica than he does in Canada.<sup>164</sup> A true ‘transnational’, Willi lives equally in Canada and Jamaica.

As touring remains a usual hallmark of the professional musician, Jamaican musicians in Canada had, after a fashion, already led a transnational lifestyle before that term became popular. Those Jamaican-Canadian musicians who would tour and jump back and forth between Canada and Jamaica soon mastered their dual identities. As Rannie “Bop” confirmed: “I’m Canadian: I’m in Canada and a citizen. If war breaks out here I’ve got to fight for Canada! [laughs] When I’m in Jamaica, I’m Jamaican because I was born there.”<sup>165</sup> Perhaps musicians were trained to the nature of slipping in and out of the multiple realities that a transnational life demands.

The majority of Jamaican migrants of the 1960s and 1970s, however, feel that there is a significant difference between themselves and more recent waves of Jamaican migrants. With a Jamaican community established by those who arrived in the post-*White Paper* era, some of the interviewees felt that new immigrants from Jamaica today enter an entirely different cultural landscape upon their arrival in Canada. While the new wave certainly has its own things to worry about, Toronto’s Jamaican highly integrated community provides new migrants with a home-style comfort that their counterparts did not enjoy. On a Saturday night, for instance, Mike Smith recalled that it was such a

journey just to get West Indian food. The newer migrants have, according to Smith, “got it much easier it seems...and the people that have come before us have paved the way.”<sup>166</sup> The Mighty Pope concurred: “given the size of the community, and the number of Caribbean outlets, mediums, community radio shows, etc...there’s no incentive for them to try.”<sup>167</sup> Indeed, with the number of Caribbean restaurants that have sprouted up in nearly every Toronto neighbourhood, new migrants can easily track down their required ackee, saltfish, rice and peas.

Some of this study’s subjects feel that the difference lies within the makeup of the migrants themselves. Drummer Sunray Grennan, for example, believes that new migrants are completely unlike those of the Trudeau years:

A lot of them are not into music...there were a lot of older Jamaican men [*in Canada*] who had sound systems and they are the ones who urged us younger ones to want to play the music.<sup>168</sup>

Likewise, Marcia Vassell believes that the new wave of Jamaican migrants in Canada “appear to be more rough around the edges.”<sup>169</sup> And for Rupert Harvey, there can be no excuses for the new wave:

We paved the road for these people to come through and all the hassles and all the tribulations that we faced they don’t anymore. Really, they ain’t got no excuses to mess up, because like, it’s already been done for them. They should be up here just achieving, not going on with badness and all that stuff. There’s no reason. They’re not walking down the street with people calling them nigger...we shouldered those burdens so that they could come after us...and they would just come and focus on their education and make a better life for themselves. Unfortunately you see what’s going on. A lot of them choose a different path.<sup>170</sup>

For Harvey and others, the desiderata of fleeing political violence, bettering oneself and getting an education is, for the new migrants, perhaps less clearly defined.

Others though, are slightly more forgiving. Adrian Miller, for example, did not see a difference between the waves: “it doesn’t matter what time period you live in, you

still have to go through the same shit.”<sup>171</sup> Similarly, Denise Jones opined: “I think it’s the same people in a different decade.”<sup>172</sup> Moreover, technology has, in some measure, taken away the sense of adventure for the newer waves of Jamaican migrants. Leo Cripps recalled that when he came here: “Canada was still a mystery. With modern communication all that mysterious aura is now gone.”<sup>173</sup> Wayne Hanson, who came to Toronto in July 1976, feels that “people probably plan more, but I think at that time it was more like an urgency, because the political violence was getting really bad.”<sup>174</sup> Canada then, at least according to those interviewed in this study, is no longer that snowy enigma which promised a better life. With so many Jamaicans already here, those Jamaicans considering a move today, know far more about Canada and Canadians than their predecessors did.

But what of the ‘better life’? Despite the various challenges and obstacles that they may have encountered, the majority of migrants in this study feel that coming to Canada was the right choice. This sentiment, however, is hardly without reservation. Times have changed in Jamaica and that country now boasts a much larger middle class than it did in the 1960s and 1970s and some migrants feel that they may have done just as well or better by staying in Jamaica. Denise Jones needs no convincing on this point:

I can tell you that my colleagues working in Jamaica are way better off than I am. I think they have a lot of debt, like everybody else, but their houses are bigger, their cars are nicer, their clothes are more fabulous, they’ve got somebody who cooks, somebody who cleans. They don’t seem to be pressured like we are here.<sup>175</sup>

Also, in terms of an actual music career, Canada fell short in providing the necessary infrastructure for financial success, as Carol Brown confessed:

In Canada it’s been a struggle with the music. There was a time when it seemed like, yes, it’s going to find its place. The music [found] its place, but we as artistes

that migrate that come into the country, it became very difficult at times, even until today. So, I still tell myself, wow, being back home would have maybe made a lot of difference to my career, [it's] where the music's from.<sup>176</sup>

Indeed, the various shortcomings of Canada's indigenous reggae music scene deserve more attention, and will receive such when we return to the subject later on.

Overall, the majority of interviewees believe that choosing Canada has paid dividends. For Marcia Vassell, Toronto "opened up our eyes to other opportunities."<sup>177</sup>

Likewise, the Mighty Pope believes that "it was a good thing...I think I'd just be bored in Jamaica."<sup>178</sup> Mike Smith echoes the mighty one's sentiments:

I don't know what my life would have been otherwise, maybe it would have been successful because I know of other people that have become very successful in Jamaica still...but I know that for myself the ability to go to school was one of the greatest things here...in terms of just having the ability to finish school and get a job and do all the things that I want to do, I think it's been pretty good for me.<sup>179</sup>

Nearly uniformly, the migrants here feel that despite its apparent economic limitations, an association with reggae music gave them a psychological advantage in their own acculturation process, strengthening their own sense of self and helping them to build successful lives in this new strange land. As Rannie "Bop" offered:

I see a great light shining my way because most of my colleagues, a lot of them died. And the same thing could have happened to me. But something keep me going here and make me feel young and strong. So, a great light shine on me here.<sup>180</sup>

## CHAPTER V

### *KING ALPHA'S SONG:* PLACE AND MEANING IN TORONTO'S REGGAE TEXT

'Maybe the belief that an appropriation is always a conscious strategic decision made by an author is just as naive as believing in an 'original' author in the first place.'<sup>1</sup>

~ Michalis Pichler

We turn now to the dynamic relationship between *place*, *meaning* and *text*, as applied to the golden age of Toronto's reggae scene. To *relisten* to the cultural dialogue that occurred between Jamaican migrants and non-Jamaican Canadians across Toronto's ethnic frontlines in the 1970s and 1980s, we must first tread along those spaces where migrant and host collided. We need to revisit the places where differences were negotiated and sometimes, over time, celebrated, and reread the texts that helped to provide a backing score and libretto for these cross-cultural transactions.

Spatial analysis can be very compelling. Spatial analysis that involves music is perhaps even more so. With this in mind, we must regard *place* not only as a category of historical analysis, but also as an historical agent, informing historical events themselves and affecting the way in which they are remembered.<sup>2</sup> *Place*, for our purposes, informed the music heard along the ethnic frontlines, music that, as we will see, meant different things to different people.<sup>3</sup>

*Place* can alter existing cultural, sonic and lyrical texts. This alteration can produce new meanings to old works of art, songs and poetry, meanings that may even be at odds with the original intentions of its author. A spatial reading can expose such disparate meanings within a 'group' or audience witnessing an identical performance of

music. Separate as they may have been for author, performer, audience member and critic, these meanings are nevertheless, valid experiences for *all* individuals involved.

To begin, we will visit the various places where reggae ‘happened’ in the city and query how these places helped to encourage the growth of Toronto’s reggae scene. Naturally, reggae was first broadcast within those neighbourhoods boasting a strong Jamaican community like Bathurst’s ‘Black Bottom’, Eglinton west of Bathurst nominally referred to as ‘Little Jamaica’, Kensington Market, the Malvern neighbourhood in Scarborough, Mississauga’s Malton community and North York’s Jane-Finch Corridor. As its popularity rose throughout the 1970s and 1980s, reggae graduated from the confines of Jamaican-centric events and gatherings and became accessible to the city’s non-Jamaicans, especially those frequenting the central nerve of Toronto’s musical culture, the nightclubs of Queen Street West. This was, of course, in part due to the rise of reggae on the international stage from 1973 onwards with artists such as Jimmy Cliff, Toots and the Maytals and, of course, Bob Marley and the Wailers. Since then, reggae, as a ‘peace and harmony-loving’ music, has been touted in various forums for being able to bridge divisions of age and race. Yet, the Toronto reggae ‘experience’, as we will discover, was not a homogeneous affair, and one person’s ‘idea’ of reggae could and often did appear quite different from someone else’s. Nevertheless, without the endorsement of Toronto’s music-savvy youth sub-culture that patrolled the vital space of Queen Street West, reggae might not have prospered as it did in the city during the 1980s.

*Place*, as an historical agent influenced the new texts that Jamaican migrant and host were authoring in Toronto at this time. The physical structures, the surrounding

environment, the sounds, the sights and even the smells of these places all figured in the way reggae and Jamaican ethnicity ‘happened’ in Toronto.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, *place* and the act of *placing* are central to the way in which events are remembered and as such, are full of meaning and ripe for historical inquiry.<sup>5</sup> If every memory is a ‘memory of a place’, then the nightclubs, school rooms, dance halls, church basements, shebeens and even lonely streetscapes were themselves organic actors in the Canadian reggae scene, proving the utility of *place* as both a verb and a noun in the examination of Toronto’s ethnic frontline.<sup>6</sup>

It was in these various places mentioned above, that Toronto’s reggae sub-culture problematized the notions of political authority, social order and societal norms of Canada’s dominant society.<sup>7</sup> Places like The Bamboo Club were flashpoints for defiance of the dominant culture.<sup>8</sup> At the same time, Toronto’s reggae sub-culture was not entirely homogeneous, nor was it the exclusive preserve of a migrant Jamaican experience. Indeed, the ‘imagined community’ of Toronto’s nascent reggae scene in the 1970s and 1980s is sometimes at odds with the material reality and actual lived experience of the subjects involved. Through a backward gazing lens that is mindful of place, we can deconstruct a monolithic text that champions official multiculturalism and reggae clichés, and reveal one that is far more pliable.

As *place* affects *meaning*, it is useful to review the life of one important reggae text: The Heptones’ ‘Book of Rules’. This song was central to the Toronto reggae experience and provided a soundtrack for migrant and host who met halfway across the various metaphorical bridge erected throughout the city. This particular text took an interesting journey from the time it was written in the 1920s, through to its eventual

arrival on Toronto's main reggae musical artery: The Bamboo Club. To be sure, Toronto's citizens, as well as reggae's protagonists, fans and critics imbued their own assorted meanings on reggae and all of its attendant texts. These meanings were crafted *in* and *with* those places that delineated the city's multicultural frontline. Finally, the city's own reggae text was compelling and for enough, that the Toronto scene was able to secure, albeit limited commercial success.

## ETHNIC FRONTLINE

Scholars have explored and exposed the frontline in a variety of ways.<sup>9</sup> Studying collisions between different cultures along the frontline reveals the extent to which Jamaicans living in Toronto adjusted to their adopted land, and in turn, influenced non-Jamaican Torontonians. Jamaican migrants transmitted sound waves across the frontline and reggae spilled into places where non-Jamaicans could listen in. Yet, transmission was regulated by cultural *gatekeepers* – on both sides – who wanted to preserve a sort of musical purity. All the while, *bridge-builders* – on both sides – fought to break down the apparatus that inhibited the free transmission of music from migrant to host and back again.<sup>10</sup>

In locating the *bridges* and *gates*, then, this study is less focussed in testing the homogeneousness of the migrant group as it is in reciprocal cultural exchange that occurred in those key places that dotted Toronto's ethnic frontline. Further to this end, scholars have begun to test the notion of 'groupness' among ethnic groups.<sup>11</sup> In these approaches, ethnicity is regarded as something that is 'practised' or 'enacted'. And by the 1970s, Jamaicans living in Toronto had various outlets in which to 'enact' their ethnicity



in both the public and private realms. Individual expressions of Jamaican ethnicity, however, differed – sometimes slightly, sometimes vastly – within the same ‘group’. These diverse expressions resist a meta-narrative for the Jamaican-Canadian migrant.

Still, the very fact that frontlines or ‘boundaries’ exist is important. For anthropologist Frederick Barth, having a known boundary was essential to a given ethnic identity. Indeed, that precious imaginary bandwidth, dividing one ethnic group from another was, at least for Barth, more important than the actual ‘culture’ housed within the boundaries themselves.<sup>12</sup> It is the bridges over the frontlines, however, that we are most concerned with here: those places where boundaries, both physical and emotional, were sometimes relaxed and where old texts, musical and otherwise, were revisited and remade.

In the Jamaican-Canadian case, many of the bridges erected along Toronto’s ethnic frontline were engineered *through* and articulated *in* sound. In reviewing how Germanic ‘snatches of song’ transformed Buffalo during the 1860 singers’ festival, Lorenzkowski explained how:

Sound demarcated space, but also transformed it. While marking difference, it allowed for a wide range of cultural exchanges. And despite its fleeting nature, it helped create an ethnic consciousness – forged in the acts of speaking and music-making – that would alter the soundtrack of public culture itself.<sup>13</sup>

Ska, rocksteady and reggae too, demarcated Toronto’s urban streetscapes. Billowy bass, *Nyabingi* rhythms that had been seasoned with ‘other’ musical influences in the Caribbean for four hundred years and plaintive vocal harmonies escaped from residential ‘blues dances’, wedding receptions, school gymnasiums and even car stereos to probe Toronto’s avenues and boulevards from as early as the late 1960s. Such unusual sounds would exacerbate the fear some Canadians already harboured toward Jamaican migrants.

Some white Canadians, for instance, feared the growing Jamaican enclaves such as those in the city's north-west Jane and Finch Corridor.<sup>14</sup> Also, public fear of Rastafarianism was calibrated with Bob Marley's rising stock on the international scene. For some, Rastas were violent, drug-using anarchists who were essentially walking time bombs.<sup>15</sup> Others would be drawn to the music precisely because it was, at least for them, a little 'dangerous'. Others still, found themselves inexplicably charmed and intoxicated with Jamaica's musical export and reggae came to be the sound of summer and for some, the sound of holidays. But up and down Toronto's main drags and backstreets, ethnicity was occurring, cultural exchanges – both good and bad – were taking place, and meaning was being ascribed to 'Jamaican-Canadian' for both migrant and host.

#### REGGAE 'PON THE STREET

Full-on ska or reggae nights were usually restricted to Jamaican-Canadian wedding receptions at the community hall or parties in the church basement, or sometimes the all-night 'blues dance' in someone's home or apartment. It was here, in a sparsely furnished basement or the unused backroom of a main street storefront, where Jamaicans set up their sound systems and claimed a space for themselves in this strange new land. While reggae music would eventually penetrate Toronto's club scene and find a non-Jamaican audience, the dynamic in the night clubs differed somewhat from the more exclusively Jamaican gatherings at the church, the family get-together, or the 'blues dance'.

The church hall gathering, for instance, had a cross-generational, family atmosphere. As Ojiji Harvey recalled:

There was a cultural thing going on at the Church. And that's when, you know, the parents started seeing old friends from Jamaica that'd started migrating to Canada. And they made their little churches and then you could start getting Jamaican food. They'd get together and talk about the old country and the old days...the church was a big part of the initial experience.<sup>16</sup>

During these experiences, the congregation might heartily belt out Jamaican folk songs, share Annancy stories, and watch youngsters display a talent at singing or dancing, while patiently awaiting the mouth-watering aromas emanating from the kitchen vats of curried goat with rice and peas.<sup>17</sup>

Similarly, there was the family get-together at someone's home. Phil Vassell's dad, for example, owned a sound system. As Vassell remembered: "we all took turns, starting with me [*spinning records*] at his parties in his basement or occasionally at a hall or occasionally at a wedding reception...music was always at home."<sup>18</sup> Likewise, Mike Smith, a trombonist and now school teacher who arrived from Jamaica in 1974, remembered that his uncle had a bunch of old records and a little sound system in the basement of his home where he would play some ska, mento and reggae music for his guests. For Mike, the sound system at his uncle's was pivotal in providing a much needed outlet for Jamaican musical culture in Canada:

That's what would pull us together...in the basement everybody dancing. We were kind of losing part our culture because we're not in Jamaica any more, but here we are, and there were different groups of people, his friends would come over and we'd all sit and cook...and after the eating was done, then it was all about sitting around listening to music, or the guys playing dominoes, or they would have a little dance competition: can you dance like when you were in Jamaica? I think that was a big thing for us.<sup>19</sup>

These sorts of affairs, however, stood in stark contrast to the all-night party, where there was little talk of dominoes.

The all-night 'blues dance' had been a staple for the migrant Jamaican wherever they travelled. Professor Vivien Goldman, who experienced such parties first hand in London England during the 1970s, remembered:

Two decades after large-scale Caribbean immigration began from the newly independent islands, yesterday's colonies, the first generation of black British youth claimed their right to an all-night life. Their parents had come to the so-called motherland to do the hard slog work of keeping the country running that the homecoming restless children, not content to fit in and slide unnoticed through the status quo, started to make their own music and invent a self-determined world within a sometimes hostile community.<sup>20</sup>

There was sex too. The sweaty rub-a-dub dancing, oiled by plenty of Red Stripe, Guinness, Dragon Stout and Jamaican rum, coupled with the sweet, pervasive aroma of Jamaican sinsemilla, sometimes allowed for a suspension of reality from the struggle of migrant life. Young lovers could transcend the spare room of a barber's shop, and with reggae's swelling bass, the 'vertical orgasm', at least according to Goldman, was not uncommon.<sup>21</sup>

And so it was in Toronto. These bewitching soirées were usually the preserve of the younger set. The parties were commonplace in West Indian homes as Jamaican Wayne Hanson recalled: "Every weekend there's a Jamaican party. And you'd be invited, or you can just show up and meet other Jamaicans."<sup>22</sup> Replicating the carnival spirit of the all-night parties in *JA*, blues dances provided a crucial meeting point for those Jamaican migrants in their late teens and early twenties.

While the 'blues dance' was a haven for Jamaicans, *some* youths of the non-Jamaican community were able to penetrate the inner sanctum of the all-night party.<sup>23</sup> The sheer volume of the music might threaten many non-Jamaicans, but others were attracted to it. Being privy to these cultural experiences could often engender tales of

exotica from those non-Jamaicans in attendance. Witness, for instance, *Globe and Mail* journalist James Hill's account:

We enter a bare cement basement lit only by the orange glow of two vacuum tubes in a stereo amplifier. A disc jockey sits at a turntable spinning reggae singles, and the music dominated by the bottomless groan of the winding bass line, booms through a pair of PA speakers...I am told that there are dozens of basements like this around Toronto, each one an incubator for subterranean homesick roots, an oasis of darkness and dreams...Slowly we learn to dance. And we dance late into the night.<sup>24</sup>

While some of Toronto's non-Jamaicans would come to reggae in this dimly-lit environ, where sinsemilla smoke squalls got even the non-smokers 'high', others would be exposed to Jamaican music in less shadowy ways.

This exposure came at a number of different access points around the city. If the 'blues dance' filtered the number of non-Jamaicans entering the fray by virtue of the sometimes intimidating nature of entering a dark and dank basement, the reggae 'experience' at the school was far more inclusive and less threatening. Here, non-Jamaicans were introduced to Jamaican music through their friends who were either children of Jamaican migrants, or migrants themselves. Those non-Jamaicans who, for example, attended schools along Eglinton or in the Jane and Finch Corridor could be exposed to some reggae at their school dances. As Mike Smith remembered:

I know that the people liked Jamaican music because whenever we were at dance, a school dance... whenever reggae music came on, it was a very big thing... they would play 10 or 15 quote-unquote 'Canadian' songs... and then they'd play maybe 2 or 3 Jamaican songs and everyone danced for those songs, so I realized that at that time that this music is very powerful.<sup>25</sup>

Similarly, Jamaican drummer Sunray Grennan attended Oakdale Jr. High where the reggae bug had afflicted more than his co-students:

...I became the drummer, and I started to express this reggae or ska [*beat*], and my band mates found it interesting and I would teach them how to play little

things...so I think there was a merging there...Even the music teacher actually started to ask me to play a reggae beat because he had never heard reggae before.<sup>26</sup>

Non-Jamaican David Kingston, who attended W.A. Porter, heard Jamaican toasters through the boom boxes in the school grounds:

It was a time everyone had boom-boxes, so if it wasn't Saturday Night Fever, you'd hear Dillinger and Big Youth and so you'd get to know people and it was just fascinating because it was a whole parallel world of music.<sup>27</sup>

These cultural exchanges and the sharing of parallel musical worlds helped to establish friendships between the migrant kids and their new Canadian friends.

When Jamaicans began broadcasting reggae into Toronto's social spaces, the music transformed portions of the city. Jamaican music is often boldly played and can be intimidating, claiming a space by moving the air around it with thundering bass. We find that throughout Toronto, these sounds have claimed many public spaces where people might expect Jamaican culture and ethnicity to be enacted. An equally compelling line of inquiry, however, is how non-Jamaicans responded to these claims and how these spaces were contested.<sup>28</sup> With reggae wafting out of a car stereo or a boom box, the migrant, in such fleeting moments could claim Bathurst Street or Finch Avenue or Goreway Drive or Keele Street, as some *place* that one *might* hear reggae.

This fact was not always pleasing to non-Jamaicans. 'Listening' to reggae was not always an elective practice for non-Jamaicans living or being within earshot of the migrant's music. In his exposé, Bissoondath suggested that the policy of official multiculturalism could scare outsiders away from making complaints about noise or demanding that the volume be lowered. Those who did complain might be accused of 'cultural aggression'.<sup>29</sup> As Jamaican-Canadian Phil Vassell confirmed, one could usually

tell where a Jamaican's house was, "because they like to play their music loud."<sup>30</sup> In 1979, *Globe and Mail* journalist Dick Beddoes (better known for his take on hockey games than reggae), had his own concerns about reggae, albeit couched in a playful review of a local band:

Physical frenzy is a part of the reggae din...Chances are you'd have to be a musicologist on the distinguished order of John Kraglund to interpret the difference between reggae, the mindless clatter of disco, the sock of rock and the soothing song of the hermit thrush.<sup>31</sup>

Whether welcome or not, Jamaican music, with its imposing, bottom-heavy sound and hypnotic (or, pending the ears, annoying) poly-rhythms cut a wide swath throughout the provincial capital's streetscapes.

Crucially, there was the 'Black Bottom' of Bathurst Street.<sup>32</sup> There one could find the Home Service and the Negro Library that was a hub of black political consciousness. Joyce's was one of the first restaurants that offered Caribbean food, and Third World Books & Crafts offered the city's only repository of books by black authors and black themes. In terms of its importance to Toronto's black community, journalist Norman Otis Richmond declared that Bathurst Street "is what Central Avenue is to Los Angeles or Lennox Avenue is to New York City."<sup>33</sup>

As such, many Jamaicans who came to Canada in the late 1960s or early 1970s chose to live on or near Bathurst Street, from Eglinton southwards. It was here that black merchants provided outposts for food, hair-care, fashion needs and, of course, music to the city's black populace. Phil Vassell, now the Editor for *WORD* Magazine, was in his early teens when his whole family relocated from Hanover Jamaica to Oakwood and St. Clair in 1975. Vassell recalled the importance of Bathurst Street to the black community:

There were stores there, there were barber shops there, you could buy Caribbean food there... Third World Bookstore was there, so it became kind of a hub for the community back then.<sup>34</sup>

Jamaican migrants could also find ska, rocksteady and reggae records at a variety of West Indian stores that imported their musical wares from *Yard* (Jamaica) or England. One could buy black music at Theo's Record Shop on Bathurst. Soon, a string of record shops sprouted up on Eglinton which boasted, at various times, Joe Gibbs, Solar Sounds and Monica's Hairdressing, Cosmetics and Records. All of these shops sold the sounds of home courtesy of LPs and disco 45s.<sup>35</sup>

The musical tastes of those children and young teens growing up in 1970s Toronto were far less defined or static than their parents' tastes had become. This generation had been 'caught' early enough and did not harbour the same inhibitions towards reggae – and by extension black or 'immigrant' music – that an older generation might have done. Here, at the city's primary, middle and high schools, there existed a freedom of musical exploration between non-Jamaican youths and their migrant counterparts. Without this freedom, the golden age of Canadian reggae in the 1980s – with its heavy reliance on a young punk and even younger post-punk demographic – might not have occurred.

Reggae could now legitimately contest for the hearts (and dollars) of a soon to be club-hopping, vinyl-buying critical mass.<sup>36</sup> Reggae was an accepted part of their swelling musical underground that had gotten some exposure on campus FM radio. Some Canadian reggae acts like Messenjah and The Sattalites even enjoyed television exposure on CBC and later Much Music when the latter was in need of CanCon videos.<sup>37</sup> Many of the major record labels were caught unawares when the Do-It-Yourself aesthetic of the



punk-era indie labels and artists forever changed how popular music was disseminated. Thus, the timing for reggae to carve out a place for itself in the city was perfect.

There were still, however, nightclubs for an older generation to discover ska and reggae in 1970s Toronto. Club Jamaica, Club Tropics, Club Trinidad, Soul Palace and the popular West Indian Federation Club at Brunswick and College had, as journalist and reggae historian Kevin Howes explained, “all catered to mixed-race crowds looking for island hospitality and warmth.”<sup>38</sup> Scarborough too, had its Carib Restaurant and Tavern on Eglinton East where the Steel Drum sounds of Jerry Jerome and the Cardells were often featured.<sup>39</sup> Jamaican singer the Mighty Pope recalled Yonge Street’s Club Jamaica and the music’s momentum that was calibrated to the rising number of Jamaicans in the city:

As more Jamaicans came [*Club Jamaica*] got really, really established and that’s where they went and congregated every weekend... [*The Club*] was right on Yonge Street and it was like a novelty so it was three-quarters white... It was all positive, because they [*whites*] could hear the music from downstairs and it was a novelty... it was a bit of Jamaica I guess.<sup>40</sup>

And a ‘bit of Jamaica’ was exactly what those Canadians who had been to Montego Bay or Ocho Rios were after. After all, a thirty-something non-Jamaican could easily muster up the gumption to take his date to a Yonge Street nightclub to hear popular West Indian tunes and perhaps the odd sample off the American Hit Parade. A ‘blues dance’ in an apartment on Driftwood Avenue in the Jane and Finch Corridor, however, might as well have been three thousand kilometers away for most non-Jamaican adults living in the city.

Journalist James Hill described witnessing the arrival of Jamaican music to Monica’s shop in 1978:

A new shipment of singles has just arrived from Jamaica, and there's a large crowd pressed around the counter. The atmosphere resembles an auction: as the sales clerk spins each new release, customers raise their hands to indicate if they want to buy it. Toronto's West Indian record stores are more than simple sales outlets; they provide a direct pipeline to the shifting tides of culture in the homeland.<sup>41</sup>

Vassell and his father were usually in the crowd pressed around the counter:

I remember as a kid growing up going on Eglinton avenue and standing around with [*my dad*] and a bunch of other guys who'd go there on Saturday morning when the new batch comes in and the guy behind the counter would play thirty seconds of a record, they'd all listen in and either they wanted it after hearing thirty seconds or they'd say "cha, leave that one alone".<sup>42</sup>

Similar shops like Peabody's Clef Records and Music were, by the mid-1970s, also doing a brisk trade in the heart of the 'Black Bottom' on Bathurst, just south of Dupont. Sid Lovejoy also set up his Lovejoy Records and Productions on Bathurst Street that included a recording studio component for Jamaican migrants. Noel Walker owned the Tropical Gift and Record Store that was also on the east side of Bathurst. Walker's sizeable inventory was diverse and included jazz, American soul and the occasional white artists that seemed to resonate with black Toronto. Sports journalist Jack Batten, for example, was simply amazed to find Engelbert Humperdinck at the Tropical Gift and Record Store.<sup>43</sup> Still, Walker's clientele was, according to the owner, ninety-five percent black, and of these, most were Jamaican:

They're the ones, Jamaicans, who are most crazy about music. I import records from Jamaica and England that people can't get anywhere else. I brought in maybe \$20,000 to \$30,000 worth of imports last year from overseas.<sup>44</sup>

The demographic, however, would change over time and more and more non-Jamaicans became interested in hearing and buying Jamaican music.<sup>45</sup>

By the early 1980s, reggae had floated downtown and into Kensington Market. The market had been cultivating a reggae culture since the mid-1970s, with businesses

like Tiger's Coconut Grove, but when two established reggae acts opened rival record shops, Kensington too, became a place where reggae and Jamaican culture could be enacted and heard on a daily basis. Stranger Cole was a significant Jamaican singer of the ska era, while his rival (and friend) guitarist Ranford Williams (or Ronnie Bop) was a top-notch session player who had recorded with Lee Perry, Paul Simon and Bob Marley.<sup>46</sup> Cole and Williams were constantly vying for trade by blasting reggae at each other out of massive speakers in what locals called the 'wobble zone'.<sup>47</sup> In Toronto, Williams, a Canadian Reggae Music Awards winner (1985) ran the band Yah Wah Deh as well as the record store.<sup>48</sup> The difference with this location compared to the Eglinton strip was that the area attracted non-Jamaicans shopping for reggae, including tourists who may not have possessed the gumption to shop on Eglinton or in the 'Black Bottom'. By 1985, there were anywhere between 25 and 50 reggae and West Indian record stores operating in the city of Toronto and all keeping 'local reggae alive'.<sup>49</sup> Williams' store in Kensington Market was crucial to the local scene.<sup>50</sup>

While there were many outposts for reggae records, the music itself was only sporadically finding 'space' on Canadian airwaves. In the 1970s, Toronto's CHIN Radio had its *Island Music Hour* as did Mississauga's CHWO and CJMR. Both of these stations featured West Indian programming on the weekend.<sup>51</sup> Many black Torontonians also listened to WUFO out of Buffalo, though this station catered to a black American crowd and less so to fans of West Indian music. By the mid-1970s, CHIN boasted Bill Payne, a white deejay who was popular among black Torontonians for spinning soul, gospel and blues.<sup>52</sup> Later still, by the early 1980s, CFNY's Deadly Headley would have a very popular Sunday night show and campus radio stations like CKLN (Ryerson College, now

University) featured Canadian David Kingston's hugely popular *Reggae Showcase* on Sunday nights (1982-1987) and then later on Fridays (1987-1992). Though most of these shows were hardly featured during prime-time hours, fans hungry for rocksteady, lovers rock and roots reggae would seek them out and soon became devoted members of the city's reggae radio listenership.<sup>53</sup>

In terms of 'space' in the print media, *Contrast*, one of Toronto's first West Indian newspapers founded in 1969 by Olivia Grange-Walker, kept its readership attuned to political and cultural movements in Jamaica. Grange-Walker's weekly column was entitled 'Olivia's Pepperpot', and was, according to *Globe and Mail* journalist Adele Freedman, "a disarming synthesis of the ingenuous and the sophisticated with the power to draw you in like a vacuum cleaner."<sup>54</sup> The column also helped raise the profile of local reggae artists, including those that Grange-Walker herself was managing: Ernie Smith, O. Travis, Chalawa and Leroy Sibbles<sup>55</sup>

By the late 1960s, there were enough Jamaican musicians working in the city to warrant managers. Karl Mullings, for example, was pivotal in managing early Jamaican-Canadian acts like The Sheiks and The Cougars, and helped parlay the successes of the West Indian exhibit at Montreal's Expo 67 and annual events like Caribana, into regular performances in Toronto and around Ontario and Quebec for his roster. This generation of Jamaican-Canadian musicians, however, had to present a diversified set-list to entertain their mixed audiences. Sets might be seasoned with some of the island's flavour, but only the odd ska or later rocksteady number would surreptitiously slip in between the standard fare of Top 40 and American R&B classics. Still, bands like The Sheiks, Jo-Jo and the Fugitives and The Hitch-Hikers featuring The Mighty Pope, were

West Indian musicians who were working constantly in the city's night clubs.<sup>56</sup> This style of show was also attractive to those non-Jamaicans who may have heard some ska courtesy of Byron Lee and the Dragonaires while holidaying on the island's north coast.<sup>57</sup>

Some events that featured reggae had accessed mainstream spaces. In these instances, reggae transcended the city's youth sub-culture and cut across generational lines. There was the famous annual West Indian festival Caribana that began in 1967 and took place outside on the streets of Toronto and inside various homes, nightclubs and even Maple Leaf Gardens. Although the festival was based mostly on Trinidad's Carnival, Caribana did feature *some* reggae acts. In 1971, for example, the Blues Busters, the Cougars and Jackie Mittoo were thrown in the mix with a host of calypso artists.<sup>58</sup>

Reggae's new found popularity meant that it was no longer restricted to the confines of West Indian homes and establishments. Reggae had entered the mainstream spaces of the city's night clubs and even movie theatres. This access was won by the international success of reggae acts like Toots and the Maytals, Peter Tosh, Jimmy Cliff and, of course, Bob Marley who had all, by the mid-1970s, performed in Toronto.<sup>59</sup> Also, the popularity of the Jamaican-made movie *The Harder They Come* had a huge, positive effect on the proliferation of reggae around the world. Ivan, the film's main character, was styled after Jamaica's lawless and gun-toting folk hero Ivanhoe "Rhyging" Martin. Ivan and Rhyging resembled a more cynical Robin Hood character couched in the western genre that was immensely popular in Jamaica. The movie was able to popularize several reggae artists all at once, most notably Jimmy Cliff who not only wrote much of the soundtrack, but also starred in the lead role. The film's soundtrack contributed several classics to reggae's canon, including: 'You Can Get it if You Really Want', 'Many

Rivers to Cross’, ‘Sitting in Limbo’, Toots’ ‘Pressure Drop’, Dekker’s ‘(007) Shanty Town’, the Slickers’ ‘Johnny Too Bad’ and the Melodians’ ‘Rivers of Babylon’.<sup>60</sup>

Upon the film’s release, entertainment writer Robert Martin spoke to its importance (and success) in Toronto:

As might be expected, [*the film*] has a fanatic following among Toronto’s West Indian community and there’s a lot of repeat business at Cinema Lumiere where it is in its ninth week. But the number of whites in the audience has been steadily increasing as the word spreads that this film has much to say to anyone who loves pop music and living close to the edge where death doesn’t matter as long as it’s done in style.<sup>61</sup>

*Globe and Mail* theatre critic Lawrence O’Toole confirmed the fact that by 1975, “*The Harder They Come* has become a cult and reggae music a growing, popular taste.”<sup>62</sup>

## THE BIRTH OF CANADIAN REGGAE

As reggae was being introduced to the world through the Jamaican movie and through popular cross-over hits by acts like Eric Clapton and Johnny Nash, Toronto was becoming a place where reggae was not only heard, but also made. In fact, many of Jamaica’s key players were relocating to Toronto. Two musicians in particular stand out above the others. Bassist-vocalist Leroy Sibbles and keyboardist Jackie Mittoo were genre-defining house-musicians *à la* Motown’s Funk Brothers in the assembly-style confines of Coxson Dodd’s Studio One. Sibbles had scored several hits in Jamaica and even a few in England with his Heptones trio including, ‘Fatty, Fatty’ (which he co-wrote with Mittoo), and ‘Book of Rules’.<sup>63</sup> Mittoo was a master arranger and organist who, at the age of only fourteen, had been a founding member of the famous Skatalites. By 1973, both Jamaican icons called Toronto home.<sup>64</sup> Adding to this powerful duo was a mix of other high calibre Jamaican musicians who, having grown tired of political violence at

home and encouraged by the positive reviews of those who had *gone a' Cyanada* before them, chose to relocate to Toronto, including Lord Tanamo, Stranger Cole, Joe Issacs, Leroy Brown, Johnny Osbourne, Ernie Smith and, by 1974, Willi Williams. In this respect, reggae had enough local – and qualified – ambassadors to begin to infiltrate Toronto's music scene.

Jamaicans had also begun recording reggae in Toronto. Dave and Ansell Collins (of 'Double-Barrel' fame) recorded a full album in Toronto in 1974.<sup>65</sup> Perhaps more importantly though, was the triumvirate of early Canadian reggae recordings made by Jackie Mittoo that had made some significant waves and had converted some local radio disc jockeys.<sup>66</sup> Mittoo's *Wishbone* (1971), *Reggae Magic* (1972) and *Let's Put it all Together* (1975) are especially noteworthy because he used white Canadian musicians, including members of the Toronto Symphony Orchestra, jazzers Rob McConnell, Guido Basso and Moe Koffman and the classically trained composer like Howard Cable.<sup>67</sup> The latter recalled the dynamic between the migrant musicians and Toronto's first-call session players during the recording of *Wishbone* at the high-end Eastern Sound Studio:

Carl [*DeHaney*] introduced me to Jackie and we got together on the things he wanted...He brought his own gang in. We had already decided long before that the white boys that I had wouldn't quite make it. He gave me the tracks and I scored the instrumentation. It was pretty simple with a lot of tones and things like that. It went very well, actually.<sup>68</sup>

The original liner notes for the album invited listeners to "Meet Jackie and his Reggae Beat!", and *Wishbone* certainly provided a striking hybrid of Mittoo's vision and Cable's orchestration in what is likely the first real sample of 'Canadian reggae'; that is to say, it was reggae recorded in Canada, on local studio gear and with at least some input of non-Jamaican Canadian musicians and producers.<sup>69</sup>

The collaboration boded well for Mittoo. As the keyboardist told *Reggae Report's*

I. Jabulani Tafari in 1988, working with the Canadian Talent Library:

...gave me a lot of recognition on all the Canadian stations...At the time I had qualified for Canadian content because I'd already lived there for about four years. So I did one album for them called *Reggae Magic*...They didn't have to put up with no lyrics and all that, but them was still getting reggae. And so that became the favourite reggae album in Canada. This is in 1972. Financially, it was a non-profit thing, but I could have never financed the amount of advertisement that I got from these people.<sup>70</sup>

As both Mittoo and reggae's profile was on the rise, other Jamaican-Canadians looked to documenting the growing pool of talent in the Toronto region.

In the mid-1970s, for instance, Jerry Brown set up Summer Records in the Malton community, where another block of Jamaican migrants began making their home. While Summer Records enjoyed only modest financial results, the company recorded a bevy of transplanted Jamaicans including Willi Williams, Earth, Roots & Water, Noel Ellis and popular Jamaican singer Johnny Osbourne who, like so many of his counterparts, decided to embark on a life in Canada.<sup>71</sup>

Two years after Mittoo had released the third and final instalment of his large scale Canadian albums, reggae found another Canadian patron who helped facilitate an important breakthrough. In 1977, David Clayton-Thomas, the British born Canadian singer-producer of Blood, Sweat & Tears fame, lent his significant musical credibility to the debut album from Canada's first self-styled reggae band Ishan People featuring Johnny Osbourne. The self-titled album was released on the GRT label, and though the chosen themes of Ishan People's two albums did not necessarily speak to the Caribbean-Canadian experience, the mere fact that they had secured a record deal and had got



Clayton-Thomas to produce it had inspired other would-be Canadian reggae artists to do the same.<sup>72</sup>

In fact, enough locally produced reggae was being made that some aspiring entrepreneurs even considered the possibility of exporting records *to* Jamaica. Olivia Grange-Walker put forth the ambitious idea of selling Canadian reggae to the West Indies.<sup>73</sup> This audacious move prompted journalist Peter Goddard to claim that while Toronto was:

...still a colony, compared with what's happening back in Kingston and, to some, it's still a remote out-post compared with New York and London. Yet, unlikely as it sounds, there's not only reggae music here, but a reggae music industry.<sup>74</sup>

While the export business may have been a little too ambitious, there was, at least by the end of the 1970s, something approaching a full-fledged reggae scene in Toronto, replete with Jamaican entrepreneurs like Grange-Walker, *bona fide* reggae stars like Mittoo and Sibbles and a growing number of would-be reggae musicians and fans of both Jamaican and non-Jamaican heritage. *Reggae Canadiana* had been delivered in Toronto.

But reggae's exposure to the mainstream continued to be stifled by poor radio-presence. To be fair, the music was hardly played on Jamaican radio in the early 1970s, let alone Canada's airwaves. As Rap Rose, manager of Joe Gibbs Record Store lamented in 1978:

The major radio stations refuse to play it...Even the records that are produced locally and can be considered Canadian content are not played...And I was under the impression that we were supposed to be fighting for multiculturalism...The way our music is accepted in Britain shows that it is capable of entertaining people.<sup>75</sup>

But Canada was not Britain. And Rose – and others like him, who were acutely aware of the successes of Jamaican music in London and Birmingham – struggled to reconcile the

Canadian Government's brochure of the multicultural policy with the reality of the dominant society's commercial airwaves. Mike Smith was similarly frustrated:

I had a hard time getting and finding Jamaican music at that particular time on the radio, so there was a programme on, on Sunday nights...and I remember staying up...to record some of the music.<sup>76</sup>

Despite the introduction of new regulations that forced Canadian radio to play more Canadian music, reggae still had to fight for precious radio time in Canada throughout the 1980s and even when it did come (mostly on FM, Campus radio), the music would never experience the level of success or acceptance that the British brand of reggae did.<sup>77</sup> In 1982, the white Vancouver band The Payolas scored a massive-hit with the reggae-tinged 'Eyes of a Stranger'. Co-frontman Paul Hyde recently remarked on its success: "I never thought it would get as much airplay as it did because I thought it was too reggae for the airwaves at the time."<sup>78</sup> The lack of reggae's presence on mainstream radio, it would seem, was not only apparent to those in the reggae community. Though more and more Jamaican artists were calling Toronto home and adding to the richness of the city's artistic community, mainstream mediums remained seemingly impenetrable and the 'inclusiveness' promised in the multicultural policies was at odds with the material reality of the migrant musician.

As early as 1978, nevertheless, *Globe and Mail* journalist James Hill declared that "there is a Trench Town in Toronto, as there is in Jamaica. It's everywhere."<sup>79</sup> Yet, Hill also observed that the local reggae scene:

...remains largely invisible outside the West Indian community. Ignored by the mainstream of the music industry, it's confined to the fringes, to Harbourfront, and suburban outposts like the Club Carib, to rented dance halls and disco basements, to record stores and homemade studios.<sup>80</sup>

Hill would have to update this view in less than year. For 1979 was, as author Klive Walker rightly witnessed, perhaps the most pivotal year in the development of reggae in Canada. First, 1979 saw the last of Bob Marley's Canadian shows at Maple Leaf Gardens in Toronto. It was an 'eye-opener' for Jamaican Phil Vassell who attended the show:

...going to Maple Leaf Gardens...and watching Bob Marley fill that place and seeing how people responded to Bob Marley and the Wailers at Maple Leaf Gardens! That's when you realize that it isn't just your immediate friends around you that were digging the music, but a whole slew of people that didn't look like you, didn't sound like you, came from different walks of life, but they had that [*Marley music*] in common.<sup>81</sup>

Jamaican music was demarcating Toronto's streets, nightclubs, and now it had even penetrated the city's biggest venue.

That same year, Bruce Cockburn, enamoured with the now energetic Toronto reggae scene and living in the city, chose Ishan People's Larry Silvera and Benbow to back him on his hit 'Wondering Where the Lions Are' on his *Dancing in the Dragon's Jaws* album.<sup>82</sup> The song was Cockburn's biggest American hit and managed to climb to #21 on the Billboard Charts. It broke Cockburn outside of Canada and won him an appearance on Saturday Night Live in 1980.<sup>83</sup> The reggae that was being broadcast on Queen Street West, then, was crucial to Cockburn's career, as music mogul Bernie Finkelstein remembered:

...if Bruce doesn't live in Toronto, he doesn't know about Leroy Sibbles' band, he doesn't go into clubs like the Bamboo where reggae is being played, [*then*] I don't think he gets the inspiration for 'Wondering Where the Lions Are'.<sup>84</sup>

Cockburn was able to parlay the extensive airplay of 'Wondering' into larger tours and bigger venues.<sup>85</sup>

The singer-songwriter's integrity in terms of doing reggae 'right' was extremely important to Cockburn: "I didn't want to fake it in the studio. I thought if I was going to

use this music I want the real guys to play on it and invite them in and have it be real.”<sup>86</sup>

Cockburn’s chasing of the ‘real’ thing, the ‘real’ Jamaican sound, presented a paradox for the local reggae scene. By virtue of the song’s success, reggae had truly arrived in Canada. Yet, the language used by Cockburn also delineated, although perhaps not intentionally, an ‘us and them’ line of thinking that lingered in the consciousness of the Toronto media. Such language made permissible the idea that henceforth, only Jamaican musicians *could* or indeed *should* play reggae in Canada.

Still, for many young white Torontonians who may have had only a vague interest in reggae, Cockburn’s stamp of approval helped to accelerate the genre’s popularity among the cool set along Queen Street West. Here, the city’s musos, profoundly affected by the do-it-yourself aesthetic of British punk and new wave, regarded reggae as an equally underground and subversive art-form that struck sympathetic political chords with their own rebellious musics. Reggae was no longer the insipid island music that their parents might have heard at Sandals. It was, instead, a fiery, oppressor-naming, dangerous tool that both distressed and confounded mom and dad.

Reggae’s stock rose when it arrived on the Toronto scene when clubs like the Horseshoe and the El Mocambo began featuring local reggae acts on the strength of the genre’s arrival on the international scene.<sup>87</sup> Venues like the Elmo even managed to bring in big-name acts. In 1980, the *Toronto Star* exclaimed that the city’s reggae fans “still talk about [*Burning Spear’s*] sensational shows at the El Mocambo”, and that while Marley’s postponement of another Maple Leaf Gardens show was a letdown (though few would have at this point known that the singer had been diagnosed with an advanced

form of cancer), fans could look forward to highly attractive packages that could bring reggae stars Third World and Black Uhuru to Toronto.<sup>88</sup>

The local scene also profited from reggae's rise. The Chelsea International Show Lounge and Disco on Isabella Street, for instance, boasted Limbo Springs, which was a combination of new wave and reggae.<sup>89</sup> The band featured former academics, including Kim Cameron, a white Canadian and sociology professor from Trent University and the University of Quebec, who, at least for a time, turned his back on academia. Cameron hadn't the 'mildest regret':

After all, thousands of PhDs are lined up to occupy the positions I once held. They have the joy of setting the exams for future note-takers. Meanwhile, I have learned to respect the thoughts and accomplishments of many rock and reggae singers and musicians who, through their experience in intangible and subjective worlds, have been able to assimilate innumerable things they need to know, in ways which often surpass the insights of science as a means of dealing practically with the world.<sup>90</sup>

Reggae as a profession, then, was attracting more than just the Jamaican migrant musician.<sup>91</sup>

The fact that a career in reggae attracted non-Jamaicans in Canada while the genre was still in its infancy bears witness to how irresistible the music could be for some. Still, Canadian reggae was in the main, performed by recently arrived Jamaican migrants. From the early 1970s onwards, Jackie Mittoo had been able to breach, with his "vibrant reggae music on the electric organ", the better rooms around Toronto like the chic Dr. Livingstone's at the Bristol Place Hotel on Dixon Road.<sup>92</sup> Even verifiable 'A' rooms like Harbourfront began putting on reggae showcases that included local talent. As did the Forum at Ontario Place, where thousands of reggae fans would show up yearly to support home team players like Sibles, Messenjah and the Sattalites.<sup>93</sup> With the coming of a new

decade, several Jamaican expatriate musicians were playing reggae *and* regularly in Toronto.<sup>94</sup>

In October 1980, Harbourfront's one-day all-Canadian reggae festival featured Truths and Rights, Chawala, Ernie Smith and Carlene Davis who collectively sold out the centre's Brigantine Room. The *Globe and Mail's* Adele Freedman reported that she had walked in to Toronto-styled "reggae Woodstock":

Truths and Rights, a group which has acquired a substantial following in the city in a short time, was in the middle of a scorching finale and there wasn't a pelvis in the room that wasn't rocking to the reggae backbeat. Little children stood on chairs for an unobstructed view of the stage; and anyone with a fedora to wave was waving it.<sup>95</sup>

Again, the crowd demographic caught the attention of the journalist who seemed flabbergasted that there were "even a few balding quinquagenarians" in the mix.<sup>96</sup> The night's climax arrived when the group featuring Smith and Davis slowed the tempo down, as Freedman explained, "to a reverent adagio with a stirring performance of 'By the River of Babylon'."<sup>97</sup> Toronto's Jamaican expats were indeed singing – and with success – King Alpha's song in a strange land.

## REGGAE "ROUTES" TAKE ROOT

Non-Jamaicans, as it happens, were also humming along. Monica, the proprietor of Monica's Hairdressing, Cosmetics and Records saw a rise in the number of white people interested in reggae music in the early 1980s:

When I opened up in 1971, I was the only one... When I started, I was importing records from Jamaica and England for my black customers. Now I get all kinds of customers; more and more of them are mature, older white people who have travelled to the Islands. When they're there, the music they hear is reggae and it becomes natural to them. When they come back, they want to remember what it was like, so they come searching for reggae records.<sup>98</sup>

While this was true, the jet-setters were less likely to be found scouring Queen Street West for local reggae acts than the younger generation of white kids who were the most active members in reggae's groundswell in Toronto.

Andru Branch, a white Canadian born in Nova Scotia who grew up in North Toronto, articulated his conversion at a Truths and Rights' performance:

Somebody took me to see a Truths & Rights concert at the Palais Royale and I was like 'oh my God, this is my life'. And then the very next night we went back to the Palais Royale to see the 20TH Century Rebels and *from I* saw those two groups play live, that was just completely it for me, I knew my calling and what I wanted to do.<sup>99</sup>

While Branch may have been immediately captivated by the city's local reggae stars, his introduction to the music was, at least in part, via a trend in British popular music.<sup>100</sup>

The Two-Tone phenomenon had hit Canada in a big way too. Bands like The Beat, The Selecter, Madness, Bad Manners, The Specials and The Body Snatchers were all part of the second generation of ska that took place in England in the late 1970s. These bands – mostly bi-racial – made a significant impact in Toronto where they had a cross-genre appeal and where they also enjoyed decent airplay on CFNY and CKLN. The *Globe and Mail's* Paul McGrath was amazed by the demographic at The Selecter's first Toronto show at the Palais Royale in 1980:

...the multitude congregated inside to watch Leroy Sibbles and an English ska band called The Selecter was forced into a mass sandwich on the dance floor, leathered punks found themselves back to back with two-tone-suited mods, who were cheek by jowl with standard hippies.<sup>101</sup>

Though it was not by design, ska and reggae crowds were considerably more varied in terms of race and age than other genres of the day. Second generation ska encouraged harmony by virtue of the bands' two-tone racial make-up.<sup>102</sup>

Journalist William Littler confirmed the success of the Two-Tone movement and its impact on the music scene during the 1980s. For Littler, the rise in popularity of reggae in Toronto stemmed from:

...the fact that the New Wave of rock has brought a new wave of young, white reggae fans. British bands like the Clash and the Police began exploring reggae rhythms in their music a few years ago, and recently several British groups, some of them racially and sexually integrated, have revived ska, an uptempo predecessor of reggae.<sup>103</sup>

White Canadian youth, looking to Britain for guidance in musical trends, discovered that quality reggae existed in their own backyard.

The city's musical-savvy youth culture began exploring the various reggae experiences that the city had to offer. Dill Pickles, a Jamaican-born deejay spinning records in Toronto in 1982 happily exclaimed:

The white kids like this music...because it's different from any other music they've heard but it's still like their own. They've been hearing all sorts of things that don't have what they want. Maybe with reggae it's the heavy bass-and-drum they like. They need something to get their head together tight. Reggae does that, and they like it. And I love them for that.<sup>104</sup>

Likewise, for Brian Robertson, former Royalty Manager for EMI Music Canada and white teenager during the 1980s, 'discovering' the parallel universe of reggae, replete with its own sub-genres and star system was transformative:

It started to come in bunches, because you'd go to one, you'd think, "oh man this is great". And as you'd discover some legendary band like Toots and the Maytals, "holy crap they're coming to town!"<sup>105</sup>

Just as it had in Britain, reggae had transcended the city's youth sub-culture and had even become accepted (though perhaps only conditionally) by some middle-class Torontonians.<sup>106</sup> Still, it was within the critical mass of the city's youth sub-culture, that Canadian reggae was mostly appreciated, consumed and even produced.



While most commercial radio stations continued to give reggae a miss, (with perhaps the exception of CFNY), campus radio courtesy of Ryerson College's CKLN and later the University of Toronto's CIUT gave Canadian reggae a much needed space on the airwaves. Truths and Rights had a college radio hit in 1981 with 'Metro's Number One Problem'.<sup>107</sup> Similarly, 20th Century Rebels scored a campus and CFNY hit with 'Running from the F.B.I.' in 1983.<sup>108</sup> Yet, reggae's biggest breakthrough in Canadian radio came in late August 1983, and once again it was via Britain.

UB40's version of Neil Diamond's 'Red Red Wine' hit number one in the UK and all over Europe.<sup>109</sup> Crucially, the song hit number one on the Canadian charts and made the multiracial band from Birmingham England the world's biggest reggae story since the death of Bob Marley. The song would eventually hit number one in the USA, and remains one of the only reggae songs ever to do so.<sup>110</sup> 'Red Red Wine' was featured on the first Labour of Love album.<sup>111</sup> Labour of Love I was on the UK charts for 100 weeks and has since sold 10 million copies worldwide, while the band's catalogue has collectively sold over 75 million albums.<sup>112</sup>

The group is held in suspicion by some music critics and ethnomusicologists as being 'inauthentic'. Still, UB40 is a reggae band, regarded as such by the very Jamaican reggae artists who helped build the genre. When the Masonic Temple and Massey Hall proved too small for the band, UB40 was able to play (and sell out several times) Toronto's 15,000 seat outdoor venue Kingswood Music Theatre. Bob Marley remains the only other reggae artist to have been able to consistently draw as many people into Toronto's biggest live music spaces.<sup>113</sup>

But by now, even the mid-size rooms and smaller night clubs were opening their doors more readily to the reggae groove. As Adele Freedman observed at the Jamaican band The Gladiators' show at Toronto's (*in*)famous Brunswick House in 1983:

A few years ago, reggae festivals in Toronto were likely to be haphazardly organized and attended, but now that reggae has become a fact on the charts, continuing to express the kind of unpasteurized excitement that once characterized all forms of black American music, all that has changed. The crowd at the Brunswick, probably 90 per cent white, knew exactly what was in store and they weren't disappointed.<sup>114</sup>

By the mid-1980s then, reggae was no longer a mysterious 'island music' that mom and dad raved about, nor was it circumscribed within those backstreets delineating the city's Jamaican enclaves. Canadian reggae was instead, dubbing in and around the city's streetscapes, regenerating itself like a space echo loop.

Despite the size of the small island where the music had emanated, reggae had become a household name in Toronto. It was on solid footing within the city's counterculture and had even surfaced into the mainstream. The genre's trademarks had been absorbed into the aural vocabulary of Toronto's working musicians regardless of whether or not they were of Jamaican descent.

Some of Canada's other ethnic musics from places like Italy, India or the Ukraine – countries that had much bigger population bases in Toronto and Canada at large – could not compete with the national profile that reggae had summited.<sup>115</sup> Few non-Italian Canadians could have told you who Lucio Battisti was, but Bob Marley's dreadlocked image was for many instantly recognizable. There were no separate categories for *Bhangra* or *Bilyj Holos* singing at the Juno Awards (arguably the highest profile for popular music in the country), but reggae, on the other hand, was singled out.<sup>116</sup> Winning

such distinctions on the national stage, given that reggae hailed from a migrant group that in 2001 represented only 0.7% of Canada's population, was nothing short of remarkable.

#### METRO'S GRAND OLD MAN OF REGGAE

For many Jamaican migrants, Leroy Sibbles was a star before he made landfall in Canada. His voice therefore floated into the many spaces around the city wherever Jamaicanness was enacted. At the same time, Sibbles' music became ubiquitous in the downtown spaces where reggae could be heard. Toronto was, by the beginning of the 1980s, a reggae-savvy community. And now nearly a decade into his Toronto stay, Leroy Sibbles, the young Heptones singer, was hailed by *Toronto Star* music critic Peter Goddard as 'Metro's grand old man of reggae'.<sup>117</sup> It was the same for entertainment journalist William Burrill, who saw Sibbles as the 'patriarch of Canada's reggae scene'.<sup>118</sup> Sibbles' centrality to the Canadian reggae experience is undeniable. As Goddard confessed, 'if anyone in reggae has succeeded in this city, he has. No reggae club is complete without his appearance, no concert, no party, no benefit is complete without Leroy Sibbles.'<sup>119</sup> At the fourth annual Canadian Black Music Awards held in 1983, for instance, Sibbles walked away with no less than five awards.<sup>120</sup> Sibbles himself knew that he was something of a father figure to younger reggae musicians in the city, claiming that "they look up to me and I'm thankful for that."<sup>121</sup> The migrant had made good.

Sibbles came to Toronto in January 1973, moving to the Jane and Finch Corridor to be with his girlfriend and to be near other Jamaican expats (namely Mittoo) who had come before.<sup>122</sup> The singer himself was well aware of what might be called poor timing,

leaving Jamaica as he did when the nation's musical export was on the ascent: "The big break came in Europe about a year after I left...and a lot of small fries cashed in", and that he would have been "doing bigger things than he is now if he hadn't left Jamaica."<sup>123</sup>

Though he would later change his mind, Sibbles said of his move to Canada in 1982:

I think it was the right move. I made myself a household name for one thing. I got to know the top entertainment people, so that it would be easier to get support for reggae from all these people. And I think it's gone to the point where you can make a living out of reggae. That's no small thing, you know. Now you can live from your music. I've survived.<sup>124</sup>

Few others – for a variety of reasons, not least of which was the financial unpredictability involved with being a musician – have made a living from reggae music in Canada and almost none over such an extended period of time.

Toronto's mainstream rock critics began to recognize the talent in the former Heptones frontman. As early as 1981, the *Globe and Mail's* Alan Niester likened Sibbles to (of all people) Bing Crosby:

...his voice is such a smooth tenor (in a field usually dominated by histrionic shouters) and he is a veteran in a field of usually younger men. But his sweet voice and wealth of experience help give a form to a performance that, in the hands of lesser performer, becomes little more than background for dancing.<sup>125</sup>

Yet, Toronto's reggae 'crooner' was, despite his new address, constantly in demand in Jamaica. The singer was invited back to perform at Reggae Sunsplash (Jamaica's biggest annual reggae event) for five consecutive years in the late 1970s and into the 1980s.<sup>126</sup> At the same time, Sibbles enjoyed great currency in England where his Heptones had made their mark a decade previous.<sup>127</sup> Sibbles was a legitimate star in the city's nascent reggae scene.

More importantly, though, the former Heptones vocalist had infiltrated the arteries of the city's and arguably the country's main artistic community. While it is true that

certain provincial and federal government initiatives alluded to multicultural participation and collaboration in the arts, these often insincere schemes (at least as far as reggae was concerned) hardly explain the extent to which the genre had infiltrated Toronto.<sup>128</sup> Simply put, reggae was cool. Jamaicans were cool.<sup>129</sup> Leroy Sibbles was cool. The feisty, ‘no apologies’ attitude of the Jamaican migrant musician appealed to other non-Jamaican musicians in the punk and post-punk era.<sup>130</sup> Reggae musicians did not cower from club owners, journalists, sceptics, or indeed, each other. They were tough, survivors, rebels, and the city’s non-Jamaican musicians were buoyed by their new friends’ self-assurance.<sup>131</sup>

In 1984, Sibbles continued his foray into the Canadian arts scene by providing the soundtrack for Jennifer Hodges’ National Film Board production *Home Feeling: Struggle for a Community*, a film about Sibbles’ first Toronto community the Jane and Finch Corridor.<sup>132</sup> The movie addressed the palpable racial tension, crime and despair apparent within the six square blocks that constitute the Corridor.<sup>133</sup> Directed by Jennifer Hodge and Roger McTair, *Home Feeling* was hopeful in the sense that despite the enduring poor perception of the neighbourhood, the people of the community – including many Jamaicans, people of other ethnicities, the police and social workers – were committed to improving both the Corridor itself and its popular image. Importantly, the movie, with Sibbles’ soundtrack, linked music to space. Through this representation and others like it in the popular media, and despite the numerous other ethnicities living within the community, it was Jamaican reggae, above the rest, that claimed the sonic space of the Jane-Finch Corridor.<sup>134</sup>

Beyond Jamaican-centric projects, Sibbles also began to pay explicit homage to the musical traditions of his newly adopted country. On his 1982 album *Evidence* (recorded for the major label A&M), for instance, Sibbles employed some mainstream Canadian musical heavyweights including Cockburn, Murray McLauchlan and Colleen Peterson, as well as some top-flight session players like violinist Hugh Marsh, pianist Jon Goldsmith and flautist Kathryn Moses. The album was a decided departure from a purer Jamaican-reggae feel and was part of a strategy, by Sibbles and his management, to move him away from a strictly reggae setting and audience.<sup>135</sup>

After all, despite making international inroads, reggae still suffered from underexposure on the city's radio waves, and outside of the odd Bob Marley or UB40 track, space on Toronto's mainstream radio stations was limited. If Sibbles could somehow breach the city's radio stations then perhaps his success could (it was thought) open the door for more, straight-ahead and locally-produced reggae tracks. The album's single 'I'm Thankful' helped to take Sibbles down that road, by charting on Toronto's CFTR, though the top-40 station CHUM gave it a miss as it continued its general apathy to reggae and contemporary black music in general.<sup>136</sup> With *Evidence*, the dynamic cultural dialogue that compelled Cockburn to use a Jamaican backing band for his biggest North American hit became a truly reciprocal affair.

Sibbles' new approach, however, may have cost him a portion of his dedicated fan base. The Jamaican singer though, was well aware of these potentialities and confessed that the city's reggae faithful "will be surprised. They might even get mad. But hard-core reggae fans are limited too. I want to be heard by everyone. And I'm opening the way for more reggae."<sup>137</sup> Ironically, despite its lack of actual reggae, the album

succeeded in raising the genre's national profile. This was in part due to Sibbles' shrewd Queen Street West casting which landed him some of the nation's most important musical artists. As journalist Liam Lacey confirmed, the talented ensemble that Sibbles assembled, "underscores the notion that *Evidence* is as much a community project as a musical one."<sup>138</sup> The communal project brought new converts to Jamaican-Canadian reggae: a hybrid of a hybrid.

By 1985, the exchange between migrant musician and Canadian pop star had culminated in a special show at the 25,000 seat National Stadium in Kingston Jamaica. Jamfest '85 was held to commemorate the United Nations' International Youth Year. The weekend festival included Jamaican reggae stars like Sly & Robbie, Rita Marley, Ziggy Marley, Yellowman and Marcia Griffiths, as well as the Toronto-based Sibbles and Kitchener, Ontario's Messenjah. But surprisingly, intermingled between these reggae artists were Toronto acts like the *avant garde* songstress Jane Siberry, Queen Street West new wavers The Parachute Club, classical guitarist Liona Boyd and, of course, Bruce Cockburn.<sup>139</sup> And when Cockburn launched into 'Wondering Where the Lions Are' on the final night of the festival, the Jamaican crowd leapt to their feet.<sup>140</sup> The white Canadian's cross-over reggae hit had touched the Jamaican audience. He had won them over. The transnational musical circle had been completed. The Jamaican migrant – Sibbles – had taken the music to the Canadian host – Cockburn – who, having fashioned the most important song of his career from the reggae sounds he had heard Sibbles and others perform in the city's downtown spaces, had taken it back to Jamaica, with success.

## NATURE OF THE PERFORMANCE

Musical performances are fleeting and if any meaning can be ascribed to them, then surely the audience must play a role in contributing to that meaning.<sup>141</sup> ‘Music making’, and even the more passive practice of ‘music listening’ can be viewed as a cultural activity, a *process* that, when enacted, shapes and defines the characteristics of a given group.<sup>142</sup> And notoriously fickle reggae audiences – even in Canada – expect a certain presentation, codified with cultural nuances that signify a shared experience between performer and audience.<sup>143</sup> People *choose* certain performers to act as their *mirror*, that they might reflect a certain political or cultural aesthetic and representation with which individuals and the collective might identify. Within any given reggae song, there exists ritualistic messages that demand complicity from the audience. It is part of an unwritten contract between those on and off the stage that requires the latter group to be present and participate in order that the meaning of a performance is realized. Cockburn’s Jamaican performance was met with approval by the audience. It had passed the great litmus test of ‘authenticity’; his song resonated with the audience and they responded favourably.

In his crucial work on the British Music Hall, historian Peter Bailey highlighted the resulting discourse that emerged between the stage performers and the audience in London:

...the Music Hall performer could count on the active engagement of an audience well practised not only in being hailed but in hailing back, for the language of the street and market-place that informed the exchanges with the audience was very much one of give as well as take.<sup>144</sup>

And so it was with Toronto’s own reggae scene. Concealed within these entertainers’ performances were important rituals and coded messages that demanded *complicitness*



from the crowd. One needed to be in the 'ken' to fully access the meaning of the reggae experience in Canada.

The nature of the performances, of course, changed over time. In the late 1960s, Jamaican performers in Toronto generally relied on popular, if sometimes racy songs of the 'Big Bamboo' variety to build bridges between migrant West Indians (both on and off stage) and those from the dominant culture who were brave or curious enough to attend such cultural events. Yet, by virtue of where they occurred, these performances developed and made audible the Jamaican-Canadian experience. Considering the growing number of non-Jamaicans at such shows, 'where' often determined 'who' would or could attend.

As such, Canada's foundational community of ska, rocksteady and reggae aficionados was already different in composition to its Jamaican counterpart. Naturally, these audiences, vital to the meaning of the performance, did not co-produce an exclusively Jamaican experience. This reality was further weighted when by the mid-1970s non-Jamaican musicians were put into the mix with Jamaican migrant musicians, creating an indigenous Canadian reggae sound.

By the 1980s, many non-Jamaicans had also been adequately indoctrinated by ska and reggae's rituals and repetition, and had decoded well enough the cultural mysteries and seemingly impenetrable Patois that hitherto would have kept the faint-of-heart at bay. In other words, Jamaican and Jamaican-Canadian reggae artists in Toronto were not obliged to present a 'reggae-light' demonstration for the uninitiated. It was unnecessary. Toronto reggae fans were by then, among the most reggae-savvy fans in the world outside of Jamaica. Reggae had carved out a place for itself among Torontonians of

various hues. Moreover, Canadian reggae artists and deejays were not only broadcasting *to* the people but were in fact, broadcasting *of* the people. As such, the entertainers were able to hold up a mirror to the audience and reflect a shared commonalty that transcended the performer/audience divide.

Audiences, their expectations and their codes differ throughout the reggae world. Most performers will, in order to find favour with their audience, try to meet these expectations. In essence: they want to be validated. The ‘authenticity’ or ‘validity’ of a given performance is reliant on its ability to resonate with an approving audience in a particular ‘place’ and at a particular moment in time. We must then ask if the experience of a racially mixed reggae band performing in North York, Ontario is any less ‘valid’ than a performance by The Fab Five in a Kingston nightclub.

As soon as Jamaican migrants began to broadcast their music up and down Toronto’s streetscapes the original or intended Jamaican meaning of ska and reggae’s text had been, necessarily, transcended. This was not through any grand design by those non-Jamaicans who happened to be in proximity to Jamaican culture. Neither was it the intention of Jamaican migrants to indoctrinate other Canadians with the music of their homeland. But, the process did occur, just as it had in Britain a few years earlier and the results were far reaching.

Chiefly, reggae took on a new Canadian meaning (which we will return to later) and that process was informed by the audience, Jamaican and otherwise. Audiences that voluntarily packed The Bamboo club in Toronto in the 1980s, for example, authenticated the participating performers’ role, including biracial and multicultural bands like the Sattalites, Culture Shock, and Sunforce. ‘Original’ reggae texts aside, the success and

longevity of the club afforded its black and white patrons (and musicians) an authentic, if hybrid reggae experience.

#### BOOK OF RULES: THE MEANING OF A TEXT

In 1967, the oft-maligned French philosopher Jacques Derrida who pioneered the ‘deconstruction’ movement challenged the academic world when he claimed that there was ‘nothing outside of the text’.<sup>145</sup> Everything, in Derrida’s dramaturgical model, could be ‘read’ (people, philosophies, art, etc...). Texts, at least for Derrida, could often resist both authorial intent and *context*.<sup>146</sup> Importantly, for our purposes, Derrida contended that the *meaning* of texts would proliferate infinitely over time.<sup>147</sup>

As discussed in a previous chapter, the *actual* text of Jamaican popular music of the last fifty years problematizes some ethnomusicologist’s *perception* of it.

Ethnomusicologists simply need to accept the multiplicity of reggae texts, as they have done in other genres like jazz and blues. For our purposes, hybridity, as evidenced in Canadian-produced reggae, has in part laid claim to *an* experience. This experience was as unique to the Jamaicans living in Canada as it was to those other Canadians that either lived alongside, or chose to make music with Jamaican-Canadians. If a Canadian reggae text exists then, it surely speaks to both the transnational existence of the Jamaican migrant and the plurality of cultures that have added to its broth. And even its most mindful replicators cannot keep the *Yard* sound free of contamination from Canadian elements if the music is made on Canadian soil.

While reggae artists in Canada had retained a generous portion of the ‘old’, they also scraped their palette knives over ‘new’, northern mixtures. While the imagined ideal

of a 'pure' diasporic reggae text may have been the goal for some, such a result was utterly impossible, exposed as they had been to other influences on Canadian radio and television and through exchanges with their non-Jamaican school friends, neighbours and musicians, and by virtue of where the creation had taken place. Non-Jamaican influences were everywhere, directly and indirectly shaping the end result. As such, Jamaican migrant musicians who endeavoured to produce reggae in Canada had to adjust their expectations. Reggae musicians in Canada were also at the mercy of different equipment, as well as engineers and producers who might have been brand new to the genre and struggled to faithfully replicate the 'authentic' Jamaican sound. This was not necessarily a bad thing, and *Reggae Canadiana* could look to the more sonically recognizable and commercially successful British reggae scene to provide a precedent.

Some journalists and ethnomusicologists from both within and outside of the Jamaican-Canadian community, however, were quick to denounce the 'authenticity' of the non-Jamaican reggae text.<sup>148</sup> These were the gatekeepers. This was especially so for those bands that managed any commercial success.<sup>149</sup> Such was the cynical language of the gatekeepers which plagued, at least for a time, reggae music-makers outside of Jamaica, including those living in Canada. Few, as discussed in the introductory chapter, have considered the different 'traditions' and multiplicity of texts associated with reggae, even those that transcend the Caribbean diaspora.<sup>150</sup> Indeed, there are separate reggae authenticities from those that are exclusively black-Jamaican, or Rasta, or even British-Jamaican. As *Toronto Star* journalist Peter Goddard observed in 1980:

To Peter Tosh, roots reggae, and radical social change are one and the same. To Ken Boothe and others, it can be a dance music, background music for love-making or just about anything.<sup>151</sup>

To deny these multiple authenticities is to deny the multitude of influences and people that helped to create reggae in the first instance. Gatekeepers struggle to reconcile the fact that ‘authenticity’ largely depends on *who* is listening.

It also matters *where* it’s being listened to. *Place*, like audience, greatly affects the way a musical expression is transmitted and can dictate the behaviour of a performance and modify its meaning. While a performance of a popular Jamaican song in Canada – even if performed by the original Jamaican artist – may harken the essence of a uniquely Jamaican experience, it can only ever be an ‘essence’. A mixed audience of Jamaicans, Jamaican-Canadians and non-Jamaican-Canadians in a Canadian setting will ultimately reappropriate the ephemeral melody to suit and make sense of their own meanings. To illustrate this point, let us follow the trajectory of one particular text that has, for many, become a *bona fide* reggae anthem in Canada and wherever there are reggae fans around the world.

That ‘reggae anthem’ was first crafted by the son of a white Confederate soldier. Robert Lee Sharpe.<sup>152</sup> Sharpe worked with his father in the family’s newspaper business and its attendant printing shop in Carrollton, Georgia. A freelance writer for various magazines in the 1920s and 1930s, Sharpe later tried his hand at poetry and came to contribute a piece to the canon of American poetry entitled ‘A Bag of Tools’:

*Isn't it strange how princes and kings,  
and clowns that caper in sawdust rings,  
and common people, like you and me,  
are builders for eternity?*

*Each is given a bag of tools;  
a shapeless mass; a book of rules.  
And each must make, ere life is flown,  
A stumbling block, or a stepping-stone.*<sup>153</sup>

The poem became popular enough to be included in Hazel Felleman's collection entitled *Best Loved Poems of the American People* (1936) and in the A.L. Alexander edited *Poems that Touch the Heart* (1941) and later still in James Dalton Morrison's *Masterpieces of Religious Verse* (1948).<sup>154</sup> What is interesting for our purposes, however, is the multiplicity of meanings that have been ascribed to 'Bag of Tools' and how these meanings compare to authorial intention. The plaintive text written by the son of Confederate soldier living in the Deep South in the early part of the twentieth century, resonated with many other *different* people, even long after the poet had died in Georgia in 19 April 1951.<sup>155</sup>

Principally, the poem was used in religious teachings. With a cross-denominational appeal, 'Bag of Tools' still enjoys currency among church leaders.<sup>156</sup> The 'builder' allegory in 'Bag of Tools', however, has also served the Masonic cause, and despite the fact that Sharpe himself may not have ever been initiated as a Mason, the poem has been often cited in the works of the Secret Brotherhood.<sup>157</sup> Sharpe's verse has also struck sympathetic chords with bankers and entrepreneurs who have used it to illustrate the 'building' of financial security.<sup>158</sup> The poem has also, several times over, been reinterpreted in musical form.<sup>159</sup> It was, however, as a religious parable, that Sharpe's 'Bag of Tools' has endured for nearly three-quarters of a century.

Somehow, the poem found its way to Jamaica where Christianity had deeply planted its roots. Today, Jamaica's Christians account for approximately seventy percent of the population, and something closer to eighty-five percent have declared a religious affiliation.<sup>160</sup> Every single Jamaican interviewed in this project, for example, was brought

up in the church. As Dr. Eric Doumerc observed, Sharpe's spiritual lyrics would have resonated with Jamaicans and the very idea of the poem:

...must have appealed to the Heptones, who grew up in a deeply religious society where the emphasis on moral choice must have been equally strong. What must have appealed to the group too must have been the opposition between the haves and the have-nots, the "clowns" and "princes" and the "builders", in other words the opposition between the lower classes and the well-heeled.<sup>161</sup>

While Leroy Sibbles claims that none of the Heptones had learned Sharpe's poem in church or school, and that his mate Barry Llewellyn had simply come across the verse and thought that it might make for a good song, the poem obviously had a life in Jamaica.<sup>162</sup>

That 'life' was further affirmed with the release of the film *Rockers* (1978).

Written and directed by Theodoros Bafaloukous, *Rockers* was a doc-style feature that captured Jamaica at a time that some music journalists might call reggae's golden age.<sup>163</sup>

*Rockers* featured a *who's who* of Jamaican popular music including Jacob Miller, Gregory Issacs and Big Youth. While it may not have enjoyed the high profile that *The Harder They Come* had won, the film became a cult classic and its soundtrack a 'must-have' for reggae devotees.<sup>164</sup> The album helped to win a place in reggae's popular canon for a number of songs including Junior Murvin's 'Police and Thieves', Jacob Miller's 'Tenement Yard', and of course, the Heptones' 'Book of Rules', a song which was truly at the heart of the film's soundtrack.<sup>165</sup> The success of *Rockers* in the late 1970s forever immortalized the Heptones' song for reggae fans around the world. Moreover, 'Book of Rules' became a non-negotiable mainstay in the Heptones set and later in Sibbles' own repertoire.

As such, the Heptones' 'Book of Rules' began to take on added importance; it was a cultural touchstone that cracked open a window into a particular moment in Jamaican pop culture. In his review of the soundtrack, *Globe and Mail* music journalist Jerry Johnson identified the 'historical overtones' for his readership that connected 'Book of Rules' with Toronto's own Leroy Sibbles.<sup>166</sup> Sibbles was, in Johnson's eyes, one of the hometown guys that made good abroad. Many, like Johnson, believed that on the strength of 'Book of Rules', the country's reggae stars could and should claim a stake on reggae's international stage.

For some reggae aficionados, the importance of 'Book of Rules' can hardly be overstated, as Citizen K. exalted:

'Book of Rules' is not only an essential Heptones track, it is one the essential songs of the reggae canon. If your reggae collection does not include 'Book of Rules', it is incomplete.<sup>167</sup>

Fergus Hambleton, frontman of the Sattalites and the man who cut his reggae teeth performing with Leroy Sibbles, was particularly struck with 'Book of Rules':

...the song was an anomaly. The lyric is odd, not a cry against oppression as in many early reggae songs, not a humorous piece of Jamaican culture or a romantic love song...Although musically rooted in Jamaican culture the words speak to another time, to another sensibility.<sup>168</sup>

The poem's sensibilities though, sliced open divides across religious, race, class and cultural bounds. Each time, Sharpe's original text was bent to suit a new sensibility, including a Canadian one.

The Heptones' 'Book of Rules' was covered several times including by reggae artists Inner Circle, Desmond Dekker, Pluto Shervington and also Grateful Dead singer-guitarist Bob Weir with his outfit Bobby & the Midnites.<sup>169</sup> For Weir, 'Book of Rules' had been one of his favourite reggae songs though he was ignorant of the song's lineage



when he himself recorded it in 1981. Not long after his own release, Weir was amazed to find out that it was an American poem, coopted by a Jamaican band and then returned to him – a reggae fan – in America:

That's an example of what happens when you send a lyric through the Caribbean and back: you get some transfiguration... I had no idea there was the original poem. I knew there was something I liked about that song beyond the lyrics that were there.<sup>170</sup>

Art behaves like this when it is broadcast to the world. Transmitters, tradition bearers, improvers, collectors and even 'original' songwriters draw from a global pool and from here, mimic, reimagine or reinvent (though not always on purpose) what they've heard. Weir chose to retain The Heptones' own final stanza which they had added to the Sharpe original.<sup>171</sup> As in the great balladeer tradition, original texts and melodies were fashioned into something new, while retaining a part of the old. This is, of course, how music works.<sup>172</sup> Almost as important, however, is *where* this reshaping takes place.

#### THE FRONTLINE MECCA: THE BAMBOO

As mentioned earlier, reggae's message dovetailed nicely with the political activism of the punk and post-punk era. Queen Street West was perhaps the most politically-charged and active corridor in the city. On any given week in the 1980s, one might partake in an anti-cruise missile testing demonstration, attend an African National Congress gathering to beseech the Botha regime to release Nelson Mandela from prison or, more locally, dine at an event to show support for Dr. Henry Morgentaler and the pro-choice movement. Some events were galas held in ballrooms that drew out the city's *glittarazzi*.<sup>173</sup> Others were large-scale demonstrations, pitched on the lawn of Queen's Park. Others still, were more intimate affairs, held in Queen Street West nightclubs. At

the vanguard of these politico-music venues was the Bamboo Club at 312 Queen Street West. The club was a veritable bastion for activism and sometimes attracted divergent groups including Jamaican reggae musicians and the city's gay activists.<sup>174</sup> The Bamboo was the most important space for Canadian reggae.

Queen Street West had generally and seamlessly replicated the vibrant music and political activism that had been the preserve of Yorkville in the 1960s. By the 1980s, the spirit of the folky youth sub-culture of the Yorkville days had migrated south by a few blocks. Now, instead of Aran sweaters and 'long-hairs', there were punks in Doc Martins and dreadlocked Rastas sporting bright *Ites*, Gold and Green attire.<sup>175</sup> The strip was lively and full of countercultural boutiques and radical bookstores that were disturbed only by several of the country's most important musical venues like the Rivoli, the Horseshoe and most importantly for reggae musicians and fans, the Bamboo.

It was at the latter, where most of Toronto's reggae alchemists – if they were good enough – performed their transmutations for a multicultural crowd. Indeed, many of Queen Street West's best young bands began employing a cross-genre approach to articulate their rebel stance, which greatly appealed to the city's musical-savvy youth culture. This fact was perhaps best evidenced in multiracial bands like 'V'. Comprised of Truths and Rights' Mohjah, future Parachute Club lead singer Lorraine Segato, Canadian Aces' drummer Billy Brians and Rough Trade bassist Terry Wilkins, 'V' was, according to Jennings, 'nothing less than a collective supergroup', a 'supergroup' that chose the Bamboo for its home.<sup>176</sup>

The Bamboo was a place for Jamaican-Canadians to enact ethnicity in the downtown core. It was also a place for non-Jamaicans to observe, and, if they chose,

participate in Toronto-styled *Jamaicanness*. In doing so, many non-Jamaicans were exploring something that was outside of their reality. To set the scene, the club had magically replicated – at least in part – the ‘blues dance’ with its mood lighting, thundering bass and demonstrable sexuality for both the Jamaican migrant and those youngsters from the dominant society who were intoxicated with Jamaican culture. This ongoing ‘blues dance’, however, soon developed into the nation’s premier nightclub for reggae and world music.

The club opened on 26 August 1983 and was owned and operated by Canadian-born Patti Habib and Richard O’Brien. While it may have been a bastion for what some middle-class Torontonians might have considered radical activity (pro-choice rallies, ANC fundraisers, the scent of marijuana in the air and so forth), the music and Caribbean and Thai cuisine found at the Bamboo allowed the club to compete with the strip’s other top venues for the entertainment dollars of a new generation. Inside the place, patrons were transported to a tropical, beach-front bar, replete with bamboo furniture, wall-mounted fishing paraphernalia, and brightly coloured décor that offset the usual dim-lighting. On a summer night, one could nearly believe that they were in Jamaica.

On a Friday or Saturday night, people would line-up down Queen Street, sometimes with little hope of getting in. As Toronto music critic Peter Goddard raved in an exposé on the Bamboo which appeared in a theatre magazine in 1985, the Bamboo had trumped the city’s other hip venues:

The Elmo, the old champ, sold heat – it radiated not warmth as much as the kind of steam heat that generates sweat. The BamBoo, the new champ, hustles cool. Its colours are cool. Its crowds try to be cool...you can find jazz at the BamBoo, along with salsa, rock and just about everything else. But mostly you’ll find reggae.<sup>177</sup>

And with its multiracial demographic the Bamboo was, as SCTV actress Catherine O'Hara exclaimed, 'the U.N. of groove.'<sup>178</sup> West Indian migrant acts like Messenjah, Truths and Rights and Lillian Allen, shared duties with multiracial bands like The Sattalites, 20th Century Rebels, Sunforce, Tabarruk, Culture Shock and countless others called the Bamboo home and collectively gave it form, perhaps for the first time, to a legitimate *downtown* Toronto reggae scene. If the 1980s was the golden age of Canadian reggae, then the Bamboo surely was its Mecca.

Valentine's Day 1984 was a particularly busy one for the Toronto music scene. That day, *Globe and Mail* music critic Liam Lacey's column expressed the:

...extraordinary amount of energy, inventiveness and pure musical talent to be found in the string of taverns and restaurants between Soho Street and Augusta Avenue along Queen Street West. This past weekend, for example, there were line-ups at three of the clubs: outside the Bam Boo, for the Sattalites, a top-notch reggae-ska band; outside the newly reopened Horseshoe, where a showcase for the band Seven Minutes, with guest Maja Bannerman, was taking place; and outside the Cameron Public House, where there was a special country music night. Add to that live bands at the Rivoli and the Beverly Tavern, and a theatrical revue at Garbo's, all in the same block.<sup>179</sup>

That night the Horseshoe Tavern was holding its 'Calling All Sweethearts Ball', featuring American singer-songwriter and later Canadian radio deejay Bob Segarini, Canadian folk icon Willie P. Bennett and, four years before her critically-acclaimed release *Miss America*, Mary Margaret O'Hara.<sup>180</sup> Hard-rocker Lisa Hart was playing five minutes up Spadina at the El Mocambo. The deathrock band Alien Sex Fiend was at Larry's Hideaway on Carlton Street. Pan-Am Dance was in at the Rivoli.<sup>181</sup> Less than a minute walk eastward along Queen, Leroy Sibbles was providing the Bamboo's patrons with Canadian-styled reggae, rocksteady and lovers rock.<sup>182</sup>

That night, when the tall Jamaican and former welder sang his Heptones' hit, 'Book of Rules', the approving Toronto crowd, black, white and all shades in between, jubilantly belted out the chorus along with him. That night, Sibbles' rendition of the 'Book of Rules' accessed not only an existing memory of Jamaica, but also inscribed a brand new one that suited the Canadian context. Once again, Sharpe's poem was given yet a new interpretation. The Heptones' singer, some 1,700 miles away from home, did not have to explain the text to the crowd. To paraphrase Jamaican Phil Vassell, though the crowd didn't look like him and didn't talk like him, it knew the words to his song and that *meant* something. Sibbles' audience was in the 'ken'.<sup>183</sup>

Critically, the Bamboo played its own role. The immediacy of the local surroundings greatly informed the memory-making processes of the club's patrons.<sup>184</sup> Those in attendance that night and many nights thereafter when the singer would open up the 'Book of Rules', would be linked not just to Sibbles, reggae and Jamaica, but also to the sights, sounds and smells of Queen Street. This included Spadina Avenue's hot dog vendors, colourful mohawks atop the punk rockers *en route* to see a different band, equally interesting and big-haired 'new romantics' lining up next door at the Rivoli, the frosty snap to the lungs dealt by the city's winter weather, the dull roar and bright horns from drivers jockeying for parking in the precious few spots that lined Toronto's fashion district, the crush of a Valentine's embrace, and crucially, the incredibly varied demographic inside the club itself.<sup>185</sup>

Inside, punkers, rockers, new wavers, ragamuffins, Rastas and even the odd Bay Street Suit intermingled. Still, certain areas had been unofficially 'claimed' by different pockets of the Bamboo's clientele. Lovers would freely rub-a-dub on the main dance

floor directly in front of the stage, closely replicating the ‘blues dance’ dynamic. Fringing the side of the Bamboo’s awkward stage (a bulk of the patrons’ view was obstructed by a foundational post on stage-left), were those musicians and singing-hopefuls who were at the ready, lest they be summoned up to ‘touch a piece’ of a song. Behind this group stood the cool dreads, whose affection was pursued by many of the younger bands performing. If those dreads – who held up the club’s easternmost flank – ‘bawled out’ in approval, the rest of the club followed suit and the performers themselves were injected with a new-found confidence. If, however, the dreads were unmoved, the band’s momentum often ground to a halt (Sibbles, of course, never had this problem).<sup>186</sup> If there were any gatekeepers actually in the venue, they lined this wall.

Upstairs, the side-room directly attached to the dressing room was reserved for only the very elite members of the Toronto reggae scene. To get in, one had to first get by an enormous bouncer who stood guard at the bottom of the stairs. For those very few that could talk their way into the side-room, they might find some animated character holding court amidst a dense fog of free-flowing weed, so much so, that one did not have to smoke themselves to get high, so heavy was the ganja haze. This room reflected so many of those other basement side-rooms at a ‘blues dance’ where dreads might ‘reason’ and share a spliff. It was a delightful juxtaposition to some of the club’s more ‘refined’ downstairs where people dined off of the main dance floor, enjoying a Caribbean curry chicken whilst nursing a Dragon Stout and effectively reliving their Mo Bay holiday. Yet, all of these spaces and people were somehow united in the music and these varied and fleeting frames added to the richness of this Canadian reggae vignette.

The patrons worked out their own ‘ideas’ of what the music meant to them at the Bamboo. It might mean the music from home, the rebel stance, the music they’d heard at school, the spiritual overtones, the seductive one-drop beat that made girls dance, the sounds they’d heard on their holiday, the soundtrack to smoking marijuana. All were different experiences sharing the same centrality of reggae music, *Canadian* reggae music.<sup>187</sup> The Bamboo was the ‘blues dance’, the church gathering, the high school corridor, the Summer of Love, the holiday beach and the night-club all rolled into one. The collective memory of Sibbles’ performance, then, was not made *in* but rather made *with* the Bamboo and its surroundings.<sup>188</sup> The future memory of this event, then, was a Canadian one.<sup>189</sup> To be sure, this reggae song meant different things to different people as described above, as people were responding to multiple sets of circumstances. Yet, Sibbles had performed the *text* in one *place* for all in attendance. And while the nature of the Canadian reggae music fan in attendance can only be spectrally defined, ‘Bag of Tools’ – the song, the lyric, the performance, the memory – now meant the Bamboo.

The multiplicity and proliferation of meanings that Sharpe’s poem has served demonstrates how place and time can alter a given text. We’ll never know the true authorial intent of ‘Bag of Tools’, but the sentiment was as valid to Sharpe, the son of a Confederate soldier, as it was to so many others. From the Jamaican-born musician on the stage, to his Jamaican and Canadian-born sidemen, to the dreads who heartily belted out every word, to the wallflower who quietly swayed in darkness near the club’s coat-check, their version of ‘Bag of Tools’ – regardless of ethnic background – was an ‘authentic expression’ of a *valid* experience engineered by reggae music and crafted in Canada.

## PRODIGAL SON RETURNS

For his part, Leroy Sibbles moved back to Jamaica in 1994 and now looks back on his years in Canada, at least as an artist, with some regret.<sup>190</sup> While in 1982 he believed that his *Evidence* album was a good strategy to access Canadian radio, he is today less enthusiastic about his Canadian-produced body of work:

I was never totally satisfied with much Canadian recording, unless it was one I did for myself. The stuff that I played with other people was never satisfactory to me. You know, I wasn't feeling it, like the stuff that would be done in Jamaica...Not everyone can play reggae...anyone can try, but it's not anyone that can play it.<sup>191</sup>

Perhaps the man wasn't feeling it all along. A year after *Evidence*, Sibbles went to Jamaica to record *On Top*.<sup>192</sup> For this album, the Heptones singer used Jamaican musicians including Sly & Robbie and Marcia Griffiths to satisfy his muse. The *Globe and Mail's* Mark Miller saw *On Top* as a return to form for Sibbles:

Sibbles produced this album himself, and recorded it in Jamaica with Jamaican musicians; not surprisingly, the results are definitely more convincing than the cross-over album he attempted last year with the misplaced all-Canadian cast.<sup>193</sup>

Miller's criticism spoke to the growing consensus – at least among journalists – that good reggae or at least 'real' reggae could *not* be made in Canada.

This line of criticism weighed heavily on a lot of Canadian artists on the reggae scene who hoped that theirs was 'real' reggae. Moreover, despite all of the gains that pioneers like Sibbles had made towards accessing the mainstream of Canadian music, reggae still languished in terms of broad acceptance throughout the nation. There were several reasons for this. First, the total Jamaican population in Canada was small, mostly urban and centred largely in Toronto.<sup>194</sup> More broadly, the Canadian music industry was really a small fish in the world market and therefore the movers and shakers within the



industry had only limited resources to commit to a precious few number of musical acts. While indigenous Canadian reggae acts like the Sattalites and Messenjah did the unthinkable by getting signed to major record deals, the record companies involved didn't really know how to nationally market the bands, or reggae for that matter.<sup>195</sup>

To be fair to the smallish Canadian music industry, there was a lack of cohesion within the Canadian reggae community itself. Many of the grassroots promoters did little to help reggae's cause. Big-time Jamaican acts may have been advertised on the bill, but ended up being 'no shows' at the last minute.<sup>196</sup> Unbelievably late starts for some concerts confused everyone except the real hard-core reggae community. It was not uncommon for the main act to take the stage at 2 or 3 am. While this habit was consistent with the all-night Jamaican party, many patrons who were perhaps unused to this schedule grew tired of waiting for the star of the show, left or at least thought twice about attending the next reggae event.<sup>197</sup>

Importantly, the rebel rockers and rub-a-dub lovers gave way to the more aggressive dancehall reggae of the late 1980s and an increase of violence and gun-play. In 1988, for instance, the *Toronto Star* reported that TTC drivers were growing increasingly worried during late night shifts up and down Yonge St: "One of the danger zones on their list is outside the Masonic Temple, just north of Bloor St., where hundreds of hyped-up fans spill out of weekend reggae concerts."<sup>198</sup> This was, of course, at odds with the 'one love' atmosphere of an earlier time, and kept the 'curious but not that curious' away from the gate. Popular Jamaican artist Bob Andy's theory for this transition was that the ska era of the 1960s was fuelled by white rum; the reggae era of

the 1970s and early 1980s, by marijuana; and the dancehall era from the mid-1980s onwards, by cocaine.<sup>199</sup> The parameters for the casual reggae fan had changed.

Yet, perhaps even more importantly, was the fact that bands in reggae's epicentre of Toronto, who, frustrated by a protracted lack of radio presence and wounded by accusations of 'inauthenticity', chose a strategy of mimicking the type of reggae that was coming out of Jamaica instead of charting their own Canadian course. While the top British reggae acts of the day were brimming with confidence and winning international acclaim, their Canadian cousins lacked the necessary confidence in their own unique hybrid.<sup>200</sup> While the youth sub-culture of the late 1970s had built common bridges for Jamaican migrants, their Canadian-born children and other non-Jamaicans to cross, many had retreated back into their own enclaves by the late 1980s. The issue of the 'Appropriation of Voice' in Toronto's literary world at the end of the decade had spilled over into the city's music forms, or at the very least into the vocabulary of those journalists charged with reviewing Canadian reggae.<sup>201</sup> As such, anything that was deemed 'inauthentic' – that is to say, *not* 'real' Jamaican reggae – was regarded with suspicion. Neither did Canadian reggae benefit from the city's underground reggae DJs; rare was the Canadian-produced reggae song that found its way onto a Jane and Finch blues dance turntable. Thusly, even with home-field advantage, Canada's reggae hybridists had little chance. And they knew it.<sup>202</sup>

Sibbles' flight home to Jamaica heralded an ominous sign for Canadian reggae.

The singer was clear about his perceived 'misstep':

I think that [*moving to Canada*] was the worst thing that I ever did, because I just went so far and couldn't go no further there. I was trying my best to keep up as much as I could, but I lost touch with what was happening here in Jamaica.<sup>203</sup>

While the whole Canadian chapter of his career may not have turned out as he had wanted, Sibbles had nothing but fond memories for the Bamboo: “Oh yeah man, we had some good vibes there; you remember that? Yeah man, I had some good times at the Bamboo Club, real good, strong, healthy, wicked vibes.”<sup>204</sup> The Bamboo was itself an historical agent, informing the history made within its walls. As a *place*, it remains, regardless if one is today living in Kingston, Jamaica or in suburban Toronto, central to the very memory of those countless reggae parties of twenty or thirty years prior. Yet, it seemingly wasn’t enough. For if the man who helped put reggae into Toronto’s vernacular ‘couldn’t go no further’, what chance did the next generation of Canadian reggaeists have? When Britain retained so many Jamaican greats, why could Canada not keep its ‘grand old man of reggae’? These and other queries deserve further examination in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER VI

### *WORDS OF OUR MOUTH: BUILDING THE BRIDGES*

‘No country is enriched by the coexistence of two cultures, if one half of the population cannot appropriate the cultural product of the other half.’<sup>1</sup>

~ Hilda Neatby

The great Canadian historian was, of course, speaking to the Two Solitudes: French and English Canada. Yet, Neatby’s assertion could just as easily be applied to the broader concept of multiculturalism, an idea that was gaining traction in the Canadian consciousness in the late 1950s when Neatby made the observation. With her declaration in mind, it is important for us to now turn our ears to those access points and listen to the music that was broadcast near and along Toronto’s ethnic frontline and to see where the main bridges were assembled and how they operated and allowed for meaningful interaction between the musical migrant and the curious, young host.

It is important to locate these metaphorical bridges across the city’s ethnic frontline that brought the non-Jamaican to reggae. In some cases, Toronto’s Jamaicans personally introduced reggae to non-Jamaicans through various means, such as being classmates at school, lending records, attending reggae concerts or dances together, or by simply sharing a “spliff”. At the same time, many non-Jamaicans were highly influenced by British musical trends that were often responding to the UK’s own Jamaican population. Punk music, the second wave of ska (or the Two Tone movement, so named for its emphasis on multiracial bands), and the popularity of English reggae bands like Aswad, Steel Pulse and UB40 were trends that had great currency with Toronto’s youth culture, Jamaican and otherwise, in the 1970s and 1980s. Indeed, given the strong bonds

between the three countries, reggae as a transnationally-assembled genre was constantly updated by musical trade winds that blew north from Jamaica to Britain, and then westerly from Britain to Canada.

Some non-Jamaicans were also profoundly affected by the international rise of Bob Marley and his music. It was, after all, Marley's image that came to serve as reggae's archetype. Through Marley, others were drawn to reggae's deeper spiritual side. A few non-Jamaicans turned to Rasta: some for a spell, and others for a lifelong commitment. Others still were attracted to reggae's endorsement of marijuana, a fact that blended with the recreational drug culture found in other popular musics of the day. These various bridge-building activities in the leisure and private spaces along the frontline opened up the possibility, at least for some, for deeper, more meaningful relationships between migrant and host.

#### TORONTO VIA LONDON VIA KINGSTON

The allure of reggae captured the interest of various non-Jamaicans. Many of these non-Jamaicans usually had a formidable and transnational connection to either British culture or Caribbean culture, or sometimes even both. This connection made them predisposed to the Jamaican music. Jamaican culture came, for instance, to the white Canadian-born reggae singer Andru Branch when his mother started dating a black Jamaican man. As Andru was only six years old at the time, Bruce Johnson became something of a father figure to Andru for the next fifteen years. Andru thereby learned about Jamaican culture first-hand through his step-father. Although Johnson did not listen to reggae, he did impart a great deal of Jamaican culture to Andru in his formative years:

At Christmas he would take us around his relatives and so we'd spend Christmas with some of his Jamaican family and I started trying sorrel at Christmas time, and Jamaican cake and started eating curry goat and those kinds of things.<sup>2</sup>

It was much the same for the white reggae keyboardist Sam Weller. As an adopted child, Children's Aid provided different people to look after a young Sam while he was growing up. For several years, (from age eight to twelve) the future reggae keyboardist was cared for by a Jamaican woman and her family in Toronto. Moreover, Sam's father had worked in Jamaica for several years, so Sam had been well exposed to Jamaican culture from an early age.<sup>3</sup>

Sometimes the Jamaican migrants' music literally came knocking at the door. Son of legendary Canadian jazz organist Bill King, Jesse King (*aka* Dubmatix) provides such an example. During the 1970s, Jesse's dad Bill played with some of Toronto reggae stalwarts, including Jackie Mittoo, guitarist Wayne McGhee and Jamaican drummer Everton "Pablo" Paul. Pablo loaned the young Jesse some reggae records by the Mighty Diamonds and Burning Spear. Importantly, Pablo turned Jesse on to dub music, a sub-genre of reggae, that changed the latter's musical life:

It was really when he loaned me [Augustus Pablo's] *King Tubby Meets the Rockers Uptown*, he said just listen to this. And I put this on, and I had never heard dub, I didn't know it existed and when I heard that album, that was all I listened to pretty much then on...I'd play it all the time, I would go over to parties and put it on...and that kinda led really getting into dub and wanting to play reggae. And that was the defining moment.<sup>4</sup>

With three Juno awards under his belt, the non-Jamaican is now certainly one of Canada's premier reggae artists and has Pablo Paul to thank for introducing him to reggae.

For others, simply travelling to Jamaica was enough. This was the case for future Sattalites' bassist, Bruce McGillivray, who went to Jamaica in 1978 with fellow

Moonfood band-mate Eric Gamble. While there, McGillivray and Gamble played in a North Coast Jamaican band in Montego Bay. The experience turned Bruce on to reggae bass. Upon their return, Eric and Bruce began to write reggae melodies.<sup>5</sup> Sattalites' co-founder, singer Fergus Hambleton joined Moonfood in the early 1980s.

Hambleton, however, had already begun his reggae voyage in the years leading up to the Sattalites, playing with the likes of Leroy Sibbles. The white singer was particularly taken with the striking parallels that existed between Jamaican and British popular musics, as he later explained in an interview with *Canadian Musician*:

There are more similarities than differences, I think, between Jamaican and Canadian culture. Obviously, there are some incredible differences, but at the same time, because of the British colonial thing, there's a lot of threads that run through everything.<sup>6</sup>

This was also the case for the white photographer and avid reggae fan Greg Lawson:

You're in a very exotic place all of a sudden; to me exotic, there [are] palm trees. I'm in a different country; I'm on an island in the Caribbean. Yet, there's a familiarity and that was the UK influence, the English influence right. So, it's very exotic, yet it's very familiar, therefore very comfortable at the same time.<sup>7</sup>

The Canadian then, exposed as s/he had been to British culture in Canada, recognized the same British influence in Jamaica. Penetrating the language of reggae was, at least for some Canadians, easier because of a familiarity with British sensibilities.

White Canadian reggae DJ David Kingston believed that while reggae was 'disguised' in Jamaican Patois, the music transcended a strictly Jamaican listenership:

Britain was the old country and there was still that element, that quality comes from the old country. And you'd hear references in Jamaican songs like 'frocks'. So there's that whole British thing...[Jamaica] remained more British than England did in some ways. You know 'entertainments' plural: 'will there be many entertainments tonight?' Love of cricket, so all of that kind of resonated...so there was always that connection, so it didn't feel foreign, it didn't feel like it was from a different planet, it didn't feel like it was that far away.<sup>8</sup>

Hambleton concurred:

I found things that were very, very similar because of the British thing, and some things...that *seemed* far away, seemed to be rooted in some other area that I didn't have any life experience with or real knowledge of, but by in large peoples' lives went on the same.<sup>9</sup>

Rich was the tapestry woven into reggae, but the popular music culture of Great Britain remained one of its stronger threads. This fact was discernible to those up and coming Toronto reggae artists who were attuned to the genre's British connections. While the UK may have been the chief custodian of the 'Babylon system', the commonalities found in Jamaica, Britain and Canada oft times engendered an unspoken sense of unity, building bridges between cultures.

Some of Toronto's non-Jamaican champions of reggae were actually born or lived in England. Mark Matthews (*aka* Prince Blanco) was born on the Isle of Wight in 1965 and grew up in London.<sup>10</sup> Freelance journalist and CBC radio personality Errol Nazareth was born in Kuwait in 1964. He was schooled in India (from the age of nine until seventeen), and later went to school in Plymouth England at the height of the punk and Two Tone movements before coming to Canada in 1981.<sup>11</sup> Nicholas Jennings, freelance journalist/music critic and co-founder of the Canadian chapter of Rock Against Racism and chief writer for the CBC Television documentary series on Canadian music *This Beat Goes On*, was born in London and also spent a couple of years in Malaya with his father, a British colonial who had been born there.<sup>12</sup>

Other members of Canada's reggae movement had both serious Jamaican *and* British connections. Jeffrey Holdip, Canadian reggae's premier sound engineer, was one such person. On one side, Jeffrey's great-grandparents were from Scotland, England and Ireland. His black father of Bajan descent, however, was born in Canada 1930. Jeffrey's



grandmother came from Barbados to Toronto in 1927 and worked as a domestic. For a time, Jeffrey's father lived in the same household as future Judge George E. Carter, who was also Bajan and became the first Canadian-born black judge in Canada.<sup>13</sup> Jeffrey's memories spoke to the rareness of blacks in Toronto at that time: "When I was young and I'd walk on the street, I'm talking like six, seven years old, walk with my dad, and he would say hello to every black person."<sup>14</sup> Holdip stressed that his Caribbean culture was distinct from Jamaican culture: "Once I had been introduced to the Jamaican thing, it was new, just like if I'd went into an Italian household or a Greek household, it was just a new experience."<sup>15</sup> Although half of Jeffrey's roots were Bajan, Jamaican culture was quite different than the Caribbean culture he was used to at home.

Tomaz Jardim, now a Professor of History and still a part-time reggae musician, was born in London England.<sup>16</sup> Jardim's English mother grew up in Jamaica. Tomaz was interested in Jamaican culture through his mother's connection to Jamaica and also because of his close association with young Toronto reggae bands like Jericho.<sup>17</sup> Jardim felt, however, that his mother's white Jamaican-British background at equal times resembled and differed slightly from the black Jamaicans he would one day befriend:

I think the Jamaican culture of my mother was the Jamaican culture of my grandmother, which in other words was white Jamaican culture of Mandeville in the 1940s and 50s. So I think there was correspondence, but then at the same time it was a kind of old time correspondence. So I think the people that I met [later] and were musicians and Rasta people, I don't think there was a great deal of overlap, although clearly there was some and I felt comfortable with it.<sup>18</sup>

These concrete associations with Jamaica and Britain endowed so many young and multiracial non-Jamaicans in Toronto with a favourable disposition towards reggae that non-Jamaicans were naturally poised to cross the bridges that had been assembled, in part, by the city's Jamaican migrant musicians. The main-players in Toronto's nascent

reggae scene held a watchful eye on musical waves that washed into town northwards from Jamaica and across the Atlantic from Britain. From these cues, Toronto developed its own Jamaican musical scene.

## YOUNG REBEL

The Toronto “scene”, at least in the non-Jamaican communities, developed mainly within the city’s youth-culture. The confrontational nature of some ska and reggae artists appealed to a goodly portion of Toronto’s rebellious teenage-set. These genres were oppositional, a fact that dovetailed nicely with the attitudes towards hegemonic society that so many of the city’s young reggae fans shared. Ska legend Prince Buster himself confessed:

It’s protest music, protest against injustice...they saw me as a rebel and identified themselves as such. So there was some compatibility there, I think so, because you shoulda seen them [white kids].<sup>19</sup>

From the early 1970s and right through the 1980s, rude boys, raggamuffins, rockers, punkers and new wavers adopted for themselves, to various degrees, elements of the ska and reggae oppositional aesthetic. The protest music of Queen Street West, the strange land where *Reggae Canadiana* had been delivered, bubbled and boiled over into the mainstream, harkening back to the days when the city’s folk music scene vibrated outwards from Yorkville in the 1960s.<sup>20</sup>

Sartorially, though, the flower children attire of Yorkville had been replaced: first, with the rude boy’s high-cuff pants, suspenders and Doc Martin boots; the punkers’ safety pins and Mohawks; and later still, the androgynous hair and eye-liner of the new wavers. Still, it was the rude boy persona in particular, that had persisted into the reggae

era and experienced something of a renaissance when the second wave of ska hit Britain in the late 1970s. As Dick Hebdige offered:

At the Ska Bar in London, the white reggae fans began mixing with the black rudies and copying their style. And out of this contact emerged the white British skinhead – close-cropped hair, Ben Sherman shirt, braces, Crombie coat and the trousers ending high above the ankle to reveal a great polished pair of Dr. Martin boots. The style caused a sensation. The newspapers were filled with outraged headlines about skinhead violence, and soon the craze was sweeping through the nation's poorer areas.<sup>21</sup>

Indeed, a few Jamaican artists began targeting the white British skinhead audience, not least was Desmond Dekker, whose *Israelites* was an international hit, including Canada.

*Shirt them a-tear up, trousers are gone  
I don't want to end up like Bonnie and Clyde  
Poor me, the Israelite.*<sup>22</sup>

Jamaican music then, was inspiring not only England's West Indian community but also its working class white mods and later white skinheads.<sup>23</sup> And all the while, Toronto's Queen Street West set kept a watchful eye.

Importantly, through labour migration and the touring Jamaican musicians of the day, the rude boy image was exported abroad first to the black communities of London, Birmingham, Manchester and Coventry in England and later both directly from Jamaica and *via* Britain, to Toronto.<sup>24</sup> This second wave of ska was noteworthy for its aggressively multiracial youth culture that utilized the rude boy persona as a means of social rebellion.<sup>25</sup> Replicating the British model to a certain degree, Toronto's reggae scene was rooted in the city. So while young non-Jamaican reggae fans were listening to the music along Toronto's ethnic frontline, many were looking to Britain and monitoring movements in that country's electric reggae scene.

It could be legitimately argued that following the death of Bob Marley, the British version saved the genre in the 1980s with bands like Aswad, Steel Pulse and UB40, who reenergized the Jamaican reggae text. As black author Klive Walker attested, “British-Caribbean reggae bands...were a crucial aspect of reggae’s second wave of the early ‘80s.”<sup>26</sup> For many young Canadian musos growing up in the 1970s and 1980s, British musical trends were vital and often dictated what the ‘in’ crowd should be listening to through British music trade magazines. Reggae fan and future EMI Canada Royalties Manager Brian Robertson, for instance, took a Grade 12 music course (when he was in Grade 10). His new friends got him into punk and the British music magazines like *New Musical Express*: “You know there were lots of other types of music going on, but there was certainly a lot of reggae covered in those publications.”<sup>27</sup> The generation of British reggae artists that appealed to Robertson and others like him, was willing to think outside of circumscribed notions of what reggae should sound like, or indeed *look* like.

Yet, when the British reggae scene was, at times, even more vibrant than the Jamaican one in the 1980s, the Canadian scene paled in comparison. Canada simply could not compete with the degree and output of racially mixed bands in Britain that raised their interpretation of Jamaican music to the next level. The Two Tone movement included The Selector, Madness, The Bodysnatchers (later Belle Stars), The Specials, The Beat and Bad Manners. Coupled with the success of the second biggest selling reggae act of all time in UB40, the Two Tone movement made normal the shared and valid expressions of biracial and multiracial musicians *and* audiences.

Some Jamaican-Canadians, however, noticed a difference between the way white Brits and white Canadians responded to ska and reggae. Jamaican-born Adrian Miller, for example, felt that:

White British boys are a lot different from white Canadians...I'm listening to [Ron Wood] on Q107 and nobody had the fucking balls...this is my thirty sixth years in Canada...and nobody had the fucking balls to play Gregory Issacs or Horace Andy... 'Skylarking' on fucking Q107!'<sup>28</sup>

Miller's point was that it took Rolling Stones' guitarist, the English-born and reggae savvy Ron Wood to go beyond the successful commercial reggae hits *du jour* and play a deep roots track like Andy's 'Skylarking'. While some white Canadian DJs on commercial radio may have had an interest in reggae, the will to play it often, or to dig deeper into the reggae canon simply wasn't there.

One might also be able to distinguish the British reggae 'audience' from the Canadian one. Black Jamaican JuLion King, like Miller, felt that there was a difference between the two scenes: 'the white people in Canada celebrate reggae different than the black people; whereas in England, black and white celebrate reggae the same.'<sup>29</sup>

Similarly, the white Mark Matthews, who grew up in London before moving to Toronto, saw a clear difference between the way the races mixed in England and how the same mixing transpired in Canada:

Since the UK had been a destination for Caribbean immigrants for a longer time, the Windrush generation and all that, there always seemed to be a better 'connection'. In Toronto, the relationships I cultivated with first generation Jamaicans tended to start with music which can be a huge icebreaker and then we took off from there...Being English does help connect me with older Jamaicans, we had all our stuff there until 1962 after all.<sup>30</sup>

The English Windrush generation was simply older than the Canadian Trudeau-Manley one. The former required fewer 'icebreakers'.

Moreover, the racially mixed unemployed and underemployed youth sub-culture was far more cohesive in the UK than it ever was in Canada. The depth of the relationships forged in the urban centres in Britain could not be replicated in Canada. Adrian Miller further compared the two scenes. For him, the Canadian reggae scene did not receive the same respect that its British counterpart did:

It's not like in England. England is a little bit different, because people respect their Aswad, their Matumbi, their Steel Pulse, their Black Slate, so on and so forth. People respect them and they support them...In Canada we never really kind of get that respect and support.<sup>31</sup>

This may be a fair assessment. As the English host had a different and older relationship with the Jamaican migrants than the Canadian host did, reggae had more invested English champions: The Who's Pete Townshend bought reggae band Misty in Roots new equipment after theirs was stolen; Elton John expressly wanted to sign Toots to his own record label; Peter Tosh lived for a time with Keith Richards in his Jamaican mansion; Robert Palmer published records for Desmond Dekker; The Spencer Davis Group had a number one hit in 1966 with Jamaican songwriter Jackie Edward's 'Keep on Running'; Paul McCartney helped the Cimarons (the UK's first reggae band) get off the ground, and these are just a very few examples.<sup>32</sup> In fact, outside of Bruce Cockburn, one is hard pressed to find equivalents in Canada's mainstream music scene. Many within the mainstream simply ignored the genre altogether.

## SOUL REBEL

Reggae's king Bob Marley, however, was difficult to ignore. While he transcended many musical spheres of influence, Marley would be, to a generation, *the* rebel in an era of rebels. Marley was emblematic of the oppositional Jamaican archetype

that appealed to so many Jamaicans and non-Jamaicans the world over.<sup>33</sup> Black British filmmaker and reggae/punk historian Don Letts described the impact Marley had on black Britain: “there was a duality to being black and British at the time that Bob’s lyrics bridged. That gig [the *Lyceum* in London, 1975] was the nearest to a religious experience I’ve ever had.”<sup>34</sup> To be sure, Marley had, as Klive Walker attested:

...drilled way below the surface of Western popular tastes. Marley’s reggae burrowed so deep that its rhythms and words erased barriers of language and culture, so that even the globe’s most marginalized citizens embraced the Rastaman’s vibration.<sup>35</sup>

For so many non-Jamaicans, Marley was an entry point into reggae. As Dr. Tomaz Jardim confessed:

I think it actually had to do with Bob Marley the person and not with the art form [of reggae] more broadly. And I think there’s something about his captivating and trans-formative presence and character that even as a child I could relate to.<sup>36</sup>

Jardim’s love affair with Bob began with his mom and dad’s eight track cassette of Marley/Lee Perry’s *Soul Revolution Party*:

I remember ‘Mr. Brown’ as a child so well. My mother, I wouldn’t say she listened to reggae...but I think she liked it. My older brother started listening to it a little bit...I remember for instance...that when *Mama Africa* [Peter Tosh] came out...that ‘Maga Dog’ [when it] was on in the house, I remember my mother saying she loved it. So, it [reggae] was kind of around but I wouldn’t say I got it from my mother, I’d say I got it more from my brothers.<sup>37</sup>

Today, Jardim’s Bob Marley collection is one of the most complete collections in the world. His individual pieces of Marley’s music – live and otherwise – number in the hundreds.<sup>38</sup>

Marley’s rebel charm infiltrated the youth culture of Toronto and its suburbs. White music journalist Sebastian Cook recalled his introduction to Bob while living as a small child in Newmarket Ontario: “My father was a big Bob Marley fan. A cassette of

the seminal live recording *Babylon by Bus* was the first recording I listened to on my own frequently.”<sup>39</sup> Sound engineer Jeffrey Holdip had faithfully attended high school but he was willing to make an exception for Bob: “That’s the only time I ever skipped off school. I went to Maple Leaf Gardens and I stood in line and bought the tickets and got to see him play on the *Survival* tour.”<sup>40</sup> Marley’s cross-racial and cross-generational appeal found suitors all over the city.

Jamaican migrants in Canada began to notice how Marley was stirring up an interest in reggae with non-Jamaicans. Klive Walker remembered how a white colleague of his, who he had been working with at Coca Cola at the time, was delighted to have seen Marley at Maple Leaf Gardens in 1979.<sup>41</sup> Friendship was waiting across the Marley bridge for both migrant and host, as Walker explained:

I’m living in the diaspora and you and I are friends. You happen to be Scottish-Canadian. It just kind of flames right out: I’m going to take you to a show, or you’re going to come with me to something. You know, that’s what I mean by ‘it’ not being able to happen without the diaspora. It’s those people that took the music in their suitcases, that when they opened their suitcase up, everybody was able to hear: not just them.<sup>42</sup>

Many frontline bridges were rendered operational on the heels of Marley’s immense success. The sheer volume of Jamaican migrants – with their open suitcases sounding a clarion – kept the bridges in good working order.

## PUNKY REGGAE PARTY

Marley further galvanized elements of Britain and Canada’s youth subculture through his open approval of punk music. Still, it was England that hosted the cultural earthquake that brought punk and reggae together, and London’s Roxy was the epicentre. It was here that DJ Don Letts spun reggae records in between the sets of various fledgling



punk bands that had yet to record.<sup>43</sup> Subsequently, these embryonic punkers would soon incorporate elements of the reggae idiom in their own expressions.<sup>44</sup>

The mixing of genres, however, went both ways. Lee “Scratch” Perry began to incorporate the edginess of punk in his productions, perhaps most notably on Junior Murvin’s ‘Police and Thieves’. The song was covered by the Clash, gods of punk’s pantheon, which helped to establish reggae as an equally viable, underground rebel music in England. This was not Clapton’s breezy take on ‘I Shot the Sheriff’; instead the Clash’s use of reggae was raw, and as such, poignant and powerful. Lee Perry was delighted with the Clash’s embracing of the Jamaican music form:

If we could have some more white band play reggae, that woulda suit me even more. Me no criticize the way dem do it as long as dem don’t alter words. Because they do it inna feel of how dem feelin’, and as long as dem a tell the story right—that’s movement. I feel them a try earth movement. I like the move.<sup>45</sup>

The Clash also called on the services of Jamaican DJ Mikey Campbell (*aka* Mikey Dread) more than once. Dread played a key role on the Clash’s *Black Market Clash* album (most notably on the track ‘Bank Robber’) and later appeared on several tracks on the band’s *Sandinista* album. These tributes from the trendsetters of the punk movement were not lost on reggae artists.

After all, as Goldman suggested, “when you get right down to it, punks and dreadlocks are on the same side of the fence.”<sup>46</sup> The Clash’s bassist Paul Simonon was the only white kid in the school he attended and was enveloped by ska and reggae. Simonon opined: “reggae, punk, it’s not like most of the stuff you hear on the radio, it’s something you can relate to kids your own age. Black people are being suppressed, we’re

being suppressed, so we have something in common.”<sup>47</sup> Crucially, Marley himself saw the analogous relationship between the two groups:

The punks are the outcasts from society. So are the Rastas. So they are bound to defend what we defend...In a way, me like see them safety pins and t’ing...Me no like do it myself, y’understand, but me like see a man can suffer pain without crying.<sup>48</sup>

The two seemingly disparate sounds of the city had actually, in effect, been corresponding with each other. While punks declared ‘London’s Burning’, reggae-heads answered with ‘Concrete Slaveship’.<sup>49</sup> Both groups were united in being, as Marley sang, “rejected by society”.<sup>50</sup>

The linkages were further galvanized when Marley and the Clash began tipping their hats to each other. The Clash’s Joe Strummer and Mick Jones, for instance, name-checked several of their reggae heroes in their track entitled ‘White Man in Hammersmith Palais’ that was released as a seven inch single in 1978:

*Midnight to six man  
For the first time from Jamaica  
Dillinger and Leroy Smart  
Delroy Wilson, your cool operator*

*Ken Boothe for UK pop reggae  
With backing bands sound systems  
And if they've got anything to say  
There's many black ears here to listen...*

*White youth, black youth  
Better find another solution  
Why not phone up Robin Hood  
And ask him for some wealth distribution.*<sup>51</sup>

Marley and Perry also spoke to the union of the two rebel sounds when they name-checked several punks and mods in their ‘Punky Reggae Party’, which was a b-side to the single ‘Jamming’, released in 1977: “The Wailers will be there, the Jam, the Damned, the

Clash – Maytals will be there, Dr. Feelgood too.”<sup>52</sup> Two years later, the Clash referenced the film *The Harder They Come* in the reggae-based ‘Guns of Brixton’:

*You see, he feels like Ivan  
Born under the Brixton sun  
His game is called survivin’  
At the end of the harder they come.*<sup>53</sup>

The world’s biggest punk band and the world’s biggest reggae star acknowledged and drew attention to the ties between their respective genres.<sup>54</sup> And Canadian fans of both genres were listening.

## MUSIC RESPONDING TO RACISM

Reggae and punk bands in the UK and Canada responded to the extant racism that existed in both countries. When rallying together in a political statement, musicians from one genre were introduced to the music of another. Despite the liberal mixing of races in its urban centres, Britain remained largely racist with its Suss laws, the rise of National Front MP Enoch Powell and the pervasive fear of the ‘immigrant’ that had great currency with many Brits of an older generation.<sup>55</sup> In effect, the Suss law allowed the police to arrest anyone merely on the ‘suspicion’ of having committed some crime. It was, in the end, a free pass to harass members of Britain’s black community.

Formed in 1967, the National Front provided an umbrella for several fascist British organizations whose chief desideratum was to “Keep Britain White”.<sup>56</sup> Terrifyingly, by 1976 the National Front had become the fourth largest political party in Britain.<sup>57</sup> The infamous 1976 instalment of the West Indian Carnival in West London’s Ladbroke Grove area was scarred by violence, but also signified a turning point – for some – in race relations. It was during this time that disenfranchised punkers began

harmonizing with the marginalized black community in Britain. These sweet overtures no doubt threatened the establishment and those Bobbies in charge of policing the 1976 event were themselves charged-up and aggravated the situation. These sorts of violent episodes between the police, blacks and punkers would continue through the 1970s and into the 1980s with the famous Brixton Riot of 1981. Such frontline cultural collisions in Ladbrooke Grove, Brixton and later Handsworth in Birmingham, resonated – to a certain degree – with similar neighbourhoods in Toronto.

Perhaps the salient moment that conjoined the musical cultures of punk, reggae and new wave came in the summer of 1976 when Eric Clapton, blind drunk and on stage in Birmingham, came out in support of Enoch Powell, declaring that he would “stop Britain from becoming a black colony...the black wogs and coons and fucking Jamaicans don’t belong here.”<sup>58</sup> One wonders if Clapton played his US chart-topping cover of Marley’s ‘I Shot the Sherriff’ that night. The tirade began a serious musical movement that united distorted guitars and bubbling organs, skinheads and dreadlocks, whites and blacks. Rock Against Racism (RAR) focussed their attention on the rise of the National Front and included both black and white bands within rock’s and reggae’s community.<sup>59</sup> Led by Tom Robinson, RAR brought reggae bands like Matumbi and Aswad together with punk bands like Stiff Little Fingers and Sham 69 and new wavers like Elvis Costello. At Victoria Park in London’s east end, a RAR concert that featured the Clash, Steel Pulse and the Tom Robinson Band, played to a crowd of over eighty thousand people.<sup>60</sup> Importantly, RAR united the discourses of both punk and reggae in the fight against racism, and the rebel musics had come together and formed a viable political weapon.<sup>61</sup>

Toronto had its own satellite RAR chapter. When the Ku Klux Klan opened a chapter on Dundas Street east of Broadview in Toronto in 1981, music journalist Nicholas Jennings and some of his close friends began their own Canadian version of RAR in Toronto.<sup>62</sup> Jennings explained, “what [the KKK] started doing is, they started showing up on high-school campuses, leafleting at lunch time and after school to try and get young people to buy into their agenda which was basically, of course, that immigrants were the source of all the problems in Toronto and Canada at the time.”<sup>63</sup> Toronto’s RAR put on several events including one particularly massive show at St. Lawrence Market North that was headlined by Leroy Sibbles.<sup>64</sup>

RAR Canada also published its own newsletter *Rebel Music*.<sup>65</sup> The journal not only featured stories about pressing political issues but also reviewed the performances and recording releases of the participating bands within the RAR family. RAR also had political speakers at their events from various communities including Jamaican-Canadian Dudley Laws.<sup>66</sup> According to Jennings, part of the mandate for the Canadian RAR was that all events had to include a punk band and a reggae band. As Jennings remembered: “in the interest of racial unity and promoting that kind of message...that’s what the optics should be; every RAR show: punk band, reggae band.”<sup>67</sup> In this manner, the profile of local reggae units the 20TH Century Rebels, Blood Fire and Truths and Rights were raised as they shared the stage with punkers like The Young Lions and L’Etranger.

The Labour Movement reached out to RAR Canada to ask them to supply entertainment for some of their events, including one large convention in 1982 that featured Truths and Rights. The RAR were also called upon to provide the entertainment for a “Ban the Bomb” peace conference in Montreal. It was here that 20TH Century

Rebels and The Young Lions not only shared the bill, but also the school bus that took them up the 401 from Toronto to Montreal. Had it not been for the musical intersection of punk and reggae, this journey, that included such a seemingly disparate collection of musicians, would surely not have happened.<sup>68</sup>

Perhaps the most significant Canadian tie to the ‘Jah Punk’ movement, however, arrived when the Clash decided to cover Jamaican-Canadian Willi Williams’ ‘Armageddon Time’ on the b-side of their ‘London Calling’ single.<sup>69</sup> The song was also featured on the *Black Market Clash* album. Willi’s version has since been featured in the film *Ghost Dog: The Way of the Samurai* and on the *Grand Theft Auto: San Andreas* game soundtrack.<sup>70</sup> As a Jamaican migrant, living in Canada, with a hit courtesy of an English punk band, Williams and his anthem articulated the multicultural and transoceanic nature in which Jamaican music continued to evolve.

Though it happened to a much lesser extent in Toronto than it did in Britain, *some* Jamaicans wound up embracing punk’s aesthetic. Adrian Miller, for example, believes that it was a matter of timing for him:

Had I come to Canada a bit later...older, [punk] probably wouldn’t have been something I would have embraced. But it was an age when I was still a teenager and it was at an age you’re making that transition from teenager into adulthood. So, it was at an age where I could still appreciate other stuff outside of the dominant mode...you know, a “rootical” culture versus North American pop culture.<sup>71</sup>

Sharing the stage with Toronto punk bands, Miller retained some punk characteristics in both his image and his art, including cutting guitar and a visceral singing approach.

Similarly, R. Zee Jackson recorded and released like ‘Rock-Yu-Punky’. Jackson explained that “Bob Marley played the root of reggae music. I play rock-reggae. It’s a

sound for this country—the second generation of reggae.”<sup>72</sup> In his review 1978 article on Jamaican-Canadian Ernie Smith, *Globe and Mail* journalist James Hill observed that:

Musically, the two forms couldn't be further apart...However, both punk and reggae relish in insolence, in the barbed-wire rudeness of a guitar string cutting the throat of the “downpressor man”.<sup>73</sup>

While unifying black and white youth subculture around concepts like poverty, revolt and ‘downpression’ would be more challenging in the Canadian context (something we’ll return to in Chapter VI), many young non-Jamaican Canadians were introduced to reggae through the bridge of punk and later, the Two Tone explosion.

Natasha Emery, currently the Special Events Coordinator for the City of Toronto, was a former publicist and manager for several Toronto-based reggae artists. Natasha’s musical tastes drifted towards anything that was rebellious. At sixteen, and fully indoctrinated in the punk scene, Natasha was introduced to the music of Peter Tosh by a friend:

I was attracted to the message of punk which was not only rebellious, but kinda spoke out against the monarchy, and spoke out against things that were a waste of money. I was a socialist, I’ve always been a socialist so, it’s kinda natural that you gravitate towards message music. Punk was definitely a lot more aggressive. Where reggae gets the message out with love, punk gets it out – often – with violence. I was part of the group that was more about social change and social protest...so, I don’t think I consciously drew the parallel [between reggae and punk], but looking back now I say ‘oh yeah, that’s why I was into it [reggae], that’s why it meant something to me.’<sup>74</sup>

Nicholas Jennings bore further witness to the intersection of punk and reggae in the city: “We in RAR, [reggae] really was just right up our alley, that spoke to us that the Clash were recording a song by Willi Williams who was right here in Toronto.”<sup>75</sup> As *The Observer’s* Neil Spencer concluded: “Punk may have got all the headlines, but reggae proved vital in ending the rift between black and white teenagers and introducing cross-

pollination to the charts.”<sup>76</sup> Toronto was mimicking British responses towards punk and Jamaican music.

Some white Torontonians ended up preferring the reggae vibes. Brian Robertson, for example, walked to reggae across the punk bridge:

...some of the punk bands would cover reggae songs – the Clash definitely did that – and when the whole ska thing happened in the 80s and the very late 70s, that kinda got me thinking...I just found that reggae was so much more interesting than punk music...There wasn't a lot of positive messages [in punk]. I found that reggae was just a little bit more colourful. I found it a little bit more accessible. And I guess because reggae existed a lot longer than punk at the time, so reggae had so many sub-genres already. You know: rocksteady, dub – just even finding out about dub – listen to all this stuff, this is just mind-blowing.<sup>77</sup>

Some were aware of the punk scene and saw the connections to reggae, but chose to bypass punk and head straight to reggae. Greg Lawson, for instance, did not like punk:

I didn't like the aggressiveness of the punk music. I liked the aggressiveness of the reggae, of the Rastafarian element of Jamaican music. All Jamaican music is not Rastafarian music by any stretch. But, there's a social justice element that I didn't see in punk rock...they're playing the same venues and both groups are rebels...but you can be disenfranchised and have a very positive goal or you can be disenfranchised and just be angry.<sup>78</sup>

Lawson preferred Toronto new-wavers Martha and the Muffins over the local Viletones, and more importantly, was inspired by the ska-punk-reggae fusion that was coming out of Britain in the late 1970s.<sup>79</sup>

This crucial trend that combined Jamaican ska with the aggression of punk was the so called second-wave of ska, led by the Two Tone record label. Two Tone coincided with punk's zenith and the emergence of some indigenous British reggae bands like Steel Pulse, UB40 and Aswad. In the emotionally and politically charged atmosphere of late 1970s Britain, bands like The Specials, Madness, Bad Manners, The Bodysnatchers, The Selector and The Beat began expressing their own socio-political viewpoints on the



strength of the music they all had been exposed to. The essence of Prince Buster, Desmond Dekker, The Skatalites and various other Jamaican originators could be found in the updated second wave sound.<sup>80</sup> While most of the Two Tone bands included some first generation Brits with West Indian heritage, The Specials and The Beat went that one step further by each employing a resident first wave black ska musician in their line-up. Playing and recording as he had done with Prince Buster, Laurel Aitken and Desmond Dekker, Lionel Augustus Martin, *aka* Saxa, brought an impressive resume to his new gig with The Beat.<sup>81</sup> Similarly, Alpha Boys' School graduate Rico Rodrigues, who was often a guest musician with The Skatalites, helped The Specials' break through with one of their biggest hits, buoyed by Rico's memorable trombone solo on 'Rudie'.<sup>82</sup>

Cultural historian Simon Jones spoke to the multiracial roots of the Two Tone movement and how the resultant music resonated with both the black and white communities of England's West Midlands:

The multiracial composition of bands like the Selecter, the Specials, the Beat and UB40 reflected the unprecedented degree of rapport that had been built up between black and white youth in those areas, their music premised on the experience of a whole generation of young people who had been to school together and shared the same streets, communities and leisure activities...As a result of these concrete social ties and links, the cultural lives of both black and white communities have become harmonized around the shared spaces and cross-cutting loyalties of street, pub and neighbourhood. Multiracial kinship and supportive neighbourhood networks, produced by mixed marriages, friendships and dating patterns, have progressively eroded the boundaries between black and white.<sup>83</sup>

The music of Toronto's reggae scene struck sympathetic chords which vibrated through both the black and white communities. UB40 was particularly popular in Toronto and was a little different from the Two Tone movement in that they were a straight up reggae band.<sup>84</sup> The multiracial band set out on a mission to popularize reggae and more broadly

reggae artists. The band did just that and took reggae to places that it had never been.<sup>85</sup> UB40's first Toronto show at the Concert Hall in 1983 sold out in twenty minutes. A second show was added for the same night and it too sold out the same day it was announced. Thus began a love affair with the city, and UB40's near-annual Toronto show was one the more anticipated concerts in the city. As a result of punk's championing of reggae, the popularity of Two Tone bands and the mainstream breakthrough of bands like UB40, many rock and R&B musicians in Toronto began to adopt the reggae aesthetic into their sound, repertoire and even image. For these musicians, reggae was a new source of inspiration.<sup>86</sup>

In terms of international appeal, integration through the Two Tone movement and even the indigenous British reggae style may very well have saved the genre in the post-Marley era. Importantly, the music built a bridge between migrant and host for many young Torontonians. The more commercially successful reggae bands and Two Tone bands served as a conduit for many fans who then chose to explore other Jamaican bands.<sup>87</sup> White Canadian photographer Greg Lawson, for example, came to reggae via Britain's second-generation ska:

Two Tone got me really deep into Jamaican music. I was familiar with Jamaican music, everybody knew Bob Marley, Jimmy Cliff, but I didn't have the fever, I didn't have the passion beyond the commercial releases.<sup>88</sup>

Likewise, the white English-born Mark Matthews spoke to this special era of reggae during his time in England before he moved to Canada:

...probably a combination of radio (reggae was fairly common on Top 40 radio in the UK in the 70s), school mates who had Jamaican parents and via punk rock groups like The Clash and also the 'Two Tone' UK ska explosion in 1980 for the music side of things. The music led me to the culture, and going 'round to my friend's parents for an oxtail dinner or some goat. Also, the music spoke to the culture so there was a natural curiosity to find out more.<sup>89</sup>

The white dub artist Jesse King can now, in retrospect, see the development of his reggae palette that began with punk and then Two Tone:

I was listening to the Clash in '79...and then it went into the Specials and the English Beat...I think it was a progression into [reggae], not necessarily wanting to go 'oh, I've got to learn about it', but coming into it that way.<sup>90</sup>

It was a natural progression: Jamaican popular music was exported to and recontextualized in the British context, and sent back across the Atlantic to Canada.

The musical quotient of this journey does not fully explain reggae's allure. For many young Torontonians, the Two Tone movement (and British reggae in general) served as a political forum where matters of truth and justice could be explored. The political messages in reggae were analogous with those found in punk and mod. For Jeffrey Holdip, it was vital that the music he listened to spoke to his own prerogative: "Being able to state your case and story, politically through the music...that became very important to me."<sup>91</sup> Similarly, keyboardist Todd Britton was charmed by the duality in reggae's message: "I loved the idea that it was 'gospel music for the revolution'. The lyrics spoke of love and war simultaneously!"<sup>92</sup> *Toronto Sun* and CBC music journalist Errol Nazareth was in high school in England before he moved to Canada:

I mean, being one of four south Asian kids in this school of all white kids, and the stuff that we heard, the name calling, that died down when we stood up to it, all the things that people would say, the attitudes that you were kind of exposed to: England really politicized me. When I was England, not only did I get into like my love of black music, more towards edgy, some LKJ and political stuff like the Specials and the Beat and what they were saying and the Clash and what they were saying.<sup>93</sup>

Nazareth believes he was at the right place at the right time, and the dread poetry of the UK-based Jamaican Linton Kwesi Johnson, along with the ska and reggae fusion of Coventry's Specials and Birmingham's Beat, hastened Errol's political awakening.<sup>94</sup>

The rebellious aesthetic of punk transferred neatly into reggae and provided one of the sturdier bridges along Toronto's ethnic frontline. Youth culture in North America and Europe was, through subversive means like punk and reggae, reclaiming the original spirit of good old rock and roll.<sup>95</sup> Punk and reggae simply made sense together.<sup>96</sup>

The rebel texts of punk and reggae awakened a political sensibility in many young Torontonians. Dr. Tomaz Jardim, for instance, felt that reggae kick-started his personal journey of critical thinking that eventually led him to a career as a university professor. Because of reggae, a twelve year old Tomaz "was totally engaged in thinking about issues of like justice and equality and all of those kinds of things."<sup>97</sup> In short, reggae sharpened political awareness and the sense of 'other' in Tomaz and other young Torontonians.

## PLAY I SOME MUSIC

While the extra-musical allure of reggae music cannot be ignored, attention must also be given to the actual musical appeal of the genre; that is to say, reggae's irresistible heartbeat drew many suitors across Toronto's cultural bridges. In June 1975, *Globe and Mail* journalist Robert Martin was sent to review Marley's Massey Hall concert. Sitting beside him at the show was, according to Martin, "a young white man with bare feet, long hair, full beard and blue jeans, the standard appearance for any middle-class freak kid from Mississauga."<sup>98</sup> Martin was sure that the man could not possibly decode the Patois in which Marley was singing and therefore could not know that he, the young man:

... was supposed to be a member of the oppressor class. All he understood was that beat. He clapped his hands, snapped his fingers, stamped his feet and hollered for pure joy. Marley was right. Music has no prejudice.<sup>99</sup>

Two days after Martin's concert review, the *Globe and Mail's* third page was full of a litany of articles that, to put it mildly, raised concerns about Rastafarians and their message. The *Globe* told its readers that Rastafarians were called the "most violent crime group in New York", that a U.S. report showed that "the sect uses marijuana as an aphrodisiac", that Rastas were deemed by a Toronto lawyer to be "walking time bombs", and that the religion's followers were "basically anarchists".<sup>100</sup>

A noticeable air of misogyny has also followed reggae music since its inception. As *Toronto Star* Garry Steckles rightly observed in 1980 when assessing whether or not local reggae singer Carlene Davis (of black, Indian and Scottish descent) had a shot in the reggae world: "Unlikely, because Carlene Davis is a female, competing in a male-dominated area where girls sing the backing vocals if they're lucky."<sup>101</sup> Moreover, the men that forged the greatest strides for reggae's international profile, had also ironically, as Steckles explained, provided the genre with its most complicated obstacles:

...reggae's big three [Marley, Tosh and Cliff] are hardly likely to become appealing on a strictly personal level with the great record-buying public, who may be put off by the dreadlocks of Marley and Tosh, their uncompromising public stand in favour of marijuana, their association with the controversial (and usually wrongly-maligned) Rastafarian religion, which worships the late Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia as a living god and believes in black repatriation to Africa.<sup>102</sup>

This was written, of course, twenty years before *Time Magazine* chose Marley's *Exodus* as the album of the century and before the BBC chose Marley's 'One Love' as the song of the millennium.<sup>103</sup>

Indeed, fear-mongering journalists could not deny the pure joy of reggae music. The musical building blocks of reggae appealed to an even older demographic that were not keen on new directions in mainstream popular music. The Sattalites' Fergus

Hambleton, for instance, found in reggae what he felt was vanishing out of popular music in the 1970s:

So this is the time of Yes, King Crimson, the beginning of Black Sabbath, and the beginning of all that stuff, the prog rock...and metal and to me rock music lost several of the things that I loved it for and which I love reggae for, which is: group singing...tasty use of the horns, and good song-writing...concise...popular song-writing. And rock kind of drifted away from that and not to say that it didn't go in some interesting directions, because I liked a lot of that kind of singer-songwriter things, but it lacked a certain kind of joy that you could hear in the reggae.<sup>104</sup>

At the root of that 'joy' was the beat, the one-drop and the spaces that it created, which allowed the voice and the other support instruments the necessary time to plead their cases.

The puzzle of the music itself served as a bridge attracting many non-Jamaicans to reggae. Some, slightly older white Canadian musicians were attracted to Marley and his music, but had trouble decoding the way the Jamaican music actually 'behaved'.

While writing for *Beetle Magazine*, the future Bloodfire guitarist Paul Corby received a copy of Marley's *Natty Dread* album.<sup>105</sup> Paul had been aware of reggae through its presence on Top 40 radio and insofar as it had influenced other bands that he liked, including Steely Dan.<sup>106</sup> The musical mystery, coupled with the rebellious and contentious nature of an album like *Natty Dread*, forever changed Paul's life:

It was all wrong. The bass wasn't where it should be, the guy was yodelling...he said he'd 'feel like bombing the church now that he knows the preacher is lying'. There's no excuse for that kind of talk... 'a hungry man is an angry man', I mean, that's not exactly 'all you need is love'...It took me a while to understand what the music was doing...I couldn't play along with it...as far as what the bass and drums were doing, it took me direct experience with Jamaican people to understand that.<sup>107</sup>

Future Sattalites' keyboardist David Fowler had a similar experience. Fowler remembered seeing Marley at the University of Montreal in 1976:

...my then fiancé loved it, and I was saying ‘but the bass is in the wrong place don’t you get it? The bass player is playing everything backwards, it doesn’t make any sense.’ But really I was completely intrigued: how could this music work when all the accents are in the wrong place?<sup>108</sup>

Todd Britton found himself on a steep learning curve when he chose reggae keyboards:

Musically, I learned of the subtle tapestry of very simple rhythms to create very complicated and consuming rhythms. There was always a ‘deceptive’ quality to it, it seemed ‘way laid back’ because of the way the beats are accented, but in reality a player has to be very ‘on top’ of the rhythm.<sup>109</sup>

These confessions recalled Walter Jekyll’s assessment of the Jamaican ‘pulse’ seventy odd years previous; the collector, you will recall, found that whites beat *with* the time and the ‘negro’ beats against it.<sup>110</sup>

Indeed, for many non-Jamaicans, reggae’s seemingly upside-down structure with the bass behaving as a separate melody from the vocals and the main drum pulse or ‘one-drop’ falling on what most rock musicians would consider beat 3 and *not* on beats 2 and 4 (which were bizarrely filled by the guitar chuck and piano skank) was irresistible to the curious who yearned to solve its puzzle and to learn to ‘beat *against* it’.

It was reggae’s beat and the polyrhythmic possibilities in the genre that also hooked non-Jamaican Sam Weller: “The first thing that attracted me [to reggae] was the rhythm. And, more specifically, what really hit me was...the clavinet, the rhythm of the clavinet.”<sup>111</sup> The rhythm also captured the attention of a young Jeffrey Holdip:

I remember going to a school dance, and now, the school I went to, Oakwood, there weren’t that many Jamaicans in the school but there were a few and they were strong and mighty. And at one school dance, somebody put on some seven inch, and you’d see all the guys lined up on the wall and this was like foreign to us, we’re watching this go down and we’re like ‘what is this?’ But the rhythm really got to me and I remember that.<sup>112</sup>

Likewise, Andru Branch was fully intoxicated with the music:

I think it's the hypnotic quality frankly, there are other musics that are hypnotic too, but the lull of the bass guitar and the repeated polyphony, there's something about it...and certainly there's a spiritual quality that always moved me.<sup>113</sup>

Certainly, there were other musics referenced within reggae and that was perhaps part of its appeal. Most non-Jamaicans knew they had never heard anything like it, but yet somehow, it was still familiar.

Heavily referencing American R&B of the 1950s and 1960s, reggae also resonated with those non-Jamaicans who had a special interest in black American musical traditions. The white Scarborough born Isax Injah (*aka* Richard Howse), trained as a jazz saxophonist in Texas and later New York and was intrigued by the reggae he had heard on the radio. In particular, Hortense Ellis' 'Love Comes from the Most Unexpected Places' caught Isax' attention when he was going to school in New York:

I had never really heard it before. You know, I really needed to know what it was. I really enjoyed it because I'd always liked the heavy funk from the south in the States, so there's something about the heaviness of the bass in the reggae that I started hearing that really drew me to it. And the way the music sat within the feel. It reminded a lot of the baddest funk.<sup>114</sup>

Thinking that he was going to return to New York to try a jazz career, Isax instead gravitated to the reggae scene where he began to play with Toronto players like Kwame, Iwata, drummer Raffa Dean and the British-Jamaican keyboardist Bernie Pitters. It was here that Isax said to himself: "these are the guys I want to play with."<sup>115</sup>

Some rock aficionados and record collectors like Fergus Hambleton saw Jamaican reggae as a parallel universe. In many ways, the vitality in reggae had been sapped out of directions in rock, as Hambleton observed:

It was exciting to find that whole scene going on...it was a pop-music scene and you know in the Jamaican charts you get a novelty song, a love song, a song about some guy's sexual prowess...a fairly filthy song about something else, or a really spiritual kind of song and sometimes all those things can be in the same song but



you'd get all that stuff on the charts and that's the way the charts used to be here but now there so monochromatic...you kind of know what to expect.<sup>116</sup>

For Hambleton and other music-lovers and musicians like him, the exotic music culture of Jamaica was accessible in Toronto through their Jamaican migrant friends who kept their finger on the pulse of their homeland. This presented non-Jamaicans with a brand new musical planet to explore, replete with its own stars and charts orbiting outside of mainstream pop.

## INTERNATIONAL HERB

Though called by various names – weed, sleng-teng, cannabis, hashish, ganja, sensimilla and pot to name a few – the smoking of marijuana proved to be a very successful access point that facilitated bridge-building between Jamaicans and non-Jamaicans in Canada. As *Globe and Mail* journalist (and non-Jamaican) Paul McGrath noted in 1979:

Reggae music itself has more than a little to do with marijuana. Both are used freely by the Rastafarian communities in the West Indies and throughout America in the pursuit of their religion. In fact, it's close to impossible to find a reggae artist who does not admit to and advocate the regular use of the drug.<sup>117</sup>

The white non-Jamaican Natasha Emery – a weed smoker who believes that marijuana should be legalized – saw the connections between the Rasta and Hippie love of weed:

Being an island girl, a BC girl, natural lifestyles were common. Smoking weed was very common growing up for me as a teenager...it's part of the natural, hippie lifestyle. And the hippie lifestyle and the Rastafari lifestyle are very similar.<sup>118</sup>

It was as obvious to future Sattalites white keyboardist David Fowler who grew up in North Vancouver. Fowler left British Columbia at seventeen with the band the Family Dog, an early blues and psychedelic outfit, to go to Expo 1967 in Montreal.<sup>119</sup> When

Fowler finally got to Toronto at age thirty-two, he found that smoking marijuana was a beneficial bridge-building activity.<sup>120</sup> Fowler's initiation into reggae and Jamaican culture occurred on the road. Remarkably, Dave was already on tour with the Sattalites before he really had come to terms with how reggae music was affecting him:

I guess the endless trips in the van where everybody was playing their favourite reggae songs and possibly imbibing certain herb substances, I suddenly realized what was really compelling about the music and how it was hypnotic and spoke directly to your solar plexuses, made you really want to move. It was absolutely infectious in the body.<sup>121</sup>

Likewise, music publicist Sebastian Cook felt that 'having a marijuana addiction' actually helped and accelerated his introduction into Toronto's reggae world.<sup>122</sup>

Reggae music could sometimes be shared, though perhaps not by design, whilst sharing a friendly spliff, as the Jamaican-born JuLion King attested:

I didn't feel the need to go and bring the music to the people, but through social gatherings...and then because they were curious about what we were smoking... True *dem deh* a smoke *dem* ting, and we smoke and *dem* get curious about *wha* we a smoke. We introduce them to some reggae music – Dennis Brown, Robert Nesta Marley, Studio One, whatever – and they introduce us to Led Zeppelin...and I still believe to this day that some of the best music was written in the '70s.<sup>123</sup>

Remarkably, weed broke down some of the social barriers. King, for one, felt that the sharing of ganja had a significant effect on the culture at his own high school:

[Ganja] changed the culture of George S. Henry at that time somewhat...as Jamaicans you know our motto is 'out of many, one people', so we don't really rate nobody about we black, white, brown or green. And we no *gwarn* like we better than nobody either, but everybody is everybody. So, the culture really changed and it surprised a lot of people back in the day.<sup>124</sup>

In essence, the use of marijuana served as a bridge and, for some, opened up dialogue between some Jamaicans-migrants and non-Jamaicans that might not have otherwise occurred.

## CHILDREN OF ZION

A shared interest in faith systems also brought the migrant's music to the non-Jamaican. Certainly, a lot of reggae has a strong spiritual sensibility. Jamaican-born singer Wayne Hanson spoke to the depth of his mystical experience in singing reggae:

Music for me is like a mystical thing. Especially reggae music, it's very spiritual. For example, whenever I sing it reminds me of my breath, it's so deep. The breath to me is life. So, whenever I take a breath, I remember, I experience being alive. It's some kind of a divine thing. Music does help my everyday living.<sup>125</sup>

Reggae music often is unapologetic in talking about or praising God as JuLion King attested: "the only time I hear about God is in reggae music, reggae music is truthful, reggae don't romp, reggae just brings it."<sup>126</sup> Exposure to these themes in reggae led some non-Jamaicans to adopt the Rastafarian religion – or elements thereof – as their own.

The Bajan-Canadian Jeffrey Holdip, for example, 'nattied' up in 1981. Holdip's parents were generally fine with Jeffrey's embracing of the reggae culture:

My dad, he was okay with it. Because you've gotta understand, coming from an inter-racial relationship, being married [in] 1960, they're rebels to begin with. And the majority of the music I'm playing in the house is rebel music, so my dad could deal with it and my mother could understand it.<sup>127</sup>

The young black members of Trinidadian and Guyanese descent that made up Truths and Rights who Jeffrey was working with at the time, however, needed a little more convincing. Thusly, a meeting between the band members, the parents of the band members, Jeffrey and Jeffrey's mom and dad was arranged for at an *Ital* restaurant on Dundas Street in Toronto where the dreadlocked musicians pleaded their case to their parents and tried to demonstrate that they were serious about their craft, as Holdip explained:

So we all had a little meeting there to show that we're not hoodlums and this is what we're trying to do. You know my parents were cool, they were just happy as long as I was happy and hopefully not doing anything wrong.<sup>128</sup>

The band, having cleared the considerable hurdle of winning their parents' approval, went on to pen poignant commentaries on the social injustice and inequality dogging the city, perhaps more so than any other Canadian reggae band.

Some young white Torontonians also embraced Rasta. Professor Jardim was, for a time, Rastafarian, an experience which he viewed as being extremely positive.

Interestingly, Tomaz feels that the negative attention he received during his time as a Rasta emanated more from white people and *not* black Jamaicans:

In some ways, to them [Rastas] it was almost like I – to a degree – legitimized what it was that they were doing because it was showing that it was catching on more broadly.<sup>129</sup>

In retrospect, Tomaz was amazed at how accepting most Jamaicans actually were:

I think back to it and think, oh my God, me and my friend Doug, we were like fifteen, sixteen year old kids from Lawrence Park with dreadlocks and parents at home... why were they accepting us with such open arms... two white kids and these old Rasta guys would come to the house and hang out in my high-school bedroom when my mom was downstairs. We'd just kind of hang out and talk. And I think they had that in a way they were imparting wisdom that clearly we wanted.<sup>130</sup>

For other whites, Rasta was a choice for life. Photographer Greg Lawson was introduced to Rasta when he met the Toronto reggae band Truths and Rights. The band raised Lawson's curiosity: "What is it about these people? These people have something that is extremely positive and you can feel it."<sup>131</sup> Greg transcended in Jamaica in the early 1980s when he was on a photographic shoot: "I started to get deeper and deeper into the Rastafarian faith, realizing that it's a Judeo-Christian faith, that it's not any hocus-pocus thing, that it is *bona fide*."<sup>132</sup> Greg started growing dreadlocks in his mid-thirties. As a

white Rasta, Greg today feels that while he has been tested, he has always been supported by black Rastas.<sup>133</sup>

Support from one's family, however, was a different story as Paul Corby attested:

I wasn't making any money. I was espousing things that made people uncomfortable. Even to explain a day in my life at a Christmas party, for instance, people would be shocked. But you know, it was the life at the time and I thought I was doing something important so I wasn't ashamed.<sup>134</sup>

Corby had dreadlocks in 1980, an extremely rare choice for whites at this time:

They were totally not happy about it. There's no way [for Paul's parents] to explain it. How do you explain it? You can't explain that? They came out of the fifties, they came out of World War Two, how can you explain *that*? There was no way they were listening to my explanation, because it just didn't make any sense.<sup>135</sup>

The day Paul trimmed his locks his father bought him a television set.<sup>136</sup>

Others were slightly more accepting. The first Rastafarian Natasha Emery met was her future husband Wayne Hanson. They were married in 1989 and are now raising two girls.<sup>137</sup> Natasha's mom was accepting but surprised by her special interest in Jamaican music and culture. On 'preparing' her mother on what her new husband looked like, Natasha's brother told her mother "to go to the record store...ask the shopkeeper for a Bob Marley album and then she could pick it up and look and then she would see: that was a Rastaman."<sup>138</sup> Natasha's bridge building extended to the lives, musical tastes and habits of those in her circle. Natasha's brother, for instance, subsequently got into Peter Tosh.<sup>139</sup>

For some musicians, their journey to Jah was rooted squarely in their musical career. Saxophonist Isax Injah, for instance, came to Rastafari through jazz and reggae:

I was already coming from the land of Coltrane, 'A Love Supreme', so then to hear about the one love message of the reggae and from Rastafari too, that was kind of very resonant with me, I was already kind of into that...When I started to

hear people say ‘Selassie I’ all the time, I started asking people ‘what’s up? Who’s this Selassie guy?’ And then my friends growing up who had become Christian, and I tried to listen to what they were saying and even I’ve gone to church many times and it never, ever clicked with me. But then when I started to read about Haile Selassie and...instead of thinking about God up in the sky, but just thinking about...God being a man, then that kind of made sense.<sup>140</sup>

Mom and dad thought it might have been a fad, but eventually accepted Isax’ embracing of reggae and Rastafari. Still, having locks was sometimes not an easy choice for anyone living in Toronto, including whites like Isax:

From my experience...pretty much everybody just welcomes me and has nothing but respect and love for the whole thing...Not to say every single person, but the people that are the real musicians or the real Rastafari...when they recognize in somebody else that the person is sincere and really loves it and is really bringing something good to the table...I think they go and accept it. As far as I know, that’s how it is.<sup>141</sup>

Still, in 2010, Isax Injah was politely bumped from a gig during the Toronto Film Festival because the organizers had been hoping for a more ‘clean-cut’ sax player. It would seem that some Torontonians still have issue with dreadlocks and what they might mean. The very existence of white Rastas like Isax, Paul Corby, Greg Lawson, *et al*, was something that not only challenged the upper-crust tastes of the TIFF’s champagne-swilling *glitterati*, but also, as we will see, a number of journalists who wrote about the Toronto music scene.

Many young non-Jamaican Torontonians had, nevertheless, earnestly crossed over into the Jamaican community. Moreover, many Jamaican migrants in Toronto had personally facilitated their crossing in various spaces around the city. These metaphorical bridges were, more often than not, anchored at both ends by an interest in music. While smoking marijuana, having sex, falling in love, getting married, talking God, converting to Rasta and forging life-long friendships number among the more serious outcomes, it

was usually Bob Marley, Jimmy Cliff, Punk, Two Tone and UK reggae that served as entry points to those initial conversations between migrant and host. If this chapter reveals how and why the crossings occurred, the next chapter discusses the road blocks that were assembled to slow the process down.

## CHAPTER VII

### *ACCEPTABLE IN THY SIGHT:* BLACKNESS, WHITENESS AND REGGAE

White-skinned participation in reggae music has generally troubled perceptions about what a reggae musician should look like. New forays into cultural and global history and ethnomusicology, however, are challenging the ‘constructions’ of race. Messages in the media can inform the social constructions of race and perpetuate essentialized and stereotypical notions of both whiteness and blackness.<sup>1</sup> These notions have been upheld by *gatekeepers* as much as they have been deconstructed by *bridge-builders* within the Canadian reggae scene.

In this chapter, we will review how these constructions have informed the perception of the two biggest selling reggae artists of all time, and how these perceptions affected and were sometimes applied to Canadian reggae artists. Continuing our examination of the metaphorical bridges, we will also reveal the individual *bridge-builders* who sought out advantageous access points where musical crossings were rendered easier and their antithesis, the *gatekeepers*, from within both the migrant community and the dominant society who chose to draw their bridges skyward when they felt the vision for their respective culture had been compromised. Indeed, some gatekeepers viewed participation in musical bridge building operations as an act of disloyalty to the Jamaican group and any resultant ‘sound’, as an offense to an imagined ‘authentic’ Jamaican text and sound. The remarkable aspect of this prerogative was that many of the territorial watchdogs were not Jamaicans, but rather a certain element of the dominant host society whose propensity for getting offended on other people’s behalf



made mischief with Canada's indigenous reggae scene. Outmoded constructions of whiteness *and* blackness limited the growth of Canada's reggae scene.

Perhaps most importantly, none of the gatekeepers, from either camp, were themselves musicians. As expressed by several of this study's interviewees: musicians simply did not usually think in these aesthetical terms (e.g., one needed to be black, Jamaican and have dreadlocks to play reggae) but rather in musical terms (e.g., one needed to be able to play reggae on their chosen instrument). In fact, the majority of people interviewed in this study do not believe that bridge-building between Jamaican-Canadians and other Canadians in the 1970s and 1980s had in any sense eroded the *Jamaicanness* of the Jamaican migrant. Moreover, the interviewees believe that the resultant music of such intermingling represented a valid Canadian text.

A frequent concern of Canadian reggae musicians, however, was that the Canadian sound was not as 'full' or 'strong', and therefore not able to compete commercially with the Jamaican and British reggae sounds. For these people, Canadian reggae was 'watered down' and lacked the same production quality found in its Jamaican and British counterparts. None, however, believed that a multiracial Canadian reggae sound/text should not have been produced in the first place. And regardless how the subjects felt about the product, *most* believed that reggae helped to improve relationships between migrant and host in Canada. These beliefs, however, did not – as we will see a little later on – preclude criticisms of the Canadian reggae brand.

## FORGIVING CAPTAIN MARLEY

While the music industry has notoriously taken advantage and exploited musicians since its inception, it is important to make some distinction between the machinery of the dominant, hegemonic record labels and those white-skinned musicians who earnestly chose reggae for a career. Some scholars have addressed the various ways by which white-skinned musicians have negotiated trials of ‘authenticity’ in hip-hop.<sup>2</sup> Some of these categories are analogous to the ones we find in reggae music. Indeed, there have been several different approaches that white-skinned reggae artists have employed to secure ‘authenticity’ within the genre in Canada. One approach has been a full embrace of the Rasta faith system. Another has seen some white-skinned musicians tacitly declare their whiteness in a quest to write and sing about their own Canadian-centric experiences on top of a reggae groove. Both approaches problematize the perceived ‘original’ reggae text; the first does because Selassie is a black God and some feel his message parallels a prevailing Pan-Africanist sentiment that is remote from the ‘white’ Canadian experience; the second does because it divorces the musical messages from its perceived cultural origins.

More recent scholarship in hip-hop has afforded some elasticity to this latter approach.<sup>3</sup> Most of the white-skinned Canadian reggae musicians involved in this project felt accepted by other black-skinned reggae musicians, provided they were able to play the music. For the musician, then, the extra-musical quotient of appearance and ethnic background rarely had a place in the actual music making in the city.

Internationally, whiteness was an impediment for various reggae musicians, including the most famous one of all. Having a lighter skin tone did not help the young

Robert Nesta Marley. The racial balance in Jamaica at the time of the island's independence in 1962 was roughly 77 percent black and 20 percent 'brown'.<sup>4</sup> At this time, the brown-skinned Bob Marley constantly faced racism from both sides. Whites did not see him as their equal, while blacks were deeply suspicious of his 'caste'. Bob Marley was often harassed for having a white father.<sup>5</sup> His mother Cedella recalled one instance where Bob was enamoured with a young black girl from his 'yard' in Trenchtown. While the feelings may have been mutual, the girl's family intervened, as Cedella explained: "her brother say to Bob, 'we don't want no white man in our breed'."<sup>6</sup> For some, Bob was a misfit who did not belong in the Trenchtown ghetto as his skin tone troubled others' preconceptions of Jamaica's mulatto middle-class. These encounters with anti-mulatto racism perhaps exacerbated Marley's disdain *for* and disassociation *from* the father who named him.

Norval Sinclair Marley, the white father of Bob Marley has mostly been portrayed in reggae literature as the 'dead-beat' dad who abandoned Marley and his mother Cedella Booker.<sup>7</sup> While one might argue that this portrayal suits the facts – a fifty year-old colonial supervisor of English heritage impregnated Bob's seventeen year-old black mother from the country – the depiction deserves further nuance. First, Captain Marley intended on marrying Booker, but the plans were waylaid. This may have been in part due to the Captain's relocation to Kingston (his chronic hernia had caused him to change jobs), but more plausibly, the cancellation was due to the Marley family's cold feet. As Bob's mom explained:

He told me he loved me, and I believe that he did. He was always honest with me in that time. He told me he was the black sheep of his family, because the Marleys did not like black people, but Norval liked them very much.<sup>8</sup>

Captain Marley, at least for a time, made monthly visits to St. Ann to visit Cedella and their son Bob, though these grew increasingly infrequent as the young Marley continued to grow. The Captain's absence from Marley's life profoundly affected Bob's psyche and shaped the future king of reggae's attitudes toward race.<sup>9</sup>

To be sure, Marley harboured a lifelong resentment for his largely absent white father that was manifested in several different ways. These manifestations included his early identification with counter-cultural and sometimes criminal 'rude boy' behaviour, his later rejection of his white heritage in favour of Rasta, black consciousness and his steadfast Pan-Africanist sensibilities in his later lyrics.<sup>10</sup> In the end, Marley denied every part of his whiteness except, of course, the one part that he could not. At the same time, Marley saw himself as a missionary, and while his body of work may have championed Pan-Africanism, it concurrently gave promise to a utopian community that transcended the language of race.<sup>11</sup> Success beyond all expectation came to Marley as he became the 'face' of reggae music. As far as the outside world was concerned, Rastafarian reggae musicians assumed the role of reggae's custodians, despite the great number of non-Rasta writers, producers and performers making reggae in Jamaica.<sup>12</sup> Ergo, Rastafari and its attendant polemics became *the* authentic reggae text for the majority of journalists and ethnomusicologists: the *gatekeepers*.<sup>13</sup>

The 'Marley mould' was adopted as a strategy for commercial success by record labels and indeed other reggae bands, including ones outside of Jamaica.<sup>14</sup> The UK's Aswad was one such example. Like most other young black Britons growing up in London in the late 1960s and early 1970s, Aswad's frontman Brinsley Forde loved Bob

and became a personal friend of his during the latter's time in England. But Brinsley was English and so was very influenced by non-reggae, pop music culture, as he explained:

For the most part we heard the sounds and watched all the popular Rock/Pop bands and artists like the Beatles, Stones, Presley, etc...and saw all the advertising and imagery used in their promotional campaigns, TV appearances. So our influences were taken from our surroundings. So, in fact it was more of a natural path for us unlike what it must have been for the original Wailers.<sup>15</sup>

The high-end production quality of Marley's albums elevated reggae to an international level, where reggae had a chance of competing with the top rock and pop acts of the day, and Marley's successful proliferation of reggae music opened up an international touring circuit for future reggae acts.<sup>16</sup>

Other young Brits were profoundly influenced by Marley. Ali Campbell, the son of popular folk singer and proud card-carrying member of the Communist Party of Britain Ian Campbell, saw Marley perform live in London when he was just a teenager. For Ali, it was the nearest thing he had had to a religious experience in his life.<sup>17</sup> Not long after, Ali, his brother Robin and six other friends – all of whom were on the dole – formed what would be the second biggest reggae band of all time. Yet, UB40 have long been the whipping boy of reggae journalists and 'historians'. Few scholars have discussed the *real* motivations behind the original eight members' meteoric rise to fame. Fewer still discuss the two and half members who are of Afro-Jamaican descent. Rather, scholars focus on how UB40's interpretation of reggae can't be taken seriously because the band hit the proverbial commercial jackpot.<sup>18</sup> Only a few bands like the Beatles and Queen have had more charted singles in the history of British music, and in terms of reggae, only Bob Marley has sold more albums than UB40's seventy-plus million.<sup>19</sup> Yet,

the perception of UB40 created by a few music journalists and authors stands in the way of reggae scholarship, a fact that affects the histories of Canadian reggae too.

This is wrong. Discussing reggae history and only addressing UB40 tangentially is akin to discussing the Second World War without mentioning Roosevelt.<sup>20</sup> Like it or not, UB40 has had a profound influence on reggae music internationally and indeed on the lives of those Jamaican reggae artists to whom UB40 have paid tribute.<sup>21</sup> British-Jamaican DJ Ranking Miss P observed that UB40 “made a lot of reggae artists a lot of money and UB40 are highly respected in Jamaica because of this.” As far as documentary filmmaker Don Letts was concerned, because of UB40, a good number of Jamaican reggae artists whose songs were covered by the English band “have got a new lease of life and everybody wants their song to be covered by UB40.”<sup>22</sup> In 2010, Jamaica’s biggest daily *The Gleaner* posited that the greatest tribute to reggae music of the 1960s and 1970s could be found in UB40’s *Labour of Love* album series.<sup>23</sup> A few years prior in 2002, Sly and Robbie, the Mighty Diamonds, Ken Boothe, Max Romeo, Toot Hibbert, John Holt, Gregory Issacs, Alton Ellis, Bob Andy, Leroy Sibbles and many other reggae artists took part in a project that returned the tribute to UB40. In a reverse of the band’s *Labour of Love* album series, these seminal Jamaican musicians sang UB40 original songs.<sup>24</sup> So while their place in reggae’s history has been questioned by some of the genre’s critics, some Jamaican journalists and indeed, the actual makers of the music have celebrated the significant contribution and bridge-building that the band from Birmingham have made to reggae.

The perception of UB40 has informed the sparse body of Canadian reggae scholarship. While Klive Walker’s *Dubwise* (2005) is a valuable work worthy of high

praise, especially considering his pivotal overview of Canadian reggae, he has also been guilty of subscribing to the well-worn arguments posited by his British counterparts with regards to UB40. Critically, Walker believed that, despite its Jamaican membership, UB40 was not really a diasporic reggae band and that while *some* of their material was in line with their diasporic reggae counterparts:

The cover-version pop-reggae route chosen by the band was financially lucrative and gave them immense popularity as an admittedly talented band, but they cannot be assessed as producing U.K. reggae at its most creative and cutting edge.<sup>25</sup>

For Walker, and many others, UB40 was ‘designed’ to appeal to a critical mass.<sup>26</sup>

This is untrue. Despite their success with cover songs, UB40’s original lyrics have remained oppositional, a fact that has since warranted reconsideration from some of reggae journalists.<sup>27</sup> The original eight members of the band formed while on the dole. The band’s name was taken from the Unemployment Benefit form 40. The members only began playing music on their native instruments some six months before their first gig. They were able to get some of their first pieces of equipment from a disability cheque that lead singer Ali Campbell received after he had been ‘glassed’ in the eye in a barroom fight.<sup>28</sup> The members stole the rest of their gear.<sup>29</sup> Moreover, the Campbell brothers were the “red-diaper babies” of a card-carrying member of the Communist Party of Britain, a fact that complicates some critics’ assessment of UB40’s motivations.

Clearly stated from the outset, UB40’s aim, like Marley’s, was to become ambassadors for reggae music. In fact, the band wanted to record the first set of its *Labour of Love* series for the debut album, but decided instead to record and release *Signing Off*, which became the highest charting *independent* release in UK chart history.<sup>30</sup> The platinum selling album featured several politically charged songs that

addressed, *inter alia*, nuclear war, lynching, Thatcherism and the wrongful conviction of black American Gary Tyler. What critics choose to ignore, is that these sorts of themes were never abandoned by UB40. While their biggest commercial successes have in fact been cover-versions, only four of the sixteen proper studio albums released by the band were cover albums. The remaining twelve were made up mostly of original, politically conscious material. There was the band's blanket condemnation on twenty-first century warfare on *Who You Fighting For?* (2005); the warning about HIV Aids on *Cover Up* (2001); and an appeal to young Jamaican gunmen to drop their weapons on *Guns in the Ghetto* (1997).<sup>31</sup> It is true that not all of UB40's cover attempts have been – at least artistically – unqualified successes. But the same can be said of a vast number of Jamaican reggae artists who have, at some point or another, offered up a dreadful (meant pejoratively of course) rendition of some ill-conceived cover song (*see*: 'What's New Pussycat?'). Yet, these 'violations' in the case of the latter group have not resulted in full disqualification from reggae's histories.

The case of UB40 is important when considering the Canadian reggae scene of the late 1970s and 1980s. First, UB40 very much helped to fan the flame of reggae internationally and especially in Jamaican outposts like Toronto during the 1980s which they did with tremendous success. With this in mind, we must ask: if British reggae bands like UB40 have not been officially recognized by the genre's chroniclers, what chance do Canada's finest exports of the genre have? Despite producing valid and varied reggae texts that suited their own unique Canadian sensibilities, both the Jamaican migrant musician and non-Jamaican musician who chose reggae as a career choice,



struggled to wrest free from the tightly circumscribed conception of what reggae ‘ought to be’.

## THE PERCEPTION OF WHITENESS

The constructions of whiteness and blackness are not scientific racial categories and some scholars are now pressing beyond the stereotypes and misperceptions and accessing the pedagogical texts of these constructions.<sup>32</sup> Indeed, many academics, including those in the field of hip-hop scholarship, are now embracing and expanding on social constructions of ‘race’ as they apply to identity, politics and culture. Many are considering a liberated notion of whiteness beyond its usual linkages with domination and privilege.<sup>33</sup> Perhaps Professor Todd Fraley articulated it best:

Hip hop renders visible the complexities of racial identities, exposes spaces of racial hybridity, and reveals difficulties involved in the struggle to dismantle essentialist notions of race in favour of more fluid and unstable categories.<sup>34</sup>

Yet, reggae, which greatly informed hip-hop’s sensibilities, has not experienced (at least to the same degree), the same polarizing notions of race that the hip-hop genre has. This may be in part due to the obvious hybridity found within the reggae text that stems back to the origins of Jamaican folk music and Jamaican popular music and also partly due to the way race operates in Jamaica as opposed to America.

The deconstruction of rigid racially based identities and the allowance for greater pliability in how we view constructions of whiteness and blackness has been a relatively new trend in academia. Still, if the aim is to adopt greater fluidity ‘in’ and move ‘beyond’ reductive and binary notions of race, then colour cannot, as Fraley has argued, serve as a ‘determinant of behaviour’.<sup>35</sup> On the heels of these academic developments, the prospect

of a post-racial society has now entered public discourse.<sup>36</sup> In this spirit, we may be able to move beyond essentialized identities in reggae, for they certainly have existed as long as the genre has been around.

New ideas regarding the construction of whiteness have begun to challenge ‘authenticities’ of the reggae text. In 2003, Jeff Chang paid his respects to the recently deceased Joe Strummer, calling his trailblazing fusion of punk and reggae as being emblematic of a ‘radical whiteness’.<sup>37</sup> A radical whiteness, according to Chang, both sees and rejects white privilege within the context of a multicultural society.<sup>38</sup> Yet, these are hardly new ideas, at least as far as Jamaica is concerned. From nineteenth century abolitionists like the Baptist Minister William Knibb, to early twentieth century internationalists like Walter Jekyll, to those whites who were directly involved in the proliferation of reggae and ska music, Jamaica provides several worthy examples of people who challenge normative constructions of whiteness.<sup>39</sup>

Indeed, reggae’s global appeal was accelerated by one particular white man whose whiteness cannot be easily reconciled with any extant stereotype and whose very involvement with ska and reggae speaks to the transnational qualities of Jamaican music. Chris Blackwell was the Harrow-educated British-Jamaican businessman responsible for Island Records. Though he was born in London in 1937, Blackwell grew up and spent his formative years in Kingston, Jamaica with his affluent family.<sup>40</sup> Blackwell had an acute fondness for Jamaica’s popular musical forms and in 1959, formed his record company named after the 1955 Alec Waugh novel *Island in the Sun*.<sup>41</sup> Blackwell’s first modest production success came in 1960 with Jamaican Laurel Aitken’s ‘Little Sheila’ and in 1965 Island Records hit #1 on the UK charts courtesy of Millie Small’s ‘My Boy

Lollipop'. Yet, even with these accomplishments, one could hardly have anticipated the multi-million record sales that would follow for Island with recording acts like Cat Stevens, U2, the Spencer Davis Group, Fairport Convention and, of course, Bob Marley and the Wailers.

Blackwell seems to fit into the Walter Jekyll mould, complicating as he does, popular constructions of whiteness and the 'expected' behavioural patterns of upper-class whites in Jamaica. Walker, for example, argued that:

As a white upper-class Jamaican, [Blackwell's] involvement in the music culture of African-Jamaicans was, to say the least, unusual. For the most part, rich white Jamaicans either despised the culture of black Jamaicans or, if they found it quaint, did not view it as a worthy investment or a legitimate business venture.<sup>42</sup>

While this statement may, in the main, be true, it is essential to identify the exceptions like Blackwell and to avoid using such broad brushstrokes. Although Peter Tosh may have called the man who popularized the Wailers, Chris "Whitewell", the late Wailer's career might not have been as successful had he not met the producer.<sup>43</sup>

The co-option of black culture by white hipsters to stand as oppositional to white hegemony has long drawn the attention of various scholars. Musicians interviewed here, however, do not usually think in these terms. For these artists, putting music first, sincerely and with integrity, silences the racket of any leaden extra-musical conversations about the origin of reggae's 'authentic' text. Crucially, some scholars attempt to polarize white-skinned involvement in the genre as economically-motivated (as we've seen with the case of UB40) against the more culturally 'sacrosanct' involvement of black-skinned artists. Despite making his living playing to audiences with a large white majority in Europe and North America, Burning Spear is, for many, the 'rootical' archetype: black Rasta culture personified. Yet, the man himself has confessed: "what could be better than

to sell your own music, and get paid?”<sup>44</sup> He is, of course, quite right. But such confessions reveal the cleavages between antithetical positions that afford little elasticity in the constructions of whiteness and blackness.

There are many examples of how the high-level production of Jamaican popular music across three decades has included the participation of white, non-Jamaicans. On his masterful *Making History* album, the militant dub-poet Linton Kwesi Johnson employed two white-skinned musicians keyboardist Nick Straker and perhaps more impressively (given the importance of the drum to dub reggae) Richard Stevens on drums. This was no big deal to those in the ken, as many young whites were engaged in the struggle with black Britain during the Brixton Riots of 1981.<sup>45</sup> Earlier, white guitarist Wayne Perkins played on Marley’s ‘Concrete Jungle’, while white keyboardist John “Rabbit” Bundrick contributed to Marley’s *Catch a Fire* album in 1973.<sup>46</sup> Earlier still, Prince Buster, who delivered ska to England, employed the white Georgie Fame to play organ and sing backing vocals on one of his Blue Beat anthems ‘Wash All Troubles Away’ in 1963.<sup>47</sup> The Jamaican artists named above, chose their musicians according to competence, not skin tone.

Toronto’s reggae scene boasts similar examples. Today, non-Jamaicans’ knowledge of Jamaican culture is taken for granted for many people, as publicist Sebastian Cook attested:

Generally speaking, the reaction from my Jamaican friends and acquaintances to my knowledge of their culture is one of appreciation and surprise. That said; I feel as though the idea of white people having knowledge of Jamaican music and culture is not really a novelty anymore, especially in Toronto.<sup>48</sup>

Reggae has indeed become part of the Toronto vernacular, as Dr. Jardim assured:

Now, it's not only that people know Bob Marley, it's like the average musically-hip person could tell you about Lee Perry and Studio One...[reggae] is also becoming sort of 'high culture', from a collectors point of view.<sup>49</sup>

And the 'face' of Toronto reggae is very diverse. Isax Injah, for example, is without a doubt one of the best reggae musicians Canada has ever produced. His resume rather speaks for itself. Isax became a 'first-call' alto player. Playing with a backing band (effectively Leroy Sibbles' band), Isax got to play with reggae giants like Sly Dunbar, Admiral Bailey, Dennis Brown, Sugar Minnott, Frankie Paul, Alton Ellis and Ken Boothe, to name a few. Yet, Isax troubles the stereotype of reggae – as far as the 'racial body' is concerned – because of his whiteness.

#### THE APPROPRIATION OF VOICE

The body has become, at least for those looking in from the outside, a primary text in the reggae experience.<sup>50</sup> Media and popular constructions of the dreadlock-flashing, Babylon-busting reggae musician have made illegitimate (for some), the non-nattied-up, non-Rasta, non-Jamaican and even non-black authenticities that exist in reggae. Generally, the non-Jamaicans in this study feel that their 'acceptance' by Jamaicans in Toronto's reggae scene has been easily gained. Fergus Hambleton, for example, felt that his own acceptance in the scene was won by remaining true to himself:

I think that Jamaicans appreciate...you know you're coming to their culture but you're not saying 'oh, mine's rotten, I love yours', it's basically [that] I love the beautiful things that are in both the cultures.<sup>51</sup>

Nevertheless, people often react dramatically to the mixing of races and cultural expressions.<sup>52</sup> Isax, who has a child with a black Jamaican woman, spoke to his own experience as a white Rasta:

Lots of people outside of Jamaican culture, when they would look at us, or look at me, a lot of people think that I'm just a space cadet straight up. Like people, say that would have known me before I ever went away to the States... I know now they still respect me as a musician, but I know lots of them, they really think I'm just like in my own world... They're still nice to me and everything, but that's just a feeling I know how it is right, like 'what the fuck are you doing', right?<sup>53</sup>

The more dramatic and sometimes disingenuous reactions to whites playing reggae in the Toronto scene, it would seem, have come not from Jamaican musicians or even Jamaicans, but rather other whites.

Negative reaction to whites playing reggae was at its height during the late 1980s. The extra-musical politics began to slow the growth of the genre and white-skinned participation in what was deemed *exclusively* a black Jamaican art form had some unfortunate repercussions. To be sure, the repercussions were usually not emanating from within the actual reggae musician community itself, but rather on the periphery, in the media where journalists or 'purveyors of cool' chose to ignore much of the reggae being crafted in Toronto.

Beginning with Toronto's Women's Press in 1987, the Canadian literary community experienced a plague whereby certain writers and later visual artists and musicians were held suspect if their art reflected or 'appropriated' the voice or experience of 'other'. In short, the old adage suggesting that one should write about what one knows, was further clarified to designate *who* one could write about. In essence, white female writers had written about black women and were therefore accused of 'cultural imperialism'. The 'Appropriation of Voice' argument and those who championed it were famously deconstructed by Bissoondath:

...not only must whites not write about blacks, but men must not write about women, non-natives about natives, and so on, all based on the claim that if you haven't lived the life, you don't have the right to write about it. And the writer

who dares to explore the territory deemed not his or her own becomes a thief, open to charges of racism, sexism, imperialism from people who object to being portrayed in ways other than they would portray themselves – and self-portraits, let us face it, tend to be free of blemishes.<sup>54</sup>

To be fair, there is a danger in the ‘you according to me’ approach in art that has the potential to misrepresent the viewpoints of others.

The most troublesome aspect about the ‘Appropriation of Voice’ argument was that it was implicitly racist. UB40 was, for example, an obvious target because of their ‘whiteness’ and non-Rasta lyrics, as the *Globe and Mail*’s Chris Dafoe demonstrated:

It must cause reggae purists no end of consternation that UB40, the Birmingham, England band that played Kingswood Music Theatre last night, is generally recognized as the most popular reggae act in the world. The band has numerous strikes against it, not the least of which are the facts that it is not Jamaican and that most of the band [*sic*], including frontman Ali Campbell are white. On more substantive points, UB40 has stripped reggae of its spiritual elements, winning their success with a light-stepping pop-reggae that doesn’t threaten suburban teens. And while the band has written some songs that, for lack of a better term, might be called socially relevant, most of their hits have featured lyrics that praise romantic, rather than religious love.<sup>55</sup>

These ‘hits’ had been, though Dafoe makes no mention, written or adapted by ‘real’ Jamaican reggae artists who were only too delighted that UB40 had chosen to pay tribute by covering them.<sup>56</sup> Toronto journalist Liam Lacey was equally willing to ignore UB40’s socialist and oppositional lyric as well as their black and Rasta membership:

In this distinctly Anglo-fied reggae music, the aggression and rhythmic bite have been exchanged for sweet, almost coy melodies to catch the ears of a mainstream audience. Compared to the relative mastery of Toots and the Maytals...UB40’s pasteurized reggae lacks something vital, what Rastas call *ital*.<sup>57</sup>

Certainly, the critique was not reserved for Brits, as Canadian reggae acts soon began to feel the heat, as James Marck’s review of the Sattalites’ live album in *NOW* attested:

Fans of the Sattalites may appreciate this record because it has a good live mix and represents the band’s sound well. But the excitement is vastly more contrived than real.<sup>58</sup>

This generation of music reporters began to use racialized language to denote what – according to them – *was* and *wasn't* authentic reggae.

Indeed, as the most important music weekly in Toronto, *NOW* surreptitiously equated 'white' with light, weak, watered-down and contrived, and 'black' with heavy, strong and real, and it did so across genres within the vernacular of the local music scene. Marck, for instance, appraised white rocker Christopher Ward's self-titled album in 1987 in the following way: "This stuff is like Wonder-bread – light, white and lacking in anything but artificial additives."<sup>59</sup> In the very same issue, two pages on, the white Marck endorsed black reggae artist Adrian Miller's *Empty Promises* album as being "right on". Fellow *NOW* writer Christopher Jones also employed 'white' in the pejorative, even in positive reviews, one of which began: "as white soul/funk singers go..."<sup>60</sup> Despite its overall complimentary tone, Kim Hughes classified the Toronto ska outfit, The Hopping Penguins, as "watered-down reggae-by-white-people-for white people."<sup>61</sup> Syren, two white sisters who, along with their multiracial band played reggae in the city, were, according to *NOW*'s Helen Lee, "a bland facsimile of Caribbean spirit", who had "ambled through a selection of studiously topical songs, undisturbed by the context of singing about strife, war and 'Third World Woman' to a predominantly white audience."<sup>62</sup>

Also during this era, all-black bands like Messenjah were asked by certain promoters in advance of their gigs if they were indeed an all-black act.<sup>63</sup> Some white reggae musicians who were active at the same time believed that they were sidelined. The Sattalites' Bruce McGillivray, for instance, felt that sometimes he was overlooked for shows and sessions because he was white. In these instances, the promoters or contractors



involved chose *not* to go with Bruce for aesthetic reasons.<sup>64</sup> The Sattalites' David Fowler recalled the unspoken attitudes:

Well we used to hear rumours that people didn't really respect the Sattalites because it was 'too white'. [That] was the expression. It wasn't 'real reggae' because it was diluted with whiteness.<sup>65</sup>

While Jamaican musicians may have almost uniformly been accepting towards white musicians, the same cannot be said about the Jamaican clientele at various venues who tested the resolve of white-skinned musicians. Jesse King's experience, for instance, of playing in some of the more exclusively Jamaican venues were not always pleasant:

Then it just...was not fun. Because we'd go to the club, and every time we'd walk into the club I'd inevitably get someone 'kissing their teeth' at me. And I don't blame them. I mean, we're playing in Mississauga, we're playing Scarborough: we're playing some harsh places...but every time I got off that stage, those same people would come up and give me respect. They were big enough to go 'alright, you're cool, you can play reggae: you can stay.' That to me was such an important affirmation and confidence booster.<sup>66</sup>

Though Jesse didn't 'blame them' *per se*, the derision expressed by some Jamaican audience members persuaded the white bassist to reconsider the venues he would play.<sup>67</sup>

Playing reggae for twenty-five years, Isax Injah still hears whispers:

Even the other night, I was in the washroom, in the stall and people were in there...talking about 'You see the white man in reggae, this white man here fucking up the show, they're just here to make money', and all this. I knew they weren't talking about me I was only in the band. But still, so, I know that there is those vibes underneath it, but like I say, I never personally get any kind of that, but I know that it's there and to me it doesn't really bother me.<sup>68</sup>

Guitarist Paul Corby felt that Jamaican migrant musicians have usually been supportive of musicians of any colour who approached reggae with sincerity and integrity. If they could 'cut it', they were rehired for another gig or session.<sup>69</sup>

The 'Appropriation of Voice' argument cast a shadow on the Canadian reggae scene. It effectively meant that an Isax, or a Paul Corby, or a variety of other white-

skinned musicians who had given themselves wholly to reggae music for decades, would henceforth be considered illegitimate on the grounds of not looking the part. For mixed-race bands, the perpetual media question of ‘authenticity’ beset their hard-won successes. Hambleton lamented on how these issues affected the Sattalites to *Eye Magazine* in 1992: “We’ve faced resistance to reggae, and then resistance from people who thought we weren’t black enough to play reggae.”<sup>70</sup> This was at a time when Canadians had, as publicist Sebastian Cook explained, “become slaves to the perception of cultural authenticity.”<sup>71</sup> So, while on the international stage, reggae music was informing new forays in the world’s musical conscience, Canadian reggae bands struggled to maintain a commercially competitive profile within the nation’s mainstream musical culture.

The actual musicians in Toronto’s reggae scene hardly thought this way, as long-time reggae DJ David Kingston observed:

People who are music-heads, like anyone who is involved with music never really questions all that... Whereas you’ve got politicizers who are saying ‘you know you can’t do this and that’.<sup>72</sup>

Keyboardist Sam Weller echoed Kingston’s point:

Musicians are operating outside the confines of their culture... people of different backgrounds have always been playing music together and it all comes down to that [musical] language thing... [some] try to make big connections between music and culture and sometimes I don’t think those connections are as big as people think they are.<sup>73</sup>

These artists, however, were forced to swim upstream against the ‘purveyors of cool’ who foregrounded skin colour over musical competence, in terms of who was ‘supposed’ to play reggae. Thus ensued a bizarre dynamic whereby Jamaican migrant musicians were happily creating reggae side-by-side with non-Jamaican Canadians, while other

non-Jamaican Canadians (and non-musicians, it must be said) were getting offended on behalf of Jamaicans.

Exacerbating this dynamic was the fashion of ‘not cheering for the home team’ which was endemic in certain strains of Canadian music journalism. Former EMI Canada Royalty Manager Brian Robertson opined:

Seeing a local band...made up of primarily guys that were just living in Toronto, that was cool too, because it’s like hey, these are our own guys...CBC and College Radio go out of their way to support local talent, but the music press are a little more finicky.<sup>74</sup>

And while it certainly did not discriminate between musical genres, the media portrayal and insistence of reggae being *exclusively* a black Rasta cultural expression limited the genre’s text and the multiplicity of vernaculars (Jamaican and otherwise) that could be found within reggae and its antecedents.

Journalists who have been long time champions of homegrown reggae were frustrated with the cynicism of some of their colleagues, as Errol Nazareth, who has written many reggae pieces for *Eye Magazine* and the *Toronto Sun* explained: “If I don’t like a record I just won’t review it. But these guys...you can almost watch them rubbing their hands with glee, ‘I’m going to trash this’.”<sup>75</sup> Similarly, Nicholas Jennings, who has covered reggae in *Macleans*, the *Toronto Star* and the *Globe and Mail*, has resisted the ‘purist’ approach:

No matter what the genre, anyone who sets themselves up as the police to determine what is ‘pure’ or ‘impure’, ‘right’ or ‘wrong’ is anathema to me; because I basically believe that music is a constantly evolving force that is always incorporating other influences and blending and evolving in an on-going way. To try and set up gates or boundaries and say that it was only ‘true’ or ‘real’ for this very specific period, it’s just wrong, it’s just weird and I think it’s unhealthy.<sup>76</sup>

Ironically, this very blending and evolving of the hybrid reggae text threatened the apparatus that the purists had assembled.

Arguments about the ‘ownership’ of reggae needed updating. Jesse King, for example, observed that:

Reggae came out of [Jamaica] but is no longer *owned* by that country...I mean jazz is not defined [as] only an American music. You could say that it evolved and made its real mark out of America, but Europeans aren’t going ‘is that American jazz you’re playing?’ It doesn’t matter, you’re playing jazz. I think the same goes for folk, country...[reggae] is one of those few genres of music that continuously gets pigeon-holed and held tight-of-breast, to say ‘it’s ours’. Which, absolutely, you know what it evolved and really found its footprint in Jamaica, evolving out of all these different styles of music. But, since the seventies...it’s everybody’s music now.<sup>77</sup>

Broadcast as it has been for over four decades, reggae has enjoyed a vast number of non-Jamaican consumers and participants in the city of Toronto. While their participation has been at times neglected in some forums, the non-Jamaican influence has added to the uniquely Canadian reggae text. The question remains, however, if such participation has affected meaningful change in terms of racial harmony in the city.

Cutting across racial lines – at least superficially – has been one of the mantras of reggae music. And most of the musicians involved here agree that promoting ‘one love’ and unity has always been a feature of the genre. Yet, responses varied when it came to assessing how successful reggae had been at promoting racial harmony in Toronto’s urban spaces.

## ONE LOVE

Certainly, the uniqueness of Toronto allowed for the possibility of providing a vehicle for cross-cultural harmony. The city’s Jamaican community, for instance, played

a direct role in shaping the musician and person that the talented Isax InJah was going to become. As he explained:

Maybe if I never came back to Toronto, I would have just stayed in New York and been just within the jazz thing. But coming back to Toronto and how it all went... Whatever I had done with jazz and learned about with jazz, I started to look at reggae, Rastafari and one love as being where I'm supposed to put my energy in, what my true work is.<sup>78</sup>

Others felt that reggae was central to the bridge-building between cultures in the city, as David Kingston offered: "All of a sudden it's a common platform...it's a way for [people] to communicate...It's like people start to trust the immigrants when they eat [their] food and it's okay, there's an element of that...music just does powerful things."<sup>79</sup> And multiracial bands playing to multiracial audiences were both symbolic and powerful for so many of those involved with the city's reggae scene.

The Bamboo, Queen Street's reggae Mecca, was one particular place where cross-cultural dialogue was able to flourish as Patti Habib observed:

The Bamboo Club helped bring Jamaican music and culture to the mainstream audience, young Torontonians who got turned on to a different way of living than being brought up in a middle class home that tended to be of one ethnicity: white, Greek, Portuguese, every one mixed and the music brought them all together and I used to love watching everyone getting along on the dance floor and coming to make Jamaican friends.<sup>80</sup>

Bamboo regulars, the Sattalites, witnessed and helped facilitate the bridge-building in the city and elsewhere as bassist Bruce McGillivray explained:

Spreading this music through Canada, we feel that we've been a rather important source of getting this music across to Canadians. And once Canadians totally embraced it – we would hope more than they have – it certainly opened up reggae music to all Canadians.<sup>81</sup>

Charged with the nationwide ambassadorship of reggae, the multiracial Sattalites reflected the multiracial audiences they performed for.

Strides towards further cultural-fusion were made off-stage, as was the case in the Rock Against Racism movement. RAR organizer Nicholas Jennings bore witness to the collaborative effort found in that organization's events:

Having put on...let's say several dozen concerts in Toronto: I know that every single audience that was at those [RAR] events was totally and wonderfully mixed. It was very much a multicultural audience and thus, I think it's safe to say that reggae music has helped to break down racial barriers in this city.<sup>82</sup>

Sound engineer Jeffrey Holdip also felt that, at least during Canada's golden age of reggae, that the music and attendant movements like RAR found some success in evoking harmony between the races:

[Reggae] used to promote it big time...when I first got into it, there wasn't the racial harmony that there is perceived to be today. So, they tried to bring it together...but remember, that era too, they had started with the Two Tone, so a lot of the bands from Britain were mixed anyways. But the Canadian bands were trying with Rock Against Racism, a lot of the bands were involved with that organization...so, you know, they tried.<sup>83</sup>

Reggae events in the city at least offered a place where discussions might begin.

Reggae's effect on racial boundaries developed in many spaces around the city over time. Reggae singer David Matthews, a second-generation Jamaican born in Canada, recalled the reggae-inspired paradigm shift that he witnessed between elementary school and high-school in Scarborough in the late 1980s:

You could clearly see the difference...you know, [people] sort of intermixed but it wasn't so much of a gel. Now, by the time I was into high-school I noticed that you found everybody with everybody. My best friend growing up was an Italian guy, I hung out with a Newfie, so we all pretty much gelled and it was all more because of our interest and a lot of it was based around reggae music.<sup>84</sup>

What might have been deemed bold behaviour by the migrants themselves in years previous became, for the next generation, ubiquitous.

Many first generation migrants were, however, unequivocal about reggae's success in bringing black and white together, as the Jamaican born concert promoter

Denise Jones attested:

For our shows that we'd do downtown, our audience was 50% to 60% non-black. I think the music is quite the integrator. I think the music really opens doors to people knowing about Jamaica, learning about Jamaica, loving Jamaica. The basis of reggae...even if it has not been acknowledged, played a significant role in informing the world about Apartheid...it's through that music that we heard that stuff.<sup>85</sup>

Calgary *ReggaeFest* Director Leo Cripps concurred:

I witness this every year at *Calgary ReggaeFest*: people of every nationality and culture, under one umbrella to enjoy reggae music. You play reggae music and whatever walls that were surrounding whatever dividing groups crumble.<sup>86</sup>

Like Cripps, most respondents agreed that reggae possesses the power to both sooth and disarm its audience.

While Toronto was certainly the epicentre of the Canadian reggae explosion, the appeal of the Jamaican migrants' music travelled across the country in the aftershocks and took root in the most unusual places. Black Jamaican trombonist Mike Smith witnessed bridge-building in Saskatchewan:

I remember actually it was one time...in Saskatoon, I was able to go into a pub and heard a ska band, and it was all white kids, all punk rockers playing ska, I was just blown away and I was so happy to see that they were doing that...music is not stagnant and you have to keep changing it, you have to back to the roots at times, but the roots have different branches you know.<sup>87</sup>

By the 1990s, reggae had taken route *and* root across Canada.

The urgency in some of Canadian reggae's messages pushed people to reevaluate their own personal beliefs. Some migrant musicians felt that reggae shows gave form to various issues of the day and added to the broader conversation, as Willi Williams observed:

Reggae is a podium for social change and justice regardless of who, or what the nationality of the individual is. Because, as we go back again and say ‘we’re all family’... This is something that we’re here on Earth and we promote racial harmony... and that was the motive for reggae music and still is the motive for reggae music.<sup>88</sup>

Jamaican guitarist Rannie “Bop” Williams echoed Williams’ point: “We get a good response, we share together, we dance together, we do a lot of things together. So, in every way it’s the music that brings us together.”<sup>89</sup> Having established reggae in Toronto, these migrant musicians knew how reggae promoted unity.

Some respondents, however, felt that prevailing attitudes may have been changed in only a small measure because of reggae. Jamaican born bassist Peter Holung, for instance, felt that perhaps reggae brought harmony between musicians, but no further.<sup>90</sup> While Sebastian Cook conceded that Toronto was perhaps a more tolerant and ‘racially open’ city since the large-scale immigration of Jamaicans, he was unsure as to what role reggae had played in this improvement:

There is no question that reggae/ska has helped many Canadians and Jamaicans connect and build lasting friendships, but I am not sure that is the same thing as eroding racial lines and promoting harmony on a truly societal scale.<sup>91</sup>

The English born Mark Matthews was similarly unconvinced:

Sadly, I believe it will take a lot more than music to do this. If music, as it did to some degree in my case, can lead a person to understanding Jamaican culture a little better than that’s great. Although reggae music lyrics can be loaded with ‘unity’ and ‘positivity’ and all, I think we’d be fooling ourselves into thinking that any real change can occur from music alone.<sup>92</sup>

Change, for some, occurred only incrementally and usually not in the broader mainstream consciousness but rather in the intimate, one-on-one basis.

Yet, while Cook, Matthews and Holung may have been unsure, others were certain that reggae had *not* brokered significant gains in terms of promoting city-wide



racial harmony. For the Jamaican born JuLion King, reggae music broke down *some* barriers but suffered because the small reggae community was itself divisive.

Aggravating this issue, systemic racism is, as far as JuLion is concerned, “as big and bad and broad as it ever was.”<sup>93</sup> The Canadian born guitarist Paul Corby agreed:

I think probably superficially you could say yes, but as far as the depths of racism, no. That is a very deep well. I think possibly in Toronto – and I can only speak [for] Toronto – I think it has only exacerbated the situation, because it’s forced people to draw lines and to choose sides, which is a good thing in the long run, but a bit painful for a lot of people.<sup>94</sup>

As an oppositional music, the venues and audience available to reggae is limited.

Some of the messages found within reggae’s lyrical content challenged the status quo and may have made some members of the cultural hegemony uncomfortable. The Jamaican born Adrian Miller spoke to how the music’s boldness sometimes isolates it from the mainstream:

Reggae music is anti-colonial, anti-oppression, it’s saying stuff that people don’t always want to hear about. When they speak the truth, the truth is an impediment, because it means you have to be introspective, evaluate your actions and think a lot, and people don’t want to do that...Just because someone likes Bob Marley, doesn’t mean that they’re not racist...music won’t really change anything really...because music is just music, its sole purpose is to entertain you.<sup>95</sup>

Moreover, some people felt that reggae actually limited non-Jamaicans’ understanding of Jamaican culture, as second-generation Jamaican-Canadian Dalton Higgins explained:

The racism in Canada is crippling, and so subtle, so I find that Canadians think in this linear, myopic way when they try to understand Jamaican culture. The amount of times one gets asked if they know Bob Marley is mind numbing, as if that’s all Jamaica is about. Jamaica has produced world class leaders in many disciplines, from literature and science to athletics, arts and culture, so it would be good if these other tenets of Jamaican culture were used as bridges too.<sup>96</sup>

And so, for many of the interviewees, reggae might bring individuals together, but enduring and pervasive attitudes still limit to what extent the music could reach a broader audience.

## CULTURAL DIVIDE

Some reggae-loving non-Jamaicans found it hard to reconcile certain aspects of Jamaican culture with their own sensibilities. David Fowler, for example, felt that Jamaican culture was fundamentally very different from the way he had been raised:

No one ever raised their voices in my house. And I know lots and lots of other people that grew up the same way. It just didn't happen. If it did, you'd better get out of there. And yet, Jamaicans seem to raise their voice every two or three minutes and it was either in hysterical laughter or frightening anger.<sup>97</sup>

Similarly, Mark Matthews struggled with certain aspects of the Jamaican culture:

It was difficult to stay with my Jamaican 'ex' and it was often a challenge sometimes in the past to form a long term relationship with Jamaican women due to my Atheism, as religion is a *huge* part of their culture. Also, my stance on homosexuality, being that I'm not homophobic and have gay and lesbian friends, does not always sit well with many of my Jamaican acquaintances.<sup>98</sup>

Reggae may have brought some people together, but deeper, cultural disconnects were not always so easily reconciled.

Perhaps further erosion of racial lines lies in Canadian reggae's future. Carrie Mullings was officially bestowed the title of The Ambassador of Canadian Reggae by the organizers of the Canadian Reggae Music Awards. Carrie's father Karl Mullings was a seminal figure in the Canadian scene, though not as a musician. Karl travelled with the Sheiks and became that band's tour manager for their 1963 American Tour before settling in Toronto. Carrie maintained that *better must come* and that reggae can and will break down barriers:

Is it happening here in Canada? I can say I see that in certain circles, it's been very beneficial. I can also see the change that's been happening with more Canadian content on air has improved the content, improved the quality of the recording... which has obviously helped our Caribbean community and are non-Caribbean community [to] respect what's coming out.<sup>99</sup>

As a Jamaican-Canadian who has been fully immersed in the Canadian reggae scene since birth, Carrie has been uniquely positioned to witness the coming together of migrant and host. Indeed, Karl Mullings met his Canadian wife in the late 1960s at the WIF Club on Euclid Avenue in Toronto and began to have a family that could rightly be considered the Royal Family of Canadian Reggae.<sup>100</sup>

Despite its limitations, reggae has been at the root of these cross-cultural relationships, of both the fleeting and more long-lasting kind. Early exposure to Jamaicans and Jamaican culture led many young non-Jamaicans in the city on a path of discovery, not only to reggae music, but also to the migrants themselves. In this sense, music was, for so many, *the bridge, the point-of-entry* and the very reason for contact. Errol Nazareth felt reggae in Canada already has the advantage of a healthy multicultural environment:

[Reggae] fosters that relationship that's already healthy...when you go to a show like this big mix of people having a good time...so you might be black chatting up a white bird...or a white guy starts chatting an Indian woman, or whatever...I think it adds to more of that harmony that's there.<sup>101</sup>

And music simply trumped other considerations time after time, as the Sattalites'

Jamaican born Neville Francis attested:

It happens a lot with jazz musicians, whenever people come together across racial lines. I don't think it necessarily means people have resolved issues to do with race, but the music becomes what's important, what pulls people together and binds people together.<sup>102</sup>

Isax InJah echoed Neville's appraisal:

I think in a lot of cases, I know with me, music is the thing that brings the people together in the first place. And then as you get to know the people through the music, you can get to know them as people and become friends with them.<sup>103</sup>

While it might not have ‘resolved issues’, reggae started a much needed conversation between people along the city’s ethnic frontlines.

Many non-Jamaicans believe that without reggae music, there would have been no opportunity to develop relationships of *any* kind with Jamaicans. David Fowler, who has maintained long-term relationships with a few Jamaicans, believes that music was the sole bridge: “I think that it was the only way those relationships could have developed. Without music there wouldn’t have been those relationships.”<sup>104</sup> It was the same for Jeffrey Holdip: “It’s only because of the music really...because that’s what keeps me ingrained in that community, otherwise...we [would] never really have met.”<sup>105</sup>

Likewise, music journalist Nicholas Jennings does not believe that he would have cultivated relationships with Jamaicans if not for the music:

...I was drawn to their music first and then to them through their music secondarily. I dare say that I wouldn’t have got to know them and formed friendships with them had it not been for discovering their music and had it not been for reggae.<sup>106</sup>

Perhaps reggae in Canada has only superficially altered prevailing attitudes towards race, yet, the inroads that the genre has made into the Canadian musical mainstream is undeniable and has, at the very least, opened minds in various and sometimes unusual places. As Natasha Emery illustrated: “Look at little Ladysmith, BC having a reggae festival, pure white town, you know.”<sup>107</sup> As of 2013, there are now annual reggae/ska festivals in Calgary, Winnipeg, Victoria and Saskatoon.

Mostly though, reggae profoundly affected the non-Jamaican on an individual level. And for many, there was no doubt that the cross-generational, cross-racial divide had indeed been bridged by the music, as Isax Injah demonstrated:

Sometimes when I'm feeling very depressed and I feel like 'what the hell am I doing man, like what am I doing?', and I got down to Wire's store and there'll be a few of the older guys into music there and just the way that they greet me and everything, I leave out of there and I say 'yes man, we're alright now, we're alright', and go back home and get to work.<sup>108</sup>

## CHAPTER VIII

### *MEDITATIONS OF OUR HEART:* IN SEARCH OF THE CANADIAN SOUND

The *Canadianness* found in the music coming out of Toronto's reggae scene at times both helped and hindered the progress and proliferation of Canadian reggae. Respondents were able to articulate the sonic quality in Canadian reggae and were able to identify how this sound differed, for better or for worse, from the Jamaican and British forms. Thematically, the lyrics that were prevalent in Toronto-made reggae of the 1980s often addressed Canadian-specific subjects. The question remains whether or not this approach served the local reggae artist making music in Toronto.

More often than not, Canadian reggae artists were compelled to chase the Jamaican sound and look to that island for inspiration and, importantly, validation. Some brave acts like Messenjah, Lillian Allen, 20TH Century Rebels, Messenjah and the Sattalites, however, sought to articulate a Canadian-centric experience within their song and found some success in doing so. These groups featured Jamaican migrants and non-Jamaicans from the host society. Young immigrant musicians from neighbourhoods such as Malton, Jane and Finch, Eglinton West and Regent Park teamed up with young members of the dominant society. Often these youths were from the same neighbourhoods, but sometimes young whites from more 'traditional' and affluent communities like Lawrence Park, North Toronto and the Beaches took a keen interest in playing reggae. The resulting sound successfully conveyed a multiracial expression that reflected the experiences of those on stage and those in the audience. The 1980s, then, was the golden age of Canadian reggae.

As popular as it may have been, however, *Reggae Canadiana* never reached the heights it could have given the wealth of talent, Toronto's large Jamaican demographic and the multicultural makeup of some of its acts. The scene fell well short of the successes realized in its British counterpart. There were many reasons that contributed to the arrested development of Toronto's reggae culture, and many of these corresponded with broader trends in international reggae and the music industry at large.

### MAPLE LEAF REGGAE

There are certain 'keynote' sounds in Canadian reggae music that differ slightly from both Jamaican reggae and its British branch.<sup>1</sup> Understanding these 'keynotes' is essential in order to appraise those sounds that have been contested *in*, negotiated *for* and adapted *to* a Canadian environment. Tempo, depth of bass, organ settings, the space where the piano/guitar 'skank' falls, the use of certain amps and the velocity used on the various instruments are among the keynotes that make up reggae's aural aesthetic. They are as important to the artist as lyrical content, back-phrasing, the use of harmony and singing in Jamaican Patois. Through these sounds, agreed upon and executed in a Canadian setting by transplanted Jamaicans and later non-Jamaican Canadians, we can hear the results of frontline bridge-building between migrant and host.

For some, the hallmark sounds of reggae act as a calling card, a sonic authentication that declares how close the music approximates the genre's 'point of origin'. For these people, it is important that the music sounds like it is from *Yard*. It was the desideratum for many Canadian reggae artists (and remains so today) to attain that authentic *Yard* sound. If the bass was not mixed loud enough, if the guitar didn't cut like

a razor, if the piano ‘*naw ring out*’, if the organ shuffle was clumsy, then it didn’t sound like it came from *Yard* and was therefore inferior.

One of Toronto’s first multiracial bands to attempt to replicate the Jamaican sound was Chalawa. Formed in 1975 by John Forbes and Alex King, Chalawa’s original line-up featured a multiracial mix of musicians including Leroy Sibbles on bass before he began to exclusively concentrate on his solo career. A later line-up also featured Jamaican drumming veteran Anthony “Benbow” Creary whose sprawling resume included sessions with Lee Perry, the Mighty Diamonds and Augustus Pablo. The band’s *Exodus Dub* (1977) a dub tribute to Marley’s *Exodus* album, saw some success in the European pop charts. Likewise, *Capture Land* (1979) also featured some other significant contributions from Jamaican migrant musicians in Toronto such as Stranger Cole and Johnny Osbourne.<sup>2</sup> Chalawa introduced the notion of meaningful musical collaboration between migrant and host and anticipated the city’s reggae acts of the 1980s by ten years.

A decade on, the *Spectrum*’s Dave Tulloch introduced the idea of ‘Maple Leaf Reggae’ during the genre’s golden age in Canada:

You’ve probably heard the term “English Reggae” at least once before. This term is usually associated with the music produced by groups like Steel Pulse, UB40... What you might not have heard yet is the sound of ‘Canadian Reggae’... What is Canadian Reggae anyway? Rupert “Ojiji” Harvey leader and lead Vocals [*sic*] of Messenjah calls it ‘Reggae Fusion’.<sup>3</sup>

To be sure, the idea of Canada’s own reggae as being a fusion or a hybrid of the original Jamaican hybrid was one that had currency even among Jamaican migrant musicians.

Adrian Miller, for example, characterized 20TH Century Rebels’ sound as ‘very eccentric’.<sup>4</sup> Miller confessed that his art was influenced by far more than just Jamaican music, which was, at least for him, essential to the resultant fusion he created with Earth,



Roots and Water, and with 20TH Century Rebels and later still during his own solo career:

You have a lot of Jamaicans who just think Burning Spear and Culture and Abyssinians is...king and everything else sucks. I've always thought that every culture has its own genius and for me, I'd be cheating myself if I locked myself into a little box and listened to Burning Spear and Culture for fucking 365 days a year. I couldn't do that, because I'm a great lover of all kinds of music. You have a lot of reggae artist who talk about how they listen to *that* music and they listen to *that* music, but you could never find it in their own music that they play. Whereas, someone like me now, if people listen to my music, you might have the odd one or two songs that are more straight ahead reggae, but at some point, you're going to get some fusion happening there...why can't I do a song that has nothing to do with Jamaican roots reggae? The only problem with that is you're going to have a backlash, '*buoy Adrian Miller, than man soundin' white these days mon.*'<sup>5</sup>

From the inside, then, Adrian Miller's blackness was called into question because of his musical choices. Given the centrality of Toronto in the proliferation of reggae music and the multifarious ingredients that went into indigenous Canadian reggae, it was unfortunate that such fusion was regarded in the pejorative sense.

This fact, however, did not stop the braver local reggae artists like Adrian Miller from celebrating their results. In one interview from 1987, the Sattalites' Fergus Hambleton discussed that band's live album and confessed that their brand of reggae could only have happened in Canada:

Without really thinking about it, we've achieved a genuine cross-cultural synthesis, something that's a reflection of Canada's ethnic mix. That's what I love about *Live Via Sattalites*. It sounds like authentic reggae all right, but there's a lot more going on. Even in New York, where we played last year, the locals said we had something different, something very Canadian. Now all we have to do is convince Canadians of that.<sup>6</sup>

And some were convinced. Indeed, it was here, in the mid-1980s that fans of Canadian reggae harboured great hope for the future.

Led by bands like the Sattalites, Messenjah and 20TH Century Rebels (who made the cover of *NOW* magazine in 1984), the Toronto reggae scene had elbowed its way into the nation's print media, onto the dance floor and importantly, over the airwaves like CFNY and Q107.<sup>7</sup> Canadian reggae bands had made it to the big league too. Messenjah became the first Canadian reggae band to sign with a major label when WEA picked them up in 1983.<sup>8</sup> The Sattalites also found their way to the majors when they signed to WEA Records *via* Risque Disque in 1989.

Despite these gains, describing the Canadian sound, for even those within the genre, proved to be a difficult task, as Mark Matthews attested:

I do think there is a 'special' Canadian sound to some reggae though I can't put my finger on it – it's likely the influence of other music styles in the mix. But then there are others who are just mimicking the Jamaican sound. I do believe that there is a distinct British Reggae sound though.<sup>9</sup>

Others, like Willi Williams for instance, felt that there was no unifying Canadian Sound:

We never did get our Canadian reggae sound. Because most of the people at the studios here...didn't invest their time in reggae music. So they didn't get a chance to [learn] like when I go to England...Just name any studio [in England] and *them* know about reggae and they play reggae. And it's not just black people who play reggae or Jamaican. You have all kinds of people.<sup>10</sup>

Canadian reggae DJ David Kingston could not fingerprint the local style either:

I don't know if there's a consistent sound where you'd say 'more treble on top', 'more bass on bottom'...I think of Earth, Roots and Water, I think of their kind of dry and heavy militancy, so I think there are a lot of sounds...but it's hard to play a record and you say 'that's Toronto' the same way you would...with British reggae, it's got a warmth and Jamaica too, [where] the mastering is hot.<sup>11</sup>

If those within the scene could not characterize the Canadian sound sufficiently, there was little chance that those on the outside looking in were going to do it.

Others were less charitable and believed that Canadian reggae artists lacked that necessary fire in the belly. JuLion King opined: 'Other artists in other places in the world

tend to blaze fire or something in *wha them a do*. We need that here.’<sup>12</sup> Carrie Mullings recognized a lack of passion in the Canadian reggae artist whose desire to chase down opportunities lagged behind that which fueled the Jamaican or English reggae artist.<sup>13</sup>

Jamaican-born bassist Peter Holung observed:

The reason why Jamaica has the sound that it does is because the whole culture lives on the edge, so the music is edgy. Canada, in their rock and roll, in their jazz, in their R&B, hip-hop and reggae, it does not have a face, it does not have sound because it is borrowed *from* and emulated *by*...now if you ask me if Europe does, then yes it does...[Canadian reggae] is watered down, ‘soft’ as we put it. And the reason why, is that Canada is a place that has great health care, has a great standard of living and makes people very complacent. And everything that morphs from that complacency breeds absolutely no identity...but I still think it’s one of the best place in the world to live.<sup>14</sup>

This ‘softness’ of Canadian reggae is what has rather polarized the musicians within the scene.

Some musicians agreed with Holung that Canadian reggae paled in comparison to Jamaican reggae and cited differences within the specific sounds of reggae’s chief instruments and approach, as Paul Corby attested:

Musically, I think the Canadian reggae guitar is a bit limp, holding the chords too long...I think that’s characteristic of reggae in Canada, and our refusal to go slow enough.<sup>15</sup>

Rannie “Bop” Williams, who played guitar on Marley’s original versions of ‘Trenchtown Rock’ and ‘Rock My Boat’, also heard it in the guitar sound. For Rannie, it was the Fender amplifier in Jamaica that sharpened the guitar skank:

Over here [in Canada], they use the treble to get [the sound]. Because I’m used to the real thing at home, and I know this is slightly different. Anytime Canadians start to leave out a little of the treble, they’re going to sound like Jamaican reggae.<sup>16</sup>

Reggae concert promoter Denise Jones spoke to the ubiquitous issue of pushing the ‘low end’ envelope in the Canadian studio; that is to say, the volume and placement of the bass guitar in the mix:

There was always an issue about that needle going in the red. And musicians would always tell me that that was a struggle in the [Canadian] studio. That thing [the needle] lives in the red in reggae. I don’t think people sort of saw it, when the music was being created, as a *bad* thing that was in fact, part of the good thing about the music.<sup>17</sup>

Trombonist Mike Smith has heard several times that the Canadian take on the Jamaican music was “not as ‘bouncy’, or it doesn’t have that feel as when you’re in Jamaica. As a little joke, some people attribute it to the cold.”<sup>18</sup> Carrie Mullings recognized that the Canadian sound was even different from the English sound:

Lovers rock in England compared to our Lovers rock here: two different sounds...lovers rock in England tends to lay back on the rhythm more, where our lovers rock...[we] lean forward.<sup>19</sup>

In this sense, the Canadian sound was *sometimes* viewed as inferior to the Jamaican or British articles, and sometimes by even those within the community.

To find legitimacy within both the reggae community and within Toronto’s cynical music press, some young Toronto reggae artists felt compelled to chase and bottle the Jamaican brand, as David Kingston observed:

They always felt they had this *Yard* sound they had to get to be liked and to be authenticated. So if somebody is trying to do something that’s true to them in their musical vision it’s going to be stilted.<sup>20</sup>

Phil Vassell, who along with partner Donna McCurvin launched *Word* magazine in 1992, saw first-hand just how imperative capturing the Jamaican sound was for some Canadian reggae artists:

I’ve seen guys that will save every last penny of theirs to go to Jamaica and sit in the Jamaican studio and produce the record there because they think they’re going

to get a certain kind of sound and a certain kind of feel and perhaps get away from what they perceive as a ‘Canadian’ sound.<sup>21</sup>

Dalton Higgins concurred that some artists believed:

...that the only way to achieve a more authentic and gritty sound, they have to work in the reggae motherland of Jamaica; something about the engineers in Jamaica knowing how to turn them knobs.<sup>22</sup>

With the earlier hard-won successes of bands like Messenjah, Truths and Rights and the Sattalites now history, many Toronto reggae artists increasingly drifted away from even attempting to craft a unique Maple Leaf brand.

Yet, the uniqueness of the Canadian reggae sound had its champions too. Even those who were critical of the sonic quality of the scene’s recorded products, believed that ‘several’ quality Canadian reggae bands existed, especially in the live context.

Canada’s big three as far as Jeffrey Holdip was concerned were Bloodfire, Truths and Rights and 20TH Century Rebels. The latter two, according to Holdip “carried the ‘swing’ because they had a unique sound and style.”<sup>23</sup> Natasha Emery identified The Sattalites, Leejahn, Wayne & Freddie and the Ultra Flex Crew, Revelation, Culture Shock, Friendliness and Whitey Don as representing:

...a distinct Canadian reggae sound that had the driving bass and drums, because more often than not, the bass[ist] and drum[mer] were Jamaicans, but it was all the flavour, and the lyrics and the delivery that was Canadian...I think that our delivery, our cadence doesn’t come out the same way...whether it’s Fergus [Hambleton] singing or Rupert [Harvey] from Messenjah, even though he’s Jamaican, there’s still a Canadian softness, covering gentleness about it, where I find Jamaican-Jamaican singers are more boisterous.<sup>24</sup>

Paul Corby chose, *inter alia*, Leroy Sibbles and the Reggae Cowboys.<sup>25</sup> JuLion King

listed Ibadan, Dreamband, Mountain Edge, Tabarruk, Andru Branch and Souljah Fire.<sup>26</sup>

A multiplicity of reggae sounds, then, informed the local Canadian reggae text.

One question that few dared to ask was: why should Canadian reggae have to sound like it comes from Jamaica? Some believed that the best indigenous reggae faithfully reflected the ‘authentic’ Canadian experience instead of those artists who were trying to bottle the Jamaican sound. Klive Walker, for instance, opined:

The Canadian reggae that I liked really sounded like it came from here. If you’re trying to sound like Jamaica then what’s the point? Jamaican reggae already exists...when [someone is] going to play reggae, they have to bring with them their experiences, their musical experiences and their life experiences to the music. And in doing so, the flavour of their country, of their city and of their region, should come out in the music. I think that’s what makes it genuine and what makes it honest.<sup>27</sup>

Ojiji Harvey stated Messenjah’s open defiance of conforming to the pure *Yard* sound:

We were brave...a lot of guys wanted to see what [was] accepted by Jamaica or the Jamaican community. Where Messenjah [was concerned], we didn’t care about that and people gravitated towards it.<sup>28</sup>

Isax InJah felt that perhaps the Toronto sound is only now developing:

You know maybe for a lot of years...we would all be trying just to copy the Jamaican style exactly. And I think the Toronto style, just because it’s a different place and there are different kinds of influences, it’s only naturally going to have a different sound and it could have quite a different sound and maybe we don’t even know what that sound is going to be.<sup>29</sup>

For Walker, Harvey, Isax and others like them, the fact that Canadian reggae will never sound like Jamaican reggae is trumped by the fact that it should never have to.

## SOUNDING CANADIAN

Apart from the sonic nature of the music, it took time before Canadian reggae bands felt comfortable enough to introduce the Canadian experience into their lyrical themes. While the earlier generation of Jamaican musicians living in Toronto (such as Leroy Sibbles, Carlene Davis, Stranger Cole and Jackie Mittoo), may have brought

reggae's musical framework to the Great White North, they weren't able to articulate the Caribbean-Canadian experience in their songs. It was the musical environment created by the next, younger generation of reggae music makers (including those from the Caribbean diaspora) that allowed for meaningful critiques on the socio-political condition of blacks living in Canada and other cross-cultural themes in Canadian reggae.<sup>30</sup> Still, even then, only a few artists fully threw themselves into rendering the Canadian quotient within the Jamaican art form.

There were many reasons for this. Adrian Miller, for instance, contested that the Canadian reggae artist did not believe that:

...writing songs that can relate to the Canadian experience is going to give him any kind of leverage. So, he has to emulate what comes out of Jamaica, because, well, that's what he assumes, to the max, that's what is going to give him his props.<sup>31</sup>

Some respondents were of the opinion that Canadian reggae artists chose to delve less into socio-political themes than their Jamaican or British counterparts, as Dalton Higgins attested:

The cold climate might have some effect on outing the "fire" themes so prevalent in reggae. And there is a lot of copycat mechanisms at play (i.e., Canadian reggae artists feel this need to mimic reggae music productions coming from Jamaica, to make it).<sup>32</sup>

Paul Corby also felt that political directions in Canadian reggae had been bled from the music: "There's a lot less politics in Canadian reggae...I think largely, it was steering towards utopianism over rebellion."<sup>33</sup> The Canadian reggae artist then, struggled to find a voice that suited the Canadian experience.

Still, some reggae musicians in Canada wanted a certain level of honesty within the lyrical expression of homegrown Canadian reggae, as Jamaican-born Mike Smith explained:

It would be strange for me to sit here and talk about hunger when I'm always full. It's hard for me to talk about the violence or the political situation when it's not the same as in Jamaica...I can't write a song about a storm because the only storm I've had is maybe a snow storm whereas they're experiencing a tropical hurricane...of course I can talk about a girl in both places.<sup>34</sup>

Phil Vassell echoed Smith's observation:

Talking about the 'ghetto' when you're from Regent Park, or from some other part of Toronto, Jane and Finch or some other place in Scarborough, it just doesn't ring as truthful as it might in certain places in the States...I mean it just kind of sounds hollow...some things aren't going to ring as being authentic outside of Jamaica where there are real ghettos and real poverty.<sup>35</sup>

Many Canadian reggae artists were caught choosing between the seemingly disingenuous replication of Jamaican or Rasta-themes and the uncharted – and not necessarily rewarding – waters of Canadian topics.

A few chose the latter option. Faithfully rendering the Canadian-specific experience in their song was a high priority for bands like Messenjah, Truths and Rights, 20TH Century Rebels, Lillian Allen and the Sattalites. Thematically, Truths and Rights was at the vanguard of Toronto's socially-conscious music-making scene, tackling as they did, questions of racial discrimination, police violence and – long before it was fashionable – the environment in their classic 1980 recording 'Acid Rain':

*Acid rain, falling from our skies  
It would fall down on I  
What are they doing to man, woman, and child  
Messing with our lives and the environment.*<sup>36</sup>

The band's 'Metro's No. 1 Problem' was another of the band's self-penned songs, conspicuous for its exposé on racial tension that transcended Toronto's black community:



*Trouble down in Rexdale, Pakistani family battered...  
Metro's number one problem: racial tension.*<sup>37</sup>

Certain significant moments in the Jamaican migrant experience were also interpreted by various reggae acts. The 1979 shooting death of Jamaican-Canadian Albert Johnson, for instance, was a subject treated by more than one Canadian reggae artist. Lillian Allen's 'Riddim and Hard Times' references the infamous shooting by Toronto Police, as did Rupert "Ojiji" Harvey's track entitled simply 'Albert Johnson'.<sup>38</sup> Harvey, in particular, was one Jamaican-born artist who held the torch particularly high for those who would incorporate the Canadian experience into reggae song:

We're not living in Jamaica, we're living in Canada...we have to adjust to this.  
Reggae is the voice of the people in Jamaica, when we play it here [in Canada]  
it's the voice of people here.<sup>39</sup>

Some non-Jamaican Canadians responded favourably to Messenjah's efforts to incorporate Canadiana in their reggae as Brian Robertson observed: "they did bring in some of their Canadian experiences into their lyrics."<sup>40</sup> 1984's 'Jam Session', for example, name checked Canadian-specific themes:

*Canada jamming in a parliament style,  
Call the house in session mek them boogie for a while.  
Some of them jam it in a local government,  
Dubbing with the people that they represent.*<sup>41</sup>

The attendant video even included footage of a parliamentary debate.

Similarly, Lillian Allen's dub poetry addressed a variety of Canadian-centric issues that immigrants from the Caribbean constantly faced from a feminist's perspective.<sup>42</sup> In 'I Fight Back', a track featured on *Revolutionary Tea Party* (1986), Allen cleverly critiqued the realities facing domestic servants and nannies that had been brought to Canada to care for the more affluent members of Canadian society:

*Here I am in Canada, bringing up someone else's child  
While someone else and me in absentee, bring up my own.*<sup>43</sup>

This era of artists, however, could not sustain the Canadian-centric output in homegrown reggae and, as Miller alluded to earlier on, many local reggae artists instead receded into the garden-variety of Jamaican reggae topics: Jah, Babylon and weed.

Believing that the reggae genre was being lost or diluted, some Jamaican-Canadians adopted, as Walker has maintained, a 'fortress mentality'.<sup>44</sup> Part of the problem was the umbrella term of 'reggae', which confused the individual elements (and different sub-genres for that matter). Rannie "Bop" Williams, who was playing reggae from its inception, cited six different elements born to modern Jamaican music which most people call simply reggae: i) Mento; ii) Ska; iii) Rocksteady; iv) Reggae; and v) Dancehall; vi) Dub.<sup>45</sup> Indeed, Vybz Kartel could hardly be mistaken for the Jolly Boys; just as the Mad Professor seemed worlds away from Eric "Monty" Morris. Yet, they all supped from the same broth that created Jamaican popular music. Engineer Jeffrey Holdip maintained, nevertheless, that:

There's a definite reggae that's Jamaican, everything else is a derivative. I love [the English band] Aswad, but it's something different to me than reggae from Jamaica, a Jacob Miller, or whatever. So, a non-Jamaican whatever they're doing as a form of reggae, it's a different grape, making a different wine.<sup>46</sup>

Though the tannins may have differed, the northern reggae-vine flowered nevertheless.

The Canadian 'grape' actually found success in Jamaica. The Jamaican audience has been considered by many to be one of the toughest. Sunray Grennan, whose father Winston Grennan pioneered reggae's signature 'one-drop' beat in Jamaica, provided drums on Toots and the Maytals' most essential tracks and also appeared on Paul

Simon's 'Mother and Child Reunion' and 'Cecilia', spoke to the fickle Jamaican audiences that can dismiss Canadian reggae artists:

Jamaican [audiences] tend to be a little prejudice against Canadian artists...they think we don't know reggae, but we *do* know reggae, it's just that we're not doing it like them, and how could we, our experiences are different.<sup>47</sup>

Holdip validated Grennan's appraisal:

Look it, there are Jamaicans that have a hard time dealing with their own audience. You know they stoned Bunny Wailer...I mean the Jamaican audience is not easy, by any stretch.<sup>48</sup>

As such, it is usually only those artists with extreme confidence and talent who were able to succeed in that environment.

Some Canadian acts did take on the Jamaican audience in Jamaica. In 1985, Messenjah appeared at Reggae Sunsplash. Ojiji Harvey spoke to the palpable feeling emanating from a group of young sceptical Jamaican men awaiting the performance. As Ojiji recalled, one young ruffian threatened: "*Unno* better play good tonight."<sup>49</sup> Kicking off with their bold religious anthem 'Abraham's Children', Messenjah quickly won the crowd over, and the same young man that had warned the Canadians before the show, apologized and asked Ojiji if he would sponsor him to come to Canada.<sup>50</sup>

The Sattalites also played Jamaica's famous Reggae Sunsplash. The experience was a mixture of triumph and terror as keyboardist David Fowler recalled:

Reggae Sunsplash scared me to death. Once the sun went down, all there was, was a ring of fire around the fence. And total blackness out there. And thousands and thousands of Jamaicans – most of them in bare feet – out there in a compound surrounded by men with guns and dogs. Sunsplash was one of the strongest experiences in my entire life in terms of extremes.

The experience was similar for the bassist Bruce McGillivray:

When we played in Jamaica, here's a North American bunch of folks that can actually play reggae. That created quite a wave in Jamaica. You know, there was

some initial snickering, but once it all came down they loved our variations on what their music was.<sup>51</sup>

Lead singer Fergus Hambleton observed that people naturally respond well to others who take a special interest in their culture:

Musicians especially, but just generally Jamaican people...if you show any interest in Jamaican culture, they're just so cheered by that, you know they're just so hospitable and so supportive, so I've had nothing but tremendous support all the time.<sup>52</sup>

Natasha Emery spoke to the favourable results that occur when one demonstrates a sincere interest in another's culture:

When you can speak intelligently about someone else's music, when it's very culturally-specific, I think that there's an automatic appreciation, an acceptance of you, it's like, 'wow, you're interested.' It's like going to a country where you don't speak the language, but you've learned a few phrases, there's a real appreciation that you've made the attempt...so I think it's sort of the same when discussing music or feeling music: if you're showing interest in it, people love that.<sup>53</sup>

Despite the odds, Canadian reggae acts fared well in Jamaica.

The Jamaican press generally approved of the Sattalites. In one instance, the band performed at a high profile event put on by the St. Andrew Corporation in Jamaica. The event celebrated the corporation's presentation of the 'Keys to the City' to the island's most famous folklorist, the Hon. Louise Bennett at the Ward Theatre in Kingston. This pressure-cooker of a gig might have gone all wrong for the Canadian side, but Kingston's *Week End Star* raved: "The band played quality reggae music which made a lot of fans for them."<sup>54</sup> Similarly, Kingston's *Daily Gleaner* raved about the band's debut album in 1985: "The band has masterfully blended some heavy 60s rock sounds with roots reggae takes and have come up with a winner."<sup>55</sup> It must be noted that the journalist was careful to affix the 'reggae-pop' categorization to the Sattalites.

This stamp of approval, especially since it was from the Jamaican press, gave the Sattalites a leg up with Toronto's own widely-read Jamaican community newspapers like *Share*. The reviewing journalist, under the pseudonym "Diskreet", had previously classified the earliest results of the amalgam between Jamaican Jo Jo's "all-round musician-arranger" with Fergus' "white Canadian folk roots" as being "somewhat awkward".<sup>56</sup> Yet, perhaps influenced by the glowing island reviews, Diskreet changed his tune upon the release of *Sattalites*:

The Sattalites' professionally independent approach to the LP is something of a benchmark for other club-circuit artists, and, at the same time, shows that the simplicity of black and white can make a new, and very attractive, shade of grey.<sup>57</sup>

Like Britain's Two Tone acts, multiracial bands like the Sattalites, Sunforce, Culture Shock, Tabarruk and Fujhative strove to entertain and reflect the attractive 'grey' audiences they played for in the city during the late 1980s.

## WHITE MAN CAN DUB

Learning reggae was difficult for those who, like Corby, McGillivray and Hambleton, had already mastered their instruments and different genres before taking up the Jamaican music. In many ways, these musicians had to unlearn some of their musical habits to achieve an 'authentic' reggae sound. For the most part, they did so with success. Jamaican journalist Gerald Reid, for example, singled out Sattalites bassist Bruce McGillivray for his reggae-savvy approach during a performance in Kingston: "[The Enemy] is a heavy song with some good bass by Canadian Bruce Mack who seems to be well familiar with reggae."<sup>58</sup> Given the centrality of the bass to the reggae sound,

McGillivray's whiteness often drew attention when the Sattalites performed. As Ottawa journalist Dave Tulloch observed, the bass:

...is so fundamental to reggae music that most reggae bands tend towards a bassist of the Jamaican persuasion. Not so with the Sattalites. Bruce Mack, on bass, is as Canadian as the Maple Leaf. Bruce, who has been playing music for over 20 years, happened to visit Jamaica in 1978. On this visit he began to play a different tune. He now pulls out the kind of heavy bass lines which tell you that this man has somehow grown some "roots".<sup>59</sup>

Some Jamaicans, however, took exception to these sorts of over-simplified appraisals of what a 'roots' sound meant. Messenjah's Ojiji Harvey, for instance, challenged:

No one can look inside of your heart and tell you that you can't feel this music...like I hear 'oh a white man cyant play roots', that's nonsense, we all have roots. So you're trying to tell me that one tree grows above the ground and then one grows beneath it?<sup>60</sup>

To be fair to Tulloch, given its unique feel, it is harder for one to 'grow' into reggae when one has been playing other musical forms prior to picking up reggae at a more mature age, as was the case with McGillivray.

Before the Sattalites orbited, however, McGillivray was fortunate to be taught reggae bass by Leroy Sibbles. Simply, Bruce had learned from one of the best:

My mentor, Leroy Sibbles was my man. He was not critical at all. He just saw that I loved the music and he set it out for me, what it should be, where you should rest, where you should be relaxed behind the groove...and Leroy changed my way of looking at bass, even when I would play a rock gig, you know, in the studio doing some rock stuff, I would always think about how Leroy would think behind the beat.<sup>61</sup>

Here we see primary bridge-building in operation: the Canadian-born McGillivray of Scottish heritage being mentored by legendary Studio One Jamaican reggae bassist Leroy Sibbles.<sup>62</sup> This frontline encounter had large ramifications on the Canadian reggae scene and its sound. Yet, in some respects, it is what players like McGillivray did not 'unlearn'

that added to the distinctiveness of the Canadian sound, and the residue of McGillivray's rock upbringing, made him a wholly unique reggae bassist.

While the bass in reggae is privileged and perhaps along with the drums plays the most crucial role in the music, the keyboard skank (or off-beat that usually lands on beats 2 and 4) is also extremely important and deceptively difficult as one of the two Sattalites' long-time keyboardist, the classically-trained David Fowler explained:

In our case, the keyboard player who handles just the rhythmic aspects is Jamaican and grew up with Reggae music and he does a much better job of it than I can, even though I have a lot more technical training that he does. It's very difficult for me to get that exact feeling into the rhythmic parts, and himself, having lived reggae music all his life, it's part of him. He doesn't think, 'am I in the groove or am I out of the groove?', he just thinks, 'am I playing my part?' Whereas for me, I have to say 'am I slightly ahead of the beat or should this be pushed a bit?' It's difficult for me to reduce myself to the same level of perfection that he achieves without even thinking about it.<sup>63</sup>

Sam Weller, another non-Jamaican keyboardist confessed: "I've seen a lot of really fabulous musicians struggle to play with reggae...one of the things about reggae is that technically it's not that difficult but it's the feel. You have to get the feel."<sup>64</sup> Likewise, Isax InJah believed that: "It takes a grown man all of his effort to do that [keyboard] skank, to play the skank properly and when you hear the one guy, the guy who can really do it...right away you start hear the hypnotic vibes of reggae."<sup>65</sup> But before the non-Jamaican could transcend, they had to crack the code and the only way to do that was with time.

Certainly, the genre's sonic nuances confounded many non-Jamaican suitors, as Jamaican JuLion King observed:

They used to tell us that reggae was simplistic...a very simple beat, blah, blah, blah. *So me seh*, 'Eh, if it's so simple how come *unno cyant* play it? *Unno* cannot play it.' It's the simplest beat in the world and Stevie Wonder and Prince have tried and cyant do it...If you *cyant* walk with a skank, you *cyant* play reggae

music. You *hav e* have a lean *pon* your left hand and walk like a bad man and that is reggae music.<sup>66</sup>

For Denise Jones, reggae's feel measured far more than notes on a staff:

Reggae music is a deeply spiritual thing...music is an integral part of culture and when you feel it in *that* way: the way it really ricochets through your body, through your mind, then you can play it if you're a player of instruments.<sup>67</sup>

Capturing reggae's elusive touch and understanding the behaviour of individual

instruments could come, but only for those with patience.

Paul Corby was patient. While he has not abandoned all of his previous rock sensibilities, Corby's reggae expertise is such that he has been able to pass it on to other white musicians:

The problem I used to have with teaching white musicians how to play reggae was that: 'this beat happens here; this beat happens a *long* time after that and you have to have faith that you're going to get to that next beat'...and I'm not including children, children get it. But as far as adults who have learned...semi-quavers and function on that level, are unable to maintain the faith that it takes to get from one beat to the next.<sup>68</sup>

Such faith was not always present. Speaking for himself, Paul believed that it took ten years for him to get that reggae 'sound'.<sup>69</sup>

While a keyboardist or bassist might tuck themselves behind other musicians, singers were up front, centre stage and therefore far more exposed. But as vulnerable as they may have been, the possibility for approval for a non-Jamaican lead singer was great. The *Globe and Mail's* Liam Lacey believed that he knew why so many people were attracted to the Sattalites:

Part of the appeal of The Sattalites, for Jamaicans, may be the simple oddity of the act. The studio where Jo Jo and Fergus recorded in Kingston was usually crowded with onlookers, most of whom were fascinated by the idea of a white singer who sounded Jamaican. Jamaicans have called Hambleton "the white Gregory Issacs," the Jamaican singer known as The Cool Ruler, for his gracefully understated vocal style.<sup>70</sup>



Hambleton did not, of course, take offence to such assessments and admitted:

I've copped so much from those singers that the comparisons don't really surprise me...the little "oohs" and "ahs" and trills – are all things I learned from reggae records, and, of course, they show.<sup>71</sup>

That Hambleton approximated Gregory Isaacs was probably a good thing for the Sattalites. Hambleton, however, could only approximate Isaacs, and his own previous non-reggae vocal experiences would necessarily creep in. This fact further distinguished the Sattalites as a Canadian and *not* Jamaican reggae band.

The process of learning reggae was different for the next generation of non-Jamaican reggae musicians. Quite simply, they had been exposed to it for a longer period of time and had started on it earlier. By the mid-1980s, Jamaican popular music had penetrated the world's musical consciousness. Through direct and indirect exposure (including: radio airplay, hip hop, punk, television commercials and children's programming), many of the interviewees believed that it was easier for a younger generation of non-Jamaicans to learn how to play reggae because they had heard so much of it already, including the Canadian version of it. As David Kingston declared:

It's just exposure that makes you able to do things. I don't believe you're born with different blood or DNA... You grow up listening to the Police and the Clash and the way you drum is going to be different than if you grew up in the era when it was all Glam Rock and 4s. It's what's normal to you is your points of reference so when they change, everything changes.<sup>72</sup>

Someone who was born in the 1970s and had been exposed to reggae from an early age, therefore, found 'beating against the time' familiar. This distinction was apparent to concert promoter and publicist Sebastian Cook: "Two of the three most talented reggae artists I know are non-Jamaicans. If one grows up surrounded by a musical style, or is immersed in it, for any length of time, it is just as easy for them to excel at that music as

it would be for a native.”<sup>73</sup> Moreover, as some reggae artists have noted, many *Jamaicans* can not play reggae, as Mark Matthews stated: “I know Jamaicans who can’t play reggae/ska as I know non-Jamaicans who can’t either. Like any music style, you’ve gotta go into it with *big ears* to understand it properly, though it probably helps if you are Jamaican.”<sup>74</sup> Still, reggae, like any other music, is there for anyone to play. And, like other musics, the audience is usually the best litmus test to see whether or not the artist’s interpretation is laudable and sincere, as journalist Errol Nazareth explained:

If you’re coming at it from a place of a deep knowledge of the music, a respect for the roots, and being genuine, like you being you and bringing your own voice, your own vibe to the thing...So, I don’t think anything can be a barrier to you, other than the negativity you hear from other people, but you gotta come correct man!<sup>75</sup>

Most audiences, it would seem, believed that band like the Sattalites were ‘coming correct’.

## THE CANADIAN REGGAE INSTITUTION

Leroy Sibbles – Canada’s grand old man of reggae – set one of the key bridge-building moments in *Reggae Canadiana* into motion when he introduced Fergus Hambleton to Alpha School alumnus and horn-man Jo Jo Bennett. Hambleton had been working steadily with Sibbles as a saxophonist, guitarist and singer while the latter lived in Canada.<sup>76</sup> Connecting the white Canadian (Hambleton) with the black Jamaican (Bennett), as Sibbles had done, had profound ramifications for the way in which Canadian reggae would be disseminated among Torontonians who attended the Sattalite Music School. Bennett and Hambleton’s meeting would also help define the sound of Canadian reggae.

By their very nature the Sattalites offered a form of reggae that represented the experience of both migrant and host within a multiracial context. For his part, Hambleton tried to emulate the Jamaican sound in various outfits that predated the Sattalites:

...you know, we really liked Sibbles' band, so we used to go and see them a lot, and the band I had, a little rock band tried to imitate [Sibbles]...we got to know members of the band and got to know RZ [R.Z. Jackson].<sup>77</sup>

Jackson hired Hambleton for some session work and by 1978 the latter found himself as part of Sibbles' band.<sup>78</sup> At the same time, the former Dragonaire Jo Jo Bennett, – who was finding regular work with his band Jo Jo and the Fugitives, began to slowly assemble the parts that would one day morph into the Sattalites.<sup>79</sup>

With some key figures now in place, Bennett and Hambleton put their heads together and organized the Sattalite Music School. The school catered to those Torontonians who shared a desire to learn and play music, but who may have lacked access to traditional music educational trajectories or the necessary funds to realize their artistic aspirations. Begun in 1981, the Sattalite Music School opened in a small basement in the heart of Toronto's West Indian community at the corner of Eglinton Avenue West and Winona and operated on a 'pay what you can' basis. Perhaps most importantly, the school allowed for the cultural collision between Jamaican migrant and Canadian host. This significant extra-musical function was, as the Sattalites' Neville Francis confirmed, just as important as the musical equation:

The school...meant different things to different people. But more than anything else the Sattalite Music School provides us with an intriguing and positive example of the meeting of two cultures...Students and visitors to the school were Jamaican and Canadian. They were serious musicians as well as hobbyists. When Fergus Hambleton joined Jo Jo Bennett to teach at the school, the partnership was a tangible symbol of the intermingling and co-mingling of the two cultures that had been going on all along.<sup>80</sup>

The effects on the local reggae scene were far reaching. Wayne Hanson, for example, had performed in a school band and church plays back in Jamaica, but hadn't performed professionally until he had come to Canada. It was at Jo Jo and Fergus' School of Music that Wayne improved his craft.<sup>81</sup> Essentially, the band flowered out of the school. Soon thereafter, the Sattalites provided one of the earliest and perhaps best examples of a Canadian reggae band that combined a mix of Jamaican born musicians with non-Jamaican Canadians who together achieved a Canadian sound for reggae.

The 'symbol of intermingling' brought would-be reggae stars of all ages and ethnicities together. To be sure, not all of the school's members were 'hobbyists', as Bennett explained:

...professional musicians were coming in there to learn just the reggae thing, to incorporate it into what they're doing. The kids and stuff, they didn't pay. It just keep them off the street, they hang out, learn about music. It's not just Rasta Man, [*sic*] or dreadlocks or Jamaicans, there are a lot Canadians there too. Everything mix up man, no separation.<sup>82</sup>

One year after the school opened its doors a collection of seasoned professionals and fledgling upstarts assembled themselves as the first incarnation of the Sattalites.

As a business, the school made very little money and was eventually closed at the end of 1983. But by then, the Sattalites – including two Sattalite school alumni – were already playing small shows in Toronto and had begun to generate some public and industry interest. The band had worked hard at the Sattalite Music School and developed a unique take on reggae. The *Globe and Mail* spoke to the Sattalites' Canadian sound:

...have created a gentle hybrid pop-reggae that has dignity, warmth, great musicianship and style. They're one of the few bands on the Toronto scene that really shouldn't be missed.<sup>83</sup>

Through these early efforts, the band was able to secure its first gig at the brand new Bamboo Club on Queen Street West in 1984.

The band's name paid homage not only to Jamaican legends and pioneers of the ska genre The Skattalites, but also to an Abyssinian hymn, 'satta', meaning holy.<sup>84</sup> Philosophically, the members of the Sattalites ascribed to the tenet of 'understanding'.<sup>85</sup> As the band's MC, Bennett introduced the song/philosophy to every mixed crowd the Sattalites performed for in the following manner: "you see dreadlocks, baldheads, whities and blackies, but what it takes is understanding."<sup>86</sup>

Despite the band's departure from the norm, the Sattalites felt that their first recorded material needed grounding in a Jamaican process. As such, Bennett was able to persuade the legendary reggae rhythm section Sly & Robbie to help the Sattalites' first official recording. The album that took nearly two years to complete finally saw the light of day in 1985. The self-titled debut *Sattalites* was released on Axe Records, a label owned by Fergus Hambleton's older brother Greg.<sup>87</sup> *Sattalites* had the support of CBC radio and the then cutting edge station CFNY 102.1 FM. The album was warmly received and helped introduce the band to a nationwide audience.

The band's goal was to break into the Canadian mainstream. If going by the tone of the earliest reviews of the *Sattalites* album, they certainly made some inroads towards this aim. Veteran music critic Nicholas Jennings reviewed the album for *Maclean's* and spoke of the band's potential:

...the album is a determined effort to convince Canadian record companies and radio stations of reggae's commercial potential...When The Sattalites attain a joyful reggae-pop sound, it is hard to imagine radio being able to resist.<sup>88</sup>

The *Globe and Mail* sang similarly high praises for the band's debut release:

Don't be dissuaded by the budget cover, or the reggae dub versions of The Beatles' She Loves You and band member Fergus Hambleton's own Wild; these aren't filler, they're integral to a well-integrated album, a painstaking, infectious blend of sixties' pop melody with reggae-wise rhythms.<sup>89</sup>

The sincerity of the Sattalites' take on Jamaican reggae was apparent to even the most critical musos in the Canadian press. *NOW Magazine's* James Marck, for example, observed:

...[The Sattalites] have a quality that can't be expressed by any musical equation – something that's germinated in the heart and soul of the music and made material by the band's embodiment of reggae's most trenchant values – harmony, unity and purpose.<sup>90</sup>

Jamaicans came to the Sattalites' shows. The multi-cultural aspect of the band reflected Canadian society as it was, black and white together and earned a half-page story in the *Toronto Star*, despite the fact that the band had only played to seven people at the Isabella Hotel. The story captured the imagination of the newspaper's readership and, thus, the success for the Sattalites was accelerated.<sup>91</sup>

By the mid-1980s, the Sattalites were selling out three-nighters at the Bamboo Club in Toronto as well as playing hundreds of shows across North America at festivals and night-clubs. Most significantly, the Sattalites found themselves performing at California's prestigious Reggae on the River festival and Jamaica's famed Reggae Sunsplash. The mid-1980s was a particularly pivotal year for the Sattalites and in his 'year of pop in review' segment in the *Globe and Mail*, rock journalist Liam Lacey believed that 1985 really 'launched the Sattalites' in Canada.<sup>92</sup>

In fact, *Reggae Canadiana* had reached its zenith in 1985. Multiple bands released several albums, including some on major labels and played large-scale shows. Ontario Place's Forum, for instance, had a near annual reggae show that featured local

acts from the mid-1980s through until the early 1990s. On one unseasonably cold Tuesday night in June 1987, Sunforce, the Sattalites and Messenjah drew roughly 7,000 fans. Despite the weather, it was sunny skies for the city's reggae scene.<sup>93</sup>

A second album followed for the band on Axe Records entitled *Live Via Sattalites* which was recorded at the Bamboo in 1987. *Live Via Sattalites* was likewise received warmly in the main stream press. *The Globe and Mail*, for example, trumpeted the arrival of the live album with the headline: "Sattalites Beam Down a Beauty".<sup>94</sup> A *Toronto Star's* Greg Quill spoke to the important strides that the band's live album was making for the band, "[*Live Via Sattalites*] is gradually helping the band reach a new and larger audience with airplay on college and some 'progressive' music stations across the country."<sup>95</sup> The album had cracked the top ten on the nation's campus stations.<sup>96</sup>

Building on this success, the band built up an impressive touring circuit and were picked up by The Act management agency and became only the second Canadian reggae band to sign to a major record deal when they signed with WEA Records through Risque Disque (Messenjah was the first in 1983). Videos followed, including ones for the song 'Gimme Little Sign' and later 'Too Late to Turn Back Now', a track that was featured on the Sattalites' first full-length Risque Disque 1989 release *Miracles*. The song won the Sattalites their first Juno Award for Best Reggae/Calypso Recording in 1990 and another Juno would follow in 1995 with the band's *Now and Forever* album.<sup>97</sup>

By the end of the 1980s, the Sattalites were a household name in Canada, at least among those who enjoyed live music. The nation's Toronto-based reggae scene was able to exploit the global successes that British reggae acts such as UB40 had established. If Messenjah was Canada's Steel Pulse, the 20TH Century Rebels might have been

considered its Aswad, and the multiracial Sattalites were certainly Canada's UB40. This fact was in the band's favour as one *NOW Magazine* journalist observed:

...the group mixes classy originals with some truly offbeat cover choices that ensure aural attention. Anyone who's ever bought a UB40 album is a potential fan of the band, and that's a sizeable base on which to build a career.<sup>98</sup>

Betsy Powell, journalist with the *Toronto Star*, spoke to the Sattalites' advantage over other reggae acts:

Like Britain's UB40 and Ziggy Marley (Bob's son), the Sattalites' brand of reggae – a mixture of easygoing lover's rock and dancehall style – is more radio friendly than hardcore reggae.<sup>99</sup>

The problem with these 'compliments' is that it confused the Sattalites' legitimacy as a reggae act. It is true that the Sattalites enjoyed radio success with cover songs (for example, Eddie Cornelius' 'Too Late to Turn Back Now' and Katrina and the Waves' 'Walking on Sunshine'), but so too did many other reggae bands of this era, including Jamaican ones. This was also true of all-black Canadian reggae bands such as Messenjah who, for example, found success with Melvin and Mervin Steals' Spinners radio-friendly hit 'Could it be I'm Falling in Love'.<sup>100</sup> Yet, it was the Sattalites who had the 'pop' characterization preped to their brand of reggae. Despite the importance of the cover song tradition in Jamaican reggae music (*see* Appendix C for some 500 examples), such distinctions perpetuated the whispers of non-confidence that existed around Canadian reggae.

The Sattalites, nevertheless, have persevered. It has been over thirty years since the Sattalite Music School first opened its door. The band that was born out of that institution became itself an institution of Canadian reggae. Despite a couple of line-up changes, and the untimely death of keyboardist Bruce "Preacher" Robinson, the Sattalites



continue to perform live and have a solid core of fans that are always willing to celebrate Canada's golden age of reggae.

## THE REGGAE MUSEUM

Unfortunately for the Toronto scene, reggae as a genre was, by the early 1990s, beginning to suffer from stagnation. With an over reliance on tried and true patterns of an earlier age, reggae artistry was nearing bankruptcy. Despite a new world-wide market for dancehall – one of reggae's many offshoots – reggae proper was unable to regenerate or evolve, and so, was seemingly poised to become a museum piece.

Some of the interviewees want to inch away from the circumscription of what a powerful minority feel reggae *must be*. Certainly, there must be freedom for all reggae artists to imagine what the music *can be*. Otherwise, reggae may very well join the unfortunate fate handed the makers of polka music. In 2009, the Recording Academy deemed that polka was no longer “relevant’ or ‘responsive’ and therefore retired the genre’s Grammy Award.<sup>101</sup> Polka had simply ceased to evolve, and paid the ultimate price on the world’s biggest music stage.

The multicultural-era concerns such as the voice of appropriation did much to stifle freedom in the arts community in general and reggae suffered. Many respondents, as we have witnessed, believe that gains earned on the frontlines were won despite the policy, not because of it. In this same sense, notions of what reggae musicians should look like, and how and what they should play, managed to stunt the further proliferation of reggae and the development of reggae artists in the city.

Other factors conspired to slow the growth of reggae. The possible death of reggae has been accelerated with the increasingly dire state of the music industry in general. People are simply not buying music nearly as much as they used to. Reggae record shops and record labels are closing up shop around the world.<sup>102</sup> The reggae ‘industry’, as British reggae DJ David Rodigan confessed, is gone:

Record sales are really poor and record shops are finding it hard to survive as a result...we’re now at the point where some artists are releasing their music for free.<sup>103</sup>

Part of the problem is that reggae has in many ways, ceased to evolve. As the son of Aswad’s Drummie Zeb, British reggae artist Solomon observed:

I think people feel that in order for reggae to be authentic, it needs to sound like it was made at Studio One 20 years ago. I think that’s rubbish. Hip hop has changed, R&B has changed, and even dancehall has changed, but reggae, to me, is stuck in this old sound. I think that’s part of reggae’s problem – it’s not evolving.<sup>104</sup>

Canadian reggae DJ David Kingston echoed this opinion:

Things haven’t changed to the same degree in Jamaican music, it’s more of a regurgitation. But that first 25 years is so magic and that’s why you’ve got to appreciate it as a special time...if something doesn’t evolve it dies...You can love the pure, pure, purist forms that only existed with the originators, but if people don’t keep it living and evolving it just becomes some kind of museum piece.<sup>105</sup>

Even today’s Canadian reggae artists see the danger of the genre’s impending doom. For multiple Juno-Awards winner Jesse King, the majority of today’s reggae is mostly:

...heartless. It’s got no soul...There’s nothing, there’s no groove. It’s the same stuff...the modern ‘roots’ is even the worst. You know, because it’s basically the synthetic ‘one-drop’... and everybody’s going to do the same hi-hat shuffle, the flying...cymbals on it. We have to leave that behind...I mean I go to Europe and I’m hearing music coming out of these guys that far surpasses anything coming out of Jamaica.<sup>106</sup>

Tomaz Jardim concurred:

I think there is this common phenomenon with the evolution of all music once their peak has passed and they're essentially dead as an art-form, is that either...you have an immense amount of vision, you take it in a new and interesting direction, which generally doesn't happen, or you are left to try to and recreate its greatest moments as faithfully as possible which also is very useful.<sup>107</sup>

Jardim further lamented on how the politically-charged halcyon days of meaningful reggae and ska have been in many ways replaced by frivolous and often irrelevant 'party' music that recalls more the 'holiday' music of an earlier age:

The thing that drives me crazy is when people are like 'oh I like reggae too' and they instantly have this big smile on their face, like it is 'Club Med' music. Which I think is the most unfortunate direction that the legacy of reggae has gone. You know: this perception that reggae is all about being happy and everything. And it's so fucking ironic and I don't think it was that way when we were into it in the 1980s. Back then it was perceived much more truly as what it was at the time, which was the music of suffering and the oppressed.<sup>108</sup>

For those of us who have been in the reggae game for over two or more decades that, it seems that few alternatives exist to the tired and formulaic songs about weed, Jah and Babylon, or anodyne pop and R&B-flavoured frat-party pap. Modern reggae has ceased to advance and therefore may very well be irrelevant.

While the present has its obvious problems, the question remains why the past or Canada's golden age of reggae was not as glorious as it might have been. As JuLion King pondered:

It was always a shock to me, especially in the early days of the Bamboo with the Sattalites, Leroy Sibbles, Willi Williams and those guys, that generation, how the place would be corked, ram every Friday and Saturday night. So if it's that popular, why isn't getting airplay? I didn't see any other club, except for the Horseshoe when big name artists used to show up from abroad, that could pull that kind of power every single weekend.<sup>109</sup>

To be sure, Canada's mainstream music industry has at times been suspicious of, or at the least, uncharitable towards indigenous Canadian reggae acts, which makes the successes

of Messenjah and the Sattalites all the more impressive.<sup>110</sup> As one anonymous local reggae producer said in 1980:

If the big companies are stupid enough to ignore the fact that there are almost 200,000 West Indians living in Toronto, man, well that's their problem...but there's money to be made out there.<sup>111</sup>

In one particular instance, a record company representative who looked at the credits of the Sattalites' debut album and saw heavyweights Sly and Robbie listed, snidely quipped: "these guys are playing with everybody these days, aren't they?" This was, of course, during the years where Sly and Robbie had been laying tracks for Bob Dylan, Mick Jagger, Grace Jones and Serge Gainsbourg, but it truly was a typically Canadian commentary on the 'home team'. As Hambleton queried in 1985:

So, if [Sly and Robbie] are playing with a Canadian band, it couldn't possibly be because they also consider them good, could it? I can tell you one thing: it wasn't for the money. We paid Jamaican studio rates, which are embarrassingly low.<sup>112</sup>

This lack of support, it may be argued, permeated the whole of the Canadian music industry, even after the implementation of CRTC guidelines had proven to be effective in raising the Canadian game. The suspicion that some musos hold toward indigenous reggae in Canada persists today.

The comparatively small Canadian music industry was another reason that the indigenous reggae scene in Canada did not enjoy the same success of its British counterpart. It was a matter of infrastructure. Britain, for instance, could boast two successful companies whose mission statement was to put Jamaican music on the map. Both companies were run by British-Jamaicans: Chris Blackwell's Island Records and Lee Gopthal's Trojan. Canada had no equivalents. As Walker observed, "there were no record companies, independent or otherwise, that believed in the music enough to

consistently and aggressively promote Canadian reggae.”<sup>113</sup> Only a few companies gambled on home grown Canadian reggae. GRT tendered Ishan People a two-album deal in 1977, while WEA had brief encounters with both The Sattalites and Messenjah.<sup>114</sup> Despite penetrating decent commercial airwaves, major releases like Sibbles’ *Evidence*, or Messenjah’s *Jam Session*, or even the Sattalites’ *Miracles* all managed at best, modest sales. Though Ishan People’s two albums with GRT had encouraging sales, they were not sufficient enough for the label to justify re-signing the band.<sup>115</sup> While the record labels were signing Canadian reggae acts, they could not successfully convince and agitate Canadian mainstream radio to play homegrown reggae. In the end, the mainstream record companies shied away from future reggae signings.

As such, Canadian reggae acts relied on underground channels. These included community radio shows dedicated to reggae music. The regular print media was also somewhat receptive to Canadian reggae, as were the Caribbean community-based newspapers like *Share* and *Contrast*. More mainstream arts-culture weeklies like *Now* and *Eye* magazines were sometimes supportive of the Toronto reggae scene, though like the community-based papers, these papers tended to privilege Jamaican and other international reggae acts over the locals. For a few bands, television provided the highest-yielding exposure. Messenjah and the Sattalites were regularly featured on MuchMusic, CBC and Citytv shows, while the latter’s *Breakfast Television* began to provide a fairly regular outlet for several Toronto reggae acts including Adrian Miller, Jay Douglas and Tabarruk in the late 1980s and into the 1990s.

There were also internal problems within the scene itself. The perpetual bickering and lack of unity among promoters and musicians often dragged down the scene’s tempo.

As Frances Henry observed, struggles and disputes that began in Jamaica were sometimes transplanted to Toronto where they were reengaged.<sup>116</sup> Carrie Mullings spoke to the sometimes crippling bitterness that existed within the domestic reggae community:

The problem is, is that there's been a huge breakdown in the structure of how the industry should run. And that breakdown has come from an imbalance, too much ego and not enough hardworking people, people that are here for fame and growing their name... The scene for a while has been bitter: 'I've been doing this for so many years and I'm not getting anywhere with this.' It's hard when the elders have very little positive to say to the new generation.<sup>117</sup>

For many outside of the reggae community, these divisive dynamics were a turn-off.

Music publicist Sebastian Cook, who was born in Newmarket Ontario, spoke to the sometimes difficult nature of promoting reggae:

I have worked with or alongside many Jamaican-Canadians (both immigrants and second-generation). This experience has been overwhelmingly positive, but there certainly have been times when elements of the Jamaican business culture (machismo, lack of formal structure or agreements) were frustrating and challenging.<sup>118</sup>

The lack of confidence emanating from within the scene itself, begat disorganization, poorly promoted and attended shows, non-existent or confusing contractual agreements, and ultimately a meagre pay-day for everyone involved. A series of late starts, no shows and even gun play kept reggae fans away in droves.<sup>119</sup>

Another major problem was that many Jamaican migrants were disinterested in Canadian reggae. While the demographic certainly suggested a potential market, the truth of the matter was that the community did *not* support the locally-grown music. Jamaican-born artists recognized this massive obstacle. Adrian Miller illustrated the sometimes lukewarm attitude of Toronto's Jamaican community towards local reggae:

For the past thirty years, me living in Canada playing reggae, [*be*]cause I'm talking pre-Bamboo, our audience was always seventy-five percent Caucasian...but we never really have that respect. It's almost like [Jamaican]

people would rather stay home and wait until you know Freddie McGregor and Culture comes to Toronto, before they got out and spend their \$45 to see them. So there was always a displacement, you know what I mean.<sup>120</sup>

Harbourfront Artistic Director and second-generation Jamaican Dalton Higgins witnessed first-hand the sometimes tepid response:

There are few Canadian reggae acts that get genuine respect from Jamaican audiences. There are a few groups that get some supports from mainstream non-Jamaican audiences, but by and large the response is not good. And the track record of Canadian reggae artists trying to make a living in Canada supports this theory.<sup>121</sup>

Indeed, there are precious few Canadian reggae artists who have been able to sustain a living exclusively from reggae music in Canada. The local community, musicians notwithstanding, simply undervalued the local artist.

This fact is rendered all the more regrettable when one considers the wealth of stellar reggae pioneers that have, at one time or another resided in the city, as Nicholas Jennings confirmed:

I've always been in awe of the fact that my hometown was where people like Jackie Mittoo and Stranger Cole and Lord Tanamo and Jay Douglas...and then later Leroy Sibbles and from Trinidad Mojah...and on and on [*called home*]. So, we had the Oakwood and Eglinton hub, we had the Malton hub, and we had your hub Keele and Finch, Jane and Finch. All of that music was – from my perspective as a music fan but also as a music journalist – I just thought that we were just so fortunate to have all of that going on in the city.<sup>122</sup>

Unfortunately, Jennings was one of the few mainstream journalists to devote ink to the city's reggae community.

Perhaps the Toronto reggae scene was simply a microcosm of so many other artistic disciplines and endeavours in Canada where the local girl or boy had to go abroad to make it big.<sup>123</sup> Phil Vassell, whose magazine has been one of the only Toronto

publications to keep its finger on the local reggae scene, lamented the fact that so many quality artists were compelled to leave Canada and ply their trade in greener pastures.

If you look at their [reggae artists] address and acknowledge the fact that that address was a Canadian address at one point...people get to a point where they say 'you know what, if this is what I want to pursue, maybe I need to be elsewhere.'<sup>124</sup>

No, it was not a lack of talent. Britain may have been blessed with Jamaica's Jackie Edwards, Owen Gray and Laurel Aitken, but Canada could answer with Leroy Sibbles, Jackie Mittoo, Stranger Cole, Johnny Osbourne, Delroy Wilson, Prince Jammy, Carlene Davis, Lord Tanamo and so many other veritable legends of Jamaican popular music who imparted their knowledge to the next generation of reggae artists.



## CHAPTER IX

### *A STRANGE LAND:* CONCLUSION

With the advent of rap and hip hop music in the 1980s, reggae's popularity was beginning to wane. Reggae, for all of its popularity in mainland Europe, Britain and her former colonies, struggled to make significant inroads into the American mainstream. American black radio stations in particular, avoided jumping on the reggae bandwagon, even though reggae had a massive influence on American rap and hip hop.<sup>1</sup> As early as 1985, rock critic Alan Niester, attending Reggae Sunsplash at Toronto's Massey Hall, prophetically observed the obvious issues of the audience's black demographic:

Anyone looking would have been hard-pressed to find someone under 20. These were predominantly older fans, people who grew up with reggae before coming north. Today's black youth, those in school instead of the workforce, is more interested in Grandmaster Flash or The Fat Boys – New York rap – than in the spirit of Bob Marley.<sup>2</sup>

Predictably, younger Jamaican-Canadians were disinclined prepared to embrace the music of their mom and dad. Young white reggae fans were also thinning.

Moreover, today's reggae, in Toronto and elsewhere, does not resonate with the rebel youth sub-culture that it once did. The punk-reggae alliance has been broken. As Duncombe and Tremblay have asserted, today:

...most punks wouldn't be caught dead with a Bob Marley record, as reggae as a whole has come to signify a kind of collegiate bohemianism (or worse: frat boys partying on spring break) and is incompatible with punk's serious politics and no-bullshit aesthetic.<sup>3</sup>

While these are very sweeping assertions in what is still an excellent collection of important essays, Duncombe and Tremblay are partially correct in that reggae has ceased to mean the same thing to white youth subculture today that it did a generation ago.

Even in its *golden age*, Canadian reggae could not remotely compete with the British scene, which continued to value and develop its own British reggae star system. Willi Williams, who lives in Pickering but has made much of his living from music in Europe and Britain in particular, opined:

You have to understand that Britain is a world leader. Canada is not really a world leader. Canada is a colony of Britain...they'll follow everybody else...I'm not knocking the place as a country, because Canada is a beautiful place.<sup>4</sup>

Importantly, blacks and whites in Brixton, for instance, were more readily able to identify with each other along class lines and, for many, class-association trumped racial considerations. Unemployment in the heart of the Thatcher reign was a great leveller and positively galvanized many different sorts of relationships between blacks and whites of the working and under-classes. 'Class' in Canada behaved differently and was a far less unifying form, even in the country's urban centres. As journalist Peter Goddard observed in 1980, Canadian reggae had "less to do with revolution than recreation."<sup>5</sup> Perhaps because of this, the Canadian-styled rude boy lacked the aggression found in the UK reinterpretation of the Jamaican rude boy.

The Jamaican enclaves in Britain were also older than the Canadian ones by two generations. By the 1960s, West Indians and whites who were living in the poorer areas of Britain's inner-cities were, through simple propinquity, obliged to accept and even adopt part of the other's culture. While the essence of movements like the RAR rang true for Canadians, Toronto did not experience the intensely physical riots that plagued Britain in the late 1970s and into the next decade where black *and* white youths fought the police side-by-side.<sup>6</sup> During a particularly violent week in the summer of 1981 when black and white youth clashed with the police in various parts of Britain, the Specials'

‘Ghost Town’ served as the movement’s anthem and was number one on the British charts:

*This town, is coming like a ghost town  
Why must the youth fight against themselves?  
Government leaving the youth on the shelf  
This place, is coming like a ghost town  
No job to be found in this country  
Can't go on no more  
The people getting angry.*<sup>7</sup>

It was in this atmosphere that ska and reggae came to be the sound of a disenfranchised and proudly multiracial generation in Britain. As tough as the ‘struggle’ in Toronto may have been, the city simply didn’t get hot enough to cook up the same results.<sup>8</sup>

Reggae in Canada was localized, grounded mainly in the Toronto experience, and only particular parts at that. While the same might be said about British reggae, London had satellite scenes orbiting in Coventry, Birmingham, Bristol, Manchester, Glasgow and various urban areas of like constitution. These satellites informed the larger UK scene. In Toronto, the Sattalites, and a handful of other bands *were* the scene.

In terms of infrastructure, the Canadian scene paled in comparison to the British one. Several British reggae record companies moved thousands of units and experienced sustained chart success with artists like Millie Small, Desmond Dekker, John Holt, Dave and Ansell Collins and later with indigenous British artists like Matumbi, Aswad, Steel Pulse, UB40 and Maxi Priest. British record companies also had the necessary gumption and resources it took to stare down and persuade stiff necked programmers at the BBC to play reggae music, as London-based Trojan Records executive Chips Richards recalled:

I was pushing a record called ‘Everything I Own’ by Ken Boothe, which finally became No. 1, and I was in the BBC offices when it was being played over the radio by Tony Blackburn. Then half-way through playing the record, he stopped it and said something like: ‘Oh, utter rubbish! How can anyone in his right mind go

out and buy something like this, after listening to the David Gates *real* version?' That got me absolutely mad. I no longer respected anybody. I stopped knocking on doors. I pushed doors and I entered. And I reminded them that they were public servants representing the public, and I was a member of the public. I no longer used the soft smiling attitude. I began to demand. I used to compile scrap-books showing them the demand for Reggae. I wrote letters to them telling them that our records were in the breakers in the British Market Research Board (BMRB), and that our records used to outsell a lot of pop records, and it was because of lack of radio support that we could not have progressed further.<sup>9</sup>

Perhaps Canada needed a Chips Richards who pushed doors, entered the belly of commercial radio stations and demanded that reggae be played.

Canadian reggae, nevertheless, made some gains and profoundly impacted the lives of many Canadians, especially in the mid to late 1980s. As Messenjah's Ojiji Harvey noted:

We were on the vanguard, we were the tip of the spear that helped to create that. A lot of the times, when we went to a town in 'prairie someplace' we were the first dreads anyone ever saw. And I think people initially came out of curiosity to check out these freaky guys and then they started to say 'wait a second, we can dance to this.'<sup>10</sup>

The Sattalites enjoyed the same elevating experiences as Bruce McGillivray explained:

We put black and white people together in this country, and it is these types of art forms that are, unfortunately from, say a government level...are forgotten...they should be supported, because that's one of things that develops a society, is music, art...I think that's probably what, I think we've accomplished most for doing this all of these years as the Sattalites, is to draw people together.<sup>11</sup>

Though real commercial success lay mostly out of reach, Canadian reggae bands could count as having won cultural and personal successes. This was especially so when artists opted for a Canadian-centric approach and were not overly focussed on chasing the 'Yard', or even British sound. The golden age of Canadian reggae may have been ephemeral, but the legacy of those Queen Street West bands that got Toronto jamming remains well in tact in the city and elsewhere.

Flashes of Canadian-based reggae bubbled beyond the golden age of the 1980s. Big Sugar's 'Turn the Lights On', featuring as it did, veteran reggae bassist Gary Lowe was a significant radio hit in 1999 and provides an example of how impressive reggae's influence on popular Canadian musical currents was.<sup>12</sup> In 1994, Snow (*aka* Darrin O'Brien), who was born and raised in Toronto's Allenbury projects became, for a time, the most commercially successful white DJ in the world.<sup>13</sup> Snow's 'Informer', which he sang completely in Jamaican Patois, was an international hit including in Jamaica.<sup>14</sup>

The 'survivals' of Toronto's reggae pioneers live on in various ways and are not necessarily couched in the reggae approach, but rather in the genre's offshoots. Reggae has directly influenced and informed, *inter alia*, American rap, hip hop, British jungle music and Puerto Rican *reggaeton*. Canadian hip-hop in particular, has always had a fair quotient of reggae within its brand.<sup>15</sup> As Walker explained:

Rap artists such as Toronto's Kardinal Offichal and MC Collizhun (formerly of Nefarious) and Vancouver's Rascalz fuse heavy doses of reggae and reggae vocal style into hip-hop laced with lyrics that sometimes offer incisive social commentary about the Caribbean diaspora in Canada.<sup>16</sup>

New talented and socio-politically active songwriters who may have, in an earlier time, been streamlined into the reggae sphere were now finding different ways to articulate their message.

\*\*\*

Reggae music did indeed facilitate a cultural dialogue between Jamaican migrant and Canadian host in Toronto during the 1970s and 1980s. Musical and cultural exchanges occurred in various places along the city's ethnic frontier. From basement blues dances to the nightclubs of Queen Street West, to large venues like the Ontario Forum and Maple Leaf Gardens, reggae united sometimes strange bedfellows and

brought black and white youth together in Toronto in a sometimes highly-politicized, ‘oppositional’ movement that rebelled against the status quo.

Migrants were able to enact their Jamaican ethnicity within these reggae venues, while non-Jamaicans were able to satisfy a curiosity in Jamaican music and culture. So ubiquitous was the reggae sound in Toronto that by the 1980s, it had become an expected part of the city’s musical vernacular. Yet, Jamaican migrants in Canada were not a homogeneous group. Likewise, members of the city’s non-Jamaican (mostly white) youth culture were attracted to reggae and Jamaicans for a diversity of reasons. Considering, these two shifting variables, those reggae texts crafted in Toronto ultimately held different meanings for different people. In fact, sometimes the only thread that tied this multiplicity of experiences together was that Toronto was the *place* in which reggae happened.

At the same time, the hybrid that is reggae music rather evolved outside of *place*. That is to say, reggae as a transnational popular music form was made by a ‘people in motion’ and was constantly being informed by influences that had ping-ponged back and forth across the Atlantic Ocean. Between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, the musical cultures of Africa and Europe fused in the ports of Jamaica’s cultural economy, resulting in a creolized Jamaican sound. In the twentieth century, however, technology accelerated the musical conversation that occurred across the Black Atlantic. It was an organic process: while Jamaican migrants, labourers, domestics and musicians carried the island’s popular musics with them wherever they went, radio and sound systems broadcast British and American musics back to Jamaica, updating the new musics being created there. Simultaneously, ska, rocksteady and reggae were being reimagined by

Brits, and later Canadians living in urban centres that boasted a healthy Jamaican population. A few of these artists were lucky enough to complete the circle by taking their hybrid of the hybrid back to Jamaica *via* both performance and recording.

Such successes were, at least for the Canadian reggae brand, hard won. Despite the significant amount of reggae texts crafted by non-Rastas, non-Jamaicans and non-blacks, it was the black dreadlocked Rastafarian image that became the normative iconography for the genre. This was in part due to the image of Bob Marley who had given reggae music its ‘face’. Though he raised the profile of reggae, Marley’s image assembled an artificial apparatus within the media that subsequently dictated what reggae should *sound* and *look* like. The Marley effect limited – at least as far as some journalists were concerned – reggae’s ‘authenticities’. As such, it had to sound, appear and behave a certain way. This effect made mischief for multiracial bands like Britain’s UB40 and Canada’s Sattalites. Yet, it also set limitations on some black reggae musicians in Canada who wanted to push the reggae envelope. Both groups were circumscribed by what reggae was ‘supposed to be’ and by restrictive constructions of ‘blackness’ and ‘whiteness’. This fact obliged many musicians to chase an ‘authentic’ Jamaican sound at the expense of fully realizing a Canadian one.

As popular as it may have been, *Reggae Canadiana* never reached the heights it might have, given the wealth of talent, Toronto’s large Jamaican demographic and the multicultural makeup of some of its acts. The scene fell well short of the successes realized in its British counterpart. Still, the majority of migrants in this study believe an association with reggae music gave them a psychological advantage in their own acculturation process. In short, reggae was part of their strategy for success. The music

from home strengthened their own sense of self, helped them to build successful lives and meaningful relationships with non-Jamaican Canadians in Toronto, and encouraged them to sing King Alpha's song in their new strange land.

Across the metaphorical bridge, non-Jamaican Torontonians were summoned to reggae by a variety of signifiers. Whether it was matters of spirituality, the oppositional aesthetic of the reggae text, marijuana, or simply the infectious Jamaican hybrid of 'melody' and 'rhythm' that struck a sympathetic, if sub-conscious chord, reggae was central to a process that coupled host to migrant in various places around Toronto. Many non-Jamaicans believe that without reggae, they would have had little cause to connect with the Jamaican migrant community. The bridge-building and bridge-crossing process transcended music and reggae provided an important social environment where differences between migrant and host were negotiated and, for some, long-lasting relationships were forged. There was an earnest form of multiculturalism that bore little resemblance to the governmental brochure version of the policy.

While it may have been on life-support, Canadian reggae is not dead. Certainly, indigenous Canadian reggae is still being made by a diverse base of artists, such as the Filipino-Anglo-Indian-Canadian singer Elaine Sheppard and the Australian-Canadian artist, RahLion.<sup>17</sup> DJ Carrie Mullings has also been able to reenergize the Canadian reggae scene. Instead of following the CRTC guidelines of playing thirty percent Canadian content and seventy percent non-Canadian, Carrie Mullings reversed the quota. Yet, even this was not enough for the Ambassador of Canadian Reggae. Carrie did the unthinkable and changed her show to one hundred percent Canadian reggae music. This was a bold move even for the confident DJ in the new millennium:



When I made the switch, I'm like: 'oh my God, they're going to crucify me, they're going to call in, they're going to hate the show.' Because I felt that thirty percent I felt was what was keeping the show alive. And it really wasn't. It was how you deliver the music to the people and how you perceive that music as a radio DJ and what you say to [the listenership].<sup>18</sup>

With her show being carried on internet radio, Carrie now has listeners all around the world and regularly gets messages from Kuala Lumpur, Bangkok, Sierra Leone, Kuwait, Germany, Denmark, and various other places and uses an online translator to reach out to all of the people that are listening to *new* Canadian reggae.<sup>19</sup> It is hoped that these new reggae artists trumpet the *Canadianness* in their sound and text, and that they observe the tenet of 'understanding' that, as Jo Jo Bennett reminds us, 'is the key to it all'.

## EPILOGUE

I now submit my reggae *curriculum vitae*: as a solo artist, I am a two-time Juno-Award nominee (for Best Reggae Recording: 2001 and 2009), a Canadian Reggae Music Award Winner (2009), and a four-time Reggae Music Achievements Award nominee. I was also the first recipient of the Karl Mullings Memorial Award (2007) for commitment to reggae in Canada. In the last twenty-some years I have performed over 2,000 shows in Canada, the United States, the United Kingdom and, of course, Jamaica. I am the current Canadian bandleader for ska pioneer and jazz guitar virtuoso Ernest Ranglin. Likewise, I am the Canadian bandleader for the two-time Grammy nominee Brinsley Forde, founder of UK reggae greats Aswad. I was the on-stage Musical Director for the popular Jamaica to Toronto project that toured the Canadian festival circuit in 2007 and 2008. I am also, alongside Sattalites' lead singer Fergus Hambleton, a founder of the Two Bobs, a project that unites the musics of Bob Marley and Bob Dylan.

I have had the good fortune to perform and record with some of Jamaica's musical legends. These include: Sly & Robbie, reggae's most famous rhythm section; Willi Williams, composer of the Clash's 'Armagedion Time'; ska giants, Prince Buster, Eric "Monty" Morris, Derrick Morgan and Ken Lazarus; Jamaican jazz legend Sonny Bradshaw who was guru to many of the island's most famous musical exports; rocksteady trailblazers Hopeton Lewis and Lynn Taitt; Jamaican folk/reggae icon Ernie Smith; reggae stars Big Youth, Dawn Penn, Dennis AlCapone, Bob Andy, Boris Gardiner, Larry Marshall; and one of the island's most integral backing bands the Fab Five. I have also had the pleasure of performing with UK reggae artists like the English

Beat's Dave Wakeling, Tippa Irie and UB40. My cousin Michael Virtue was UB40's keyboard player for 28 years. My black Jamaican uncle Sid, Michael's dad, was pivotal in importing Jamaican music into the UK in the 1960s. His 45s and LPs supplied the backdrop to many of the 'blues dances' that UB40 members attended when they were youths and which they later paid tribute to on their multi-platinum selling *Labour of Love* series. Uncle Sid's collection, of course, also had a considerable influence on me.

In terms of Canadian reggae, I played my first nightclub date with Messenjah a month after my fourteenth birthday. At fifteen, I joined Ronnie "Bop" Williams' band Yahwedeh. Williams appeared on several cuts with Bob Marley and Jimmy Cliff. I am the only musician – as far as I, or any of my interviewees know – to have performed live with Toronto's 'Big 3' of the 1980s: Messenjah, The Sattalites and 20TH Century Rebels. I have also performed and recorded with various other Canadian reggae acts including Michael St. George, Errol Blackwood, Lazo, Mohjah, R.Z. Jackson, King Ujah, Andru Branch, Adrian "Sheriff" Miller, Rupert "Ojiji" Harvey, Jay Douglas, Jackie James, Tanya Mullings and Noel Ellis. I have been dubbed by the local scene and Toronto media to be the protégé of Studio One keyboardist, the late Jackie Mittoo (I am, of course, flattered to be mentioned in the same sentence as the man who helped to invent the genre). This moniker likely stems from the close relationship I enjoyed with Jackie in my teens; the last years of his short life. One of Jackie's last recordings was made with me. Knowing that he was near the end, Jackie suggested that I might play him in a made-for-television movie about his life; a joke he made from his deathbed at Wellesley Hospital in Toronto. I of course reminded Jackie that I was much taller than he was.<sup>1</sup>

Outside of the musical quotient, I have been surrounded by Jamaicans and their culture all of my life. I was born at Branson Hospital in North York in 1970 and grew up at Keele and Finch where I attended Stilecroft Public School, Elia Junior High and C.W. Jeffreys. This area of north Toronto was both the most densely-populated square mile in Canada and one that boasted an incredibly high number of Jamaican ex-pats. The nurse that helped Dr. Rubenzhal bring me into the world was Jamaican (she insisted, however, that my mom call me Willie and not Jason). Roan, my first school-chum in kindergarten, was Jamaican. My first kiss was given to me by Sonia, a young Jamaican girl who lived a few doors down from my townhouse. My best friend, whom I lost to cancer when I was fifteen and he eighteen, was Richard Harvey, a Jamaican whose older brothers Carl and Ojiji (referenced throughout the project) have had significant international reggae careers with Toots and the Maytals and Messenjah respectively. I usually spent Saturday nights up at the Harvey house where I experienced Jamaican culture, cuisine and faith systems (both Seventh Day Adventist and Rastafarian) for the first time. It was with Richard that I started my first band when I was twelve. I am now, at the time of writing, forty-two years old and have happily lived these years within this Scottish-Canadian-Jamaican kaleidoscope.

## APPENDIX A

### QUESTIONNAIRE “A”

(For Jamaican immigrants settled and living in Toronto)

1. What is your name?
2. Where were you born?
3. When were you born?
4. What is/was your occupation?
5. What is your religion?
6. What year did you emigrate from Jamaica?
7. What motivated you to move to Canada?
8. Who came with you? What was the process like?
- 9/10. Why did you choose Toronto? Which neighbourhood did you first move to and why? What was your experience like there?
11. Was Canada as you expected? How so? Or, how was it different?
12. Were you able to find a place to participate in/celebrate Jamaican culture in Canada? If so, what sorts of places were available for you to engage in your native culture?
13. What part of Jamaican culture were you most eager to participate in or celebrate? (Music? Cuisine? Faith system?) Why? Provide details/explain your activity.
14. Were other Canadians supportive or critical of your special interest in your own Jamaican culture? Can you speak to any particular negative experience with other Canadians with regards to Jamaican culture? Can you speak to any particular positive experience with other Canadians with regards to Jamaican culture?
15. Have you personally ever shared Jamaican culture with non-Jamaicans in Canada? If so, how and under what circumstances did this come about? (If not, why not?)
16. To what extent do you feel Jamaican music was accepted by non-Jamaican Canadians? Did you expect this? What do you think are the reasons for their acceptance, great appreciation or rejection of Jamaican music?
17. To what extent did music help or hinder your own adaptation to Canada? Do you think music acted as a bridge in this process? Did music give you an advantage over other migrants?
18. Do you now consider yourself more Jamaican than Canadian or do you identify more with the black diaspora at large? Why?
19. How long of a process was it for you before you felt “Canadian”? (Why? How did this happen?)
20. Do you think more recent immigrants from Jamaica are much different from the wave of Jamaican migration that you were part of? If yes, how so?
21. Do you view your migration to Canada as a success? Why?
22. Do you miss Canada when you go to Jamaica? What do you miss?
23. What sorts of non-Jamaican music do you like or listen to? Please be specific if you can. When, where, and why did you begin doing this?
24. Have you maintained long-term relationships with any non-Jamaicans throughout your time here in Canada? How & why?
25. To what extent has music affected your life in Canada, your sense of yourself, your relationships with fellow Jamaican-Canadians, non-Jamaicans and your sense of Toronto? Was this something that changed over time?

### MUSICIANS’ SUBSET QUESTIONS

1. Do you play a musical instrument/sing?
2. Would you consider reggae/ska music your favourite/most important?
3. How easy/difficult is it for non-Jamaicans to play reggae/ska?
4. Do you think there is a special Canadian sound (in terms of reggae/ska)? If so, can you describe some of its features?
5. Do Canadian reggae/ska artists draw on different themes than Jamaican artists? Is there a great deal of difference in the lyrics?
6. Do Canadian reggae/ska artists draw on different musical influences than Jamaican artists?
7. Do you think Canadian audiences respond to indigenous Canadian reggae/ska artists differently than they do to Jamaican artists?
8. How do you feel Jamaican audiences respond to Canadian reggae/ska artists?
9. Do you think reggae/ska in Canada has helped to erode racial lines and promote harmony?

## APPENDIX B

### QUESTIONNAIRE "B"

(For non-Jamaican Canadians living in Toronto)

1. What is your name?
2. Where were you born?
3. When were you born?
4. What is/was your occupation?
5. What is your religion?
6. Where did you grow up?
7. What kind of music did you listen to when you were growing up and why?
8. How did you cultivate relationships with Jamaicans who had immigrated to Toronto? To what extent was this hard or easy and why?
9. When/where were you first introduced to Jamaican music and culture?
10. Were you attracted to Jamaican culture, and if so, why?
11. What attracted you to reggae or ska music over the music of other ethnicities? What particular bands, etc, why?
12. Do you see Jamaican culture as being much different from your own? If so, how? Or, do you feel that it isn't much different?
13. How does Jamaican music compare to/reflect, if at all, the traditional music of your own culture?
14. Do you feel that elements of your own culture (traditional music, etc...) can be found in Jamaican music?
15. What other aspects of Jamaican culture, if any, have you embraced? (Cuisine? Faith system?)
16. How has Jamaican music and culture affected (made it easier to) the cultivating of relationships with Jamaicans who immigrated to Toronto?
17. a) How have other Jamaicans viewed your special interest in Jamaican music and culture? To what extent were they supportive/critical? How was this manifested?  
b) Can you speak to any particular negative experience with Jamaicans regarding your special interest in Jamaican music and culture? What happened? Was it resolved? If so, how?  
c) Can you speak to any particular positive experience with Jamaicans regarding your special interest in Jamaican music and culture?
18. Were your non-Jamaican family members and/or friends supportive or critical of your special interest in Jamaican music and culture? Did you introduce Jamaican culture/music to friends/family members?
19. To what extent was music a bridge in building relationships with Jamaicans? How, when, where, why do you see this bridge in operation?
20. Have you maintained long-term relationships with any Jamaicans? If so, why and how?
21. How has this engagement with Jamaican music affected your life?

### MUSICIANS' SUBSET QUESTIONS

1. Do you play a musical instrument/sing?
2. Would you consider reggae/ska music your favourite/most important?
3. How easy/difficult is it for non-Jamaicans to play reggae/ska?
4. Do you think there is a special Canadian sound (in terms of reggae/ska)? If so, can you describe some of its features?
5. Do Canadian reggae/ska artists draw on different themes than Jamaican artists? Is there a great deal of difference in the lyrics?
6. Do Canadian reggae/ska artists draw on different musical influences than Jamaican artists do?
7. Do you think Canadian audiences respond to indigenous Canadian reggae/ska artists differently than they do to Jamaican artists?
8. How do you feel Jamaican audiences respond to Canadian reggae/ska artists?
9. Do you think reggae/ska in Canada has helped to erode racial lines and promote harmony?

## APPENDIX C

### A small sampling of the Reggae Cover Song Tradition

Song Title	Jamaican Artist	Original/Most Notable Release	Credits and Misc.
I Wanna Hold Your Hand	Glen Adams, c.1960s	The Beatles, 1963	John Lennon and Paul McCartney
Hey There Lonely Boy (Girl)	Glen Adams and Roy Shirley, 1968	Ruby and the Romantics, 1963	Earl Shuman, Leon Carr
(Let Me Be Your) Teddy Bear	Laurel Aitken, 1969	Elvis Presley w/The Jordanaires, 1957	Kal Mann and Bernie Lowe
Don't Be Cruel	Laurel Aitken, 1969	Elvis Presley, 1956	Otis Blackwell and Elvis Presley
Halfway to Paradise	Laurel Aitken, 1969	Tony Orlando, 1961	Music by Carole King, lyrics by Gerry Goffin
If You Need Me	Laurel Aitken, 1969	Wilson Pickett, 1963	Robert Bateman and Sonny Sanders
Mr. Lee	Laurel Aitken, 1969	Bobbettes, 1957	Bobbettes
John B	Laurel Aitken, 1969	The Beach Boys, 1966 (Sloop John B)	Adapted from "The John B. Sails" (Bahamian folk song) and Wreck of the John B (Lee Hays and Carl Sandburg)
Quando Quando	Laurel Aitken, 1969	Tony Renis, 1962	Original song "Quando Quando Quando"
Sloop John B.	Laurel Aitken, 1969	Beach boys	<i>Trad</i> ; Brian Wilson
Halfway to Paradise	Laurel Aitken	Tony Orlando, 1961	Carole King, Gerry Goffin
Save the Last Dance	Laurel Aitken, 1969	The Drifters, 1960	Doc Pomus and Mort Shuman
Stand by Me	Laurel Aitken, 1969	Ben E. King, 1961	Adapted from "Stand by Me Father" (The Soul Stirrers, 1960; Sam Cooke and James Alexander)
Don't be Cruel	Laurel Aitken, 1969	Elvis Presley, 1956	Otis Blackwell, Elvis Presley
Teddy Bear	Laurel Aitken, 1969	Elvis Presley, 1957	Kal Mann, Bernie Lowe
Blowing in the Wind	Laurel Aitken, 1967	Bob Dylan, 1963	Bob Dylan
If I Were a Bell	Roland Alphonso, 1961	Stan Kenton, 1961, from <i>Guys and Dolls</i> , 1950	Frank Loesser
Later for the Gator	Roland Alphonso, 1963	Willis Jackson, 1951	Willis Jackson
Stone Cold Dead	Roland Alphonso c.1960s	Ella Fitzgerald and Louis Jordan, 1946	Houdini
Shake a Lady	Roland Alphonso, 1965	Ray Bryant	Ray Bryant

Caravan	Roland Alphonso, 1965	Duke Ellington and his famous Orchestra, 1937	Ellington, Tizol, Mills
From Russia With Love	Roland Alphonso, 1965	From the movie <i>From Russia with Love</i>	Lionel Bart
Sucu, Sucu	Roland Alphonso, 1965	Laurie Johnson Orchestra	Tarateno Rojas
Echo Four Two	Roland Alphonso, 1965	Laurie Johnson Orchestra, 1961 (TV Series)	Laurie Johnson
The James Bond Theme	Roland Alphonso, 1966	John Barry Orchestra, 1960	Monty Norman
You Can Depend on Me	Roland Alphonso, c.1966	Brenda Lee, 1961	Charles Carpenter, Louis Dunlap and Earl Hines
20.75	Roland Alphonso, 1966	Willie Mitchell, 1964	Willie Mitchell, 1960
Ringo's Theme	Roland Alphonso, 1966	The Beatles, 1963	John Lennon, Paul McCartney
Joshua Fought the Battle of Jericho	Roland Alphonso, 1966	<i>Trad.</i>	<i>Trad.</i>
Maria Elena	Roland Alphonso and Studio One Orchestra, 1966	Bob Eberly with the Jimmy Dorsey Orchestra, 1941	Lorenzo Barcelata
Wolverton Mountain	Roland Alphonso, 1965	Claude King, 1962	Merle Kilgore, Claude King
Song for My Father	Roland Alphonso, 1967	Horace Silver, 1964	Horace Silver
Guantanamera	Rolando Alphonso, 1967	The Sandpipers, 1966	Joseito Fernandez, Herminio "El Diablo" García Wilson
Charade	Roland Alphonso, 1967	From the movie <i>Charade</i>	Henry Mancini
It's Now or Never	Rolando Alphonso, 1967	Elvis Presley, 1960	Eduardo di Capua
Sounds of Silence	Roland Alphonso, 1967	Simon and Garfunkel, 1965	Paul Simon
Get Back	Anonymously Yours, c.1960s	The Beatles, 1969	John Lennon and Paul McCartney, Billy Preston
A World Without Love	Johnny Arthey Orchestra	The Beatles, 1964	John Lennon and Paul McCartney
Pied Piper	Bob Andy and Marcia Griffiths, 1970	Changin' Times, 1965	Steve Duboff, Artie Kornfield
Lover's Concerto	Audrey, 1969	The Toys, 1965	Sandy Linzer, Denny Randell
The Girl of My Dreams	Dave Barker, 1970	The Cliques, 1956	Josea, Ling, Taub, Davis
Don't Let the Sun Catch You Crying	Dave Barker, 1970	Gerry and the Pacemakers, 1964	Marsden, Chadwick, Maguire, Marsden
I've Gotta Get a Message to You	Dave Barker and Lloyd Chalmers	Bee Gees, 1968	Barry Gibb, Robin Gibb, Maurice Gibb
Flip Flop Fly	Theo Beckford	Joe Turner, 1954	Jesse Stone, Joe Turner
Cantaloupe Island	Jo Jo Bennett, 1967	Herbie Hancock, 1964	Herbie Hancock



Breakfast In Bed	Lorna Bennett, 1972	Dusty Springfield, 1969	Eddie Hinton, Donnie Fritts
Bernie's Tune	Val Bennett, c.1960s	Stan Kenton, 1959	Bernie Miller
Take Five	Val Bennett, 1968	Dave Brubeck, 1961	Dave Brubeck
Stranger on the Shore	Val Bennett, 1968	Acker Bilk, 1961	Bilk, Merlin
Hop, Skip, And Jump	Val Bennett, 1968	Lynn Hope, 1952	Lynn Hope
Our Man Flint	Val Bennett, 1968	Bobbie Gentry, 1960s	Goldsmith, Gentry
5-10-15 hours	Val Bennett, 1969	Ruth Brown, 1952	Rudy Toombs
A Luta Continua	Big Youth, 1986	Miriam Makeba, 1975	Bongi Makeba (Miriam's daughter)
Night Train	Tony Binns and the Rudies, 1969	Jimmy Forest, 1952; James Brown, 1962	Washington, Simpkins, Forest
Reggae and Shout (Twist and Shout)	The Black Beatles	(Twist and Shout) The Beatles, 1961	Phil Medley, Bert Russell
Twist and Shout	The Black Beatles, Derrick Morgan, 1970	(Shake it up Baby) Top Notes, 1961	Phil Medley, Bert Russell
Somebody's Watching You	Black Uhuru, 1984	Sly and The Family Stone, 1969	Sly and The Family Stone
Hey Joe	Black Uhuru, 1990	The Leaves, 1964	Originally copyrighted by Billy Roberts in 1962
Something	The Blues Busters, c.1960s	The Beatles, 1969	John Lennon and Paul McCartney
Ob La Di Ob La Da	Joyce Bond	The Beatles, 1968	John Lennon and Paul McCartney
Puppet On A String	Ken Boothe, 1967	Sandie Shaw, 1967	Martin, Coulter
Movin' Away	Ken Boothe, 1968	Kenny Lynch, 1967	Lynch, Wackett
Come Tomorrow	Ken Boothe 1968	Manfred Mann, 1965	Elgin, Augustus, Phillips
Those Lazy Hazy Crazy Days of Summer	Ken Boothe, 1968	Nat 'King' Cole, 1963	Hans Carste, Charles Tobias
In the Summertime	Ken Boothe, 1970	Mungo Jerry, 1970	Ray Dorset
Satisfaction	Ken Boothe, 1970	The Rolling Stones, 1965	Keith Richards and Mick Jagger
My Love	Ken Boothe, c.1970s	The Beatles, 1970	John Lennon and Paul McCartney
In the Summertime	Ken Boothe, 1970	Mungo Jerry, 1970	Ray Dorset
Five O'clock Whistle	Baba Brooks, 1963	Duke Ellington and his Famous Orchestra, 1940	Myrow, Irvin, Gannon
Portrait of my Love	Baba Brooks, c.1960s	Matt Munro, 1960	Ornadel, West
Jungle Drums	Baba Brooks, 1963	Artie Shaw	Lecuona
St. Thomas	Baba Brooks, 1963	Sonny Rollins, 1956	Sonny Rollins

Watermelon Man	Baba Brooks Band, 1963	Herbie Hancock, 1962	Herbie Hancock
La Paloma	Baba Brooks, 1964	c.1863	Sebastian De Yradiew, Krautner
Melody D'Amour	Baba Brooks, 1964	Edie Gorme, 1963	L. Johns, H. Salvador
Makin' Whoopee	Baba Brooks, 1965	Edie Cantor, 1928	Walter Donaldson
To Love Somebody	Busty Brown, 1969	The Bee Gees, 1967	Barry Gibb, Robin Gibb
How Could I Let You Get Away	Dennis Brown, 1972	The Spinners, 1972	Yvette Davis
Silhouettes	Dennis Brown, 1972	The Rays, 1957	Frank Slay, Jr. and Bob Crewe
Love Grows	Dennis Brown, 1970	(Love Grows Where by Rosemary) Edison Lighthouse, 1970	Tony McCaulay and Barry Mason
Message to Martha	Dennis Brown, 1973	Jerry Butler, 1963	Burt Bacharach and Hal David
Wichita Lineman	Dennis Brown, 1972	Glen Campbell, 1968	Jimmy Webb
Raindrops Keep Fallin' on My Head	Dennis Brown, 1970	B.J. Thomas, 1970	Burt Bacharach and Hal David
Perhaps	Dennis Brown, 1971	Desi Arnaz, 1947	Arnaz' version of <i>Perhaps, Perhaps Perhaps</i> by Joe Davis; in turn adapted from <i>Quizas, quizas, quizas</i> by Osvaldo Farres
I'll Never Fall in Love Again	Dennis Brown, 1970	Johnnie Ray, 1959	Burt Bacharach and Hal David
It's Too Late	Dennis Brown, 1973	Carole King, 1971	King and Toni Stern
Any Day Now	Dennis Brown, 1982	Chuck Jackson, 1962	Burt Bacharach and Bob Hilliard
Black Magic Woman	Dennis Brown, 1972	Fleetwood Mac, 1968	Peter Green
Ain't That Lovin' You (For Reasons More than One)	Dennis Brown, 1979	Johnnie Taylor, 1967	Homer Banks and Allen Jones
By the Time I get to Phoenix	Noel Brown, 1969	Johnny Rivers, 1966	Jimmy Webb
Phoenix	Noel Brown, 1969	Glen Campbell, 1967	Jimmy Webb
Sittin' On the Dock of the Bay	Dennis Brown, 1973	Otis Redding, 1967	Otis Redding and Steve Cropper
Drink To Me Only With Thine Eyes	Carl Bryan, c.1960s	English traditional	<i>Trad.</i>
Estimated Prophet	Burning Spear, 1991	The Grateful Dead, 1977	Bob Weir and John Barlow
Wash Wash	Prince Buster, 1962	(That Lucky Old Sun) Frankie Lane, 1949; (Ol' Man River) Paul Whiteman and His Orchestra w/Bing Crosby and Bix Beiderbecke, 1928	Beasley Smith and Haven Gillespie; Oscar Hammerstein II and Jerome Kern

She Loves You	Prince Buster, 1964	The Beatles, 1963	John Lennon, Paul McCartney
And I Love Her	Prince Buster, 1965	The Beatles, 1964	John Lennon, Paul McCartney
High Blood Pressure	Prince Buster, 1965	Huey "Piano" Smith and the Clowns, 1958	Smith and Vincent
And I Love Her	Prince Buster, 1965	The Beatles, 1964	John Lennon and Paul McCartney
You're Still My Baby	Prince Buster, 1967	Chuck Willis, 1953	Chuck Willis
All My Loving	Prince Buster, 1968	The Beatles, 1963	John Lennon and Paul McCartney
Don't You Know I Love You So	Prince Buster, 1968	Clovers, 1951	Nugetre (Ahmet Ertegun)
Green, Green Grass of Home	Prince Buster, 1968	Bobby Bare, 1965	Curly Putnam
Hey Jude	Prince Buster, 1969	The Beatles, 1968	John Lennon, Paul McCartney
Stand!	Prince Buster, 1969	Sly and the Family Stone, 1969	Sylvester Stewart
Ob La Di Ob La Da	Prince buster 1969, Among others	Beatles, 1968	John Lennon, Paul McCartney
Rainy Night in Georgia	Prince Buster, 1970	Brook Benton, 1970	Tony Joe White
Peter Gunn	Buster's All Stars, 1964	Henry Mancini, 1958 (TV Series)	Henry Mancini
Riding West	Prince Buster All Stars, 1964	Billy Hope and the Badmen, 1958	Martin Brunson Siegel
The Jive Samba	Buster's All Stars, 1964	Cannonball Adderely Sextet, 1962	Nat Adderley
Fever	Junior Byles, 1972	Little Willie John, 1956; Peggy Lee, 1958	Eddie Cooley and Otis Blackwell
Make Yourself	Los Caballeros Orchestra, c.1960s	Sarah Vaughan	Bob Merrill
Something	Susan Cadogan, c.1970s	The Beatles, 1969	John Lennon and Paul McCartney
Hurt So Good	Susan Cadogan, 1973	Millie Jackson, 1973	P. Mitchell
A Letter to an Angel	Cornell Campbell, 1972	Jimmy Clanton, 1960	Jimmy Clanton, Cosimo Matassa
Hello Goodbye	Don Carlos,	The Beatles, 1967	John Lennon and Paul McCartney
Oh Me Oh My	Lloyd Chalmers, 1970	Lulu, 1969	Jim Doris
Takin' That Long Walk Home	Charmers, 1963	Dorothy Jones, 1961	Gerry Goffin, Carole King
Lady Madonna	Chrystalites, 1970	Beatles, 1968	John Lennon, Paul McCartney
You Won't See Me	Clarendonians, 1966	Beatles, 1965	John Lennon, Paul McCartney

Summertime	Lloyd Clarke, 1964	Artie Shaw, 1945, from opera <i>Porgy and Bess</i> , 1935	George Gershwin, DuBose Heyward
The Young Ones	Lloyd Clark, 1968	Cliff Richards, 1962	Brian Bennett, Sid Tepper
Open the Door Richard	Clive and Naomi, 1965	Louis Jordan, 1947	McVea, Clarke
Margie	Clue J. and His Blues Blasters, 1959	Bunk Johnson's Band, 1945	
Lady Madonna	The Crystalites,	The Beatles, 1968	John Lennon and Paul McCartney
Yesterday	Dandy, c.1960s	The Beatles, 1966	John Lennon and Paul McCartney
One Scotch, One Bourbon, One Beer	Dandy and his Group, 1967	Amos Milburn, 1953	Rudolph Toombs
In the Mood	Dandy and his Group, 1967	Glenn Miller, 1940	Joe Garland, Glenn Miller, Andy Razaf
A World Without Love	Del Davis	The Beatles, 1964	John Lennon and Paul McCartney
For Once in My Life	Desmond Dekker, 1969	Jean DuShon, 1969	Originally recorded by Barbara McNair in 1965, Ronald Miller and Orlando Murden
Blackbird (Singing)	Desmond Dekker, c.1970s	The Beatles, 1968	John Lennon and Paul McCartney
Will You Still Love Me Tomorrow	Denzil Dennis, c.1970s	Shirelles, 1961	Gerry Goffin, Carole King
My Way	Denzil Dennis, 1970	Frank Sinatra, 1969	Anka, Thibault, Francois, Revaux
Don't Touch Me Tomatoes	Phyllis Dillon, 1967	Josephine Baker	
Things of the Past	Phyllis Dillon, 1967	Shirelles, 1961	Bob Brass, Irvin Levine
A Lovely Way to Spend an Evening	Phyllis Dillon	Frank Sinatra, 1943	Jimmy McHugh, Harold Anderson
Lipstick on your Collar	Phyllis Dillon, 1969	Connie Francis, 1959	George Goehring, Edna Lewis
She Wears My Ring	Phyllis Dillon, 1968	Roy Orbison	Felice, Bryant, Boudleaux Bryant
Love the one you're with	Phyllis Dillon	Crosby, Stills, Nash and Young, 1971	Stephen Stills
Perfidia	Phyllis Dillon, 1967	The Ventures, 1960	Alberto Dominguez
Close to You	Phyllis Dillon	The Carpenters, 1970	Burt Bacharach, Hal David
Something	Phyllis Dillon	The Beatles, 1969	George Harrison
Midnight Confessions	Phyllis Dillon, 1971	The Grass Roots, 1968	Lou T. Josie
Carry That Weight	Dobby Dobson,	The Beatles, 1969	John Lennon and Paul McCartney
It Comes and Goes	Brent Dowe, 1981	Sadina, 1965	Neil Diamond

Caledonia Boogie	Drumbago's Orchestra, 1961	Louis Jordan, 1945	F. Moore
Ain't Got No Home	Shenley Duffus, 1964	Clarance 'Frogman' Henry, 1956	Clarance Henry
For you my Love	Shenley Duffus, 1962	Larry Darnell, 1949	Paul Gayten
Nobody Knows the Trouble I've Seen	Shenley Duffus, 1965	<i>Trad.</i>	<i>Trad.</i>
You Won't See Me	Errol Dunkley	The Beatles, 1965	John Lennon, Paul McCartney
Ramble	The Dynamites, 1970	(Ramblin' Rose) Nat King Cole, 1962	Noel and Joe Sherman
Hey Jude	The Dynamites, c.1960s	The Beatles, 1968	John Lennon and Paul McCartney
Tom Hawk	The Dynamites, 1969	Elias and his Zigzag Jive Flutes	R.Bopape
Sesame Street	Sly Dunbar, 1981	(Sesame Street Theme [Sunny Day]) Joe Raposo, 1969	Joe Raposo, Jon Stone and Bruce Hart
Inner City Blues	Sly Dunbar, 1982	(Inner City Blues [Make Me Wanna Holler]) Marvin Gaye, 1971	Marvin Gaye and James Nyx, Jr.
Oh, Freedom	Clancy Eccles, 1959	Odetta, 1956	<i>Trad.</i>
Duke of Earl	Alton Ellis, 1966	Gene Chandler, 1962	Dixon, Williams, Edwards
So Much Love	Alton Ellis, 1967	Steve Alaimo, 1966	Carole King and Gerry Goffin
And I Love Her	Alton Ellis, c.1960s	The Beatles, 1964	John Lennon and Paul McCartney
These Eyes	Alton Ellis, 1970	The Guess Who, 1968	Randy Bachman and Burton Cummings
Massachussetts	Alton Ellis, 1967	(The Lights Went Out in Massachusetts) The Bee Gees, 1967	Barry, Robin and Maurice Gibb
Whiter Shade of Pale	Alton Ellis, 1967	Procol Harum, 1967	Inspired by aria from J.S. Bach's <i>Orchestral Suite in D</i>
Let 'Em Try	Alton Ellis, 1967	Rosco Gordon, 1961	R. Gordon, D. Gordon
Bye Bye Love	Alton Ellis, 1968	The Everly Brothers, 1957	Felice Bryant and Boudleaux Bryant
Diana	Alton Ellis, 1968	Paul Anka, 1957	Joe Sherman, Paul Anka
Since I Fell For You	Alton Ellis, 1970	Ella Johnson, 1962	Buddy Johnson
Can't Get Used to Losing You	Alton Ellis, 1970	Andy Williams, 1963	Jerome 'Doc' Pomus, Mort Shuman
Groovy Kind of Love	Hortense Ellis, 1967	Mindbenders, 1966	Carole Bayer-Sager, Toni White
Yesterday	The Flame All Stars	The Beatles, 1966	John Lennon and Paul McCartney

Holy, Holy	Fabulous Flames, 1970	Neil Diamond, 1969	Neil Diamond
Hi-De-Ho	Fabulous Flames, 1971	Blood Sweat and Tears, 1970	Carole King, Gerry Goffin
Here Comes the Sun	Sharon Forrester	The Beatles, 1969	George Harrison
Swing Low Sweet Chariot	Four Aces, 1965	<i>Trad.</i>	<i>Trad.</i>
Love is Blue	Winston Francis, 1968	Johnny Mathis, 1968	Andre Popp, Brian Blackburn
California Dreaming	Winston Francis, 1970	The Mamas and the Pappas, 1965	John Phillips, Michelle Phillips
Games People Play	Winston Francis, 1969	Joe South, 1968	Joe South
Venus	Eric Frater, 1968	Frankie Avalon, 1959	Ed Marshall
Everybody Loves A Lover	Norma Fraser, 1965	Doris Day, 1958	Robert Allen, Richard Adler
The First Cut is the Deepest	Norma Frazer, 1967	Cat Stevens, 1967	Cat Stevens
Na Na Hey Hey Kiss Him Goodbye	Freedom Singers, 1969	Steam, 1969	Leka, Frashuer, De Carlo
United We Stand	Freedom Singers, 1970	Brotherhood of Man, 1970	Tony Hiller, Peter Simmons
Good Golly Miss Molly	Basil Gabbidon, 1962	Little Richard, 1958	John Marascalco, Robert 'Bumps' Blackwell
Elizabethan Reggae	Boris Gardiner and The Love People, 1969	(Andante Cantabile [ <i>aka</i> The Man in the Street]) The Mantovani Orchestra, 1951; (Elizabethan Serenade) Gunther Kallmann Choir, 1964	Ronald Binge
Blame it on the Bossa Nova	Vin Gordon, c.1960s	Edie Gorme, 1963	B. Mann, C. Weil
Afrikaan Beat	Vin Gordon and Lester Sterling, 1968	Bert Kaempfert, 1962	Bert Kaempfert
Dream Dream	The Gaylads, 1966	Everly Brothers, 1958	Felice and Boudleaux Bryant
You Talk Too Much	The Gaylads, 1964	Joe Jones, 1960	Jones-Hall
Love Me with All Your Heart	The Gaylads, 1967	Ray Charles Singers, 1964	Rafael Gaston Perez
Fire and Rain	The Gaylads, 1970	Simon and Garfunkel, 1965	James Taylor
I'll Be Around	Otis Gayle, 1981	The Spinners, 1972	Thomas Bell and Phil Hurt
Son of a Preacherman	The Gaylettes, 1969	Dusty Springfield, 1968	Hurley, Wilkins
Mrs. Robinson	Generation Gap, 1969	Simon and Garfunkel, 1968	Paul Simon

Valley Princess	Vin Gordon, c.1960s	(Blame it on the Bossa Nova) Eydie Gorme, 1963	Barry Mann and Cynthia Weil
Afrikaan Beat	Vin Gordon and Lester Sterling, 1968	Bert Kaempfert, 1962	Bert Kaempfert
No More Dogging	Owen Gray, 1960	Rosco Gordon, 1952	Rosco Gordon
Lovey Dovey	Owen Gray, 1968	Clovers	Memphis Edward Curtis, Ahmet Ertegun
He'll Have to Go	Owen Gray, 1984	Jim Reeves, 1959	Joe and Audrey Allison
Islands in the Stream	Owen Gray, 1984	Dolly Parton and Kenny Rogers, 1983	Barry, Robin and Maurice Gibb
Don't Let Me Down	Marcia Griffiths,	The Beatles, 1970	John Lennon and Paul McCartney
Words	Marcia Griffiths and Jeff Dixon, 1968	Bee Gees, 1968	Barry Gibb, Robin Gibb, Maurice Gibb
Put A Little Love in your Heart	Marcia Griffiths, 1969	Jackie De Shannon, 1969	Jackie De Shannon, Jimmy Holiday, Randy Myers
Heart and Soul	Raymond Harper and The Matador All Stars, 1962	Larry Clinton and His Orchestra feat. Bea Wain, 1938	Hoagy Carmichael and Frank Loesser
Melting Pot	Heaters (Melanie Jonas), 1970	Blue Mink, 1969	Cook, Greenaway
Je T'Aime	Harry J All Stars, 1970	Serge Gainsbourg, 1969	Serge Gainsbourg
Sea of Love	The Heptones, 1969	Phil Phillips and the Twilights, 1959	Phillip Bapiste, George Khoury
I Shall Be Released	The Heptones, 1969	The Band, 1968	Bob Dylan
Young, Gifted And Black	The Heptones, 1970	(To Be Young, Gifted And Black) Nina Simone, 1969	Nina Simone and Wendell Irvine
You've Lost that Lovin' Feelin'	The Heptones, c.1970s	Righteous Brothers, 1964	Phil Spector, Barry
I've Been Trying	The Heptones, 1972	Jerry Butler, 1964	Curtis Mayfield
Crystal Blue Persuasion	The Heptones, 1978	Tommy James and the Shondells, 1968	Tommy James, Ed Gray and Mike Vale
Diana	The Heptones, 1988	Paul Anka, 1957	Paul Anka
I Shall Be Released	The Heptones, 1969	Bob Dylan, 1967	Bob Dylan
Sea of Love	The Heptones, 1968	Phil Phillips with The Twilights, 1959	George Khoury and Phil Phillips
Johnny Lytle	Lennie Hibbert, 1969	Johnny Lytle, 1964	Johnny Lytle

Here I Stand	Justin Hinds, 1966	Wade Flemons, 1958	Wade Flemons
I Ain't Gonna Stand For It	John Holt, 1982	Stevie Wonder, 1980	Stevie Wonder
Alfie	John Holt, 1976	Cilla Black, 1966	Burt Bacharach and Hal David
Baby I'm-A Want You	John Holt, 1973	Bread, 1971	David Gates
Being With You	John Holt, 1982	Smokey Robinson, 1981	Smokey Robinson
For The Love of You	John Holt, 1976	The Isley Brothers, 1975	Isley Brothers
The Girl From Ipanema	John Holt, 1973	Stan Getz and Joao Gilberto 1963	Adapted in English by Norman Gimbel from <i>A Garota de Ipanema</i> by Antonio Carlos Jobim and Vinicius de Moraes
Help Me Make It Through The Night	John Holt, 1973	Kris Kristofferson, 1970	Kris Kristofferson
I Will	John Holt, 1976	The Beatles, 1968	John Lennon and Paul McCartney
Hey Jude	John Holt, c.1970s	The Beatles, 1968	John Lennon and Paul McCartney
Happy Xmas (War is Over)	John Holt, c.1970s	John and Yoko/Plastic Ono Band, 1971	John Lennon and Yoko Ono
I'm Your Man	John Holt, 1969	Chuck Jackson, 1965	Thom Bell and Luther Dixon
I Had a Talk With My Woman	John Holt, 1970	Gene Thomas, 1961	Thomasson
Killing Me Softly With Her Song	John Holt, 1973	Lori Lieberman, 1972	Adapted from <i>Killing Me Softly with His Song</i> by Charles Fox and Norman Gimbel
Let Your Love Flow	John Holt, 1982	Gene Cotton, 1975	Larry Williams
Mr. Bojangles	John Holt, 1973	Jerry Jeff Walker, 1968	Jerry Jeff Walker
Never, Never, Never	John Holt, 1973	Shirley Bassey, 1973	Adapted in English by Norman Newell from the original Italian <i>Grande, grande, grande</i> by Tony Renis
On a Clear Day (You Can See Forever)	John Holt, 1973	Sarah Vaughn, 1966; Originally performed by John Cullum in 1965 in the eponymous stage production	Burton Lane and Alan Lerner
Pledging My Love	John Holt, 1972	Johnny Ace, 1955	Deadrice Malone and Fats Washington
Stick by Me	John Holt, 1971	Shep and The Limelites, 1962	<i>Stick By Me and I'll Stick By You</i> James Sheppard
Stoned Out of My Mind	John Holt, 1973	The Chi-Lites, 1973	Eugene Record and Barbara Acklin



Vaya Con Dios	John Holt, 1982	Anita O'Day, 1953	Buddy Pepper, Larry Russell and Inez James
This Masquerade	John Holt, 1982	Leon Russell, 1972	Leon Russell
Something You Got	Hortense and Alton Ellis, 1965	Chris Kenner, 1961	Kenner, Domino
All Kinds of Everything	Wayne Howard, 1970	Dana, 1970	Derry Lindsay, Jackie Smith
Oklahoma	Terry and the Hurricanes	(Musical) 1943; (Movie) 1955	Richard Rodgers, Oscar Hammerstein II
Leaving on a Jet Plane	David Isaacs, 1968	Peter, Paul and Mary, 1967	John Denver
He'll Have To Go	David Isaacs, 1969	Jim Reeves, 1959	Allison, Allison
Black and White	Gregory Isaacs, 1983	Pete Seeger, 1956	David Arkin and Earl Robinson
Come Together	The Israelites	The Beatles, 1969	John Lennon and Paul McCartney
Woman Go Home	The Jamaicans, 1968	<i>Trad.</i>	M.Makeba, H. Belafonte
Games People Play	The Jamaicans, 1967	Joe South, 1968	Joe South
Memphis Underground	J.J. All Stars, 1969	Herbie Mann, 1969	Herbie Mann
Don't Let Me Down	Harry J. All Stars, 1969	Beatles, 1969	John Lennon, Paul McCartney
But I Do	Al T. Joe, 1962	Clarence 'Frogman' Henry, 1960	Robert Guidry, Paul Gayten
Spinning Wheel	Melanie Jonas and Dave Barker, 1970	Blood, Sweat and Tears, 1969	David Clayton-Thomas
Daddy's Home	Pat Kelly and the Techniques, 1968	Shep and the Limelites, 1961	Sheppard, Miller
The Twelfth of Never	Pat Kelly, 1968	Johnny Mathis, 1957	Jerry Linston, Paul Francis Webster
Try to Remember	Pat Kelly, 1969	Ed Ames, 1965	Harvey Schmidt, Tom Jones
A Hard Day's Night	Pat Kelly, 1983	The Beatles, 1963	John Lennon and Paul McCartney
Angel of the Morning	Joya Landis, 1968	Merrilee Rush and The Turnabouts, 1968	Chip Taylor
Ob La Di Ob La Da	Ken Lazarus, c.1970s	The Beatles, 1968	John Lennon and Paul McCartney
Come and Get It	Ken Lazarus, c.1970s	The Beatles, 1969	John Lennon and Paul McCartney
Dumplin's	Byron Lee, 1960	Doc Bagby, 1957	Doc Bagby and Nathan
My Sweet Lord	Byron Lee, 1970	George Harrison, 1970	George Harrison
Way Back Home	Byron Lee, 1971	Jazz Crusaders, 1970	W.Felder, Bristol, Knight
And I Love Her	Byron Lee and the Dragonaires, 1965	The Beatles, 1964	John Lennon and Paul McCartney
Live and Let Die	Byron Lee and the Dragonaires	The Beatles, 1973	John Lennon and Paul McCartney

Take Five	Barrington Levy, 1979	Dave Brubeck Quartet, 1959	Adapted with new lyrics from <i>Take Five</i> by Paul Desmond
A Darker Shade of Black	Willie Lindo	(Norwegian Wood) The Beatles,	John Lennon and Paul McCartney
My Sweet Lord	Keith Lynn and The S.P.M's	George Harrison, 1970	George Harrison
Ghost Riders in the Sky	Carlos Malcolm, c.1960s	Ramrods, 1961	Stan Jones
Bonanza	Carlos Malcolm, 1965	1960, Theme song from the TV Series	J. Livingstone, R. Evans
Papa Luigi	Carlos Malcolm, 1965	Billy Hope and the Badmen, 1958	Ali, Cadena
Skokiaan	Carlos Malcolm	Louis Armstrong, 1954	August Musarurwa
One Cup of Coffee	Bob Marley, 1962	(I'll Just Have a Cup of Coffee [The I'll Go]) Claude Gray, 1961	Bill Brock
Crying in the Chapel	Bob Marley and the Wailers, 1968	Orioles, 1953	Artie Glenn
Sugar Sugar	Bob Marley and the Wailers, 1969	The Archies, 1969	Andy Kim, Jeff Barry
Keep on Moving	Bob Marley and The Wailers, 1971	(I Gotta Keep on Movin') The Impressions, 1971	Curtis Mayfield
Give Me a Ticket	Bob Marley and The Wailers, 1971	(The Letter) The Box Tops, 1971	Wayne Carson
African Herbsman	Bob Marley and The Wailers, 1971	(Indian Rope Man) Richie Havens, 1969	Richie Havens
Pied Piper	Rita Marley, 1966	Changin' Times, 1965	Duboff, Kornfield
Hey Leroy, Your Mama is Callin' You	Honey Boy Martin, 1967	Les McCann, 1966	Les McCann
Sh-Boom, Life Could be a Dream	Maytals, 1964	The Chords, 1954	Feaster, Keyes, McRae, Feaster, Edwards
Down By the Riverside	Maytals, 1964	<i>Trad.</i>	<i>Trad.</i>
Give Peace a Chance	The Maytals, among Many others	The Plastic Ono Band, 1969	John Lennon
Cecilia	The Maytones, 1970	Paul Simon, 1970	Paul Simon
The Lonely Goatherder	Tommy McCook,	From the musical <i>The Sound Of Music</i> , 1959	Richard Rodgers
The Shadow of Your Smile	Tommy McCook, 1967	From the film <i>The Sandpiper</i> , 1965	Mandel, Webster
Winchester Cathedral	Tommy McCook	New Vaudeville Band, 1967	Geoff Stephens

Peepin'	Tommy McCook and the Supersonics	Lou Donaldson, 1967	Lonnie Smith
Splanky	Tommy McCook, 1962	Count Basie, 1957	Neal Hefti
Exodus	Tommy McCook, 1963	From the movie, 1960	Ernest Gold
El Manisero (Peanut Vendor)	Tommy McCook, and the Skatalites, 1964	Stan Kenton, 1956	Moses Simons
Trotting In	Tommy McCook, 1965	Lloyd Troutman Orchestra	Lloyd Troutman
Cast Your Fate to the Wind (Reincarnation)	Tommy McCook, 1965	Sounds Orchestral, 1965	Vince Guaraldi and Carel Werber
Sermonette	Tommy McCook	Quincy Jones, 1965	Cannonball Adderley
Indian Love Call	Tommy McCook, 1966	Louis Armstrong w/Gordon Jenkins Orchestra, 1950	Frimal, Harbach, Hammerstein
In a Persian Market	Tommy McCook, 1966	c.1920	Albert Ketelbey
Starry Night (Symphony No. 6)	Tommy McCook, 1966	Tchaikovsky, 1893	Pyotr Tchaikovsky
A-Tisket A-Tasket	Tommy McCook/Lynn Tait, 1967	Chick Webb and his Orchestra with Ella Fitzgerald, 1938	Al Feldman, Ella Fitzgerald
The World Needs Love	Tommy McCook	Jackie De Shannon, 1965	Burt Bacharach, Hal David
When the Saints go Marching In	Tommy McCook, 1969	<i>Trad.</i>	<i>Trad.</i>
Just Don't Want to Be Lonely	Freddie McGregor, 1987	Ronnie Dyson, 1973	Vinnie Barrett
That Girl (Groovy Situation)	Freddie McGregor, 1987	Mel and Tim, 1969	Russell Lewis and Herman Davis
Gonna Get Along Without You now	Melodians, 1967	Teresa Brewer, 1952	Milton Kellm
Mah-Na-Mah-Na	Mighty Diamonds, 1978	Piero Umiliani, 1969, from Sesame Street and Muppets Show	Piero Umiliani
Tears on my Pillow	Rudy Mills, 1969	Little Anthony, 1958	Bradford, Lewis
Good Thing Going	Sugar Minott, 1981	Michael Jackson, 1972	Based on <i>We've Got a Good Thing Going</i> Berry Gordy, Fonce Mizell, Freddy Perren and Deke Richards
Walk on By	Sugar Minott, 1985	Dionne Warwick, 1964	Burt Bacharach and Hal David
Country Living	The Mighty Diamonds, 1977	The Stylistics, 1971	Linda Creed and Thom Bell
Get Out of My Life Woman	The Mighty Diamonds, 1977	Lee Dorsey, 1966	Allen Toussaint
Sneakin' Sally Through The Alley	The Mighty Diamonds, 1977	Lee Dorsey, 1971	Allen Toussaint

Tracks of My Tears	The Mighty Diamonds, 1977	The Miracles, 1965	Warren Moore, Smokey Robinson and Marvin Tarplin
Little Angel	The Mighty Diamonds, 1977	Frankie Miller, 1974	Frankie Miller
Lollypop	Millie, 1963	Barbie Gaye, 1957	J.Roberts, R. Spencer
Got My Mojo Working	Jackie Mittoo, 1967	Jimmy Smith, 1966	Morganfield
Groovin'	Jackie Mitto and Soul Vendors, 1968	Young Rascals, 1967	Felix Cavaliere, Eddie Brigati
Norwegian Wood	Jackie Mittoo, 1968	The Beatles, 1963	John Lennon, Paul McCartney
Ain't That Lovin' You (For Reasons More than One)	Jackie Mittoo, 1970	Johnnie Taylor, 1967	Allen A. Jones and Homer Banks
A Change Is Gonna Come	Sugar Minott, 1980	Sam Cooke, 1964	Sam Cooke
Good Thing Going	Sugar Minott, 1981	Michael Jackson, 1972	Based on <i>We've Got a Good Thing Going</i> Berry Gordy, Fonce Mizell, Freddy Perren and Deke Richards
Woman of the World	Jackie Mittoo and the Soul Bros., 1967	Jimmy Smith, 1964	Ortilani
Eleanor Rigby	Jackie Mittoo, 1970	The Beatles, 1966	Lennon and McCartney
Ain't That Lovin' You (For Reasons More than One)	Jackie Mittoo, 1970	Johnnie Taylor, 1967	Allen A. Jones and Homer Banks
Winchester Cathedral	Jackie Mittoo, 1967	The New Vaudeville Band, 1966	Geoff Stephens
Wives and Lovers	Jackie Mittoo, 1990	Jack Jones, 1963	Burt Bacharach and Hal David
Telstar	Jackie Mittoo, 1972	The Tornados, 1962	Joe Meek
Alone Again, Naturally	Jackie Mittoo, 1972	Gilbert O'Sullivan, 1972	Gilbert O'Sullivan
Someday Soon	Jackie Mittoo, 1972	Ian and Sylvia, 1964	Ian Tyson
Holly Holy	Jackie Mittoo, 1970	Neil Diamond, 1969	Neil Diamond
For All We Know	Jackie Mittoo, 1972	The Carpenters, 1971	Fred Karlin, Robb Wilson and Arthur James
Too Late to Turn Back Now	Jackie Mittoo, 1972	Cornelius Brothers and Sister Rose, 1972	Eddie Cornelius
Something Stupid	Jackie Mittoo, 1967	Carson and Gaile, 1967	C. Carson Parks
Whiter Shade of Pale	Jackie Mittoo, 1967	Procol Harum, 1967	Inspired by aria from J.S. Bach's <i>Orchestral Suite in D</i>
Yellow River	Jackie Mittoo, 1970	The Tremoloes, 1969	Jeff Christie
Feel So Fine	Derrick Morgan and Patsy, 1961	Shirley and Lee, 1956	Leonard Lee
Let the Good Times Roll	Derrick and Patsy, 1961	Shirley and Lee, 1956	Leonard Lee
One Morning in May	Derrick Morgan, 1968	Mel Torme	Hoagy Carmichael, Mitchell Parish

Stick By Me and I'll Stick By You	Derrick Morgan, 1969	Shep and the Limelites, 1963	Sheppard, Bassett, Baskerville
Going to the River	Eric Morris, 1962	Fats Dommino, 1953	A.Domino, Dave Bartholemew
Humpty Dumpty	Eric Morris, 1961	<i>Trad.</i>	<i>Trad.</i>
Yours	Ferdie Nelson, 1965	Vera Lynn	Roig, Rodriguez, Sherr
You Never Know (I'll Be Back)	The Now Generation	The Beatles, 1964	John Lennon and Paul McCartney
Montego Bay	Freddy Notes, 1970	Bobby Bloom, 1970	Jeff Barry, Bobby Bloom
A Taste of Honey	Augustus Pablo (Doctor Pablo and Dub Syndicate), 1984	Herb Alpert's Tijuana Brass, 1965	Bobby Scott and Ric Marlow
Dr. Who	Augustus Pablo (Doctor Pablo and Dub Syndicate), 1984	Theme song from the TV Series, Delia Derbyshire, 1963	Ron Grainer
Over and Over	Roy Pantan and Millie Small, 1963	Bobby Day, 1958	R. Byrd
You Don't Love Me	Dawn Penn, 1967	Willie Cobbs, 1960	Willie Cobbs
Pata Pata	Patsy and Count Ossie Band, 1967	Miriam Makeba, 1967	Ragovoy, Makeba
Here Comes the Sun	Dawn Penn	The Beatles, 1969	John Lennon and Paul McCartney
To Sir With Love	Dawn Penn, c.1960s	From the eponymous film, Lulu, 1967	Don Black and Mark London
Yakety Yak	Lee Perry, 1969	Coasters, 1958	Leiber, Stoller
Just Keep it Up (and see what happens)	Lee Perry, 1966	Dee Clark, 1959	O. Blackwell
In My Life (Dub)	The Pioneer All Stars	(In My Life) The Beatles, 1965	John Lennon and Paul McCartney
Sweet Dreams	Pioneers, 1968	Don Gibson, 1960	Don Gibson
Telstar	Pyramids, 1970	Tornados, 1962	Joe Meek
You Won't See Me	Ernest Ranglin, 1965	The Beatles, 1965	John Lennon and Paul McCartney
Rock and Cry	Raving Ravers, 1969	Clyde MePhatter, 1957	Joyce Heath
We Will Overcome	Richard Brothers, 1963	Joe Galzwe and the Elm City Four, 1950	Charles Albert Tindley
Conversations	Cynthia Richards, 1969	Cilla Black, 1969	R.Cook, R. Greenaway, J. Lordan
United We Stand	Cynthia Richards, 1970	Brotherhood Of Man, 1970	Hiller, Simons
Foolish Fool	Cynthia Richards, 1969	Dee Dee Warwick, 1969	Ed Townsend

Hey Jude	Rico and The Rudies	The Beatles, 1968	John Lennon and Paul McCartney
In My Life	Jackie Robinson,	The Beatles, 1965	John Lennon and Paul McCartney
Let the Little Girl Dance	Jackie Robinson, 1968	Billy Bland, 1960	Spencer, Glover
Flying Home	Rico Rodriguez, c.1960s	Benny Goodman Sextet, 1939	Benny Goodman, Lionel Hampton
It's Not Unusual	Rico Rodriguez, 1968	Tom Jones, 1965	Mills, Reed
Walk into the Dawn	Max Romeo, 1968	Matt Munro, 1964	L.Bart
Michael Row the Boat Ashore	Max Romeo, 1969	<i>Trad.</i>	<i>Trad.</i>
A Lover's Question	Gene Rondo, 1969	Clyde McPhatter, 1958	Brook Benton, Jimmy T. Williams
My Sweet Lord	The Rudies	George Harrison, 1970	John Lennon and Paul McCartney
My Heart's Desire	Ruddy and Sketto, 1965	Jimmie Lee and Artis, 1952	Turner, Cheatum, Taub
Candida	Bruce Ruffin, 1970	Dawn, 1970	Irwin Levine, Toni Wine
Hello Dolly	Pat Satchmo, 1969	Louis Armstrong, 1964	Jerry Herman
Eleanor Rigby	B.B. Seaton	The Beatles, 1966	John Lennon and Paul McCartney
What a Difference A day Makes	Doreen Shaeffer, 1965	Dinah Washington, 1959	Maria Grever, Stanley Adams
You Rascal You	The Sheridons	Louis Armstron and Louis Jordan, 1950	Sam Theard
Kiddio	The Silvertones, 1969	Brook Benton, 1960	Benton, Otis
Endlessly	The Silvertones, 1969	Brook Benton, 1959	Benton, Otis
Teardrops Will Fall	The Silvertones, 1970	Dicky Doo and the Don'ts, 1958	Marion Smith, Dicky Doo
Love Me Tender	Owen and Leon Silvera	Elvis Presley, 1956	Elvis Presley
My Baby Just Cares for Me	Jeanette Simpson, 1968	Nina Simone, 1958	Walter Donaldson, Gus Kahn
Mary Poppins	Danny Simpson and Tommy McCook, 1968	Julie Andrews, 1964	Richard M. Sherman, Robert B. Sherman
The Sidewinder	The Skatalites, 1963	Lee Morgan, 1964	Lee Morgan
Jingle bells (Ska)	The Skatalites, 1964	<i>Trad.</i>	<i>Trad.</i>
Yeah, Yeah	The Skatalites, 1964	Georgie Fame, 1964	Grant, Patrick, Hendricks
Hello Mudduh, Hello Fadduh	The Skatalites, c.1960s	Allen Sherman, 1963	Ponchielli

Guns of Navarone	The Skatalites,	Dimitri Tiomkin and His Orchestra, 1961	Dimitri Tiomkin and Paul Francis Webster
Bess Boogie	The Skatalites, 1965	Bobby Smith and his Orchestra, 1949	Bobby Smith
Vienna Woods	The Skatalites, 1965	Johann Strauss	Johann Strauss
The Guns of Navarone	The Skatalites, 1965	Movie, 1961	Dimitri Tiomkin
Tough Talk	The Skatalites, 1965	Jazz Crusaders,	Sample, Henderson, Hooper
You Are So Delightful	The Skatalites, 1965	(You Can Depend on Me) Brenda Lee, 1961	Charles Carpenter, Louis Dunlap and Earl Hines
Dr. Kildare	The Skatalites, 1965	(Theme From Dr. Kildare [Three Stars Will Shine Tonight]) Richard Chamberlain, 1962	Jerry Goldsmith, Peter Rugolo and Hal Winn
The Third Man Theme ( <i>aka</i> The Harry Lime Theme)	The Skatalites, 1965	From the eponymous film	Anton Karas
Baby Elephant Walk	The Skatalites, 1965	From the film <i>Hatari</i> , 1962	Henry Mancini
El Pussy Cat	The Skatalites, 1965	Mongo Santamaria, 1965	Mongo Santamaria
Comin' Home Baby	The Skatalites, 1965	Mel Torme, 1962	McDonough, Tucker
Live it Up	The Skatalites, 1965	Ernie Freeman, 1959	Ernie Freeman, LAnd
Ringo Rides	The Skatalites, 1965	(Ringo Oiwake) Hibari Misora, 1952	Masao Yoneyama and Fujio Ozawa
China Clipper	The Skatalites, 1965	Arthur Lyman, 1958	Paul Conrad
Black Joe	The Skatalites, 1965	(Old Black Joe) Stephen C. Foster, parlour song / minstrel, 1853	Stephen C. Foster
A Shot in the Dark	The Skatalites, 1965	The movie A Shot in the Dark	Henry Mancini
I Should Have Known Better	The Skatalites, 1965	Beatles, 1964	John Lennon, Paul McCartney
Boo-Da Ba	The Skatalites, 1965	Bill Doggett, 1958	Doggett
Because of You (Dahil Sayo)	The Skatalites, 1984	(Dahil Sa Iyo [from the movie <i>Bituing Marikit</i> ]) Rogelio de la Rosa, 1938	Tom Spinoso and Mike Velarde Jr.

Only Sixteen	Sly and Robbie, 1981	Sam Cooke, 1959	Sam Cooke
Be My Guest	Millie Small	Fats Domino, 1959	Domino, Marascalco, Boyce
Hey Boy, Hey Girl	Millie Small and Jimmy Cliff	Oscar McLollie and Jeanette Baker, 1958	J. Thomas, O. McLollie
You Won't See Me	Ernie Smith	The Beatles, 1965	John Lennon and Paul McCartney
3 Times Seven	Slim Smith	Jewel King, 1950	Dave Bartholemew
Zip-A-Dee-Dah	Slim Smith, 1969	Bob B. Soxx and the Blue Jeans, 1962	Allie Wrubel, Ray Gilbert
Just A Dream	Slim Smith, 1971	Jimmy Clanton, 1956	Jimmy Clanton, Cosimo Matassa
Look Who's Back Again	Slim Smith and Delroy Wilson, 1966	(You Won't Get Far) Los Bravos, 1966	Colin Butler and Manolo Diaz
See See Rider Blues	Smokey 007	Ma Rainey, 1925	<i>Trad.</i>
Bad Moon Rising	Sonny and the Stoneagers	Creedence Clearwater Revival, 1969	John Fogerty
Light My Fire	Soul Sam, 1969	The Doors, 1967	The Doors
A House is not A Home	Soul Vendors, 1968	Dionne Warwick, 1964	Burt Bacharach, Hal David
South Street	Soulettes, 1966	Orlons, 1963	Mann, Appell
Let It Be	Soulettes, 1970	The Beatles, 1970	John Lennon, Paul McCartney
Turn, Turn, Turn	Soulettes, 1966	Pete Seeger, 1965	Pete Seeger
Ringo (Oiwake)	Soul Brothers, 1967	Hibari Misora, 1952	Masao Yoneyama, Fujio Ozawa
Canadian Sunset	Soul Brothers, 1967	Hugo Winterhalter, 1956	Eddie Heywood
Fiddler on the Roof	Soul Brothers, 1967	From the musical/film <i>Fiddler on the Roof</i>	Jerry Bock, Sheldon Harnick
Psychedelic Rock (Rockfort Rock)	Sound Dimension, 1968	(El Cumbanchero) Margo Llargo and Orquesta Antonio Escobar, 1943	Rafael Hernandez Marin
Out of Nowhere	Lester Sterling, 1963	Bing Crosby 1931, Jazz Standard	Johnny Green
2nd Movement, <i>Symphony No. 9</i>	Lester Sterling, 1963	Dvorak, 1893	Anton Dvorak
Pipe Dreams	Lester Sterling, 1963	Jimmy Beck, 1959	Alan Bubis
Skaramont	Lester Sterling, 1964	(Besame Mucho) Jimmy Dorsey, 1944	Consuelo Velázquez
Bongo Chant	Lester Sterling and Stranger Cole	Kenny Graham's Afro-Cubists, 1953	Kenny Graham



Indian Summer	Lester Sterling and his group Indian Summer, 1964	Frank Sinatra and Jimmy Dorsey Orchestra, 1940, Duke Ellington, 1956, Count Basie, 1959	Victor Herbert
The Square from Cuba	Lester Sterling and The Skatalites, 1964	Sylvester Austin, 1957	Sylvester Austin
Can't Sit Down	Lester Sterling and The Skatalites	Phil Upchurch, 1961	Clark, Upchurch, Muldrow
Samda De Orfeu	Skatalites, 1965	From the movie Black Orpheus	Luiz Bonfa
Barbados	Lester Sterling, 1969	Charlie Parker, 1948	Charlie Parker
The Square from Cuba	Lester Sterling and Byron Lee, 1969	Sylvester Austin, Nobar, 1957	Sil Austin
Driftin'	Lester Sterling, 1963	Lynn Hope, 1952	Arr. Lynn Hope
Run Joe (Mento Section)	Stranger Cole	Louis Jordan, 1948	Willoughby, Jordan, Merrick
Red River Rock	Sugar Plums, 1969	Johnny and the Hurricanes, 1959	"Red River Valley", <i>Trad.</i> c.1870
Blackbird (Singing)	Rosalyn Sweat and the Paragons	The Beatles, 1968	John Lennon and Paul McCartney
Something Stupid	Lynn Tait and the Jetts, 1967	Nancy Sinatra, 1967	C. Carson Parks
Spanish Eyes (Moon over Naples)	Lynn Tait and Tommy McCook, 1966	Bert Kaempfert, 1965	Bert Kaempfert, Eddie Snyder, Charles Singleton
The Magnificent Seven	Lynn Tait	From the film <i>The Magnificent Seven</i> , 1960	Elmer Bernstein
Why (Am I treated so bad)	Lynn Tait and Jetts, 1968	The Staples Singers, 1967	Rosebuck Staples
Baltimore	The Tamlins featuring Sly and Robbie, 1979	Randy Newman, 1977	Randy Newman
You Belong to My Heart	Lord Tanamo, 1964	Bing Crosby, 1945	An English version of Solamente una vez, Agustin Lara
I'm in the Mood for Love	Lord Tanamo, 1965	James Moody, Fats Domino, 1957	Jimmy McHugh, Dorothy Fields
World Without Love	The Techniques	The Beatles, 1964	John Lennon and Paul McCartney
Sick and Tired	The Techniques, 1966	Chris Kenner, 1957	Domino, Bartholemew

What'cha Gonna Do	The Techniques, 1966	Clyde McPhatter and the Drifters, 1956	Nugetre (Ahmet Ertegun)
Old Man River	The Techniques	Ravens, 1947, from <i>Showboat</i> , 1927	Jerome Kern, Oscar Hammerstein
Show Me Your Motion (World Without Love Version)	The Techniques and King Kouchi	The Beatles, 1964	John Lennon and Paul McCartney
The Only Living Boy in New York	Tennors	Simon and Garfunkel, 1970	Paul Simon, Art Garfunkel, Roy Halee
The Good, The Bad, and The Ugly	Lians Thelwell, 1967	From the film, <i>The Good, The Bad, and The Ugly</i> , 1966	Ennio Morricone
Let it Be	Nicky Thomas,	The Beatles, 1970	John Lennon and Paul McCartney
Peter, Paul, and Mary	Nicky Thomas, 1970	Peter, Paul and Mary, 1962	Pete Seeger, Lee Hays
Love of the Common People	Nicky Thomas, 1970	The Four Preps, 1967	John Hurley and Ronnie Wilkins
Isn't it a Pity	Nicky Thomas,	George Harrison, 1970	George Harrison
The Monkey	Denzil Thorpe, 1966	Dave Bartholemew, 1957	Dave Bartholemew
Rain (Rock Steady)	Tomorrow's Children, 1967	Beatles, 1966	John Lennon, Paul McCartney
Bang, Bang	Tomorrow's Children, 1967	Cher, 1966	Sonny Bono
Country Road	Toots and The Maytals, 1972	John Denver, 1971	Adapted and lyrically modified from <i>Take Me Home, Country Roads</i> by John Denver, Taffy Nivert and Bill Danoff
Hard to Handle	Toots and The Maytals, 1988	Otis Redding, 1968	Redding w/Alvertis Isbell and Allen Jones
Louie Louie	Toots and The Maytals, 1972	Richard Berry and The Pharaohs, 1957	Richard Berry
I Shall Sing	Toots and The Maytals, 1976	Miriam Makeba, 1970	<i>Trad.</i>
I Can't Believe	Toots and The Maytals, 1972	Jimmy and Jean with Ike Turner's Orchestra, 1961	Ike Turner
Give Peace a Chance	Toots and The Maytals, 1970	Plastic Ono Band, 1969	John Lennon and Paul McCartney
Country Road	Toots and The Maytals, 1972	John Denver, 1971	Adapted and lyrically modified from <i>Take Me Home, Country Roads</i> by John Denver, Taffy Nivert and Bill Danoff

Don't Look Back	Peter Tosh, 1966	The Temptations, 1965	Smokey Robinson and Ronald White
The Letter	Peter Tosh, 1970	Box Tops, 1967	Wayne Carson Thompson
Handsome Johnny	Peter Tosh, 1976	Richie Havens, 1965	Richie Havens
Johnny B. Goode	Peter Tosh, 1983	Chuck Berry, 1958	Chuck Berry
Red Red Wine	Tony Tribe, 1969	Neil Diamond, 1968	Neil Diamond
Watch This Sound (For What it's Worth)	The Uniques, 1968	(For What it's Worth) Buffalo Springfield, 1967	Stephen Stills
Secretly	The Uniques, 1969	Jimmie Rodgers, 1958	Al Hoffman, Dick Manning, Mark Markwell
Will You Still Love Me	The Upsetters, 1970	The Shirelles, 1961	Gerry Goffin and Carole King
Na Na Hey Hey Kiss Him Goodbye	The Upsetters, 1970	Steam, 1969	Leka, Frashuer, De Carlo
Let it Be	The Upsetters featuring The Soulettes	The Beatles, 1970	John Lennon and Paul McCartney
Never, Never, Never (Johnson Rag)	The Veetones	Glenn Miller, 1939	Henry Kleinkauf, Guy Hall
Ska Suzanna	Billy Vernon and The Celestials, c.1960s	(Oh! Susanna ) Stephen C. Foster, minstrel,, published 1848	Stephen C. Foster
Maria Elena	Billy Vernon and The Celestials, c.1965	Bob Eberly with the Jimmy Dorsey Orchestra, 1941	Lorenzo Barcelata
Go Jimmy Go	Wailers, 1964	Jimmy Clanton, 1959	Doc Pomus, Mort Shuman
What's New Pussycat	Wailers, 1965	Tom Jones, 1965	Burt Bacharach
Amen	Wailers, 1965	<i>Trad.</i>	<i>Trad.</i>
White Christmas	Wailers, 1966	Bing Crosby, 1942	Irving Berlin
Ten Commandments of Love	Wailers, 1966	Harvey and the Moonglows, 1958	M. Paul
Like a Rolling Stone	Wailers, 1966	Bob Dylan, 1965	Bob Dylan
My Dream Island	Wailers, 1966	Tempos, 1961	Al Johnson
The Vow	Bunny Wailer and Rita Marley, 1965	Gene and Eunice, 1958	Forest, Levy
Honey Love	Burt Walters, 1968	Clyde McPhatter and the Drifters, 1954	Clyde McPhatter, Jerry Wexler
Sugar	Dennis Walks, 1974	Marvin and Johnny, 1954	Ling
Stand by Your Man	Marlene Webber, 1970	Tammy Wynette, 1968	Billy Sherrill, Tammy Wynette
Yesterday	Joe White, c.1960s	The Beatles, 1966	John Lennon and Paul McCartney
If I Needed Someone	Joe White, c.1960s	The Beatles, 1965	George Harrison
Then You Can Tell Me Goodbye	Joe White and the Fugitives, 1967	Don Cherry, 1962	John D. Loudermilk
Honky Tonk	Granville Williams Orchestra, 1966	Bill Doggett, 1956	Doggett, Shepherd, Scott, Butler

Old MacDonald	Granville Williams Orchestra, 1966	<i>Trad.</i>	<i>Trad.</i>
Popeye	Granville Williams, 1966	Theme song from the TV Series	Lerner
Misery	Lloyd Williams, and the Celestials, 1962	Professor Longhair, 1957	Henry Roeland "Roy" Byrd ( <i>aka</i> Professor Longhair)
This Old Heart of Mine (Is Weak for You)	Delroy Wilson, 1967	The Isley Brothers, 1966	Brian and Eddie Holland, Lamont Dozier and John Thornton
Oh Happy Day	Norman Washington, 1969	Edwin Hawkins, 1967	Edwin Hawkins, based on 18 <sup>th</sup> century hymn
Rain From the Skies	Delroy Wilson	Johnnie Walker, 1964	Burt Bacharach, Hal David
Ain't That Lovin' You	Delroy Wilson, 1976	Johnnie Taylor, 1967	Allen A. Jones and Homer Banks
Closer Together	Delroy Wilson, 1971	The Impressions, 1962	Adapted from <i>Grow Closer Together</i> by Curtis Mayfield
Put Yourself in My Place	Delroy Wilson, 1968	The Elgins, 1965	Brian and Eddie Holland, Lamont Dozier and John Thornton
If I Were a Carpenter	Ernest Wilson, 1968	Bobby Darin, 1966	Tim Hardin
Pipeline	Ronald Wilson and Roland Alphonso, 1965	Chantays, 1963	Spickard, Carman

## SELECT DISCOGRAPHY

- 10CC, 'Dreadlock Holiday', *Bloody Tourists*. Mercury: 9102 503, 1978. (LP)
- 20TH Century Rebels, *Rebellion*. Rebellion: REB001, 1983. (EP)
- Abyssinians, 'Forward on to Zion/Satta A Massagana'. Klik: KL 631, 1977. (7")
- Laurel Aitken, 'Boogie in my Bones'/'Little Sheila'. Starlite [UK], ST.45 011, 1960. (7")
- Lillian Allen, *Freedom & Dance*. Verse to Vinyl: VVI09, 1998. (CD)
- \_\_\_\_\_, Nothing But a Hero. 1992. Verse to Vinyl: WRPM08, 1992. (LP)
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Conditions Critical*. Redwood Records: RR8802, 1987. (LP)
- \_\_\_\_\_, Let the Heart See. Verse to Vinyl: 1987. (LP)
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Revolutionary Tea Party*. Verse to Vinyl: VV101, 1986. (LP)
- Aswad, *Aswad*. Island Records: ILPS 9399, 1976. (LP)
- The Beatles, 'Got To Get You Into My Life'. Capitol Records: 4274, 1976. (7")
- Harry Belafonte, *Belafonte Sings of the Caribbean*. RCA Victor: LPM1505, 1957. (LP)
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Jamaica Farewell'. RCA Victor: 47-6663, 1956. (7")
- Jo Jo Bennett & Mudie's All Stars, 'Leaving Rome'. Moodisc Records International HM-148, 1969. (7")
- Big Sugar, 'Turn The Lights On'. A&M: AMCD032299, 1999. (CD)
- Black Uhuru, *Red*. Island Records: ILPS 9625, 1981. (LP)
- Errol Blackwood, *Chant, Chant*. Blade: CCR-9240, 1987. (LP)
- Bobby & The Midnites (*aka* Bob Weir), *Bobby & The Midnites*. Arista: 204.175, 1981. (LP)
- Boney M., 'Rivers of Babylon'/'Brown Girl in the Ring', 7" single. Hansa Records; Sire Records; Atlantic Records: 1978.
- Dennis Brown, 'Promised Land'. Simba: SM003, 1979. (12")
- Leroy Brown, *Rent A Tile*. Dakarai, 2004. (CD)
- Burning Spear, *Burning Spear Live*. Island Records; Mango: B000003QH8, (1977) 1990. (LP)
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Marcus Garvey'. Capo Records: CA-070, 1974. (7")
- Kate Bush, 'Kite', *The Kick Inside*. EMI America: SW17003, 1978. (LP)

Al Caiola, *Solid Gold Guitar*. United Artists Records: ULP 1003, 1962. (LP)

Chalawa, *Chalawa Meets Chapter XII*. EMI Music Netherlands: 5C 062-23830, 1979. (LP)  
 \_\_\_\_\_, featuring Stranger Cole, The Callander Sisters, Johnny Osbourne and Collie Smith, *Capture Land*. 1979. (LP)  
 \_\_\_\_\_, *Hop, Skip And Jump*. Generation: GEN 3009, 1979. (LP)  
 \_\_\_\_\_, *Exodus Dub*, Micron Music Limited: MICCAN-0008, 1977. (LP)

Jarvis Church, 'Run for Your Life'. BMG USA: 48342, 2002. (12")

Eric Clapton, 'I Shot the Sheriff', *461 Ocean Boulevard*. RSO: 2394 138, 1974. (LP)

The Clash, *Sandinista*. Epic: E 37037, 1980. (LP)  
 \_\_\_\_\_, *Black Market Clash*. Epic: WPE38540, 1980. (LP)  
 \_\_\_\_\_, *London Calling*. Epic: E2 36328, 1979. (LP)  
 \_\_\_\_\_, 'White Man in Hammersmith Palais'. CBS: S CBS 6383, 1978. (7")  
 \_\_\_\_\_, *The Clash*. CBS: S CBS 82000, 1977. (LP)

Bruce Cockburn, *Dancing in the Dragon's Jaws*. True North Records: TN37, 1979. (LP)

Dave and Ansell Collins, *Dave & Ansil [sic] Collins in Toronto*. G-Clef: CLEF-0011, 1974. (LP)

Sonia Collymore, *You Won't See Me Cry*. Fiwi/XES: 2003. (CD)  
 \_\_\_\_\_, WYSIWYG (What You See Is What You Get). XES; Music Nuff Entertainment/IndiePool: 2005. (CD)

Crack of Dawn, *Crack Of Dawn*. Columbia/CBS: ES-90336, 1976. (LP)

Carlene Davis, 'It Must Be Love'. Generation: GGG 007, 1983. (12")

Desmond Dekker, 'Israelites'. Green Light: GLS 411, 1969. (7")

The Eagles, *Hotel California*. Asylum Records: AS13084, 1976. (LP)

Earth, Roots & Water, *Innocent Youths*. Light In The Attic: 2008. (CD)

Noel Ellis, *Rocking Universally*. Light In The Attic: 2006. (CD)

The English Beat, *I Just Can't Stop It*. Go-Foot Records: BEAT 1, BEAT 001, 1980. (LP)

Horace Faith, *Fly High Anansi*. Rio: RIO-1014, 1981. (LP)

Generation X, *Generation X*. Chrysalis: PV 41169, 1978. (LP)

Derrick Harriott with Audley Williams and Combo, 'John Tom', *Dip & Fall Back: Dr. Kinsey to Haile Selassie, Classic Jamaican Mento*. World Records, 1965; Trojan Records, 2005.

Joe Harriott, *The Joe Harriott Story*. Proper: Properbox160, 2011. (4 CDs)

The Heptones, *Night Food*. Island Records: ILPS 9381, 1976.

\_\_\_\_\_, *Book of Rules*. Jaywax: HJ 112; Island Records: ILPS 9297, 1973. (LP)

Ishan People, *Ishan People*. GRT: 9230-1071, 1977. (LP)

\_\_\_\_\_, *Roots*. GRT: 9230-1064, 1976. (LP)

R. Zee Jackson, *Seat Up*. Rio: RIO-1006, 1980. (LP)

Linton Kwesi Johnson, *Independant Intavenshan: The Island Anthology*. Island Records: 524 575-2, 1998. (CD)

Clifton Joseph, Dub Poet at large with the Livestock Band, *Oral/ Trans/Missions*. Blue Moon: BM 129, 1990. (LP)

Lazo, *Satisfaction Guaranteed*. Spynn: CCR-9999, 1987. (LP)

Led Zeppelin, 'Dyer Maker', *Houses Of The Holy*. Atlantic: SD 7255, 1973. (LP)

Hopeton Lewis, *Take it Easy: Rocksteady with Hopeton Lewis*. Island UK: ILP 957, 1967. (LP)

Bob Marley and the Wailers, *The Complete Bob Marley and the Wailers, 1967 to 1972 Soul Rebels*. Fiftyfive Records: FF 1389-2, 1998.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'One Love / People Get Ready', b/w 'So Much Trouble in the World' and 'Keep on Moving'. Tuff Gong: 12 TGX 1, (1977) 1984. (12")

\_\_\_\_\_, *Confrontation*. Tuff Gong/Island Records: 422-846 207-1, 1983. (LP)

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Jamming', b/w 'Punky Reggae Party'. Island Records: 109 072, 1977. (7")

\_\_\_\_\_, *Exodus*. Island: 9123 021, 1977. (LP)

\_\_\_\_\_, 'No Woman, No Cry', *Live!*. Tuff Gong/Island Records, 1975.

\_\_\_\_\_, *Natty Dread*. Tuff Gong: 422-846 204-1, 1974. (LP)

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Trench Town Rock'. Tuff Gong: 1970. (7")

Wayne McGhie & The Sounds Of Joy, *Dirty Funk*. Light In The Attic: 2004. (CD)

Nana McLean, *Nana McLean*. Penthouse: 1997. (CD)

\_\_\_\_\_, *Dream of Life*. G Clef: GCLP-101, 1979. (LP)

The Melodians, 'By the Rivers of Babylon'. Summit/Trojan: SUM-6508, 1970. (7")

Messenjah, *Rock & Sway*. Kick Up: KUCD-001, 1990. (CD)

\_\_\_\_\_, *Cool Operator*. Version: VLP-001, 1987. (LP)

\_\_\_\_\_, *Jam Session*. WEA: 25-04551, 1984. (LP)

\_\_\_\_\_, *Rock You High*. WEA: 25-02021, (1982) 1983. (LP)

The Mighty Diamonds, 'Pass the Kouchie'. Island Records: 12WIP 6838, 1982. (12")

Adrian Miller, *Empty Promises*. Bridge: BR-1, 1987. (LP)

Jackie Mittoo, *Let's Put It All Together*. United Artists: 1975. (LP)

\_\_\_\_\_, *Reggae Magic*. Canadian Talent Library: 477-5164, 1972. (LP)

\_\_\_\_\_, *Wishbone*. Summus Records, SUS 50,002; Light in the Attic Records: LITA021, (1971) 2006. (CD)

Jackie Mittoo and Sound Dimension, 'Full Up'. Studio One: 1968. (7")

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Real Rock'. Studio One: 1967. (7")

Eric "Monty" Morris, 'Penny Reel', *Intensified: Original Ska, 1962-66*. Mango Records, (1964) 1979.

Musical Youth, 'Pass the Dutchie'. MCA Records Canada: MCA-13961, 1982. (12")

Johnny Nash, *Tears On My Pillow*. CBS: S 69148, 1975.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'I Can See Clearly Now', b/w 'Stir it Up'. Epic: 15-2329, 1972. (7")

\_\_\_\_\_, *Hold Me Tight*. JAD: JS-1207, 1968. (LP)

Oasis, *Standing on the Shoulder of Giants*. Big Brother: RKIDCD 002, 2000. (CD)

Ojiji, *The Shadow*. Ultra Records: URN2101, 1979. (LP)

One Love, *One Love*. Generation: GEN-3016, 1981. (LP)

Johnny Osbourne and The Sensations, with Boris Gardiner and The Love People, *Come Back Darling*. Trojan Records: TTL-29, 1970. (LP)

Augustus Pablo, *King Tubby Meets Rockers Uptown*. Shanachie: SH 1007, 1987. (LP)

Prince Alah and Nazarene, 'Last Train to Africa'. Generation: GGG 004, 1979. (12")

Prince Buster, 'Wash All Your Troubles Away (Wash Wash)/Reco & His Blues Band, 'Soul of Africa'. Blue Beat: BB 200, 1963. (7")

Ras Lee, *Moonlight Lover*. Reggae Vibes: CCR-9016, 1985. (LP)

The Sattalites, *Reggaefication*. Solid Gold Records, 2003. (CD)

\_\_\_\_\_, *Singles and Remixes*. Sattalite Productions, 1996. (CD)

\_\_\_\_\_, *Now and Forever*. Childsplay; Sattalite Productions: 1996. (CD)

\_\_\_\_\_, *All Over the World*. Intrepid Records, 1992. (CD)

\_\_\_\_\_, *Miracles*. Risque Disque/WEA: CD-56996, 1989. (CD)

\_\_\_\_\_, *Live Via Sattalites*. Axe Records, AXS, 527, 1987. (LP)



- \_\_\_\_\_, *Sattalites*. Axe Records, AXS 525, 1985. (LP)
- Leroy Sibbles, *On Top*. Micron: MICCAN-0052, 1983. (LP)
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Evidence*. A&M: SP-9075, 1982. (LP)
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Now*. Micron: MICCAN-0031; Generation: GEN-3012, 1979. (LP)
- Paul Simon, 'Mother and Child Reunion'. Columbia: 4-45547, 1972. (7")
- The Slits, 'Man Next Door', Y Records; Rough Trade: Y 4, RT 044 UK, 1980. (7")
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Cut*. Island Records: 200 874-320, 1979. (LP)
- Small Faces, *Small Faces*. Immediate: IMLP 008, 1967. (LP)
- Ernie Smith and The Roots Revival, *To Behold Jah*. Generation: GEN-3011, 1979. (LP)
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Don't Down Me Now/To Behold Jah'. Generation: GGG 003, 1979. (12")
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Duppy Gunman', Various Artists, *Original Wild Flower Reggae Hits*. Federal; Wildflower: LP 367, 1974. (LP)
- The Specials, 'Ghost Town'. Two-Tone Records: CHS TT 1217, 1981. (12")
- \_\_\_\_\_, *The Specials*. Two-Tone Records: CDL 1265, 1979. (LP)
- Spencer Davis Group, 'Keep On Running'. Fontana: TF 632, 267514 TF, 1965. (7")
- Steely Dan, *The Royal Scam*. MCA Records Canada: MAB-931, 1976. (LP)
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Haitian Divorce'. ABC Records: ABC 4152, 1976. (7")
- Snow, *Two Hands Clapping*. Virgin/EMI: 2003. (CD)
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Informer*. East/West/Warner: 1994. (CD)
- Third World, '96° in the Shade', *96° in the Shade*. London: Island Records, 1977.
- Truth & Rights, 'Metro's No. 1 Problem'. Rhythm Discs: RD-500, 1981. (12")
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Acid Rain', b/w 'Live Up'. Bucktu: BT-45-1001, 1980. (7")
- UB40, *Labour Of Love IV*, Virgin: CDV3072, 2010.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Who You Fighting For?* DEP International: DEP CD 23, 2005.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *The Fathers of Reggae*, DEP International: DEPCD20; Virgin: 7243 8 12675 2 3, 2002. (CD)
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Cover Up*. DEP International: DEPDJ56, 2002.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Labour Of Love III*, DEP International: DEP CD 18; Virgin: 7243 8 46469 2 9, 1998. (CD)
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Guns in the Ghetto*, DEP International: DEPCD16; Virgin: 7243 8 44402 2 0, 1997.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Labour Of Love II*, DEP International: DEPCD 14, 1989. (CD)
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Labour Of Love*, DEP International: DEP 5, 1983. (LP)
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Red Red Wine'. DEP International: DEP 7, 1983. (7")

- Various Artists, *Jamaica to Toronto: Soul Funk & Reggae, 1967-1974*. Light in the Attic: LITA019. (CD)
- Various Artists, *Real Roots Reggae: A Canadian Story*. Canadianreggaeworld.com, 2007. (CD)
- Various Artists, *Summer Records Anthology, 1974-1988*. Light in the Attic: LITA029. (CD)
- Various Artists, *Take me to Jamaica: The Story of Jamaican Mento*. Pressure Sounds: PSCD 51, 2006. (CD)
- Various Artists, *This Is Reggae Music: The Golden Era, 1960 – 1975*. Trojan Records: TJNBX254, 2005. (4 CDs)
- Various Artists, *Trojan Ska Box Set*. Trojan Records: TRBCD 001 Z, 1998. (3 CDs)
- Various Artists, *Rockers*, Original Soundtrack from the Film. Island: ILPS 9587, 1979. (LP)
- The Wailing Wailers, *The Wailing Wailers*. Studio One: SOCD 1001, (1965) 1996. (CD)
- Audley Williams, *Hedonism*. Generation: GEN 3008, 1978. (LP)
- Willie Williams, 'Armagideon Time'. Studio One: SO 0099, 1978. (7")
- Delroy Wilson, 'Better Must Come'. Jackpot: JP 763, 1971. (7")
- Yellowman, 'Zungguzungguzungguzeng', 12" Mix, *Yellowman Most Wanted*. Greensleeves, (1982-7) 2007.

## ENDNOTES

### I WHEN WE REMEMBERED ZION: INTRODUCTION

<sup>1</sup> Throughout the dissertation, the author will use ‘oppositional’ to represent the articulated response of the ‘counterculture’. This counterculture, however, still operates within a larger dominant culture, as historian Stuart Henderson has explained:

...counterculture is best defined not as an alternative system of social interactions and ideologies existing *outside* the expected, dominant culture but rather as the shifting sets of responses, refusals, and acceptances performed by actors in the cultural process.

See, Stuart Henderson, *Making the Scene: Yorkville and Hip Toronto in the 1960s*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 5.

<sup>2</sup> See, Hazel V. Carby, *Cultures in Babylon: Black Britain and African America*, (London: Verso, 1999); Penny Von Eschen, *Race against Empire: Black American and Anticolonialism, 1937-1957*, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997); Joseph Heathcott, ‘Urban Spaces and Working-Class Expressions across the Black Atlantic: Tracing the Routes of Ska’, *Radical History Review*, 87, (Fall 2003).

<sup>3</sup> This was perhaps done most famously by Paul Gilroy. See, Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994). See also, Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: The Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996); Heathcott, ‘Urban Spaces and Working-Class Expressions’, 183.

<sup>4</sup> For examples see, James Opp and John C. Walsh, *Placing Memory and Remembering Place in Canada*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010), 6. See also, Roxann Prazniak and Arif Dirlik (eds.), *Places and Politics in an Age of Globalization*, (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001); Geert De Neve and Henrike Donner (eds.), *The Meaning of the Local: Politics of Place in Urban India*, (London: Routledge, 2006); Arturo Escobar, ‘Culture Sits in Places: Reflections on Globalism and Subaltern Strategies of Localization’, *Political Geography*, 20, (2001), 139-74; Steven Hoelscher and Derek H. Alderman, ‘Memory and Place: Geographies of a Critical Relationship’, *Social and Cultural Geography*, 5, 3, (2004), 347-55.

<sup>5</sup> For recent examples see, William Turkel, *The Archive of Place: Unearthing the Pasts of the Chilcotin Plateau*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007); Julie Cruikshank, *Do Glaciers Listen?: Local Knowledge, Colonial Encounters, and Social Imagination*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2005).

<sup>6</sup> Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*, (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 5; Clifford Geertz, *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology*, (New York: Basic Books, 1983), 22.

<sup>7</sup> Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, 140.

<sup>8</sup> ‘Frontline’ is a term often used by Jamaicans when referring to the imaginary (and sometimes not so imaginary) ethnic boundary separating migrant from host. London’s Aswad referred to such a boundary in their tune ‘Cool Runnings in a W11 Area’ from 1983. W11, or West 11, refers to the postal code representing London’s Notting Hill neighbourhood. Notting Hill was home to two historical race riots; one in 1958 that involved belligerent Teddy Boys and recent black Caribbean immigrants; and later in 1976 which involved the police fighting both black *and* white kids at the conclusion of that year’s Notting Hill Carnival. Aswad had been performing there before the riot broke out, and event that inspired their song that called for peace:

*Cool runnings in a W11 area,  
Frontline a’ carry the swing ‘bout ya*

The Clash’s Joe Strummer and Paul Simonon also participated in the riot, which inspired their ‘White Riot’ track. See, Aswad, ‘Cool Runnings inna W11 Area’, *Aswad: The BBC Sessions*, (Strange Fruit: SFRCD 002, 1997); The Clash, ‘White Riot’, (CBS: S CBS 5058, 1977).

<sup>9</sup> See, George Beckford and Michael Witter, *Small Garden, Bitter Weed: The Political Economy of Struggle and Change in Jamaica*, (London: Maroon Publishing House, 1980).

<sup>10</sup> For an excellent discussion on ska’s role in these ‘routes’, see, Heathcott, ‘Urban Spaces and Working-Class Expressions’.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 187.

12 Heathcott rightly observed that ‘sugarcane, bauxite mines, and the export platform prove as important to the  
 13 development of ska music as shantytown social life.’ *Ibid.*, 185, 201.

14 Dick Hebdige, *Cut ‘n’ Mix: Culture, Identity and Caribbean Music*, (London: Comedia,  
 15 Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1987), 91, 93.

16 These anthropological terms differentiate between observations of cultural behaviour. An *emic* account is  
 17 one that emanates from within the group or culture in question, for instance: Jamaicans observing  
 18 Jamaicans. An *etic* account is one that emanates from outside the group in question, for instance: white  
 19 Torontonians observing Jamaican migrants.

Robert Burns, ‘To a Louse: On seeing one on a lady’s bonnet at church’, *The Works of Robert Burns*,  
 (Ware, Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Editions, Ltd., [1786] 1994). 138-9.

Author Klive Walker is the lone exception. Walker was born in England to Jamaican parents, but spent  
 what he described as his ‘formative years’ in Jamaica before moving to Toronto. See, ‘Interview with Klive  
 Walker’, (Pickering, Ontario: 9 September 2010).

This author has had the good pleasure of regularly working with these particular artists for the last several  
 years. During this time, I have been able to engage these icons in several illuminating discussions on the  
 evolution of and state of reggae.

‘Interview with David Swarbrick’, (Coventry: 8–11 November 2010).

Klive Walker has been extremely helpful to me throughout this journey and described the insider  
 thusly:

... a writer who has an intimate understanding of the social, political, and cultural conditions that  
 gave birth to Jamaican popular music through actual experience with Jamaican culture. An insider  
 is someone who has been a participant or witness to the unfolding history and development of the  
 music. The insider perspective is a view that fuses the writer’s lived experience with the music  
 together with interviews, secondary sources, and other forms of research and analysis.

Klive Walker, *Dubwise: Reasoning from the Reggae Underground*, (Toronto: Insomniac Press, 2005), 260.  
 See, The Melodians, ‘By the Rivers of Babylon’, (Summit/Trojan: SUM-6508, 1970). Many of the sub-  
 titles are also gleaned from various reggae songs that speak to various elements of the work at hand.

Howard Palmer, ‘Reluctant Hosts: Anglo-Canadian Views of Multiculturalism in the Twentieth Century’,  
 Gerald Tulchinsky (ed.), *Immigration in Canada: Historical Perspectives*, (Toronto: Copp Clark Longman,  
 1994); Neil Bissoondath, *Selling Illusions: The Cult of Multiculturalism in Canada*, (Toronto: Penguin,  
 [1994] 2002).

Bissoondath challenged, for instance, the notion that anyone critical of multicultural policy must be a racist.  
 Bissoondath, *Selling Illusions*, 5. For another example, see, Barrington Walker (ed.), *History of Immigration  
 and Racism in Canada*, (Toronto: CSPI and Women’s Press, 2008).

Bissoondath, *Selling Illusions*, 20-1.

*Ibid.*, 25.

*Ibid.*

TVO, ‘Interview with Jason Wilson’, Studio 2, (Toronto: April 2004); CBC, ‘The Grateful Dread: Jason  
 Wilson’, The National with Peter Mansbridge, (Toronto: August 2004); CBC Radio Two, Garvia Bailey,  
 ‘Feature on Jason Wilson’, Big City, Small World, (Toronto: September 2008). For further discussion on  
 the concept of interculturalism, see, Milton J. Bennett, *Basic Concepts of Intercultural Communication*,  
 (Boston: Intercultural Press, 1998); Craig Storti, *Cross-Cultural Dialogues*, (Boston: Intercultural Press,  
 1994).

I say ‘courage’, because I knew some of the lads at the table and I was really outnumbered with only one  
 other Scottish kid in the entire school.

Vic Satzewich, ‘Racism and Canadian Immigration Policy: The Government’s View of Caribbean  
 Migration, 1962-1966’, *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 21, 1, (1989). For contrast, see, Ian Mackenzie, ‘Early  
 Movements of Domestic Labour from the Caribbean and Canadian Immigration Policy’, *Alternate Routes: A  
 Journal of Critical Social Research*, 8, (1988).

K. Wayne Taylor, ‘Racism in Canadian Immigration Policy’, *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 23, 1, (1991).

Christiane Harzig, ‘The Movement of 100 Girls’: 1950s Canadian Immigration Policy and the Market for  
 Domestic Labour’, *Zeitschrift Für Kanada-Studien*, 19, 2, (1999).

31 Karen C. Flynn, 'Experience and Identity: Black Immigrant Nurses to Canada, 1950-1980', in Marlene Epp, Franca Iacovetta and Frances Swyripa (*et al*), *Sisters or Strangers? Immigrant, Ethnic, and Racialized Women in Canadian History*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004).

32 Karen C. Flynn, 'Race, Class, and Gender: Black Nurses in Ontario, 1950-1980', PhD Dissertation, (York University: 2004). Scholars interested in gender roles as it applies to West Indian immigrant labour should also be aware of Dionne Brand, *No Burden to Carry: Narratives of Black Working Women in Ontario, 1920s-1950s*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989). See also, Amoaba Gooden, 'I Know Who I Am: A Caribbean Woman's Identity in Canada', *Canadian Woman Studies*, 23, 2, (2004). Though less central to the Caribbean case study, scholars should be equally aware of George J. Sefa-Dei and Agnes Calliste, *Anti Racist Feminism, Critical Race and Gender Studies*, (Halifax: Fernwood, 2000).

33 Leo Cripps and Mike Smith are among the Jamaican-Canadians interviewed for this study whose mothers had come to work in Canada before they themselves were sent for (allowed in). Notable Jamaican-Canadian singer Jay Douglas' mother also came to Toronto prior to being joined by her son.

34 James W. St.G. Walker, 'Race,' *Rights and the Law in the Supreme Court of Canada: Historical Case Studies*, (Waterloo: The Osgoode Society for Canadian Legal History and Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1997). See also Lisa Jakubowski's work on the duplicity and elasticity of the law when it came to protecting the racialized prerogative of the dominant society in Canada, Lisa M. Jakubowski, *Immigration and the Legalization of Racism*, (Black Point: Fernwood Publishing, 1997).

35 The author warned Canadians and Canadian historians not to rely on the Charter of Rights (1982) as an eternal safeguard against future xenophobic and racist immigration policies. Despite this warning, more Canadians presently regard the Charter as having had a positive impact on Canada are inclined to trust the Supreme Court of Canada over Parliamentarians as the more reliable custodian of rights and freedoms. In a recent poll of one thousand Canadians conducted by the Strategic Counsel, 53% of the respondents felt that the Charter of Rights had had a positive impact on Canada and Canadians, while only 12% felt that the Charter had had a negative impact. In the same poll, Canadians saw the Supreme Court of Canada (47%) serving the interests of average Canadians better than the Parliament of Canada (37%). The Strategic Counsel, 'Poll on the Views of the Charter and Judges', 1,000 Canadians, margin of error set at 3.1%, (10-13 March, 2007), see, Kirk Makin, 'Judges Garner Greater Trust than Politicians', *The Globe and Mail*, (9 April, 2007).

36 Vilna Bashi, 'Globalized Anti-Blackness: Transnationalizing Western Immigration Law, Policy, and Practice,' *Ethnic & Racial Studies*, 27, 4, (2004), 584-606; Vilna Bashi, 'Neither Ignorance Nor Bliss: Race, Racism, and the West Indian Immigrant Experience', Hector R. Cordero-Guzman, Ramon Grosfoguel and Robert Smith (*eds.*), *Race, Migration, Transnationalism, and Race in a Changing New York*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001); Vilna Bashi, 'Racial Categories Matter Because Racial Hierarchies Matter: A Commentary', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 21, 5, (1998).

37 Section 38(c) of the 1910 Act Respecting Immigration prohibited 'the landing in Canada of immigrants belonging to any race deemed unsuited to the climate or requirements of Canada.' Canada, *The Immigration Act – An Act Respecting Immigrations*, (Ottawa: S.C., 1910), c.27, Article 38(c).

38 Bashi, 'Globalized Anti-Blackness', 585.

39 This point speaks directly to Yasmeen Abu-Laban's article. See, Yasmeen Abu-Laban, 'Welcome/Stay Out: The Contradiction of Canadian Integration and Immigration Policies at the Millennium', *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 30, 3, 1998.

40 Black labour consciousness was at the centre of Adrian Smith's work where the author reviewed the experience of the seasonal agricultural worker in Canada and the failings of the Canadian Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program. Similarly, Vic Satzewich exposed the weakness of the 'climatic unsuitability' argument and raised the question of temporary working arrangements and conditions. Satzewich also addressed the restrictive working contracts that bound temporary workers to their employers in feudal like arrangements. As such, Caribbean farm labourers were forced to accept less than favourable arrangements in working and living situations and were bound to suffer the terms of the contract with little or no say. In a very real sense, the Caribbean farm labourer remained 'unfree'. See, Adrian A. Smith, 'Legal Consciousness and Resistance in Caribbean Seasonal Agricultural Workers', *Canadian Journal of Law and Society*, 20, 2, (2005); Vic Satzewich, *Racism and the Incorporation of Foreign Labour: Farm Labour Migration to Canada since 1945*, (New York: Routledge, 1991). Scholars interested in West Indian farm labour in Canada should also be aware of Robert G. Cecil and G. Eddie Ebanks, 'The Human Condition of West Indian Migrant Farm Labour in Southwestern Ontario', *International Migration*, 29, 3, (1991); Irving

---

Andre, 'The Genesis and Persistence of the Commonwealth Caribbean Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program in Canada', *Osgoode Hall Law Journal*, 28, 2, (1990). Ruth L. Harris, 'The Transformation of Canadian Policies and Programs to Recruit Foreign Labour: The Case of Caribbean Female Domestic Workers, 1950s-1980s', PhD Dissertation, (East Lansing: Michigan State University, 1988).

41 Bromley Armstrong and Sheldon Taylor, *Bromley: Tireless Fighter for Just Causes*, (Pickering: Vitabu Publishing, 2000).

42 Donna Hill (ed.), *A Black Man's Toronto: The Reminiscences of Harry Gairey*, (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1981).

43 Moore, *Don Moore*.

44 Historians should also be aware of Agnes Calliste's significant article on early twentieth century black immigration from the West Indies to Canada, see, Agnes Calliste, 'Race, Gender and Canadian Immigration Policy: Blacks from the Caribbean, 1900-1932', *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 28, 4, (1993-4), 131-148.

45 See, Subhas Ramcharan, 'The Adaptation of West Indians in Canada', MA Thesis, (Ottawa: National Library, Cataloguing Branch, 1974).

46 Alwyn D. Gilkes, 'Among Thistles and Thorns: West Indian Diaspora Immigrants in New York City and Toronto', PhD Thesis, (New York: City University of New York, 2005).

47 Ibid., 75-86.

48 Ibid., 88-93; Ramcharan, 'The Adaptation of West Indians in Canada'.

49 For a good discussion on black diasporic and transnational approaches, see Michelle Stephens, 'Re-imagining the Shape and Borders of Black Political Space,' *Radical History Review*, 87, (Fall 2003).

50 Terry-Ann Jones, 'Comparative Diasporas: Jamaicans in South Florida and Toronto', PhD Dissertation, (Miami: University of Miami, 2005).

51 Ibid., 94, 194-205.

52 Vincent Conville's was another recent dissertation that will no doubt attract scholars of immigration processes. Focusing on a legendary community-based institution that has stood the test of time, Conville aptly positioned the role of the Jamaican Canadian Association in terms of serving not only the Jamaican community, but operating within the larger multicultural spectrum, see, Vincent G. Conville, 'The Jamaican Canadian Association in a Multiracial and Multicultural Society: Four Decades of Service', PhD Dissertation, (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2004). See also, Amoaba Gooden, 'Community Organizing by African Caribbean People in Toronto, Ontario', *Journal of Black Studies*, 38, 3, 2008.; Dwaine Plaza, 'The Construction of a Segmented Hybrid Identity among One-and-a-Half-Generation and Second-Generation Indo-Caribbean and African Caribbean Canadians', *Identity*, 6, 3, (June 2006).

53 Gilkes, 'Among Thistles and Thorns', 85-8.

54 The late Edward Said was foremost among the postcolonial pioneers that framed the transnational approach, see, Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, (New York: Knopf, 1993). Later, Paul Gilroy introduced the concept of the Black Atlantic, a prism, if you will, by which to view black migrancy around the globe. See, Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic*. See also, Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller and Christina Szanton Blanc, *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialized Nation-States*, (Luxembourg: Gordon and Breach, 1994).

55 Kevin Kenny, 'Diaspora and Comparison: The Global Irish as a Case Study', *The Journal of American History*, 90, (2003), 135.

56 Historian David Armitage, for example, has explained that the history of Scotland is, 'transnational history because the Scots have been such a prominently international people, with an estimated 25 million people of Scottish descent living outside Scotland.' David Armitage, 'The Scottish Diaspora', in J. Wormald (ed.), *Scotland: A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 272-303.

57 Robert A. Huttenback, *Racism and Empire: White Settlers and Coloured Immigrants in the British Self-Governing Colonies, 1830-1910*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1976).

58 Robert A. Huttenback, 'The British Empire as a White Man's Country', *Journal of British Studies*, 13, 1, (1973), 136.

59 Canada too, legislated a 'head tax' on Chinese migrants; a move that gave access to only a very elite number who could afford the \$500 fee. This move came only after Canada had completed its railroad. Prior to this, the Canadian government had to reconcile a need for Chinese labour to complete the railroad with an implicit wish that said labour would *not* settle in Canada. With the railroad complete, the government were now free to legislate against foreseeable Chinese migration to Canada. In addition, Canada adopted the 'single continuous journey' provision that allowed customs agents to reject those passengers wishing to

settle in Canada who had not travelled directly from their home country. As there was no direct steamship service from India, this policy effectively eliminated migration from that part of the world. Add the provision that all Asiatic immigrants needed to have \$200 on their persons, and then one can see that it was virtually impossible for Indians to immigrate to Canada. As Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald put it, 'At present, it is simply a question of alternatives: either you must have the labour or you cannot have railway.' See, Stanislaw Andracki, 'The Immigration of Orientals into Canada with Special Reference to Chinese', PhD Dissertation, (Montreal: McGill University, 1958), 26-7; Huttenback, 'The British Empire as a White Man's Country', 129, 135.

60 It was Australia, however, that first openly contravened the British tenet of liberal equality among subjects of the Empire, by including overtly racist language within its official legislation. In 1901, various Acts were enthusiastically passed in the Australian legislature that confirmed the welcome concept of a 'White Australia', an updated variation on the Natal Formula theme. Here, euphemism and obscure procedure gave way to actual racialized language that defined clearly those immigrants who *would* and *would not* be admitted. Britain's other self-governing colonies closely observed (and applauded) Australia's political manoeuvrings in that country's quest for a 'White Australia'.

61 Janice Monk, 'Race and Restrictive Immigration', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 4, 2, (April 1978), 194.

62 Alistair Bonnett, 'Whiteness in Crisis', *History Today*, (December 2000), 38-9.

63 Some of the authors' findings had evolved out of Lake's previous research 'White Man's Country: The Trans-National History of a National Project' (2003). In this article, Lake reviewed the key architects of the 'White Australia' project and explored the profound influence that the American Civil War and slavery had on the attitudes of Australia's politicians, lawmakers and social agents. The 'failed experiment' and legacy of racial conflict in the United States, gave justification, at least in their minds, to those Australian leaders who sought to safeguard the country against racial strife through the exclusion of non-whites. Lake pursued the racist rationale of Alfred Deakin, H.B. Higgins and Edmond Barton: champions of the 'White Australia' project. All of these men had been heavily influenced by the historical writings of James Bryce, Charles Pearson, John W. Burgess and William Dunning. See, Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men's Countries and the International Challenge of Racial Equality*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Marilyn Lake, 'White Man's Country: The Trans-National History of a National Project', *Australian Historical Studies*, 122, (2003).

64 Monk, 'Race and Restrictive Immigration', 195.

65 Dennis Conway and Robert B. Potter, 'Caribbean Transnational Return Migrants as Agents of Change', *Geography Compass*, 1, 1, (2007).

66 For earlier discussions see, Jorge Duany, 'Beyond the Safety Valve: Recent Trends in Caribbean Migration', *Social & Economic Studies*, 43, 1, (1994); Dawn I. Marshall, 'A History of West Indian Migrations: Overseas Opportunities and "Safety-Valve" Policies', in Barry B. Levine (ed.), *The Caribbean Exodus*, (New York: Praeger, 1987).

67 Conway and Potter, 'Caribbean Transnational Return Migrants', i.

68 For other works that see ethnicity as something that is 'practiced' or 'enacted', see, Jordan Stranger-Ross, *Staying Italian: Urban Change and Ethnic Life in Postwar Toronto and Philadelphia*, (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2009); Carolyn Whitzman, *Suburb, Slum, Urban Village: Transformations in Toronto's Parkdale Neighbourhood, 1875-2002*, (Vancouver; Toronto: UBC Press, 2009).

69 Barbara Lorezkowski, *Sounds of Ethnicity: Listening to German North America, 1850-1914*, (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2010), 6-10.

70 Rogers Brubaker, 'Ethnicity Without Groups', *Archives européennes de sociologie*, 43, 2, (November 2002), 167-8; Lorezkowski, *Sounds of Ethnicity*, 6.

71 Peter Goddard, 'He's Metro's grand old man of reggae', *Toronto Star*, (29 May 1982), F3.

72 See, U.S. Department of State, *July-December, 2010 International Religious Freedom Report: Jamaica*, (Washington: Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, 13 September 2011).

73 Howard Campbell, 'Carlene Davis focuses on "Best of Glory"', *Gleaner*, (4 August 2009).

74 Paul McGrath, 'Davis proves there is life after reggae', *Globe and Mail*, (5 August 1981), 15.

75 Ibid.

76 Keith Tuber, 'Reggae's Carlene Davis sends a message from Jamaica', *Orange Coast Magazine*, (January 1983), 88-90.

77 Hopeton Lewis, *Take it Easy: Rocksteady with Hopeton Lewis*, (Island [UK]: ILP 957, 1967).

78 See, for examples, Amiri Baraka, *Blues People*, (New York: Morrow Quill, 1963); Christopher Small, *Music of the Common Tongue: Survival and Celebration in Afro-American Music, 1927-2011*, (London: J. Calder; New York: Riverrun Press 1987); Houston A. Baker, Jr., *Blues, Ideology, and Afro-American Literature: A Vernacular Theory*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984); Henry Louis Gates, Jr., *The Signifying Monkey: A Theory of Afro-American Literary Criticism*, (New York; London: Oxford University Press, 1988); Guthrie P. Ramsey, *Race Music: Black Cultures from Bebop to Hip-hop*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

79 See, for examples, Newman I. White, *American Negro Folk-Songs*, (Hatboro, PA: Folklore Associates, [1928] 1965); Paul Oliver, 'That Certain Feeling: Blues and Jazz... in 1890?', *Popular Music*, 10, 1, (January 1991); David Evans, 'Introduction', *American Music*, 14, 4, (December 1996); Elijah Wald, *Escaping the Delta: Robert Johnson and the Invention of the Blues*, (New York: Amistad, 2004).

80 See, for examples, Rudi Blesh, *Shining Trumpets: A History of Jazz*, (New York: Da Capo Press, 1975); James Lincoln Collier, *The Making of Jazz: A Comprehensive History*, (New York: Dell, 1978); Scott Saul, *Freedom Is, Freedom Ain't: Jazz and the Making of the Sixties*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003); Scott DeVeaux, *The Birth of Bebop: A Social and Musical History*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997). For a recent exception to the integrationist approach, see, Jon Panish, *The Color of Jazz: Race and Representation in Postwar American Culture*, (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1997).

81 See, Richard Cook and Brian Morton, *The Penguin Guide to Jazz Recordings*, 9th edition, (London: Penguin Books, 2008).

82 Ibid.

83 See, George Lipsitz, *Dangerous Crossroads: Popular Music, Postmodernism and the Poetics of Place*, (New York: Verso, 1994), 97-114.

84 I am grateful to Mike Alleyne for his encouraging words about this project. I do struggle, as I made him aware, with *some* of the arguments posited by him in his article 'White Reggae: Cultural Dilution in the Record Industry' which appeared in *Popular Music and Society* (2000). These rather reflect the current embryonic stage of reggae scholarship. While Alleyne confessed that reggae was indeed a hybrid text in the first instance, he, like other scholars, still believes that the genre's commercial successes and representations of the genre have been, in the balance, more negative than progressive. Essentially, Alleyne's argument was that reggae music has been appropriated by white mainstream artists who have somehow, irreparably damaged the initial ideological, musical and creative value of the genre. To be fair to Alleyne, whose other works on reggae are far more useful and compelling, the list of 'white' reggae that he compiled is music that was crafted by non-reggae musicians including The Eagles, Paul McCartney and Eric Clapton, which do indeed rank among the more dreadful usages of reggae music. See, Mike Alleyne, 'White Reggae: Cultural Dilution in the Record Industry', *Popular Music and Society*, 24, 1, (2000), *passim*.

85 Heathcott, 'Urban Spaces and Working Class Expressions', 186; Daniel T. Neely, 'Mento, Jamaica's Original Music': Development, Tourism and the Nationalist Frame'. PhD Dissertation, (New York: New York University, 2008).

86 As Daniel Neely explained: '...any bibliographic survey of Jamaican music will reveal a seemingly endless number of books, magazines, websites and blogs that purport to tell a "true", "definitive" or "authentic" story of Jamaica's music history.' See, Neely, "Mento, Jamaica's Original Music", 8-9.

87 If, however, we restrict the number of entries to only some of the very best, then Timothy White's brilliant *Catch a Fire: The Life of Bob Marley* (1983) would be a very good place to begin. Jamaican-American Malika Lee Whitney and broadcaster/author Dermot Hussey produced an intriguing piece of Wailer literature entitled *Bob Marley: Reggae King of the World* (1984) which should also be considered among the stronger works on reggae's king. Kwame Dawes' *Bob Marley: Lyrical Genius* (2002) and *Natural Mysticism: Towards a New Reggae Aesthetic* (1999) are likewise very good works that transcend the journalistic approach. Finally, and most recently, Colin Grant's *I & I The Natural Mystics: Marley, Tosh and Wailer* (2011) is not only superb for its detailed analysis of the career trajectories of the three main Wailers, but also for its assessment of the role of Rastafari in the construct of the Wailer image. See, Timothy White, *Catch a Fire: The Life of Bob Marley*, (New York: Henry Holt and Co., (1983) 1998); Malika Lee Whitney and Dermot Hussey, *Bob Marley: Reggae King of the World*, (Kingston: Kingston Publishers Limited, 1984); Kwame Dawes, *Bob Marley: Lyrical Genius*, (London: Sanctuary, 2002); Kwame Dawes, *Natural Mysticism: Towards a New Reggae Aesthetic in Caribbean Writing*, (Leeds: Peepal



Tree, 1999); Colin Grant, *I & I The Natural Mystics: Marley, Tosh and Wailer*, (London: Random House, 2011).

88 See, for examples, Steve Barrow and Peter Dalton, *Reggae: The Rough Guide*. London: Rough Guides Ltd., [1997] 2001); Lloyd Bradley, *Reggae on CD*, (London: Kylie Cathy Ltd., 1996); Lloyd Bradley, *Bass Culture: When Reggae was King*, (London: Viking, 2000); Kevin O'Brien Chang and Wayne Chen, *Reggae Routes: The Story of Jamaican Music*, (Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 1998); Michael De Koenig and Laurence Cane Honeysett, *Young, Gifted and Black: The Story of Trojan Records*, (London: Sanctuary Publishing, Ltd., 2003); Lou Gooden, *Reggae Heritage: Jamaica's Culture & Politics*, (Kingston: Olivier Printery, 2003); Brian Jahn and Tom Weber, *Reggae Island: Jamaican Music in the Digital Age*, (New York: Da Capo, 1998); David Katz, *Solid Foundation: An Oral History of Reggae*, (New York: Bloomsbury, 2003); Colin Larkin, *The Virgin Encyclopaedia of Reggae*, (London: Virgin Publishing Ltd., 1998); David Moskowitz, *Caribbean Popular Music: An Encyclopaedia of Reggae, Mento, Ska, Rock Steady and Dancehall*, (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2006); Chris Potash (ed.), *Reggae, Rasta, Revolution: Jamaican Music from Ska to Dub*, (New York: Schirmer Books, 1997). In his PhD dissertation, Neely arranges this largely journalistic-based historiography into three primary forms: the genre-based discography; the encyclopaedic approach and the interview-based journalistic narrative. Neely also believes that there is a 'symbiotic relationship' with these publications and the reissuing strategies of reggae's main record companies. See, Neely, 'Mento, Jamaica's Original Music', 11-2.

89 For good examples, see, Garth White, 'Master Drummer', *Jamaica Journal*, 11, 1-2, (1977); Garth White (aka Razac Blacka), 'Rudie, Oh Rudie!', *Caribbean Quarterly*, 13, 3, (1967); Gordon Rohlehr, 'Some Problems of Assessment: A Look at New Expressions in the Art of the Contemporary Caribbean', *Caribbean Quarterly*, 17, 3-4, (September-December 1971); Verena Reckford, 'Rastafarian Music: An Introductory Study', *Jamaica Journal*, 11, 1-2, (1977). For a strong and more recent review, see, Barry Chevannes, *Rastafari: Roots and Ideology*, (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1995).

90 See, for examples, Carolyn Cooper, *Sound Clash: Jamaican Dancehall Culture at Large*, (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004); Heathcott, 'Urban Spaces and Working Class Expressions'; Neely, 'Mento, Jamaica's Original Music'; Robert Witmer, "'Local' and 'Foreign': The Popular Music Culture of Kingston, Jamaica, before Ska, Rock Steady, and Reggae', *Latin American Music Review*, 8, 1. (1987).

91 Denis Constant, *Aux sources du reggae: Musique société et politique en Jamaïque*, (Roquevaire, France: Parenthèse, 1982).

92 Edna Brodber and J. Edward Greene, *Reggae and Cultural Identity in Jamaica*, (Mona, Jamaica: Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies, 1988).

93 See, Olive Lewin, *Rock it Come Over: The Folk Music of Jamaica*, (Mona, Jamaica: The University of the West Indies Press, 2000); Marilyn Rouse, *Jamaican Folk Music – A Synthesis of Many Cultures*, (Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2000); Kenneth M. Bilby, 'Gumbay, Myal, and the Great House: New Evidence on the Religious Background of Jonkonnu in Jamaica', *ACIJ Research Review*, 4, (1999). See also, Daniel T. Neely, 'Long Time Gal! Mento is Back!', *The Beat*, 20, 6, (2001).

94 Urry, and Gibson and Connell anticipate Neely's argument that music was used not only as a symbol of Jamaican identity, but also as a strategy for national growth. See, Chris Gibson and John Connell, *Music and Tourism: On the Road Again*, (Tonawanda, NY: Channel View Publications, 2005), 14; John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, Second Edition, (London: Sage Publications, 2002), 45-50.

95 Thomas Turino described cultural nationalism as 'the use of art and other cultural practices to develop or maintain national sentiment for political purposes.' See, Thomas Turino, *Nationalists, Cosmopolitans, and Popular Music in Zimbabwe*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 14.

96 Witmer believed that 'the growing musical nationalism of the late 1950s coexisted with a more generalized nationalistic fervour, which culminated in independence in 1962.' See, Witmer, "'Local" and "Foreign"', 18-9.

97 Robert Witmer, 'African Roots: The Case of Recent Jamaican Popular Music', Daniel Hertz and Bonnie C. Wade (eds.), *International Musicological Society: Report of the Twelfth Congress, Berkeley 1977*, (Kassel: Barenreiter, 1981), 113.

98 Michael Veal, *Dub: Soundscapes and Shattered Songs in Jamaican Reggae*, (Hanover: Wesleyan University Press, 2007).

99 Norman Stolzoff, *Wake the Town & Tell the People: Dancehall Culture in Jamaica*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000), 6.

100 For some decent examples, see, James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997); Jenny Sharpe, 'Is the United States Postcolonial? Transnationalism, Immigration, and Race', *Diaspora*, 4, 2, (1995); George Sanchez, *Becoming Mexican American: Ethnicity, Culture, and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900-1945*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

101 Timothy Rommen, 'Protestant Vibrations? Reggae, Rastafari, and conscious Evangelicals', *Popular Music*, 25, 2, (2006), 235-263.

102 Jorge L. Giovannetti, 'Popular music and culture in Puerto Rico: Jamaican and rap music as cross-cultural symbols', Frances R. Aparicio, Candida F. Jáquez (ed.), *Musical Migrations: Transnationalism and Cultural Hybridity in Latino America*, (New York: Palgrave, 2003), 81-98.

103 See, Timothy D. Taylor, *Global Pop: World Music, World Markets*, (New York: Routledge, 1997), 155-68.

104 Heathcott, 'Urban Spaces and Working-Class Expressions'.

105 *Ibid.*, 184.

106 *Ibid.*

107 *Ibid.*, 186.

108 Simon Jones, *Black Culture, White Youth: The Reggae Tradition from JA to UK*, (Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan, 1988).

109 Sebastian Clarke, *Jah Music: The Evolution of the Popular Jamaican Song*, (London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd., 1980).

110 Henderson, *Making the Scene*.

111 Hebdige, *Cut 'n' Mix*; Dick Hebdige, *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*, (London: Methuen, 1979).

112 Hebdige was highly influenced by Roland Barthes' semiotic theory regarding cultural phenomenon. See, Roland Barthes, *Mythologies*, (Paris: Editions de Seuil, 1957).

113 Hebdige, *Subculture*, as reprinted in Stephen Duncombe and Maxwell Tremblay (eds.), *White Riot: Punk Rock and the Politics of Race*, (London; Brooklyn: Verso, 2011), 38.

114 Hebdige, *Cut 'n' Mix*; Hebdige, *Subculture*; Jones, *Black Culture, White Youth*.

115 Walker, *Dubwise*.

116 *Ibid.*, 176.

117 Erna Brodber, 'Reggae as Black Space', Opening Plenary delivered at the Global Reggae Conference, University of West Indies, (Mona, Jamaica: 18 February 2008).

118 Erna Brodber, as quoted in Basil Walters, 'Reggae rinsed the word black and made it a sweet-smelling rose', *Jamaica Observer*, (20 February 2008).

## II WE'VE GOT TO SING IT TOGETHER: HYBRIDITY IN THE REGGAE TEXT (SLAVERY TO WWD)

1 Walter Jekyll, *Jamaican Song and Story: Annancy Stories, Digging Sings, Ring Tunes, and Dancing Tunes*. Collected and Edited by Walter Jekyll with an introduction by Alice Werner, (London: David Nutt, for the Folk-Lore Society, [1907]; republished Mineola: Dover Publications, Inc., [1966] 2005).

2 The Dragonaires/Sattalites' Jo Jo Bennett, for example, was an Alpha School alumnus; Lucea Jamaica's Earle Heedram has a unique connection to folklorist Walter Jekyll; and the English born historian Tomaz Jardim is the great nephew of folklorist Astley Clerk.

3 See the chapter entitled 'The Melody of Europe, The Rhythm of Africa', Rex M. Nettleford, *Mirror Mirror: Identity, Race and Protest in Jamaica*, (Kingston: LMH Publishing, (1970) 1998), 185.

4 See, Caroline Muraldo, 'The Caribbean Quadrille', (2007). Similarly, the English civil servant and Jamaican folk song historian Hugh Paget said of the island's traditional music: 'In the opinion of such students of folk music... the tunes of most of the Jamaican songs derive ultimately from Europe and mainly from the British Isles; the rhythm, however, is African in origin, while the blend is essentially Jamaican.' See, Hugh Paget, as quoted in Noel Hawks, 'Liner Notes', *Take me to Jamaica: The Story of Jamaican Mento*, (Pressure Sounds: PSCD 51, 2006).

5 Neely correctly observed that the most egregious examples of the African/European binary within Jekyll's collection was *not*, in fact, Jekyll's language, but rather that what was found in Werner, Broadwood and most apparently in Myers' appendixes. See, Neely, 'Mento, Jamaica's Original Music', 96-100.

6 *Ibid.*, 7.

7 Kenneth M. Bilby, 'The Caribbean as a Musical Region', Sidney W. Mintz and Sally Price (eds.),  
*Caribbean Contours*, (Baltimore; London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985).

8 For examples, see, Martha Beckwith, 'The English Ballad in Jamaica: A Note Upon the Origin of the Ballad  
Form', *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 39, (1924); Martha Beckwith,  
*Jamaica Folk-Lore*, (New York: The American Folk-Lore Society, 1928); Helen Roberts, 'Some Drum and  
Drum Rhythms of Jamaica', *Natural History*, 24, (1924); Helen Roberts, 'A Study of Folk Song Variants  
Based on Field Work in Jamaica', *Journal of American Folk-lore*, 38, 148, (1925); Helen Roberts, 'Possible  
Survivals of African Songs in Jamaica', *Musical Quarterly*, 12, 3, (1926).

9 In her work, Deborah Thomas speaks to the 'creole multiracial nationalist project' that existed in Jamaica's  
official policy making at this time. This approach began to incorporate, as Thomas explained, 'previously  
disparaged Afro-Jamaican cultural practices in order to foster a sense of national belonging among  
Jamaican's (majority black) population.' See, Deborah Thomas, *Modern Blackness: Nationalism,  
Globalization and the Politics of Culture in Jamaica*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 4. See also,  
Gibson and Connell, *Music and Tourism*; Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*; Neely, "'Mento, Jamaica's Original  
Music'", 19.

10 British bands, especially multiracial bands like UB40 are afforded only a cursory mention, if they are  
treated at all in many of these "authoritative" works. See, Barrow and Dalton, *Reggae: The Rough Guide*;  
Bradley, *Reggae on CD*; Bradley, *Bass Culture*; O'Brien Chang and Chen, *Reggae Routes*; De Koenigh  
and Honeysett, *Young, Gifted and Black: The Story of Trojan Records*; Gooden, *Reggae Heritage*; Jahn and  
Weber, *Reggae Island: Jamaican Music in the Digital Age*; Katz, *Solid Foundation*; Larkin, *The Virgin  
Encyclopaedia of Reggae*; Moskowitz, *Caribbean Popular Music*; Potash, *Reggae, Rasta, Revolution*.

11 Hans Sloane, *Voyage to the Islands Madera, Barbados, Nieves, S. Christophers and Jamaica, with the  
Natural History of the Herbs and Trees, Four-footed Beasts, Fishes, Birds, Insects, Reptiles, etc. of the Last  
of those Islands*, Two Volumes, (London: Printed by B.M. for the Author 1707), lxviii-lvii.

12 For an excellent overview of the musical quotient of Sloane's visit to Jamaica, see, Richard Cullen Rath,  
'African Music in Seventeenth-Century Jamaica: Cultural Transit and Transition', *The William and Mary  
Quarterly*, Third Series, 50, 4, (October 1993).

13 Sloane, *Voyage to the Islands Madera*, xlviiii-xlix, lii.

14 Nketia's important work on African music remains, in many ways unsurpassed. See, for example, J.H.  
Kwabena Nketia, *The Music of Africa*, (New York: W.W. Norton, 1974); J.H. Kwabena Nketia, 'The  
Musical Languages of Subsaharan Africa', *African Music: Proceedings From a Meeting in Yaoundé,  
Cameroon, 23-27 February 1970*, (Yaoundé: 1970); J.H. Kwabena Nketia, *African Music in Ghana*,  
(Evanston, Ill: Northwestern University Press, 1963). For earlier examples, see, Arthur M. Jones, *Studies in  
African Music*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959); Rose Brandel, *The Music of Central Africa*, (The  
Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1962). For Kromanti drumming and more recent discussion on the music of the  
Maroons, see, Kenneth M. Bilby, 'Kromanti Dance of the Windward Maroons of Jamaica', *Nieuwe West-  
Indische Gids*, 55, 1/2. (1981), 52-101; Kenneth M. Bilby, 'Liner Notes', *Drums of Defiance: Maroon  
Music from the Earliest Free Black Communities of Jamaica*, (Washington: Smithsonian/Folkways  
Recordings, SF 40412, 1992).

15 Patterson and Brathwaite took their cues from the mid-twentieth century ethno-cultural debate known as the  
'Herskovits and Frazier problem'; so associated with African survivals in the culture of the United States.  
See, Edward Franklin Frazier, *The Negro Family in the United States*, Revised and abridged edition,  
(Chicago: University of Chicago Press, [1948] 1966); Melville J. Herskovits, *The Myth of the Negro Past*,  
(New York: Harper & Brothers, 1941).

16 Orlando Patterson, *The Sociology of Slavery: An Analysis of the Origins, Development and Structure of  
Negro Slave Society in Jamaica*, (Cranbury, NJ: Associated Univ. Presses, 1969).

17 Edward Brathwaite, *The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica, 1770-1820*, (Oxford: Oxford  
University Press, 1971).

18 The Patterson-Brathwaite argument was further nuanced by anthropologists Sidney W. Mintz and Richard  
Price who combined linguistic conceptions with the cultural conceptions of creolization as identified by  
Brathwaite. See, Sydney W. Mintz and Richard Price, *The Birth of African-American Culture: An  
Anthropological Perspective*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1992).

19 Bilby, 'Kromanti Dance', 52-101.

20 Rath, 'African Music in Seventeenth-Century Jamaica', 700-26.

---

21 Lewin, *Rock it Come Over*; Bilby, 'The Caribbean as a Musical Region', Mintz and Price, *Caribbean*  
*Contours*, 185; Olive Lewin, 'Jamaican Folk Music', *Caribbean Quarterly*, 14, (1968); Neely, "'Mento,

22 Jamaica's Original Music'", 68.  
For further discussion on this relationship between the oppressor and the oppressed, and how music  
behaved therein, see, Stolzoff, *Wake the Town & Tell the People*; Lewin, *Rock It Come Over*; Bilby, 'The  
Caribbean as a Musical Region', Mintz and Price (eds.), *Caribbean Contours*; Garth White, 'Traditional  
Music Practice in Jamaica and its Influence on the Birth of Modern Jamaican Music', *African Caribbean*  
*Institute of Jamaica Newsletter*, 7, (1982); Neely, "'Mento, Jamaica's Original Music'", 70.

23 For a further discussion on how mimicry was a means to survival in the Caribbean, see, Michael Taussig,  
*Mimesis and Alterity*, (New York: Routledge, 1993); Richard Price, *The Convict and the Colonial*, (Boston:  
Beacon Press, 1998).

24 Nyabinghi was a warrior princess from the area in Africa presently known as Rwanda. A cult was  
developed around her by those Ethiopians who faced off against Mussolini during Italy's invasion of the  
former during the 1930s. Oswald Williams, aka Count Ossie with his inimitable burru hand drum, is among  
the most famous Nyabingi drummers. Walker, *Dubwise*, 118; Vivien Goldman, *The Book of Exodus: The*  
*Making and Meaning of Bob Marley and the Wailers' Album of the Century*, (New York: Three Rivers  
Press, 2006), 72.

25 'Interview with Earle Heedram (aka The Mighty Pope)', (Richmond Hill: 13 December 2010).

26 Jekyll, *Jamaican Song and Story*.

27 See, C. Kitchener, 'Letter to the Editor', *The Gleaner*, (15 February 1910), 4; Anonymous, 'Bad Blood  
Disease', *The Gleaner*, (17 April 1916), 4; Robert Craig, 'The Social Evil', *The Gleaner*, (18 April 1916),  
4; Walter Jekyll, 'Mr. Walter Jekyll and the Matter of Supernatural Darkness', *The Gleaner*, (19 October  
1916), 11.

28 Jekyll was buried in the churchyard in Lucea and his tombstone bears the epitaph: 'Musician, gardener,  
philosopher, teacher, and writer, he lived 34 years in this Island of his adopting, where he gave himself to  
the service of others and was greatly beloved by all who knew him.' See, 'Walter Jekyll' entry found in  
John Archibald Venn (comp.), *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1922-1954).  
See also, Archdeacon Simms, as quoted in Frank Cundall, 'In Portrait Gallery of the Institute', *The Gleaner*,  
(19 August 1929), 21.

29 Anonymous, *Ibid*.

30 Jekyll's life passions drifted across larger currents such as the fledgling domain of folk art collecting, the  
scientific theories of Darwin, Lubbock and Tylor, the 'higher criticism' of the German philosophers,  
Spencerian Rationalism and, by virtue of his close relationship with McKay, questions on race in Jamaican  
society and elsewhere. Of all of these various movements, however, Jekyll was most concerned with  
stemming the flow of modernity and its presumed attack on the folkways of the 'peasantry' around the  
world. And, just as his famous garden-designing sister Gertrude Jekyll had documented the folkways of  
West Surrey, Walter, who moved to Jamaica in 1895, would do the same for people in the hilltops of  
Jamaica's Port Royal Mountains. See, Gertrude Jekyll, *Old West Surrey: Some Notes and Memories*,  
(London; New York and Bombay: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1904). The book was updated and re-titled in  
1939: Gertrude Jekyll, *Old English Household Life: Some Account of Cottage Objects and Country Folk*,  
British Heritage Series, (London: B.T. Batsford, 1939).

31 As far as this author knows, no comprehensive overview of Jekyll has hitherto been undertaken. Certain  
misapprehensions of the man are evidenced in the work of scholars like Michael North, Paul Jay and  
Rhonda Cobham. See, Michael North, *The Dialect of Modernism: Race, Language and Twentieth-Century*  
*Literature*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); Paul Jay, 'Hybridity, Identity and Cultural  
Commerce in Claude McKay's Banana Bottom', *Callaloo*, 22, 1, (1999), 176-94; Rhonda Cobham, 'Jekyll  
and Claude: The Erotics of Patronage in Claude McKay's Banana Bottom', Cindy Patton and Benigno  
Sañchez-Eppler, *Queer Diasporas*, (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000). For more charitable  
interpretations of Jekyll's role in McKay's life see, Josh Gosciak, *Between Diaspora and Internationalism:*  
*Claude McKay and the Making of a Black Public Intellectual*, PhD Dissertation, (New York: City  
University of New York, 2002); Wayne F. Cooper, *Claude McKay: Rebel Sojourner in the Harlem*  
*Renaissance, a Biography*, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987).

32 Even Pope was pleased with the contract which he found to be fair and good. There was a significant  
advance. See, 'Interview with Earle Heedram (aka The Mighty Pope)'.

33 George Mullins, a Jamaican contemporary of the man looked forward to Jekyll's daily performance. Mullins was among the people Peter Kiernan and Janet Morgan interviewed during their search for Jekyll's lost garden. See, Peter Kiernan, 'Walter Jekyll and his Jamaica Garden', slide-show lecture delivered at The Gallery, London, Garden History Society, Winter Lectures, (2 February 2005); Cundall, 'In Portrait Gallery of the Institute', 21. Martin Rusea (Rusea's high school): a Frenchman who loved Lucea and left a handsome amount of money to the school that was named for him. See, 'Interview with Earle Heedram (*aka* The Mighty Pope)'.  
34 Cundall, 'In Portrait Gallery of the Institute', 21; Kiernan, 'Walter Jekyll and his Jamaica Garden'.  
35 Today, *Jamaican Song and Story* still commands space on the reading lists of folklorist, ethnomusicological, Caribbean-related and Black Atlantic courses throughout the world. Wisconsin, Berkeley, St. Andrews, Oxford, Utah State, City University of New York, University of Florida, and of course, Mona in the West Indies, are among the many universities that are currently offering courses that have Jekyll's work on the reading list.  
36 For further discussion, see, Gosciak, *Between Diaspora and Internationalism*; Cooper, *Claude McKay*.  
37 In his author's note, McKay declared that Gensir was the only non-imaginary character in his book. Almost all of the passages that illustrate Gensir's manner, opinion and general way of being ring true with existing historical documents about Walter Jekyll. Consider McKay's recollection of the real Jekyll alongside the introductory passage: When I sent them on to Mr. Jekyll, he wrote back to say that each new one was more beautiful than the last. Beauty! A short while before I never thought that any beauty could be found in the Jamaica dialect. Now this Englishman had discovered beauty and I too could see where my poems were beautiful.' See, Claude McKay, *My Green Hills of Jamaica*, (Kingston; Port of Spain; London: Heinemann Educational Books [Caribbean Ltd.], 1979), 69; Claude McKay, *Banana Bottom*, (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc., 1933; London: Serpent's Tail, 2005), Author's Note. North, however, believes Gensir to be a composite, a 'mixture of the Jekyll of 1912 and the McKay of 1932.' See, North, *The Dialect of Modernism*, 122.  
38 Between 1864 and 1866, Walter was educated at Harrow and while he openly rebelled at school, Jekyll had proven himself to be an exceptional scholar who spoke six languages and was top of his class. Jekyll later took his BA and MA at Trinity College, Cambridge and graduated with honours. Walter continued on a respectable path and was ordained as a deacon in 1874. Later still, Jekyll became a priest and the Curate of Heydon from 1874 until 1877. Soon afterwards, Jekyll was placed in a Minor Canonry at Worcester Cathedral in 1877, followed by a short stint as a Chaplain in Malta in 1879. It was around this time that Jekyll's scepticism overrode any desire to remain in the service of the church or to follow his family's wishes. For further discussion, see, Susan Budd, *Varieties of Unbelief: Atheists and Agnostics in English Society, 1850-1960*, (London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1977).  
39 According to Peter Kiernan and Janet Morgan, Walter likely visited North's Jamaican exhibit at Kew gardens in the 1880s. See, Kiernan, 'Walter Jekyll and his Jamaica Garden'. See also, Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, *Marianne North at Kew Gardens*. (Exeter, Devon: Webb & Bower, in association with the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, 1990); Marianne North, *Recollections of a Happy Life: Being the Autobiography of Marianne North*. Edited by her sister, Mrs. John Addington Symonds, (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, [1894] 1993).  
40 Annabel Freyburg, 'Edward and Julia Jekyll and their Family', Michael Tooley and Primrose Arnander (eds.), *Gertrude Jekyll: Essays on the Life of a Working Amateur*, (Durham: Michaelmas Books, 1995), 41.  
41 Cooper, Cobham, North, Gosciak and Jay have, however, chosen to take Jekyll's homosexuality for granted. This leap of faith is likely based on Jekyll's relationship with Colonel Ernest Boyle. Jekyll spent many summer months in Norway fishing for trout with Boyle, and the Colonel moved to Jamaica to be near Jekyll in 1908. On a visit back to England during the First World War, Boyle rejoined his regiment and was killed at the Front in 1917. See, Cundall, 'In Portrait Gallery of the Institute', 21.  
42 McKay's biographer Wayne Cooper offered Sir Richard Burton, Cecil Rhodes and Lord H.H. Kitchener among his antithetical examples to Jekyll. Cooper, *Claude McKay*, 31.  
43 Julia Jekyll died in 1896 and with the inheritance money Jekyll was able to permanently settle in Jamaica's Blue Mountains. The earthquake of 1907, however, claimed Jekyll's first Jamaican house in the hills and Walter, according to his brother Herbert, was lucky to escape death in the ensuing landslide. Following the quake, Jekyll gave his headman his property and moved to Mavis Bank near Kingston. Later still, Jekyll moved to Hanover and finally to Bower Hill near Riverside, into a house built for him by niece Millicent von Maltzahn. Millicent, the daughter of Walter's eldest brother Edward, moved to Jamaica in the late

1920s following the death of her husband Baron Erich von Maltzahn to take care of Walter. See, Cundall, 'In Portrait Gallery of the Institute', 21; Freyburg, 'Edward and Julia Jekyll', 34; Kiernan, 'Walter Jekyll and his Jamaica Garden'.

44 McKay, *My Green Hills of Jamaica*, 71.

45 Both Walter and Gertrude were close with William Robinson, founder of the Arts and Crafts Movement that so inspired the siblings' horticultural approach. Walter contributed several articles to Robinson's journal *The Garden*, which Gertrude edited. From an 'our man in Kingston' approach, Jekyll addressed all manner of issues regarding the Jamaican garden. Jekyll wrote some 37,000 words on Jamaican plant life for both local and British publications and also cultivated an herbarium collection that boasted over 8,125 specimens. See, 'Searching for Hidden Gardens: Morgan and Kiernan in JA', *Jamaica Gleaner*, Outlook section, (10 October 2004), 26-7; Kiernan, 'Walter Jekyll and his Jamaica Garden'; Charles Dennis Adams, *Flowering Plants of Jamaica*, (Mona, Jamaica: University of the West Indies, 1972).

46 Jekyll, however, resisted the musical nationalism debate. According to Claude McKay, Jekyll 'hated the British Empire.' See, McKay, *My Green Hills of Jamaica*, 71.

47 Internationalism had currency among Fabian socialists, Suffragettes and pacifists See, Gosciak, *Between Diaspora and Internationalism*, 3.

48 Stuart Hall, 'Introduction: Who Needs "Identity"?', Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay, *Questions of Cultural Identity*, (London: Thousand Oaks; California: Sage, 1996).

49 Colin C. Eldridge, *The Imperial Experience: From Carlyle to Forster*, (London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1996), 142.

50 'Scientific Racism' was a concept of Dr. James Hunt who founded the Anthropological Society of London in 1863. See, Eldridge, *The Imperial Experience*, 158. See also, Claude McKay, *A Long Way from Home*, (New York: Arno Press and The New York Times, 1969), 14.

51 See, Edward B. Tylor, 'Wild Men and Beast Children', *Anthropological Review*, 1, (1863), 21-32; Margaret T. Hogden, *The Doctrine of Survivals*, (London: Allenson, 1936), 57; Laavanyan Ratnapalan, 'E.B. Tylor and the Problem of Primitive Culture', *History and Anthropology*, 19, 2, (June 2008), 131-142.

52 For an antithetical view on the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race, see, Eldridge, *The Imperial Experience*, 141.

53 In reference to the caste system at play in Jamaica, Jekyll confessed that 'white gentlemen' count 'many points in the estimation of the Negro.' In his field notes reviewing the digging sing 'Sambo Lady', Jekyll demonstrated his intimacy with the island's caste system:

A Sambo is the child of a brown mother and a black father, brown being a cross between black and white. The Sambo lady, very proud of the strain of white in her blood, turns up her nose at the black man. She wants a white man for a husband. Failing to find one, she will not marry at all.

Jekyll also observed that 'Blacks do not mind calling themselves niggers, but a White man must not call them so. To say "black nehgher" is an offence not to be forgiven.' The author also warned that it was 'a mistake to suppose that the black man is either stupid or lazy.' See, Jekyll, *Jamaican Song and Story*, 76, 176-7, 189, 227.

54 There were some paternalistic overtones in Jekyll's appraisal of the island and its people: Ledhu was his 'coolie' gardener, Headlam, his 'head man'. Yet, Cobham's reading of Jekyll was particularly interesting, circumscribed as it was by her predetermined suppositions of the man and how they support an accepted orthodoxy about white men in the far reaches of the Empire. But as Cooper countered, 'Walter Jekyll surely ranked among the more interesting Englishmen found in Queen Victoria's far-flung possessions.' Moreover, while the ethnographer was in pursuit of the 'primitive', he was already home. And when Victoria had been dead for nearly thirty years, Jekyll remained there, in the hilltops of Jamaica. See, Cobham, 'Jekyll and Claude', *passim*; Cooper, *Claude McKay*, 22-3; Walter Jekyll, 'In the Port Royal Mountains, Jamaica', *The Garden: An Illustrated Weekly Journal of Gardening in All Its Branches*, (14 September 1901), 180; Walter Jekyll, 'Aloe Vera', *The Garden: An Illustrated Weekly Journal of Gardening in All Its Branches*, (7 September 1901), 160.

55 See, Huttenback, *Racism and Empire*; Huttenback, 'The British Empire as a White Man's Country'.

56 Bonnett, 'Whiteness in Crisis', 38-9.

57 *Ibid.*, 39.

58 Lord Milner, 'Address to the Municipal Congress, Johannesburg', 18 May 1903, Cecil Headlam (*ed.*), *The Milner Papers: South Africa, Vol. II: 1899-1905*, (London: Cassell & Company Ltd., 1933), 467.

59 Jekyll, *Jamaican Song and Story*, liii.

60 The dressing up of 'objectionable' lyrics and themes in 'rescued' folk songs was something that most collectors were aware of. See, Vic Gammon, 'Folk Song Collecting in Sussex and Surrey: 1843-1914', *History Workshop Journal*, 10, (1980), 71; Jekyll, *Jamaican Song and Story*, liii.

61 Jekyll, *Jamaican Song and Story*, liii.

62 See, *Jamaica Journal*, 18, 4, (November 1985-86); Peta Gay Jensen, *The Last Colonials: The Story of Two European Families in Jamaica*, (London: The Radcliffe Press, 2005), 1.

63 Ivy Baxter, *The Arts of an Island: The Development of the Culture and of the Folk and Creative Arts in Jamaica, 1494-1962 (Independence)*, (Metuchen, New Jersey: Scarecrow Press, 1970).

64 *Jamaica Journal*, 18, 4, (November 1985-86). See also, Jensen, *The Last Colonials*, 68.

65 For an example, see, Neely, 'Mento, Jamaica's Original Music', 91-4.

66 *Jamaica Journal*, 18, 4, (November 1985-86); Jensen, *The Last Colonials*, 70.

67 'On our Jamaican Poets', *Daily Gleaner*, (16 April 1917).

68 *Jamaica Journal*, 18, 4, (November 1985-86); Jensen, *The Last Colonials*, 70.

69 Joseph G. Moore, George Eaton Simpson, Tamara and Josef Obrebski were among the foreign anthropologists who worked independently (or as was the case with the Obrebskis, for the United Nations) and greatly informed the cultural aspect of Jamaica's developmental movement. See, Neely, 'Mento, Jamaica's Original Music', 23.

70 Neely, 'Mento, Jamaica's Original Music', 85. Jekyll's work influenced both Beckwith and Roberts who were in search of the English ballad in Jamaican music. Later, Jamaican scholars and folklorists like Philip Sherlock, Louise Bennett and Rex Nettleford expressed their gratitude to Jekyll for his ethnographic work in Jekyll, *Jamaican Song and Story*, prefaces.

71 At Cambridge, Jekyll had been a member of the Cambridge University Musical Society. The famous Irish composer Sir Charles Villiers Stanford served as the society's conductor. It was here that Jekyll, as a member of the male chorus, took part in the English debut of Brahms' 'Rhapsodie' opus 53 and Stanford's 'The Forty-Sixth Psalm' opus 8. Walter's father Edward had been a virtuosic flautist and his mother Julia possessed a strong contralto. As the Jekylls were very well connected, the composer Mendelssohn often accompanied Julia on piano at the Jekyll home. In Milan, Walter studied voice with the Italian master and singing teacher Francesco Lamperti. In 1884, Jekyll translated one of Lamperti's treatises on the latter's traditional *bel canto* approach to singing. Henceforth, Jekyll's knowledge of the Italian libretto would inform not only the way he taught music, but also the way by which he collected his ethnographic data. Jekyll marked the Italian soundings of certain words in Jamaican Patois: 'the *o*'s have the open sound of Italian, and not the close sound of English.' Upon returning from the mainland, Jekyll settled in London, but then moved to Birmingham where he taught music and gave 'penny singing lessons' to the poor. Jekyll then moved to Bournemouth and befriended Robert Louis Stevenson, who may have, as the family albeit plausible legend goes, asked Walter if he could use his name for his *The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*. Jekyll's final English home was in Newton Abbott in Devonshire, where he lived for several years before leaving for Jamaica. See, 'Charles Villiers Stanford', *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, 39, 670, (1 December 1898), 785; Cambridge University Musical Society, 'Concert Programme', (22 May 1877); Cambridge University Musical Society, 'Concert Programme', (3 December 1877); Primrose Arnander, 'Jekyll Family History', Tooley and Arnander, *Gertrude Jekyll*, 18; Freyburg, 'Edward and Julia Jekyll', 25; Giovanni Battista Lamperti, *The Art of Singing: According to Ancient Tradition and Personal Experience: Technical Rules and Advice to Pupils and Artists*, Translated by Walter Jekyll, (London: G. Ricordi, 1884).

72 McKay, *Banana Bottom*, 240-1.

73 George Mullins looked forward to Jekyll's daily performance. Mullins was among the people Peter Kiernan and Janet Morgan interviewed during their search for Jekyll's lost garden. See, Kiernan, 'Walter Jekyll and his Jamaica Garden'; Cundall, 'In Portrait Gallery of the Institute', 21.

74 Jekyll, *Jamaican Song and Story*, liii.

75 McKay, *Banana Bottom*, 120.

76 Gammon, 'Folk Song Collecting in Sussex and Surrey', 83.

77 Lucy Broadwood, *Journal of the Folk Song Society*, 1, 4, (1902), 140. Ralph Vaughan Williams too, was documenting the songs of the 'more primitive people of England' who the composer regarded as a

vanishing 'ghost'. See, Ralph Vaughan Williams as quoted in Ursula Vaughan Williams, *R.V.W: A Biography of Ralph Vaughan Williams*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), 88; Gammon, 'Folk Song Collecting in Sussex and Surrey', 83.

78 Ibid., 5-6.

79 Jekyll, *Jamaican Song and Story*, Author's Preface.

80 Perhaps the two most famous pieces from Jekyll's collection were 'There's a Black Boy in the Ring' and 'Linstead Market'. Boney M's take on the traditional song was a b-side to their version of 'Rivers of Babylon' and became the second highest selling single in UK chart history. 'Linstead Market' remains an unofficial anthem of Jamaica's slavery days. See, Stephen Thomas Erlewine, *All Music Guide*, (5 July 2009). 'There's a Black Boy in the Ring' and 'Linstead Market', Jekyll, *Jamaican Song and Story*, 208, 219; Boney M., 'Rivers of Babylon'/'Brown Girl in the Ring', 7" single, (Hansa Records; Sire Records: 1978).

81 Slavery came to an end in Jamaica in 1834. See, Philip Sherlock, 'The Living Roots', Jekyll, *Jamaican Song and Story*, vii-viii.

82 Frank Cundall's contributions to *Folklore* being perhaps the only exception. Cundall, a friend of Jekyll's, was appointed the Secretary and Librarian of the Institute of Jamaica in 1890. Frank Cundall, 'Folk-lore of the Negroes of Jamaica', *Folklore*, 15 and 16, (1904-5).

83 Anansi is the Tshi (the language of the Ashanti) word for spider, a character heavily featured in the folk traditions of Africa's west coast. For further discussion, see Alice Werner, 'Introduction', Jekyll, *Jamaican Song and Story*, xxiii-lii.

84 Rex Nettleford, 'Jamaican Song and Story and the Theatre', Jekyll, *Jamaican Song and Story*, xiii.

85 Ibid.

86 'Little Sally Water' or 'Sally Water' were the most common of the 'Dancing Tunes'. See, Jekyll, *Jamaican Song and Story*, 190-1. See also, Alice B. Gomme, *The Traditional Games of England, Scotland and Ireland: With Tunes, Singing Rhymes and Methods of Playing According to the Variants Extant and Recorded in Different Parts of the Kingdom*, (London: Nutt, 1894), 149.

87 McKay suggested that 'mintoes' may be a native name for the 'minuet'. This begs the question of the relationship between 'mintoes' and 'mento' music. See, McKay, *Banana Bottom*, 123-4.

88 Ibid., 124. North argued that the real Jekyll would not have endorsed 'borrowing' or 'stealing' for art's sake. Gosciak, however, disagreed suggesting that the team of Jekyll-McKay viewed 'borrowing', through their training in Annancy, as something that was 'second nature, particularly when transcribing the songs of a culture from the oral tradition.' See, North, *The Dialect of Modernism*, 122; Gosciak, *Between Diaspora and Internationalism*, 76.

89 Gosciak, *Between Diaspora and Internationalism*, *passim*.

90 Jekyll also lamented on how Jamaican blacks had 'adopted many of the most trivial of English superstitions.' See, Jekyll, *Jamaican Song and Story*, 261-2, xlix, 87.

91 Ibid., 216.

92 In the mid-1990s Robert Young, by example, called for a model to review the 'cultural commerce' that transpired between different cultures to 'map and shadow the complexities of its generative and destructive processes.' Yet, Tylor located some of these same 'degrading and destroying influences' in his work 130 years previous. See, Robert J.C. Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race*, (London: Routledge, 1995), 5; Edward B. Tylor, *Researches into the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilization*, (London: John Murray, 1865).

93 C.S. Myers confirmed Broadwood's assessment that Jamaicans had learnt many of the songs via sailors' chanties but was careful to stress that 'a community does not adopt exotic music without at the same time exercising selection.' See, Charles Samuel Myers, 'Traces of African Melody in Jamaica', Jekyll, *Jamaican Song and Story*, 216, 283, 284.

94 The eleven include, 'Yung-kyum-pyung', 'King David', 'Blackbird and Woss-woss', 'Mr. Bluebeard', 'Man-crow', 'Saylan', 'Tacoma and the Old-witch Girl', 'The Three Pigs', 'Pretty Poll', 'Open Sesame and The Three Sisters'. See, Werner, 'Introduction', xxvi.

95 Gensir, for instance, explained to Bitá that he thought some of the 'famous European fables have their origin in Africa.' Alice Werner clarified that 'The Three Sisters', along with 'Gaulin', 'Yellow Snake', 'John Crow' and 'Devil and the Princess', share an obvious African prototype. See, Werner, 'Introduction', xxvi, xxx, 1; McKay, *Banana Bottom*, 124.



96 The main players in the West African version of the ‘hare and the tortoise’ for example, were substituted for  
a toad and a donkey in the Jamaican story. This was largely owing to the fact that Jamaicans, at least at the  
turn of the twentieth century and before, would not have been familiar with the land-tortoise and the sea  
turtle. See, Werner, ‘Introduction’, xxxv, xxxviii.

97 Myers, ‘Traces of African Melody in Jamaica’, Jekyll, *Jamaican Song and Story*, 283-4.

98 Ibid., 284.

99 Neely, ‘Mento, Jamaica’s Original Music’, 35.

100 Ibid., 104.

101 See, Neely, ‘Mento, Jamaica’s Original Music’, 108-09. See also, Beckwith, ‘The English Ballad in  
Jamaica’; Beckwith, *Jamaica Folk-Lore*; Roberts, ‘Some Drum and Drum Rhythms of Jamaica’; Roberts,  
‘A Study of Folk Song Variants Based on Field Work in Jamaica’; Roberts, ‘Possible Survivals of African  
Songs in Jamaica’.

102 See, Lucy E. Broadwood, ‘English Airs and Motifs in Jamaica’, Jekyll, *Jamaican Song and Story*, 285-8. In  
his work, Neely aptly illustrated the dangers with the racialization of musical influences in Jamaican  
musicology. His claim that the ‘melody of Europe’ – though touted in the spare body of literature relating to  
Jamaican musics – was not present within ‘the corresponding historical consciousness among its  
practitioners’, is less convincing. See, Neely, ‘Mento, Jamaica’s Original Music’, 109.

103 Some of the respondents in this project *do* talk of the European, or at least British quotient in reggae.

104 ‘Interview with Peter Holung’, (Newmarket, ON: 3 February 2011).

105 Goldman, *The Book of Exodus*, 34.

106 Ibid.

107 ‘Interview with Leo Cripps’, (Calgary: 9 January 2011). See also, Goldman, *The Book of Exodus*, 34.

108 Hawks, ‘Liner Notes’.

109 The sansa is a generic term for those instruments that have wooden or metal keys attached to a sounding  
board and are plucked or sometimes struck with the finger. See, Astley Clerk, ‘Extract from the Music and  
Instruments of Jamaica’, *Jamaica Journal*, IX, ([1913] 1975); Rath, ‘African Music in Seventeenth-Century  
Jamaica’, 718.

110 Muraldo, ‘The Caribbean Quadrille’.

111 Ibid.

112 Tom Murray (ed.), *Folk Songs of Jamaica*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1951); Hawks, ‘Liner Notes’.  
Bahamian goombay and the Dominican Republic’s merengue are examples of other musics in the  
Caribbean that approximate the rudiments found in mento. More commonly, mento has been called  
Jamaica’s calypso. See, Marjorie Whyllie, *Mento: The What and the How*, (Kingston: Whyllie  
Communications, 2000), 2.

113 Heathcott, ‘Urban Spaces and Working-Class Expressions’, 188. Ernest Ranglin told this author that he  
used a pseudonym on the early ska recordings for fear that his parents would find out what he had been up  
to, see, Jason Wilson, ‘The Fast Bowling Ernest Ranglin’, *Word Magazine*, Caribana Edition, (Brampton:  
July 2006); and Jason Wilson, ‘Ernest Ranglin – Reggae Pioneer’, *Word Magazine*, (Brampton: December  
2005).

114 Indeed, the music also found currency with British and American tourists who often mistook the music to  
be calypso. See, Stephen Davis and Peter Simon, *Reggae Bloodlines: In Search of the Music and Culture of  
Jamaica*, (New York: Da Capo Press, (1977) 1992), 9-14; Heathcott, ‘Urban Spaces and Working-Class  
Expressions’, 188.

115 ‘Interview with Fergus Hambleton’, (Toronto: 10 July 2010).

116 ‘Interview with Jeffrey Holdip’, (Toronto: 20 January 2011).

117 Nettleford, ‘Jamaican Song and Story and the Theatre’, xiv.

118 For just a sample of the many examples, see, Yellowman, ‘Zungguzungguzungguzeng’, 12” Mix,  
*Yellowman Most Wanted*, (Greensleeves, [1982-7], 2007); Bob Marley and the Wailers, ‘No Woman, No  
Cry’, *Live!*, (Tuff Gong/Island Records, 1975); Eric “Monty” Morris, ‘Penny Reel’, *Intensified: Original  
Ska, 1962-66*, (Mango Records, [1964] 1979); Derrick Harriott with Audley Williams and Combo, ‘John  
Tom’, *Dip & Fall Back: Dr. Kinsey to Haile Selassie, Classic Jamaican Mento*, (World Records, 1965;  
Trojan Records, 2005).

119 Broadwood, ‘English Airs and Motifs in Jamaica’, 14, 286; Francis James Child, *The English and Scottish  
Popular Ballads*, (New York: Dover Publications [1904] 1965).

- 120 Broadwood, 'English Airs and Motifs in Jamaica', 26, 286. See also, Lucy E. Broadwood and J.A. Fuller Maitland, 'There was a Lady in the West' and 'Scarborough Fair', *English County Songs*, (London: The Leadenhall Press Ltd, 1893); Frank Kidson, *Traditional Tunes: A Collection of Ballad Airs*, (Wakefield, Yorkshire: S. R. Publishers, 1970); See also, 'The Lover's Task', Sabine Baring-Gould and H. Fleetwood Sheppard, *Songs Of The West: Folk Songs Of Devon And Cornwall Collected From The Mouths Of The People*, four volumes, (London: Patey and Willis, 1889-91; London: Methuen & Co., 1895).
- 121 Broadwood, 'English Airs and Motifs in Jamaica', 96, 287. See also, John Stokoe, *Songs and Ballads of Northern England*. Harmonized and arranged for pianoforte by Samuel Reay, (Darby, Pennsylvania: Norwood Editions, [1892] 1973).
- 122 Broadwood, 'English Airs and Motifs in Jamaica', 54, 59, 287. See also, Broadwood and Maitland, *English County Songs*; Child, *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, 346.
- 123 Broadwood, 'English Airs and Motifs in Jamaica', 65, 287. See also, Broadwood and Maitland, *English County Songs*; Baring-Gould and H. Fleetwood Sheppard, *Songs Of The West*; 'Madam I will gi'e you', *The Journal of the Folk-Song Society*, 7, (c.1905-6).
- 124 Broadwood, 'English Airs and Motifs in Jamaica', 187, 288.
- 125 Ibid., 267, 288.
- 126 Ibid., 209, 218, 288.
- 127 Ibid., 227, 264, 288.
- 128 'Gee oh Mother Mac', Jekyll, *Jamaican Song and Story*, 173.
- 129 'Rombas', the story's hero, kills the whale that has swallowed the girl and cuts out the mammal's tongue. See, 'Man-Crow', Jekyll, *Jamaican Song and Story*, 54.
- 130 Broadwood offers 1876 as a date for when 'La Mandolinata' was composed. Broadwood, 'English Airs and Motifs in Jamaica', 91, 271, 287. See also, Alfred Moffat and Frank Kidson, *Children's Songs of Long Ago*, (London: Augener, 1905), 42. Broadwood offers 1876 as a date for when 'La Mandolinata' was composed.
- 131 Broadwood, 'English Airs and Motifs in Jamaica', Jekyll, *Jamaican Song and Story*, 225, 288.
- 132 Jekyll, *Jamaican Song and Story*, 6.
- 133 Lewin, *Rock It Come Over*.
- 134 Jekyll, *Jamaican Song and Story*, 158.
- 135 A thorough rereading of Jekyll's collection reveals extant linkages between digging-sings such as 'Me Know the Man', 'Oh John Thomas!', and 'Rub Him Down Joe', with modern Jamaican theatre. Nettleford, 'Jamaican Song and Story and the Theatre', xv.
- 136 'Little Sally Water', Jekyll, *Jamaican Song and Story*, 190-1. See also, Gomme, *The Traditional Games of England, Scotland and Ireland*, 149.
- 137 Jekyll, 256.
- 138 Neely, "'Mento, Jamaica's Original Music'", 80-1.
- 139 Astley Clerk, *Manuscript*. Kingston: National Library, unpublished, c. 1910s; Neely, "'Mento, Jamaica's Original Music'", 81.
- 140 'Interview with Ranford Williams', (Toronto: 20 January 2011).
- 141 'Give us the Queen!', *The Gleaner*, (28 June 2011); See also, Kenyon Wallace, 'Most Residents think Jamaica 'better off as a British Colony,' poll suggests', *Toronto Star*, (29 June 2011).

### III REQUIRED FROM US A SONG: TWENTIETH CENTURY MUSIC ON THE BLACK ATLANTIC

- 1 See, Witmer, "'Local" and "Foreign"', 18-9.
- 2 The resultant religious music arrived at what Heathcott classified as a wholly new Afro-Caribbean sound. See, Heathcott, 'Urban Spaces and Working-Class Expressions', 188.
- 3 Witmer, "'Local" and "Foreign"'.  
4 As Walker confirmed, 'it was virtually impossible for a child to grow up in Jamaica during the '50s, '60s, and '70s and not be intimately familiar with Bennett's work in creating art out of the people's language.' See, Walker, *Dubwise*, 68, 73.
- 5 Louise Bennett, 'Me and Annancy', Jekyll, *Jamaican Song and Story*, xi.
- 6 Louise Bennett, 'Bans O' Killing', *Jamaica Labrish: Jamaica Dialect Poems*, (Kingston: Sangster's, 1966); Walker, *Dubwise*, 70-2.
- 7 'War down a Monkland', c.1865, Jekyll, *Jamaican Song and Story*, 187; Bob Marley and the Wailers, 'Blackman Redemption', *Confrontation*. Tuff Gong/Island Records: 422-846 207-1, 1983.

8 Walker, *Dubwise*, 74.

9 As Klive Walker explained in his essay ‘Rain a Fall, Dutty Tuff: The Relationship between Louise Bennett’s Mento Verse and Bob Marley’s Reggae Poetry’, ‘Bob Marley’s poetry, in some ways, is like the post-colonial successor to Bennett’s mento poetry.’ See, Walker, *Dubwise*, 68.

10 ‘Interview with Rupert “Ojiji” Harvey’, (Toronto: 6 September 2010).

11 Ibid.

12 Messenjah, ‘Emanuelle Road’, *Cool Operator*. Version: VLP-001, 1987.

13 ‘Interview with Rupert “Ojiji” Harvey’.

14 Heathcott, ‘Urban Spaces and Working-Class Expressions’, 188.

15 ‘Interview with Carol Brown’, (Bolton, Ontario: 30 January 2011).

16 Smith’s dad was a Rastaman, his Grandmother was a Baptist and his uncle’s family was Seventh Day Adventist. He had a bit of everything, but feels he got his ‘religion’ through his Dad and therefore, Mike considers himself a ‘partial-Rasta’ and that’s how he learned biblical stories through the Rasta lens of his father. See, ‘Interview with Mike Smith’, (Brampton: 15 July 2010).

17 See, CARICOM Capacity Development Programme (CCDP), *2000 Round of Population and Housing Census Project: National Census Report, Jamaica*, (Greater Georgetown, Guyana: The Regional Statistics Sub-Programme Information and Communication Technologies Caribbean Community [CARICOM], 2000); U.S. Department of State, *July-December, 2010 International Religious Freedom Report: Jamaica*. Goldman, *The Book of Exodus*, 71-2, 76.

18 Gregory Stephens, *On Racial Frontiers: The New Culture of Frederick Douglass, Ralph Ellison, and Bob Marley*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 149.

20 Adebayo Ojo, *Bob Marley: Songs of African Redemption*, (Lagos: Malthouse Press Ltd., 2000), 39.

21 See, CARICOM, *2000 Round of Population and Housing Census Project*; U.S. Department of State, *July-December, 2010 International Religious Freedom Report: Jamaica*.

22 See, Goldman, *The Book of Exodus*, 70-6.

23 See, Willie Williams, ‘Armageddon Time’, (Studio One: SO 0099, 1978); The Clash, *Black Market Clash*, (Epic: WPE38540, 1980).

24 The ‘obeah-man’ or ‘bush doctor’, dealing in a self-styled Jamaican voodoo, or magic and sorcery. See Jekyll’s field-notes, Jekyll, *Jamaican Song and Story*, 241.

25 See Werner’s still very useful introduction in Jekyll, *Jamaican Song and Story*, xxvi.

26 See, for example, ‘Oh Selina!’, Jekyll, *Jamaican Song and Story*, 174.

27 Ernie Smith, ‘Duppy Gunman’, Various Artists, *Original Wild Flower Reggae Hits*, (Federal; Wildflower: LP 367, 1974).

28 Wolfgang Laade, *Die Situation von Musikleben und Musikforschung in den Laendern Afrikas und Asiens und die neuen Aufgaben der Musikethnologie*, (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1969), 214; Witmer, ““Local” and “Foreign””, 3.

29 Heathcott, ‘Urban Spaces and Working-Class Expressions’, 188.

30 ‘History of Alpha Boys School’, [Alphaoldboysassociation.com](http://Alphaoldboysassociation.com).

31 Compiled from, *inter alia*, Mark Williams, ‘Liner Notes’, *Alpha Boys’ School: Music in Education*, (Trojan Records: 06076-80550-2, 2006).

32 ‘Interview with Jo Jo Bennett’, (Toronto: 19 October 2010); Williams, ‘Liner Notes’, *Alpha Boys’ School*.

33 The Alpha Boys Band served as a feeder for larger Jamaican wind ensembles including the Jamaican Constabulary Band, the Jamaican Regiment Band, the West India Regiment Band and perhaps most famously, the Jamaica Military Band. For further discussion, see, ‘Seventy-five Years Helping to Build Jamaica’, *The Gleaner*, (29 August 1965), 13; Baxter, *The Arts of an Island*, 338; Williams, ‘Liner Notes’, *Alpha Boys’ School*.

34 ‘History of Alpha Boys School’, [Alphaoldboysassociation.com](http://Alphaoldboysassociation.com).

35 As Trojan Records’ Mark Williams confessed: ‘Alpha would give us the deepest sense of Jamaica’s boundless musicality, the essential ingredient in all that was to come from its studios during the ensuing decades.’ See, Williams, ‘Liner Notes’, *Alpha Boys’ School*.

36 Abyssinians, ‘Forward on to Zion/Satta A Massagana’, (Klik: KL 631, 1977); Burning Spear, ‘Marcus Garvey’, (Capo Records: CA-070, 1974).

37 ‘Interview with David Kingston’, (Toronto: 1 September 2010).

38 See, Williams, ‘Liner Notes’, *Alpha Boys’ School*.

39 Sonny Bradshaw, in *Ibid*.

40 For further discussion, see, Witmer, ““Local” and “Foreign””, 11.

41 Harriott was able to realize his vision through the help of the St. Vincent-born trumpeter Shake Keane, Scottish pianist Pat Smythe, English drummer Phil Seaman and fellow Jamaican, bassist Coleridge Goode who, at 97, is still gigging in and around London. See, Coleridge Goode and Roger Cotterrell, *Bass Lines: A Life in Jazz*, (London: Northway Books, 2002); Alan Robertson, *Joe Harriott: Fire in His Soul*, (London: Northway Publications, 2012). See also, Joop Visser, ‘Liner Notes’, Joe Harriott, *The Joe Harriott Story*, (Proper: Properbox160, 2011).

42 The Small Faces even recorded a song in Eddie’s honour entitled ‘Eddie’s Dreaming’. See, Small Faces, *Small Faces*, (Immediate: IMLP 008, 1967); The Beatles, ‘Got To Get You Into My Life’, (Capitol Records: 4274, 1976).

43 Desmond Dekker, ‘Israelites’, (Green Light: GLS 411, 1969).

44 Bryan has also played with the London Philharmonic, Ziggy Marley, Ray Charles and Earth, Wind and Fire. See, ‘Interview with Jo Jo Bennett’.

45 ‘Interview with Jo Jo Bennett’. See also, Williams, ‘Liner Notes’, *Alpha Boys’ School*.

46 ‘Interview with Jo Jo Bennett’.

47 Ivy Baxter, *The Arts of an Island*, (Metuchen, New Jersey: Scarecrow Press, 1970), 261; Witmer, ““Local” and “Foreign””, 4.

48 As boys were required to leave the school by sixteen, Jo Jo was reintroduced to his mother before leaving Alpha for good. Musical performances, competitions and talent contests or ‘hunts’, as they were called, had been part of Kingston’s urban musical culture from as early as 1927 and were vital to the nascent musician trying to make his mark. Bennett was no exception. On seeing Bennett perform, Byron Lee actually asked one of the Sisters at Alpha if he could take Jo Jo from the school for his own band. Headhunting was normal practise at such performances and competitions which were in themselves important in introducing new singing stars and players of instruments to the Jamaican public. Rannie “Bop” Williams was similarly discovered by Skatalites legend Tommy McCook in much the same manner long before he headed north to Canada. For further discussion, see, Witmer, ““Local” and “Foreign””, 9; Baxter, *The Arts of an Island*, 328; ‘Interview with Jo Jo Bennett’; ‘Interview with Ranford Williams’.

49 Witmer, ““Local” and “Foreign””, 7, 11. See also, Noel White, ‘Forty-one Years on the Lighter Side of Jamaican Life’, *The Gleaner*, (19 February 1972), 2-3.

50 For further discussion, see, Witmer, ““Local” and “Foreign””, 2.

51 Ibid., 7. See also, Heathcott, ‘Urban Spaces and Working-Class Expressions’, 189.

52 For further discussion, see, Witmer, ““Local” and “Foreign””, 16.

53 Harry Hawke, ‘Over and Over’, *Record Collector*, (Christmas 2001), 62-4, 66. In particular, Rosco Gordon’s piano style was highly influential on the ska and reggae genres.

54 As Goldman confirmed: ‘the gentle folk shuffle of mento, with its raunchy “Big Bamboo” innuendo, performed by small groups of men in straw hats playing painted bamboo percussion and square-bodied guitars called rhythm boxes.’ See, Goldman, *The Book of Exodus*, 36-7.

55 Herbie Miller describing Klive Walker, see, Walker, *Dubwise*, 7-9.

56 ‘Interview with Natasha Emery’, (Toronto: 29 December 2010).

57 Various members of the Jamaica to Toronto project spoke to their love of the country and western music that they were exposed to *via* Jamaican radio. See, Tim Perlich, ‘Jamaica to Toronto: Lost stars of the city’s vibrant 60s R&B scene finally get their chance to shine’, *Now*, 25, 46, (13 July 2006, cover story). Country and Western music remains the favourite of this author’s Jamaican uncle Sid Virtue.

58 Herbie Miller describing Klive Walker, see, Walker, *Dubwise*, 7-9.

59 ‘Interview with Earle Heedram (*aka* The Mighty Pope)’.

60 Ibid.

61 ‘Interview with Ranford Williams’.

62 Johnny Nash, *Tears On My Pillow*, (CBS: S 69148, 1975).

63 See, Walker, *Dubwise*, 106.

64 See Herbie Miller’s preface in *Ibid.*, 7.

65 For further discussion, see, Heathcott, ‘Urban Spaces and Working-Class Expressions’.

66 Though definitive claims of this nature are always fraught with pitfalls, the consensus among most of the ska musicians this author has worked with is that Laurel Aitken’s ‘Boogie in my Bones’ is the first ska record. See, Laurel Aitken, ‘Boogie in my Bones’/‘Little Sheila’, (Starlite [UK], ST.45 011, 1960).

67 As Heathcott explained, 'Ska music formed part of a broader Jamaican urban youth culture anchored by the  
so-called 'rude boy', a suit-and-tie hooligan bent on turf protection and the defiance of adult authority.' See,  
68 Heathcott, 'Urban Spaces and Working-Class Expressions', 193.  
69 'Interview with Earle Heedram (*aka* The Mighty Pope)'.  
70 *Dr. No*. Directed by Terence Young, produced by Harry Saltzman and Albert R. Broccoli. Based on the  
novel by Ian Fleming, (EoN Productions; United Artists, 1962).  
71 Jazz, on the other hand, was much more acceptable, a fact that had huge ramifications on the man who  
taught Bob Marley how to play guitar. See, 'Interview with Ernest Ranglin'. (Tower Isle, Jamaica: 1 May  
2006).  
72 Al Caiola, 'The Guns of Navarone', *Solid Gold Guitar*, (United Artists Records: ULP 1003, 1962).  
73 Goldman, *The Book of Exodus*, 38.  
74 See, The Wailing Wailers, *The Wailing Wailers*, (Studio One: SOCD 1001, [1965] 1996). See also, Vivien  
Goldman, 'Another bright Saturday', *Sounds*, (London: 30 April 1977).  
75 Peter also name-checked Deep Purple, Carlos Santana, Yes, Led Zeppelin, T-Rex and Uriah Heep among  
his favourite bands. He learned rock and roll songs from his affluent friends in semi-private school in  
Jamaica. See, 'Interview with Peter Holung'.  
76 Goldman, *The Book of Exodus*, 61.  
77 Maureen Sheridan, *Bob Marley: Soul Rebel: The Stories Behind Every Song 1962-1981*, (Cambridge, MA:  
Da Capo Press, 1999).  
78 Wayne Perkins, quoted in Classic Albums, *Bob Marley and the Wailers: Catch a Fire*, directed by Jeremy  
Marre, (Image Entertainment, 1999).  
79 Paul Gilroy, *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack: The Cultural Politics of Race and Nation*, (Chicago:  
University of Chicago Press, 1987), 170-1.  
80 Bunny Lee as quoted in BBC Four, *Reggae Britannia*, produced and directed by Jeremy Marre, (February  
2011).  
81 Larkin, *The Virgin Encyclopedia of Reggae*.  
82 Hebdige, *Cut 'n' Mix*, 93; Clarke, *Jah Music*, 140; David Van Biema, "The Legacy of Abraham", *Time*,  
160, 14, (30 September 2002); Goldman, *The Book of Exodus*, 14, 47.  
83 Walker, *Dubwise*, 80.  
84 10CC, 'Dreadlock Holiday', *Bloody Tourists*, (Mercury: 9102 503, 1978); Kate Bush, 'Kite', *The Kick  
Inside*, (EMI America: SW17003, 1978); The Eagles, *Hotel California*, (Asylum Records: AS13084, 1976);  
Led Zeppelin, 'Dyer Maker', *Houses Of The Holy*, (Atlantic: SD 7255, 1973); Steely Dan, 'Haitian  
Divorce', *The Royal Scam*, (MCA Records Canada: MAB-931, 1976). Paul Simon's effort comes a little  
closer to a Jamaican sound, recorded as it was, in Jamaica with some reggae session players, including  
drummer Winston Grennan, father of Jamaican-Canadian drummer Sunray Grennan, see, Paul Simon,  
'Mother and Child Reunion', (Columbia: 4-45547, 1972).  
85 Eric Clapton, 'I Shot the Sheriff', *461 Ocean Boulevard*, (RSO: 2394 138, 1974).  
86 Neil Spencer, 'Reggae: the sound that revolutionised Britain', *The Observer (The Guardian)*, (29 January  
2011).  
87 Johnny Nash, 'I Can See Clearly Now', b/w 'Stir it Up', (Epic: 15-2329, 1972).  
88 Bob Andy as quoted in BBC Four, *Reggae Britannia*.  
89 For further discussion, see, Bigga Morrison as quoted in Jeremy Marre, 'Reggae Britannia', BBC Music  
Blog, (7 February 2011); BBC Four, *Reggae Britannia*.  
90 Burning Spear, *Burning Spear Live*, (Island Records; Mango: B000003QH8, (1977) 1990).  
91 Bob Marley and the Wailers, 'One Love / People Get Ready', b/w 'So Much Trouble in the World' and  
'Keep on Moving', (Tuff Gong: 12 TGX 1, (1977) 1984).  
Dennis Brown, 'Promised Land', (Simba: SM003, 1979).

#### IV BY THE RIVERS OF BABYLON: JAMAICA TO TORONTO

1 NINETTE KELLEY AND MICHAEL TREBILOCK, *The Making of the Mosaic: A History of Canadian Immigration  
Policy*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998).  
2 See, Anne Milan and Kelly Tran, *Blacks in Canada: A Long History*, (Ottawa: Statistics Canada; Canadian  
Social Trends, 11-008, Spring 2004), 4-5.  
3 Bob Marley and the Wailers, *Exodus*, (Island 9123 021, 1977).

4 The concept for the album was based entirely on Marley's 'leaving Babylon' – read Jamaica – following an  
5 assassination attempt. See, Van Biema, "The Legacy of Abraham"; Goldman, *The Book of Exodus*, 14.  
6 The Melodians, 'By the Rivers of Babylon', music and lyrics by Brent Dowe and Trevor McNaughton, later  
updated by Frank Farian and Reyham, (Summit/Trojan: SUM-6508, 1970).  
7 The attendant album entitled *Calypso* was the first full-length LP to sell a million copies. For simplicity  
8 sake (and likely for American sales after the success of the Andrews Sisters' calypso hit 'Rum and Coca  
9 Cola'), the record company chose to call Belafonte's music calypso and not mento. The melody to 'Jamaica  
10 Farewell' was taken from the classic mento song 'Iron Bar'. For an incredibly detailed discussion on mento,  
see, [www.mentomusic.com](http://www.mentomusic.com)  
11 Harry Belafonte, 'Jamaica Farewell', (RCA Victor: 47-6663, 1956).  
12 Statistics Canada, *Census of Canada, 1881*, Statistics Canada Fonds, Record Group 31-C-1; LAC microfilm  
C-13162 to C-13286, (Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada).  
13 Milan and Tran, *Blacks in Canada*, 1.  
14 For further discussion, see, Donald H. Avery, *Reluctant Host: Canada's Response to Immigrant Workers, 1896–1994*,  
(Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1995); Valerie Knowles, *Strangers at Our Gates: Canadian  
15 Immigration and Immigration Policy, 1540-2006*, (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2007).  
16 Kelley and Trebilock challenge Freda Hawkins' claim that Canada was a 'nation of immigrants' in their  
work. See, Kelley and Trebilock, *The Making of the Mosaic*. See also, Freda Hawkins, *Canada and  
17 Immigration: Public Policy and Public Concern*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1972). See  
also, Jorgen Dahlie and Tissa Fernando (eds.), *Ethnicity, Power and Politics in Canada*, (Toronto: Methuen,  
18 1981).  
19 *The Immigration Act*, c.27, Article 38(c).  
20 Fred Christie, for example, was a Jamaican-born black man living in Montreal. On 11 July 1936, Christie  
and a couple of friends were refused service at the York Tavern, which had been recently relocated to the  
Montreal Forum, home of the Canadiens hockey team of which Christie was a fan. The tavern refused to  
serve Christie on the grounds that he was black. Christie implored the local police to persuade the tavern  
staff to reconsider. The police did nothing and four years later, Christie's case went to the Supreme Court of  
Canada. His claim, however, was rejected; the court ruling that the commercial interests of the tavern  
keepers trumped the rights of a "coloured" person in Canada. A decade later, on 8 November 1946, Viola  
Desmond refused to sit in the balcony designated exclusively for blacks in the Roseland Theatre in New  
Glasgow, Nova Scotia and was subsequently fined \$25 for her trouble. And these were just a couple of  
cases that troubled the Supreme Court of Canada. See, Walker, 'Race,' *Rights and the Law in the Supreme  
Court of Canada*. See also, Kathryn Blaze Carlson, "'Canada's Rosa Parks,'" Viola Desmond, posthumously  
21 pardoned', *National Post*, (14 April 2010).  
22 'How Can We Keep Our British Racial Balance?', *Saturday Night*, (11 December 1943), 6-7.  
See, Paul R. Magosci, *Encyclopaedia of Canada's Peoples* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999);  
Jean Burnet and Howard Palmer, 'Coming Canadians': *An Introduction to a History of Canada's Peoples*  
(Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1988), vii-xi.  
See, Huttenback, 'The British Empire as a White Man's Country'; Huttenback, *Racism and Empire: White  
Settler*. See also, Monk, 'Race and Restrictive Immigration', 194.  
See, Bashi, 'Racial Categories Matter'; Bashi, 'Neither Ignorance Nor Bliss'; and perhaps most importantly,  
Bashi, 'Globalized Anti-Blackness'. See also, Abu-Laban, 'Welcome/Stay Out'.  
Ibid., *passim*.  
'Britain Puts the Pressure on Canada', *Saturday Night*, (13 May 1961), 37-8.  
'Toronto Negro Citizenship Association Protests Discrimination', *Canadian Unionist*, (28 May  
1954), 181.  
National Archives of Canada, 'Brief Presented to the Prime Minister, the Minister of Citizenship and  
Immigration, and Members of the Government of Canada by the Negro Citizenship Association', *Ontario  
Labour Committee Papers*, Vol. 19, (Ottawa: 27 April 1954); Walker, 'Race,' *Rights and the Law in the  
Supreme Court of Canada*, 419. See also, 'Toronto Negro Citizenship Association Protests Discrimination',  
181.  
Don Moore, *Don Moore: An Autobiography*, (Toronto: Williams-Wallace, 1985).  
Throughout her study, Christiane Harzig analyzed the political gamesmanship and economic evolution of  
the programme of bringing domestics up from the West Indies. This analysis was then calibrated with the  
'social' and 'psychological' ramifications of the programme's operations. The result was a compelling

study that is equally useful to immigration scholars as it is to those interested in economic, labour and gender studies in Canada. See, Harzig, ‘The Movement of 100 Girls’.

23 See, Flynn, ‘Experience and Identity’; Brand, *No Burden to Carry*; Gooden, ‘I Know Who I Am’. See also, Sefa-Dei and Calliste, *Anti Racist Feminism*.

24 See, Flynn, ‘Race, Class, and Gender’.

25 See, Flynn, ‘Experience and Identity’.

26 Gordon Donaldson, ‘How We Cover Up Our Racial Abuses’, *Saturday Night*, (15 February 1958), 11-2, 46.

27 Ibid.

28 Ibid.

29 Ontario towns like Dresden, Wallaceburg and Chatham boasted sizeable black populations, and approximately 9,000 blacks lived in the Maritimes. The urban centres of Toronto and Montreal also had a comparatively large number of blacks living in Canada. For a classic study on the various black populations living in Canada, the first of its kind, see, Robin W. Winks, *The Blacks in Canada: A History*, (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1971); Donaldson, ‘How We Cover Up Our Racial Abuses’, 11-2, 46.

30 Donaldson, ‘How We Cover Up Our Racial Abuses’, 11-2, 46.

31 Milan and Tran, *Blacks in Canada*, 4-5.

32 In the 1962 reforms to Canada’s immigration policies, Conservative MP Ellen Fairclough called for deemphasizing the role of sponsored relations and privileging education and skills over ethnic background. These initiatives still, however, restricted the migration of under-qualified immigrants from Europe (and particularly Italy) who were being sponsored by Canadian relatives. See, The Applied History Research Group, *The Peopling of Canada: 1946-1976*, (Calgary: The University of Calgary; The Applied History Research Group, 1997).

33 Including this author’s Uncle Sid Virtue who was first a bus driver then worked for the British Gas Board for thirty years. ‘Britain Puts the Pressure on Canada’, 37-8.

34 Ibid.

35 Ibid.

36 Ibid.

37 Ibid. A separate Jamaican High Commission was established in August 1962 to coincide with securing independence from Britain. Pyne would later become Press Officer of the Jamaican High Commission.

38 For two strong arguments that hold official policy-making and its attendant language to account, see, Satzewich, ‘Racism and Canadian Immigration Policy’; I. Mackenzie, ‘Early Movements of Domestic from the Caribbean and Canadian Immigration Policy’, *Alternate Routes: A Journal of Critical Social Research*, 8, (1988).

39 The Honourable Jean Marchand as quoted in Canada, ‘The 1966 White Paper’, *House of Commons*.

40 See, for example, Satzewich, ‘Racism and Canadian Immigration Policy’.

41 K.W. Taylor presented two alternative theories of racial discrimination as it has applied to Canada’s official governmental policy on immigration in his article ‘Racism in Canadian Immigration Policy’ (1991). See, K. Wayne Taylor, ‘Racism in Canadian Immigration Policy’, *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 23, 1, (1991).

42 The Honourable Jean Marchand as quoted in Canada, ‘The 1966 White Paper’, *House of Commons*.

43 Canada, ‘The 1966 White Paper’, *House of Commons*.

44 Milan and Tran, *Blacks in Canada*, 3. In 2006, 783,795 blacks were living in Canada, roughly 2.5 percent of the total population, see, Statistics Canada, ‘Ethnocultural Portrait of Canada Highlight Tables’, *2006 Census*, (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 97-562-XWE2006002, 2008).

45 Milan and Tran, *Blacks in Canada*, 3.

46 Elizabeth Thomas-Hope, *Migration situation analysis, policy and program needs for Jamaica*, (Kingston: The Planning Institute of Jamaica, PIOJ and UNFPA, 2004).

47 Milan and Tran, *Blacks in Canada*, 4-5.

48 Eaton, ‘Jamaicans’, Magosci, *Encyclopaedia of Canada’s Peoples*, 833-41.

49 Milan and Tran, *Blacks in Canada*, 3.

50 Statistics Canada, ‘Profile for Census Metropolitan Areas and Census Agglomerations’, *2006 Census*, (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 94-581-XCB2006004, 2008); Statistics Canada, ‘Population by Selected Ethnic Origins, by Census Metropolitan Areas’, *2006 Census*, (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 2008).

51 Mahogany Saunders, ‘Where Jamaicans Live’, *Jamaicans.com: Out of Many One People Online*, (1 August 2003).

52 Ibid.  
53 'Interview with Jo Jo Bennett'.  
54 See, City of Toronto, *City of Toronto Priority Neighbourhoods: Overview of Demographics and Community Services, Jane-Finch - #2*, (Toronto: City of Toronto Social Development, Finance and Administration Division, Version 1.1 – 20 January 2006).  
55 John Sakamoto, 'How Jane-Finch was born', *Toronto Star*, (30 November 1986), F01.  
56 City of Toronto, *City of Toronto Priority Neighbourhoods*. See also, Rosie DiManno, 'Jane-Finch: Perceptions and Realities', *Toronto Star*, (30 November 1986), F01; 'The Jane-Finch "Corridor"', *Jane-Finch.com*, (1995).  
57 Goldman, *The Book of Exodus*, 66.  
58 A graduate of the London School of Economics, Manley had the 'people's touch', aligned as he was with the Rasta movement. Selassie himself presented Manley with a staff upon the latter's visit to Jamaica in 1966; a staff that was later christened the 'Rod of Correction'. The Prime Minister's good-looks and sophistication gained him many friends and supporters, including, significantly, Africa's fledgling leaders which won him further credibility with a big portion of Jamaica's black population. See, Goldman, *The Book of Exodus*, 69. The PNP counted on reggae singer Delroy Wilson and his 'Better Must Come' song to provide the sound track for Manley's drive to power. See, Delroy Wilson, 'Better Must Come', (Jackpot: JP 763, 1971).  
59 Darrell E. Levi, *Michael Manley: The Making of a Leader*, (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1990).  
60 Seaga was accused of having links with the CIA (which spawned an unfortunate, at least for him, nickname: CIAga). See, Goldman, *The Book of Exodus*, 82.  
61 Castro had won favour on the island when he helped Jamaica build durable roads and improve school buildings in the 1970s. See, Goldman, *The Book of Exodus*, 85.  
62 Levi, *Michael Manley*.  
63 Euclid A. Rose, *Dependency and Socialism in the Modern Caribbean: Superpower Intervention in Guyana, Jamaica and Grenada, 1970-1985*, (Boston: Lexington Books, 2002).  
64 Goldman, *The Book of Exodus*, *passim*.  
65 James Hill, 'Backbeat for Jah Jah', *Fanfare, Globe and Mail*, (5 April 1978), 10-11.  
66 Walker, *Dubwise*, 23.  
67 'Interview with Denise Jones', (Toronto: 8 February 2011).  
68 Eaton, 'Jamaicans', 833-41.  
69 Ibid.  
70 Recent works have added nuance to the findings of earlier scholars such as Ramcharan and Satzewich. These include Gilkes, 'Among Thistles and Thorns'; Gooden, 'Community Organizing by African Caribbean People in Toronto'; Plaza, 'The Construction of a Segmented Hybrid Identity'; Jones, 'Comparative Diasporas'; Frances Henry, *The Caribbean Diaspora in Toronto: Learning to Live with Racism*, (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1994).  
71 See, Ramcharan, 'The Adaptation of West Indians in Canada', and more recently, Henry, *The Caribbean Diaspora in Toronto*.  
72 Henry, *The Caribbean Diaspora in Toronto*.  
73 Alwyn Gilkes, for example, compared a sample of twenty West Indian migrants who had immigrated to New York with the same number of immigrants that had immigrated to Toronto. See, Gilkes, 'Among Thistles and Thorns'.  
74 Perhaps one of Gilkes' most interesting discoveries, however, was that the study showed that these 'restrictions' were more acute for the West Indian group in Toronto. See, Gilkes, 'Among Thistles and Thorns', 85-8. See also, Gooden, 'Community Organizing by African Caribbean People in Toronto'; Plaza, 'The Construction of a Segmented Hybrid Identity'.  
75 For a further discussion on acculturation stress, see, Gilkes, 'Among Thistles and Thorns', 88-93.  
76 The JCA has held various addresses in Toronto. First, the JCA occupied 65 Dawes Road in Toronto's Danforth area in the east end. It later swung over to the city's west end at 1621 Dupont Street. It's most recent home is located just west of Jane and Finch at 995 Arrow Road. See, Jamaican Canadian Association, 'JCA History', [jcaontario.org](http://jcaontario.org).  
77 See, Ibid. See also, Eaton, 'Jamaicans', 833-41.



---

78 See, Jones, ‘Comparative Diasporas’. See also, Henry, *The Caribbean Diaspora in Toronto*; Gilkes, ‘Among Thistles and Thorns’. For a good discussion on black diasporic and transnational approaches see, Stephens, ‘Re-imagining the Shape and Borders of Black Political Space’. Inversely, the role of the Jamaican Canadian Association in Toronto has in recent times transcended a strictly Jamaican community and now operates within the larger multicultural spectrum. See, Conville, ‘The Jamaican Canadian Association’.

79 ‘Interview with Marcia Vassell’, (Brampton: 17 February 2011); ‘Interview with Phil Vassell’. (Brampton, Ontario: 8 December 2010).

80 Drummer Sunray Grennan, for one, feels that there is far less prejudice in Canada than there is in the United States. See, ‘Interview with Sunray Grennan’, (Toronto: 8 July 2010).

81 Moreover, many Jamaicans feel that the overt racism that had plagued an earlier generation of West Indian immigrants had, like the language of official immigration policy, transformed into a less visible but equally harmful version that duly prohibited full access to the dominant society. See, Gilkes, ‘Among Thistles and Thorns’, 85-8.

82 ‘Interview with Mike Smith’.

83 ‘Interview with Sunray Grennan’.

84 ‘Interview with Peter Holung’.

85 ‘Interview with JuLion King’, (Toronto: 28 January 2011).

86 ‘Interview with Phil Vassell’. See also, ‘Interview with Marcia Vassell’.

87 ‘Interview with Mike Smith’.

88 ‘Interview with Rupert “Ojiji” Harvey’.

89 The Harveys’ of Jamaica were the central subjects of Lorna Goodison’s book *From Harvey River*. Rupert and Carl’s younger brother Richard was born in Canada in 1968 and was, during his short time on earth, this author’s best friend. Richard died in 1986. See, Lorna Goodison, *From Harvey River: A Memoir of My Mother and Her Island*, (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2007).

90 ‘Interview with Rupert “Ojiji” Harvey’.

91 ‘Interview with Denise Jones’, (Toronto: 8 February 2011).

92 ‘Interview with Earle Heedram (*aka* The Mighty Pope)’.

93 ‘Interview with Jo Jo Bennett’.

94 Ibid.

95 Ibid.

96 Bob Marley and the Wailers, *The Complete Bob Marley and the Wailers, 1967 to 1972 Soul Rebels*, (Fiftyfive Records: FF 1389-2, 1998).

97 ‘Interview with Ranford Williams’.

98 ‘Interview with Willi Williams’, (Pickering, Ontario: 19 February 2011).

99 ‘Interview with Adrian Miller’, (Toronto: 6 February 2011).

100 ‘Interview with Klive Walker’.

101 Ibid.

102 ‘Interview with Mike Smith’.

103 ‘Interview with Earle Heedram (*aka* The Mighty Pope)’.

104 Ibid.

105 ‘Interview with Leo Cripps’.

106 ‘Interview with Mike Smith’.

107 ‘Interview with Paul Bennett’, (Toronto: 17 August 2010).

108 ‘Interview with Rupert “Ojiji” Harvey’.

109 Messenjah, *Cool Operator*, (Version: VLP-001, 1987).

110 ‘Interview with Wayne Hanson’, (Toronto: 30 December 2010).

111 ‘Interview with Marcia Vassell’; ‘Interview with Phil Vassell’.

112 ‘Interview with Earle Heedram (*aka* The Mighty Pope)’.

113 ‘Interview with Peter Holung’.

114 The motto has naturally come under scrutiny from various political pundits. Perhaps most famously, the late Professor Rex Nettleford characterized it in the following manner:

---

...little more than a pithy epigram for speeches of exhortation and official brochures, when it was really intended to describe and inform the spirit of multi-racialism and cultural integration among the Jamaican people.

115 See, Nettleford, *Mirror Mirror*, 178.

116 'Interview with Klive Walker'.

117 'Interview with JuLion King'.

This author, for example, remembers the late 1970s when Glenroy, a newly arrived Jamaican teenager, squared-off against Eddie, a kid from the Maritimes in our townhouse complex at Keele and Finch in Downsview, the northwest section of Toronto. I have a vivid memory of my mother pulling me back by my shirt for my own good, as most of the forty townhouses emptied out to see the scuffle; and perhaps join in. It was these frontline collisions that were difficult to reconcile with the government-endorsed brochures of multiculturalism that one might have seen on the footage that went along with the national anthem when CBC television signed off for the night. Perhaps it took a fight or two before any honest relationships could emerge. Dave, Glenroy's younger brother, and I were close all through elementary and high school. Glenroy himself would later lend me a microphone for my rehearsals with my first band. It was the same microphone that he used at his own blues dances just ten townhouses down from my own.

118 'Interview with Adrian Miller'.

119 For further discussion, see, Akua Benjamin, 'The Social and Legal Banishment of Anti-racism: A Black Perspective, Wendy Chan and Kiran Mirchandani (eds.), *Crimes of Colour: Racialization and the Criminal Justice System in Canada*, (Peterborough: Broadview Press, Ltd., 2002), 177-190.

120 For contemporary discussions, see, Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto and Urban Alliance on Race Relations, *Law Enforcement and Race Relations*, Urban Seminar Series, 4, (Toronto: Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, 1976); Canada, Department of the Secretary of State: Group Understanding and Human Rights Program, Frances Henry, *The Dynamics of Racism in Toronto: Research Report*, (Ottawa; Toronto: Department of the Secretary of State: Group Understanding and Human Rights Program; York University, 1978).

121 For useful bibliographies on literature responding to the crisis in race relations see, Harriet Seenath, Navin Joneja, Antoni Shelton, *Race and the Canadian Justice System: An Annotated Bibliography*, (Toronto: Urban Alliance on Race Relations, 1995); Amy Evans, *Race Relations Bibliography*, compiled for the Urban Alliance Centre on Race Relations, (Toronto: Urban Alliance on Race Relations, 1985).

122 'Interview with Mike Smith'.

123 Colin Lindsay, *Profiles of Ethnic Communities in Canada: The Jamaican Community in Canada*, 12, (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 89-621-XIE, 2007), 16. See also, Jones, 'Comparative Diasporas'; Gilkes, 'Among Thistles and Thorns'; Flynn, 'Race, Class, and Gender'.

124 For a good example of how old country attitudes were transplanted to the new country, see, Henry, *The Caribbean Diaspora in Toronto*.

125 'Interview with Mike Smith'.

126 Ibid.

127 Ibid.

128 'Interview with Rupert "Ojiji" Harvey'.

129 Ibid.

130 'Interview with Marcia Vassell'; 'Interview with Phil Vassell'.

131 'Interview with Sunray Grennan'.

132 Ibid.

133 'Interview with Phil Vassell'.

134 For further discussion on the evolution of the Yorkville scene and its attendant political awareness, see, Henderson, *Making the Scene*.

135 See, Van Gosse, *Rethinking the New Left: An Interpretive History*, (New York: Palgrave, 2005), 24; Theodore Roszak, *The Making of a Counterculture*, (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday Anchor, 1969), 1; Henderson, *Making the Scene*, 15.

136 'Interview with Wayne Hanson'.

137 'Interview with Denise Jones'.

138 'Interview with Marcia Vassell'; 'Interview with Phil Vassell'.

139 'Interview with Phil Vassell'.

140 'Interview with Rupert "Ojiji" Harvey'.  
 141 'Interview with Sunray Grennan'.  
 142 'Interview with Paul Bennett'.  
 143 'Interview with Earle Heedram (*aka* The Mighty Pope)'.  
 144 'Interview with Wayne Hanson'.  
 145 'Interview with Adrian Miller'.  
 146 'Interview with Ranford Williams'.  
 147 'Interview with Willi Williams'.  
 148 Lindsay, *Profiles of Ethnic Communities in Canada*, 16; Statistics Canada, *Ethnic Diversity Survey 2002*,  
 (Ottawa: Statistics Canada; Canadian Heritage, 89M0019XCB, 2003). See also, Jane Badets, Jennifer  
 Chard, Andrea Levett, *Ethnic Diversity Survey: Portrait of a Multicultural Society*, (Ottawa: Statistics  
 Canada; Canadian Heritage, 89-593-XIE, 2003).  
 149 See, Conway and Potter, 'Caribbean Transnational Return Migrants as Agents of Change'; Duany, 'Beyond  
 the Safety Valve'; Marshall, 'A History of West Indian Migrations'.  
 150 'Interview with Adrian Miller'.  
 151 'Interview with Earle Heedram (*aka* The Mighty Pope)'.  
 152 'Interview with Leo Cripps'.  
 153 'Interview with Sunray Grennan'.  
 154 Conway and Potter, 'Caribbean Transnational Return Migrants'.  
 155 'Interview with JuLion King'.  
 156 'Interview with Peter Holung'.  
 157 Conway and Potter, 'Caribbean Transnational Return Migrants', i.  
 158 'Interview with Klive Walker'.  
 159 Ibid.  
 160 Herbie Miller said of Klive Walker that he is able to play 'both sides' as it were, as an insider and an  
 outsider. See, Herbie Miller, as quoted in Walker, *Dubwise*, 7-9.  
 161 'Interview with Phil Vassell'.  
 162 Henry, *The Caribbean Diaspora in Toronto*.  
 163 'Interview with Denise Jones'.  
 164 'Interview with Willi Williams'.  
 165 'Interview with Ranford Williams'.  
 166 'Interview with Mike Smith'.  
 167 'Interview with Earle Heedram (*aka* The Mighty Pope)'.  
 168 'Interview with Sunray Grennan'.  
 169 'Interview with Marcia Vassell'; 'Interview with Phil Vassell'.  
 170 'Interview with Rupert "Ojiji" Harvey'.  
 171 'Interview with Adrian Miller'.  
 172 'Interview with Denise Jones'.  
 173 'Interview with Leo Cripps'.  
 174 'Interview with Wayne Hanson'.  
 175 'Interview with Denise Jones'.  
 176 'Interview with Carol Brown'.  
 177 'Interview with Marcia Vassell'; 'Interview with Phil Vassell'.  
 178 'Interview with Earle Heedram (*aka* The Mighty Pope)'.  
 179 'Interview with Mike Smith'.  
 180 'Interview with Ranford Williams'.

**V KING ALPHA'S SONG: PLACE AND MEANING IN TORONTO'S TEXT**

<sup>1</sup> See, Michalis Pichler, 'Statements on Appropriation', UbuWeb Papers, (New York, UbuWeb, 2009).  
<sup>2</sup> For examples see, Gaston R. Gordillo, *Landscapes of Devils: Tension of Place and Memory in the  
 Argentinean Chaco*, (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004); Marlene Creates, *Places of Presence:  
 Newfoundland kin and ancestral land, Newfoundland 1989-1991*, (St. John's, NL: Killick's Press, 1997);  
 Andreas Huyssen, *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory*, (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford  
 University Press, 2003), 11; Opp and Walsh, *Placing Memory and Remembering Place in Canada*.

3 For further discussion see, Alan Gordon, *Making Public Pasts: The Contested Terrain of Montreal's Public Memories, 1891-1930*, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001). For examples of how place-making can resist dominant narratives see, Steven High, 'Placing the Displaced Worker: Narrating Place in Deindustrializing Sturgeon Falls, Ontario', Opp and Walsh, *Placing Memory and Remembering Place in Canada*; Kirsten Emiko McAllister, 'Archive and Myth: The Changing Memoryscape of Japanese Canadian Internment Camps', Opp and Walsh, *Placing Memory and Remembering Place in Canada*.

4 Environmental artist Marlene Creates observed that the land 'is not an abstract physical location but a *place*, charged with personal significance, shaping the images we have of ourselves.' See, Creates, *Places of Presence*, 11.

5 This process was not, of course, unique to the Toronto reggae scene. Neither is the use of place as an historical approach particularly new to Canadian history. Donald Creighton's watershed work *The Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence, 1760-1850* (1937), for instance, birthed the so-called *Laurentian Thesis* which proved that geography (in his case the Laurentian waterway) could act as an historical agent, playing a significant role in the 'grand narrative' of Canada's socio-economic development. See, Donald G. Creighton, *The Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence, 1760-1850*, (Toronto: Ryerson Press for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace: Division of Economics and History, 1937). Six and a half decades after Creighton's work, the use of *place* as an approach has been greatly nuanced. For an excellent example, see, Opp and Walsh, *Placing Memory and Remembering Place in Canada*.

6 Gaston Gordillo believed that every memory is fundamentally a memory of a place. See, Gordillo, *Landscape of Devils*, 4. Likewise, in her work, Joan M. Schwartz spoke to the importance of the 'cartographic illusions of the geographical imagination.' See, Joan M. Schwarz, 'Constituting *Places of Presence*: Landscape, Identity and the Geographical Imagination', in *Places of Presence: Newfoundland kin and ancestral land, Newfoundland 1989-1991*, (St. John's, NL: Killick's Press, 1997), 11.

7 Opp and Walsh believe that 'in focussing closely on local practices and local understandings, we resist the tendency to frame the productions of place and public memory as simply overarching tools of exclusionary power.' For an example of how the 'cultural production of tradition' can wield an exclusionary tool in terms of *place making* and *memory*, see Ian McKay, *Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia*, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994); Opp and Walsh, *Placing Memory and Remembering Place in Canada*, 14.

8 As a former 'speak-easy', the Bamboo, through its transition from an illegal underground establishment to becoming one of the city's elite nightclubs, troubled the status quo through its very existence.

9 See, Kathleen Neils Conzen, David A. Gerber, Ewa Morawska, George E. Pozzetta and Rudolph J. Vecoli, 'The Invention of Ethnicity: A Perspective from the U.S.A.', *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 12, 1. (1992), 3-40; Lorenzkowski, *Sounds of Ethnicity*, 6.

10 In her work, Barbara Lorenzkowski appraised the role of those nineteenth-century German immigrant *gatekeepers* who sought to preserve the purity of German music (and language) being performed in Canada and the United States. These aims, as Lorenzkowski observed, were often at odds with the vast majority of German immigrants living in North America who were less fearful of cultural dilution. Franca Iacovetta has also used the *gatekeeper* analogy in her work to signify the attitudes of middle-class Canada and those institutions that defined 'citizenship' during Cold War Canada. In this sense, *gatekeepers* profoundly shaped the lives of new Canadians at this time. See, Lorenzkowski, *Sounds of Ethnicity*; Franca Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers: Reshaping Immigrant Lives in Cold War Canada*, (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2006).

11 See, for examples, Lorenzkowski, *Sounds of Ethnicity*; Stranger-Ross, *Staying Italian*; Whitzman, *Suburb, Slum, Urban Village*.

12 Frederick Barth (ed.), 'Introduction', in *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference*, (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1969), 9-37; Lorenzkowski, *Sounds of Ethnicity*, 6.

13 Lorenzkowski, *Sounds of Ethnicity*, 8.

14 DiManno, 'Jane-Finch: Perceptions and Realities', *Toronto Star*.

15 For example, see, 'Rastafarians called most violent crime group in New York', *Globe and Mail*, (11 June 1975), 3; 'U.S. report says sect uses marijuana as an aphrodisiac', *Globe and Mail*, (11 June 1975), 3; 'Followers called walking time bombs, lawyer says', *Globe and Mail*, (11 June 1975), 3; 'Religion's members are basically anarchists', *Globe and Mail*, (11 June 1975), 3; 'Reggae records the beliefs of the rudies and Rastas', *Globe and Mail*, (11 June 1975), 3; 'Cultists believed Selassie would take them back to

Ethiopia', *Globe and Mail*, (11 June 1975), 3; 'Church says troublemakers can't be Brethren', *Globe and Mail*, (11 June 1975), 3.

16 'Interview with Rupert "Ojiji" Harvey'.

17 'Interview with Mike Smith'; 'Interview with Rupert "Ojiji" Harvey'.

18 'Interview with Phil Vassell'.

19 'Interview with Mike Smith'.

20 Goldman, *The Book of Exodus*, 177.

21 *Ibid.*, 179.

22 'Interview with Wayne Hanson'.

23 V In Britain, for example, Boy George and the Clash, as Goldman confirmed, 'would skank alongside Aswad and Steel Pulse.' See, Goldman, *The Book of Exodus*, 177.

24 Hill, 'Backbeat for Jah Jah', 11.

25 'Interview with Mike Smith'.

26 'Interview with Sunray Grennan'.

27 'Interview with David Kingston'.

28 For a good example see, Frances Swyripa, 'Edmonton's Jasper Avenue: Public Ritual, Heritage, and Memory on Main Street', Opp and Walsh, *Placing Memory and Remembering Place in Canada*, 81-106.

29 Bissoondath, *Selling Illusions*, 136. Matumbi's 'Nothing to do with You' or Tippa Irie's 'Complain Neighbour' deals with these pitched battles of listening to reggae loud in a British context.

30 'Interview with Phil Vassell'.

31 See, Dick Beddoes, 'Reggae to rafters', *Globe and Mail*, (28 May 1979), 8

32 Jack Batten, '100,000 blacks –and the sounds are all their own', *Globe and Mail*, (8 March 1975), entertainment cover page.

33 Norman Otis Richmond, 'Bathurst St. has always been part of Black life in T.O', *Share*, (Toronto: 14 October 2009), opinion section.

34 'Interview with Phil Vassell'.

35 Hill, 'Backbeat for Jah Jah', 11; Batten, '100,000 blacks', entertainment cover page; Richmond, 'Bathurst St. has always been part of Black life in T.O', opinion section; 'Interview with Phil Vassell'.

36 Given the number of albums bought, the youth sub-culture of the punk/post-punk era was perhaps among the most musical-savvy connoisseurs in the history of the recording industry.

37 See, Amérimage Spectra Co-Production/Soapbox Productions, *Rise Up: Canadian Pop Music in the 1980s*, (EMI Music Canada, 2009).

38 Kevin Howes, 'Liner Notes', Jackie Mittoo, *Wishbone*, (Summus Records, SUS 50,002; Light in the Attic Records: LITA021 (1971) 2006).

39 'For Your Night on the Town', Concert Listings, *Globe and Mail*, (30 April 1975), 17.

40 'Interview with Earle Heedram (aka The Mighty Pope)'.

41 Hill, 'Backbeat for Jah Jah', 11.

42 'Interview with Phil Vassell'.

43 See, Batten, '100,000 blacks', entertainment cover page.

44 Noel Walker, as quoted in Batten, '100,000 blacks', entertainment cover page.

45 See, for examples, Monica as quoted in Paul McGrath, 'Island rhythms find new roots', *Fanfare, Globe and Mail*, (10 January 1981), 6; 'Interview with Ranford Williams'.

46 Williams, who was also a member of Skatalites' Tommy McCook's band, appeared on the original version of Marley's 'Trench Town Rock' (1970). See, Bob Marley and the Wailers, 'Trench Town Rock', (Tuff Gong: 1970). See also chapter eleven in, Jon Masouri, *Wailing Blues: The Story of Bob Marley's Wailers*, (London: Omnibus Press, [2008] 2009).

47 See, Greg Quill, 'For the Record: T.O. shops lead world in spinning rare discs', *What's On, Toronto Star*, (26 September 1986), D20.

48 This author was in Yah Wah Deh in 1987.

49 Quill, 'For the Record', D1, D20.

50 *Ibid.*, D20.

51 CHWO's Willie Dee's midnight show was particularly popular. See, Batten, '100,000 blacks', entertainment cover page.

52 Batten, '100,000 blacks', entertainment cover page.

53 'Interview with David Kingston'.

54 Adele Freedman, 'Doing It: One Heart, One Love... Amma', *Fanfare, Globe and Mail*, (15 February 1978),  
 3.  
 55 Ibid.  
 56 'Interview with Earle Heedram (aka The Mighty Pope)'.  
 57 Lee also toured Canada many times, including performances at Expo '67 and the CNE. See, 'Interview with  
 Jo Jo Bennett'.  
 58 'Rocksteady? Reggae? They go with jump-up at Caribana', *Globe and Mail*, (18 May 1971), 14.  
 59 Robert Martin, 'Jimmy Cliff concert hits smooth stride after stumbling beginning', *Globe and Mail*, (15  
 October 1975), 15; Robert Martin, 'Cliff delivers reggae in the mainstream', *Globe and Mail*, (13 October  
 1975), 15; Paul McGrath, 'Reggae's free spirit, Toots gives it his all', *Globe and Mail*, (14 June 1980), 3.  
 60 In 2006 *The Harder They Come* was transformed from film to the stage. The play version debuted at  
 London's *Theatre Royal Stratford East*. Such was the success of the play that it later enjoyed two more  
 successful London runs at *The Barbican* (2008) and the *Playhouse Theatre* (2009) before coming to  
 Toronto's *Canon Theatre* (2009). Jan Ryan, the play's producer, had originally seen the film in a theatre in  
 Brixton in the 1970s and was – some thirty years later – able to convince Perry Henzell the filmmaker to  
 write a stage version of the movie. Just as the Jamaican movie, replete with thick patois, had found  
 resonance with audiences outside of Jamaica, so too did the play score successes with those epicentres that  
 boasted a significant Jamaican diaspora. See, Jon Kaplan, 'Rousing Reggae: The stage version of the classic  
 film *The Harder They Come* has a powerful beat', *Now*, daily online story, (26 July 2009); CBC, 'The  
 Harder They Come hits Toronto Musical is based on 1972 film that made Jimmy Cliff a star', *CBC News:  
 Arts and Entertainment*, (20 July 2009). Not every critic, however, was as charitable. The *Star*'s Richard  
 Ouzounian, for example, complained: 'Boy, I've never seen a musical ostensibly in English that was in such  
 desperate need of subtitles.' See, Richard Ouzounian, 'The Play's Harder to Take than Iconic Film',  
*Toronto Star*, (24 July 2009).  
 61 Robert Martin, 'A New sound from Jamaica and a new Clyde-style hero', *Globe and Mail*, (25 August  
 1973), entertainment cover page.  
 62 Lawrence O'Toole, 'Reggae the Jamaican Pop', *Globe and Mail*, (7 May 1975), 17.  
 63 Stephen Brunt, 'Sibbles' new sound dips into mainstream', *Globe and Mail*, (10 July 1982), 5.  
 64 Mittoo had been living in Toronto since 1967.  
 65 Dave and Ansell Collins, *Dave & Ansil [sic] Collins in Toronto*, (G-Clef: CLEF-0011, 1974).  
 66 CKFM's Carl Banas was a big supporter of Mittoo and often featured him on his popular evening show.  
 See, Howes, 'Liner Notes', Jackie Mittoo, *Wishbone*.  
 67 Jackie Mittoo, *Let's Put It All Together*, (United Artists: 1975); Jackie Mittoo, *Reggae Magic*, (Canadian  
 Talent Library: 477-5164, 1972); Jackie Mittoo, *Wishbone*, (Summus Records, SUS 50,002; Light in the  
 Attic Records: LITA021 (1971) 2006).  
 68 Carl DeHaney, as quotes in Howes, 'Liner Notes', Jackie Mittoo, *Wishbone*.  
 69 Though the issue with the sound/volume of the bass guitar would continue to plague Canadian recordings  
 throughout Canadian reggae's golden age.  
 70 Jackie Mittoo, as quoted in I. Jabulani Tafari, 'Interview with Jackie Mittoo', *Reggae Report*, 6, (1988).  
 71 Earth, Roots & Water boasted Adrian Miller, whose future with 20th Century Rebels awaited him in the  
 next decade. Noel Ellis was the son of legendary ska pioneer Alton Ellis. For an excellent overview of  
 Summer Records, see, Kevin Howes, 'Liner Notes', *Summer Records Anthology, 1974-1988*, (Light in the  
 Attic Records: LITA029, 2007).  
 72 Walker, *Dubwise*, 160.  
 73 Peter Goddard, 'Olivia makes a play for T.O. reggae', *Toronto Star*, (12 January 1980), F1.  
 74 Ibid.  
 75 Rap Rose, as quoted in Hill, 'Backbeat for Jah Jah', 10-11.  
 76 'Interview with Mike Smith'.  
 77 For further discussion on the CanCon and MAPL regulations, see, Amérimage Spectra Co-  
 Production/Soapbox Productions, *This Beat Goes On: Canadian Pop Music in the 1970s*, (EMI Music  
 Canada, 2009).  
 78 Paul Hyde, as quoted in Ibid.  
 79 Hill, 'Backbeat for Jah Jah', 10-11.  
 80 Ibid.  
 81 'Interview with Phil Vassell'.

82 Bruce Cockburn, *Dancing in the Dragon's Jaws*, (True North Records: TN37, 1979).  
83 The song's stock continues to rise and as recently as 2005, Canadians voted 'Wondering Where the Lions  
Are' twenty-ninth on a list of the fifty most essential tracks in English language Canadian pop music  
84 history. See, CBC Radio One, *50 Tracks with Jian Ghomeshi*, (CBC: 2005).  
Bernie Finkelstein, as quoted in Amérimage Spectra Co-Production/Soapbox Productions, *This Beat Goes  
On*.  
85 Amérimage Spectra Co-Production/Soapbox Productions, *This Beat Goes On*.  
86 Bruce Cockburn, as quoted in *Ibid*.  
87 Leroy Sibbles performed at the Horseshoe in 1978, see, Ray Conlogue, 'Jazz/Folk', concert listings,  
*Fanfare, Globe and Mail*, (29 March 1978), 15.  
88 Garry Steckles, 'A reggae feast for Toronto', *Toronto Star*, (11 October 1980), F3.  
89 'For Your Night on the Town', Concert Listings, *Globe and Mail*, (29 July 1978), 34.  
90 Kim Cameron, 'Rock 'n' roll is a deep crack in civilization that can free the spirit', *Globe and Mail*, (19  
November 1977), 6.  
91 For his part, Cameron is now 'dealing practically with the world' as Microsoft's chief architect of identity  
and has been called one of the fifty most powerful people in networking. Jack Kapica, 'Laws of Identity:  
Interview with Kim Cameron', *Globe and Mail*, (31 March 2009).  
92 Mary Walpole, 'Dining Around the Town with Mary Walpole', event listings, *Globe and Mail*, (21  
September 1974), 38.  
93 'Sattalites Perform', *Globe and Mail*, (25 May 1988), C10; Garry Steckles, 'A reggae feast for Toronto',  
F3. See also, 'Starring at the Forum', *Toronto Star*, (19 May 1983), E7.  
94 These acts include, but are in no way limited to: Lillian Allen, Leroy Sibbles, Ishan People, Chalaw, O  
Travis, Earth, Fire and Water, They Mighty Mystic, The Fudge Brothers, The Dilliters, Tropical Energy  
Experience, Carlene Davis, Lorna Dixon and, of course, Jackie Mittoo.  
95 Adele Freedman, 'Toronto reggae explodes despite security damper', *Globe and Mail*, (20 October 1980),  
17.  
96 *Ibid*.  
97 *Ibid*.  
98 Monica as quoted in McGrath, 'Island rhythms find new roots', 6.  
99 'Interview with Andru Branch', (Halifax: 23 August 2010).  
100 This was a common route to reggae and something we will explore later on.  
101 Paul McGrath, 'The Selector uses ska to leave 'em dancing', *Globe and Mail*, (16 May 1980), 20.  
102 Paul McGrath, 'The Beat: jumping ska rhythm and rock', *Globe and Mail*, (4 October 1980), 9.  
103 William Littler, 'Reggae star Sibbles rides the new wave', *Toronto Star*, (28 July 1980), D4.  
104 Dill Pickles, as quoted in Paul McGrath, 'Hot Dub', *Fanfare, Globe and Mail*, (6 March 1982),  
entertainment cover page.  
105 'Interview with Brian Robertson', (Toronto: 23 September 2011).  
106 Goddard, 'Olivia makes a play for T.O. reggae', F1.  
107 Truth & Rights, 'Metro's No. 1 Problem', (Rhythm Discs: RD-500, 1981).  
108 20th Century Rebels, 'Running from the F.B.I.', *Rebellion*, (Rebellion: REB001, 1983).  
109 UB40, 'Red Red Wine', (Dep International: dep 7, 1983); Colin Larkin (ed.), *The Guinness Who's Who of  
Reggae*, (London: Guinness Publishing Ltd., 1994), 277-78.  
110 officialcharts.com  
111 The band has since made four in this series. See, UB40, *Labour Of Love IV*, (Virgin: CDV3072, 2010);  
UB40, *Labour Of Love III*, (DEP International: DEP CD 18; Virgin: 7243 8 46469 29, 1998); UB40,  
*Labour Of Love II*, (DEP International: DEPCD 14, 1989); UB40, *Labour Of Love*, (DEP International:  
DEP 5, 1983).  
112 Larkin, *The Guinness Who's Who of Reggae*, 277-78; www.bpi.co.uk/certifiedawards; www.riaa.com;  
www.theofficialcharts.com.  
113 This author was at the band's Kingswood performances on 26 August 1986, 15 August 1988 and 9 August  
1993.  
114 Adele Freedman, 'Gladiators' reggae as tight as a fist', *Globe and Mail*, (24 June 1983), E6.  
115 As of 2001, there were approximately 1,270,400 Italians, 1,071,100 Ukrainians and 713,000 East Indians  
living in Canada compared to only 160,210 Jamaicans. See, Lindsay, *Profiles of Ethnic Communities in*

Canada; Statistics Canada, 'Profile for Census Metropolitan Areas and Census Agglomerations', 2006 Census.

116 Reggae shared a category with calypso from 1985 until 1993, before getting its own separate category in 1994. Only one calypso artist, however, won the award prior to 1994. For a review of the inaugural year for the reggae/calypso category, see, Will Aitken, 'Jolt of Juno power could do the trick', *Globe and Mail*, (2 November 1985), D3.

117 Goddard, 'He's Metro's grand old man of reggae', F3.

118 William Burrill, 'Why Jamaican reggae star Sibbles moved to Toronto - in January, yet!', *Toronto Star*, (3 August 1982), A2.

119 Goddard, 'He's Metro's grand old man of reggae', F3.

120 Alan Niester, 'Sibbles collects five awards', *Globe and Mail*, (29 April 1983), E4.

121 Goddard, 'He's Metro's grand old man of reggae', F3.

122 Burrill, 'Why Jamaican reggae star Sibbles moved to Toronto', A2; 'Interview with Leroy Sibbles', (Kingston, Jamaica: 1 March 2011).

123 Littler, 'Reggae star Sibbles rides the new wave', D4.

124 Goddard, 'He's Metro's grand old man of reggae', F3; Burrill, 'Why Jamaican reggae star Sibbles moved to Toronto', A2.

125 Alan Niester, 'Sibbles keeps his good-time reggae on the mark', *Globe and Mail*, (19 February 1981), 22.

126 Burrill, 'Why Jamaican reggae star Sibbles moved to Toronto', A2.

127 On 7 July 1984, for instance, Sibbles, alongside Black Uhuru, Aswad, Dennis Brown, Musical Youth and others, performed for 25,000 people at London's Crystal Palace. See, Greg Quill, 'Sibbles makes a splash in London', *Toronto Star*, (26 July 1984).

128 Agents from the Canada Arts Council and Ontario Arts Council have argued, at least with this author, that reggae is a 'popular' music and therefore not in need of the same sort of remedial funding like other 'serious' musical art forms. The result of this cynical argument is that important initiatives that might benefit the reggae community end up being still born for lack of funding. And while reggae has made disproportionate gains in terms of accessing the Canadian musical vernacular, the genre is still unable to compete with the nation's mainstream musical machinery (and grant-writing experts). The lack of support and/or interest in the arts in Canada is an issue that has been raised in several key works. Among the best of these remain, Jonathan F. Vance, *A History of Canadian Culture*, (Don Mills, Ontario: Oxford University Press, 2009); Mary Vipond, *The Mass Media in Canada*, (Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, [1989] 2000); Maria Tippett, *Making Culture: English-Canadian Institutions and the Arts Before the Massey Commission*, third edition, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990).

129 Some Jamaicans were aware of this. As Phil Vassell explained, 'being Jamaican has always been cool...[it] gave me an edge.' See, 'Interview with Phil Vassell'.

130 'Interview with Rupert "Ojiji" Harvey'.

131 Various non-Jamaicans that this author interviewed spoke to the 'feisty' boldness and self-assuredness of their Jamaican friends and colleagues. See, 'Interview with Andru Branch'; 'Interview with Natasha Emery'; See, 'Interview with Isax Injah', (Toronto: 19 January 2011); 'Interview with Tomaz Jardim', (Toronto: 21 August 2010); 'Interview with Jesse King', (Toronto: 15 February 2011).

132 Norman Otis Richmond, 'Film festival focuses on issue of racism', *Globe and Mail*, (11 October 1984), E5.

133 NFB, *Home Feeling: Struggle for a Community*, directed by Jennifer Hodge and Roger McTair; produced by John Kramer and Judy LeGros, (Toronto: National Film Board of Canada, 1983).

134 Perhaps the most recent, if romanticized appraisal of the Corridor was produced by the Fifth Estate in 2006. See, The Fifth Estate, *Lost in the Struggle*, directed by Paul Nguyen, produced by Mark Simms, with host Sabrina Gopaul, (Toronto: CBC, 6 November 2006).

135 Leroy Sibbles, *Evidence*, (A&M: SP-9075, 1982); Stephen Brunt, 'Sibbles' new sound dips into mainstream', 5.

136 Ibid.

137 Ibid.

138 Liam Lacey, 'Record Review: Leroy Sibbles, Evidence', *Fanfare, Globe and Mail*, (5 June 1982), 6.

139 Peter Goddard, 'Toronto talent helps Jamaica salute youth', *Toronto Star*, (31 March 1985), G1.

140 Greg Quill, 'Bruce Cockburn in tune with Jamaican audience', *Toronto Star*, (8 April 1985), D1.



141 Lorenzkowski, *Sounds of Ethnicity*, 103. See also Laura Mason's work on the French Revolution: Laura Mason, *Singing the French Revolution: Popular Culture and Politics, 1787-1799*, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996), 3.

142 For music as a process and not a product, see, Philip V. Bohlman, 'On the Unremarkable in Music', *19<sup>th</sup>-Century Music*, 16, 2, (1991), 214; Roger Chartier, *Cultural History: Between Practices and Representations*, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988), 40-1; Lorenzkowski, *Sounds of Ethnicity*, 103. See also, Simon Frith, 'Music and Identity', in Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay (eds.), *Questions of Cultural Identity*, (London: Sage Publications, 1996), 109.

143 For many, simply surviving a Jamaican audience in Jamaica was a huge success. In 1980, *Toronto Star's* 'reggae specialist' Gary Steckles illustrated the importance of Reggae Sunsplash in Montego Bay: The annual Jamaican music festival has come to be regarded as the ultimate test of a reggae artist's stature: If you can impress a critical crowd sated by more than two dozen top groups over four nights, you're on your way. Garry Steckles, 'Carlene Davis could make break for reggae', *Toronto Star*, (11 October 1980), F3.

144 Peter Bailey, 'Conspiracies of Meaning: Music-Hall and the Knowingness of Popular Culture', *Past and Present*, 144, (1994), 138-170.

145 See, Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, English translation by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, (Baltimore & London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), 158-163.

146 As American historian Saul Cornell wrote in 1995, for strong textualists like Derrida and Foucault, 'context is not a fixed background against which texts are read. Foreground and background are each textualized and the connections between them must be read inter-textually.' See, Saul Cornell, 'Splitting The Difference: Textualism, Contextualism, and Post-Modern History', *American Studies*, 36, 1, (Spring 1995), 57.

147 Updates, challenges, dismissals and resurrections of Derrida's model aside, the philosopher's assessment of the chameleon nature of textual meanings still has currency. For those interested in the discourse on Derrida's philosophy, see, Gertrude Himmelfarb, 'Telling it as You Like it: Post-Modernist History and the Flight From Fact', *Times Literary Supplement*, (16 October 1992); Bryan D. Palmer, *Descent Into Discourse: The Reification of Language and the Writing of Social History*, (Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 1990); Steven Watts, 'The Idiocy of American Studies: Post-Structuralism, Language, and Politics in the Age of Self-Fulfillment', *American Quarterly*, 43, (1991); Cornell, 'Splitting The Difference: Textualism, Contextualism, and Post-Modern History', 57-80.

148 See, Lipsitz, *Dangerous Crossroads*, 97-114.

149 In 1982, for example, Musical Youth, a young black reggae outfit from Birmingham England, hit the big time with their single 'Pass the Dutchie'. Partly because of its incredible success and partly because it was performed by a young boys' band, 'Pass the Dutchie' was criticized for being an inauthentic articulation of the original reggae text. This reading, which suggests that the band was solely the manufactured product of a white-dominated recording industry, lacks some vital details. The young Birmingham band was made up of schoolboys of Jamaican descent. Frederick Waite, father to two of the boys in the band, was an original member of the popular ska and rocksteady outfit The Techniques. The boys' band built their song on Jamaica's Mighty Diamonds' 1981 hit entitled 'Pass the Kouchie', which had been 'voiced' on top of an existing 'riddim' (or instrumental track) called 'Full Up', which was originally released in Jamaica in 1968 as an instrumental by the session band Sound Dimension for Coxsone Dodd's Studio One label. The principle writers for this instrumental version were future Jamaican-Canadians Jackie Mittoo and Leroy Sibbles (two other Sound Dimension musicians Headley George Bennett and Robbie Lyn are also credited on the original). Adding their own melody and lyrics to 'Full Up', Mighty Diamonds' singers Lloyd Anthony Ferguson and Fitzroy Simmons further amended the existing Jamaican text first authored by Mittoo and company thirteen years prior. Mittoo, who was working with Musical Youth while he was in England before returning home to Canada, suggested that the word 'kouchie', referring to marijuana paraphernalia, should be replaced by 'dutchie', a Jamaican colloquialism for cooking pot. While most of the world might not have been able to tell the difference between kouchie and dutchie, it was important, at least for the Jamaicans involved to have the young band sing something more age-appropriate. So, the involvement of Jamaicans at every level of crafting the 'Pass the Dutchie' track hardly reconciles with a reading that the song was somehow disconnected from the genre's 'organic' roots. Yet, these dull arguments have persisted in some academic forums. See, Musical Youth, 'Pass the Dutchie', (MCA Records [Canada]: MCA-13961, 1982); The Mighty Diamonds, 'Pass the Kouchie', (Island Records: 12WIP 6838, 1982); Jackie Mittoo & Sound Dimension, 'Full Up', (Studio One: 1968). See also, Alexis

Petridis, 'Famous for 15 Months', *The Guardian*, (21 March 2003); Lipsitz, *Dangerous Crossroads*, 97-114; Alleyne, 'White Reggae', 17.

150 There are, as mentioned earlier, some strong exceptions of course, including Timothy Taylor's useful section on reggae in *Global Pop*. See, Taylor, *Global Pop*, 155-68.

151 See, Goddard, 'Olivia makes a play for T.O. reggae', F1.

152 Born in 1872, Robert was Edwin and Annie Sharpe's third child.

153 Robert Lee Sharpe 'Bag of Tools', Hazel Felleman (ed.), *Best Loved Poems of the American People*, (New York; London; Toronto; Sydney; Auckland: Doubleday & Co., 1936), 99; and in A.L. Alexander (ed.), *Poems that Touch the Heart*, (New York; London; Toronto; Sydney; Auckland: Doubleday, [1941] 1956), 31. 'At Journey's End' and 'The Illusion of Time' were two of Sharpe's elegiac offerings but neither of these approached the place in America's poetry canon that 'A Bag of Tools' would one day command.

154 Sharpe 'Bag of Tools', *Best Loved Poems of the American People*; Alexander, *Poems that Touch the Heart*; James Dalton Morrison (ed.), *Masterpieces of Religious Verse*, (New York; London: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1948), 306.

155 See, Robert Genn (ed.), 'Note on R.L. Sharpe', *Tool Time*, (9 March 2001); Edwin R. Sharpe, *Edwin R. Sharpe Papers, 1861-1869*, (Savannah: Georgia Historical Society, Box MS 1485); James C. Bonner, *Georgia's Last Frontier: The Development of Carroll County*, (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1971). See also, Joel Chandler Harris, Brigadier General Clement A. Evans and W. J. Northen, *Memoirs of Georgia: Historical and Biographical Containing Historical Accounts of the State's Civil, Military, Industrial and Professional Interests, and Personal Sketches of Many of Its People*, (Georgia: The Southern Historical Association, 1895), 442.

156 For various citations of 'Bag of Tools' in recent religious teachings, see, W.F. Haynes, 'Pastoral Reflections', *Lifeline: Sharing God's Love*, 57, 20, (St. Simons Island, Georgia: 22 May 2011); Boyd K. Packer, 'The Unwritten Order of Things', Devotional delivered at Brigham Young University on 15 October 1996, reprinted in The Church Educational System, *Principles of Leadership: Teacher Manual*, (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2001), 111; Judge Merl Code, 'Black History Month Presentation', delivered at Christ Church Episcopal School, Greenville, South Carolina (15 February 2011); R.L. Sharpe, 'Bag of Tools', as found on *The Age of Jahiliyah*, (16 February 2011); *The Pastor's Page*, St. Paul's United Methodist Church, (West Deptford, NJ: February 2006).

157 Columnist and enthusiastic Freemason Journalist David Sermon posits that Sharpe was not actually initiated in the craft. Yet, an excerpt from another of Sharpe's other poems entitled 'The Illusion of Time', bears further testimony towards the poets' admiration for Freemasonry:

*No, never again  
 Will you Feel the Grip  
 Of the Master Mason --  
 In good Fellowship...  
 This Mortal Coil  
 You have set aside  
 For the Celestial Lodge --  
 Where you now Abide.*

See, R.L. Sharpe, 'The Illusion of Time', Katherine Tingley and George de Perucker (eds.), *The Theosophical Path*, 39, 3, (March 1931); David Sermon, 'Book Review: A Treasury of Masonic Thought', *Freemasonry Today*, 25, (Summer 2003); Carl Glick (ed.), *A Treasury of Masonic Thought*, (London: Robert Hale [1950] 2003).

158 Irish *Taoiseach* Enda Kenny, for example, met with young entrepreneurs in Dublin Castle in April 2011 as part of his government's launch to develop a National Youth Entrepreneurship Strategy in Ireland. Kenny chose to close his address with Sharpe's inspirational poem. See, Enda Kenny as quoted in 'Taoiseach meets with Young Entrepreneurs', *Merrion Street: Irish Government News Service*, (15 April 2011), [www.merrionstreet.ie](http://www.merrionstreet.ie). See also, Dame Maggie Smith, 'A Bag of Tools', Directed by Neil French, Produced by Simon Peters, (Union Bank of Switzerland, 1998); Leon van der Walt, 'Bag of Tools', *Financial Inspiration Café*.

159 The American poem was, for instance, reimagined by Canadian composer Jack Lorne Hodd. The noted composer of non-secular music was also an organist and musical director at several churches in the

Hamilton Ontario area, including St. Giles United Church. In 1988, the then seventy-four year old Hodd composed a piece to fit Sharpe's poem, entitled 'A Bag of Tools: For Voice and Piano'. See, Jack Lorne Hodd, 'Obituary', *Hamilton Spectator*, (11 October 2005); Jack Lorne Hodd and R.L. Sharpe, 'A Bag of Tools: For Voice and Piano', Leslie Vocal Series no. 7068, (Oakville: Leslie Music Supply, 1988). Perhaps more famously, the British band Oasis used an excerpt of Sharpe's poem in their chart-topping track 'Go Let It Out'. The band, however, slightly altered some of Sharpe's initial text:

*Is it any wonder why princes and kings  
Are clowns that caper in their sawdust rings  
And ordinary people that are like you and me  
We're the keepers of their destiny.*

The retooling of the lyrics obviously worked in terms of commercial success, as Oasis hit number one on both the UK and Canadian single charts with the song. See, Oasis, 'Go Let It Out', *Standing on the Shoulder of Giants*, (Big Brother: RKIDCD 002, 2000); [theofficialcharts.com](http://theofficialcharts.com).

160

Jamaicans' Religious Affiliation (as of December 2010):

*Denomination Percentage of the population (2.7 million)*

Church of God	24
Seventh-day Adventist	11
Pentecostal	10
Baptist	7
Anglican	4
Roman Catholic	2
United Church	2
Methodist	2
Jehovah's Witnesses	2
Moravian	1
Brethren	1
Unstated	3
Other	10
No Religious Affiliation	21

See, U.S. Department of State, *July-December, 2010 International Religious Freedom Report: Jamaica*.

161

Eric Doumerc, 'Nuff Lyrics' The Heptones – "Book of Rules", *Reggae Review*, (April/May 2007).

[www.reggaereview.com](http://www.reggaereview.com). See also, Davis and Simon, *Reggae Bloodlines*.

162

'Interview with Leroy Sibbles'.

163

The film did not, however, reach Canadian shores until late 1980. See, Garry Steckles, 'A reggae feast for Toronto', F3.

164

As film critic David Walker opined: 'if *The Harder They Come* introduced reggae on the big screen, giving it a cinematic identity, then Ted Bafaloukos' *Rockers* gave it heart and soul.' See, David Walker, 'DVD Review: *Rockers*', *DVD Talk*, (21 June 2005).

165

The first Heptones version of 'Book of Rules' was featured on its eponymous full-length album released in 1973. Sharpe's original 'Bag of Tools' poem was appended with another verse and put into music by Heptones' harmonist Barry Llewellyn and legendary Jamaican producer Harry Johnson *aka* Harry J (of African, Sicilian and Scottish decent no less). The song was a number one hit in Jamaica and even crept into the lower echelons of the UK pop charts when it was re-released on the band's *Night Food* (1976) album for Island Records. The tune was also one of the few in the Heptones' catalogue that was not sung by Leroy Sibbles. Sibbles did, however, come to sing the song in a live setting throughout the course of his solo career, including the time he spent in Canada. See, The Heptones, 'Book of Rules', written by Barry Llewellyn, Harry Johnson and R.L. Sharpe, as found on The Heptones, *Book of Rules*, (Jaywax HJ 112; Island Records: ILPS 9297, 1973); The Heptones, *Night Food*, (Island Records: ILPS 9381, 1976); Various Artists, *Rockers*, Original Soundtrack from the Film, (Island Records: ILPS 9587, 1979); Jo-Ann Greene, 'Song Review: "Book of Rules"', *Allmusic*, (Rovi Corporation: 2011).

166 Jerry Johnson, 'Record Review: Various Artists, Rockers Soundtrack', *Globe and Mail*, (20 December  
167 1980), 7.  
168 Citizen K., 'The Heptones: Book of Rules', *Just A Song: Thoughts on songs and songwriters*, (28 April  
169 2009), justasong2.blogspot.com  
170 'Interview with Fergus Hambleton'.  
171 Bobby & The Midnites (*aka* Bob Weir), *Bobby & The Midnites*, (Arista: 204.175, 1981).  
David Gans, *Conversations with the Dead: The Grateful Dead Interview Book*, (Cambridge, MA: De Capo  
Press [1999] 2002), 130-1.

The third stanza added by Llewellyn and Johnson:

*Look when the rain has fallen from the sky  
You know the sun will be only with us for a while*

The Heptones, 'Book of Rules', written by Barry Llewellyn, Harry Johnson and R.L. Sharpe, as found on  
The Heptones, *Book of Rules*.

172 For an excellent overview of how the texts of Scottish ballads, for example, were 'improved' and  
reimagined, see, Valentina Bold, "'Nouther right spelled nor right setten down": Scott, Child and the Hogg  
Family Ballads', Edward J. Cowan, (*ed.*), *The Ballad in Scottish History*, (Phantassie: Tuckwell Press Ltd.,  
2000); Edward J. Cowan, 'Hunting of the Ballad', Cowan, *The Ballad in Scottish History*; Charles Duffin,  
'Fixing Tradition: Making History from Ballad Texts', Cowan, *The Ballad in Scottish History*; Christopher  
Harvie, 'Ballads of A Nation', *History Today*, 49, 9, (September 1999); Catherine Kerrigan, 'Reclaiming  
History: The Ballad as a Women's Tradition', *Etudes Ecosaisies*, 1, (Grenoble: University of Stendhal,  
1991).

173 One of the more elaborate and memorable affairs was *Afroheat: Sounds of the People*, that included Bishop  
Desmond Tutu and Harry Belafonte, alongside Queen Street West regulars The Parachute Club and Leroy  
Sibbles. The event took place on 1 June 1986 at Toronto's Massey Hall. See, Tom Hawthorn, 'Afroheat  
takes audience on trip around the globe', *Fanfare, Globe and Mail*, (2 June 1986), C12.

174 In 2006, human rights groups gave Jamaica the dubious distinction of being the most homophobic place on  
earth. See, Tim Padgett, 'The Most Homophobic Place on Earth?', *Time World*, (12 April 2006).  
www.time.com

175 See, Henderson, *Making the Scene*.

176 Nicholas Jennings, 'Liner Notes', *Various Artists, QSW: The Rebel Zone*, (Columbia: CK 80698, 2001).  
Mohjah had, like Sibbles, wielded a powerful influence on the trajectory of many Queen Street West bands,  
and was also a member of Big Sugar with Gordie Johnson and stalwart reggae bassist Gary Lowe. Liam  
Lacey, 'Review of Compass', *The Globe and Mail*, (October 1983); Walker, *Dubwise*, 173.

177 Peter Goddard, 'Nightbeat', *Performance: Canada's Leading Theatre Magazine*, (Toronto: 6-12 May  
1985), 29-30, 33.

178 Catherine O'Hara, as quoted in Richard O'Brien and Patti Habib, *The Bamboo Cooks: Recipes from the  
Legendary Nightclub*, (Toronto: Random House of Canada Limited, 1997), 9.

179 Liam Lacey, 'Good news, music from Queen Street', *Globe and Mail*, (14 February 1984), 22.

180 Mary Margaret O'Hara is sister to famous Canadian actress and comedienne Catherine O'Hara. Their  
brother Marcus O'Hara was a partner with Richard O'Brien in the warehouse salon known as The Dream  
Factory, before the latter opened the Bamboo in 1983. O'Brien and Habib, *The Bamboo Cooks*, 10.

181 Lacey, 'Good news', 22.

182 'Entertainment Guide', *Toronto Star*, (9 February 1984), 118. Though it was used by reggae musicians in  
Jamaica and around the world, lovers rock's reggae beat has its origins in England. From the late 1970s and  
onwards, lovers rock is mostly used in songs associated with romantic themes.

183 The Valentine's Day show was one of Sibbles' first performances at the club which had only been open for  
six months. Sibbles became *the* marquee act at the Bamboo in its early years.

184 See, Brian Osborne, 'From Patriotic Pines to Diasporic Geese: Emplacing Culture, Setting Our Sights,  
Locating Identity in a Transnational Canada', *Canadian Journal of Communication*, 31, 1, (2006); Opp and  
Walsh, *Placing Memory and Remembering Place in Canada*, 6.

185 Memories collectively gleaned from the following interviews: 'Interview with Rupert "Ojiji" Harvey';  
'Interview with Leroy Sibbles'; 'Interview with Mike Smith'; 'Interview with Andru Branch'; 'Interview  
with Natasha Emery'; 'Interview with Patti Habib', (Toronto: 28 February 2011); 'Interview with Fergus

Hambleton'; 'Interview with Isax Injah'; 'Interview with David Kingston'; 'Interview with Errol Nazareth',  
(Toronto: 6 January 2011); 'Interview with Brian Robertson'.  
186 Ibid.  
187 'Interview with Rupert "Ojiji" Harvey'; 'Interview with Leroy Sibbles'; 'Interview with Mike Smith';  
'Interview with Andru Branch'; 'Interview with Natasha Emery'; 'Interview with Patti Habib'; 'Interview  
with Fergus Hambleton'; 'Interview with Isax Injah'; 'Interview with David Kingston'; 'Interview with  
Errol Nazareth'; 'Interview with Brian Robertson'.  
188 For a similar discussion involving Aboriginal voices and glaciers, see Cruikshank, *Do Glaciers Listen?*;  
Opp and Walsh, *Placing Memory and Remembering Place in Canada*, 7.  
189 For further discussion on personal and localized meanings, see, Creates, *Places of Presence*; Steven High  
and David W. Lewis, *Corporate Wasteland: The Landscape and Memory of Deindustrialization*, (Toronto:  
Between the Lines, 2007); Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History*,  
(Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995); Opp and Walsh, *Placing Memory and Remembering Place in Canada*.  
190 'Interview with Leroy Sibbles'.  
191 Ibid.  
192 Leroy Sibbles, *On Top*, (Micron: MICCAN-0052, 1983).  
193 Mark Miller, 'Sibbles' music spare, elegant', *Globe and Mail*, (22 December 1983), E5.  
194 In 2001, over seventy percent of the country's total Jamaican population lived in Toronto. See, Lindsay,  
*Profiles of Ethnic Communities in Canada*.  
195 'Interview with Rupert "Ojiji" Harvey'; 'Interview with Fergus Hambleton'; 'Interview with Nicholas  
Jennings', (Toronto: 17 January 2011).  
196 Gregory Issacs, Dennis Brown and Sugar Minott (more than once), were all infamous 'no-shows' of the  
1980s era.  
197 See, *inter alia*, 'Interview with Mike Smith'; 'Interview with Fergus Hambleton'; 'Interview with David  
Kingston'; 'Interview with Brian Robertson'.  
198 'TTC's all-night Yonge St. bus terrorized by drunks and goons', *Toronto Star*, (28 November 1988), A4.  
See also, 'All-night dance ends in violence', *Toronto Star*, (4 August 1987), A2.  
199 As told to David Kingston. See, 'Interview with David Kingston'. A similar process occurred in  
Yorkville during the 1960s. See, Henderson, *Making the Scene*.  
200 Aswad, UB40, Steel Pulse and Maxi Priest have all enjoyed successful *international* careers.  
201 Bissoondath, *Selling Illusions, passim*.  
202 'Interview with Rupert "Ojiji" Harvey'; 'Interview with Fergus Hambleton'.  
203 Leroy Sibbles, as quoted in Carter Van Pelt, 'Interview with Leroy Sibbles', (c.2010).  
204 'Interview with Leroy Sibbles'.

## VI WORDS OF OUR MOUTH: BUILDING THE BRIDGES

1 Nathan Cowen quoting Dr. Hilda Neatby in CBC, *Fighting Words*, (Toronto: 12 November 1957).  
2 'Interview with Andru Branch'.  
3 'Interview with Sam Weller', (Toronto: 29 July and 5 August 2010).  
4 Augustus Pablo, *King Tubby Meets Rockers Uptown*, (Shanachie: SH 1007, 1987). See, 'Interview with  
Jesse King'.  
5 Hambleton and McGillivray had worked together previously on the former's solo work. 'Interview with  
Bruce McGillivray', (Toronto: 19 August 2011).  
6 Fergus Hambleton, as quoted in Jamie Kastner, 'The Grand Ambassadors of Reggae Music in Canada: The  
Sattalites', *Canadian Musician*, 18, 3, (June 1996), 45.  
7 'Interview with Greg Lawson', (Toronto: 7 February 2011).  
8 'Interview with David Kingston'.  
9 'Interview with Fergus Hambleton'.  
10 'Interview with Mark Matthews', (Toronto: 12 January 2011).  
11 'Interview with Errol Nazareth'.  
12 'Interview with Nicholas Jennings'.  
13 'Interview with Jeffrey Holdip'.  
14 Ibid. Jeffrey's dad was a DJ at Toronto's UNIA Hall (Marcus Garvey Hall) in the 1950s.

15 Ibid.  
16 'Interview with Tomaz Jardim'.  
17 Jericho consisted of Andru Branch and future Tabarruk members Mike Taylor as well as this author. Ibid.  
18 The London-born Tomaz can today meet an older Afro-Jamaican market lady and be reminded of his  
mother and his grandmother from a time that pre-dated Jamaican independence. Some of Tomaz' Jamaican  
family members are among those examined in Peta Gay Jensen's work on colonial families in Jamaica. See,  
Jensen, *The Last Colonials*; 'Interview with Tomaz Jardim'.  
19 Prince Buster as quoted in BBC Four, *Reggae Britannia*.  
20 For further discussion, see, Henderson, *Making the Scene*.  
21 Hebdige, *Cut 'n' Mix*, 93.  
22 Desmond Dekker, 'Israelites', (Green Light: GLS 411, 1969).  
23 BBC Four, *Reggae Britannia*.  
24 Heathcott, 'Urban Spaces and Working-Class Expressions', 193.  
25 Ibid., 184.  
26 Walker, *Dubwise*, 25.  
27 'Interview with Brian Robertson'.  
28 'Interview with Adrian Miller'.  
29 'Interview with JuLion King'.  
30 'Interview with Mark Matthews'.  
31 'Interview with Adrian Miller'.  
32 BBC Four, *Reggae Britannia*; 'Interview with Brinsley Forde', (Coventry: 8 November 2010); 'Interview  
with Michael Virtue', (Coventry: 8 November 2010); 'Interview with Adrian Miller'.  
33 Goldman, *The Book of Exodus*, 67.  
34 Don Letts as quoted in Ibid., 58-9.  
35 Walker, *Dubwise*, 43.  
36 'Interview with Tomaz Jardim'.  
37 Ibid.  
38 Ibid. Jardim also has fifty plus audio interviews that Marley gave.  
39 'Interview with Sebastian Cook', (Toronto: 11 February 2011).  
40 Bob played Toronto on 1 November 1979. 'Interview with Jeffrey Holdip'.  
41 'Interview with Klive Walker'.  
42 Ibid.  
43 Goldman, *The Book of Exodus*, 175.  
44 One thinks of The Slits, the mostly all-girl punk outfit, whose debut album *Cut* was produced by  
Dennis Bovell from the pioneer UK reggae group Matumbi. The Slits also recorded a version of 'Man Next  
Door', a song written by Jamaican lovers rock stalwart John Holt. Generation X with Billy Idol and Tony  
James also borrowed heavily from reggae's dub aesthetic for that band's early recordings. See, The Slits,  
*Cut*, (Island Records: 200 874-320, 1979); The Slits, 'Man Next Door', (Y Records; Rough Trade: Y 4, RT  
044 UK, 1980); Generation X, *Generation X*, (Chrysalis: PV 41169, 1978).  
45 Lee "Scratch" Perry as quoted in Goldman, *The Book of Exodus*, 185.  
46 Vivien Goldman, 'Interview with Bob Marley', *Sounds*, (London: 3 September 1977); Goldman, *The Book  
of Exodus*, 186-7.  
47 Paul Simonon as quoted in Goldman, *The Book of Exodus*, 187-8.  
48 Goldman, 'Interview with Bob Marley'; Goldman, *The Book of Exodus*, 186-7.  
49 Aswad, 'Concrete Slaveship', *Aswad*, (Island Records: ILPS 9399, 1976); The Clash, 'London's Burning',  
*The Clash*, (CBS: S CBS 82000, 1977).  
50 From Marley's 'Punky Reggae Party', see, Bob Marley and the Wailers, 'Jamming', b/w 'Punky Reggae  
Party', (Island Records: 109 072, 1977). Hebdige, *Cut 'n' Mix*, 96.  
51 The Clash, 'White Man in Hammersmith Palais', (CBS: S CBS 6383, 1978).  
52 Bob Marley and the Wailers, 'Jamming', b/w 'Punky Reggae Party', (Island Records: 109 072, 1977).  
53 The Clash, 'Guns of Brixton', written by Paul Simonon, *London Calling*, (Epic: E2 36328, 1979).  
54 Interestingly, 'Guns of Brixton' was one of the few Clash songs that was written entirely by bassist Paul  
Simonon. Simonon, who as a white kid was in the minority when he attended school in London's Brixton  
area, explained that reggae for him and his other white friends 'became our music, so to speak, because I

suppose the lyrics and sentiment, was sort of like, well it was to do with the rebel stance which we all associated with.' See, Paul Simonon as quoted in BBC Four, *Reggae Britannia*.  
55 Tom Terrell, 'Liner Notes', Linton Kwesi Johnson, *Independant Intavenshan: The Island Anthology*, (Island Records: 524 575-2, 1998), 8.

56 For further discussion, see, Martin Walker, *The National Front*. (Glasgow: Fontana Collins, (1977) 1978).  
57 Walker, *Dubwise*, 189.

58 Spencer, 'Reggae: the sound that revolutionised Britain'.  
59 For a good overview of the evolution of the original Rock Against Racism movement in Britain, see, Ian Goodyear, 'Rock Against Racism: Multiculturalism and Political Mobilization, 1976-81', *Immigrants and Minorities*, 22, 1, (March 2003), 44-62. Another excellent examination of RAR can be found in, David Widgery, *Beating Time*, (London: Pluto, 1986).  
60 Walker, *Dubwise*, 190.

61 Paul Gilroy praised the RAR movement for its anti-racist stance but warned that the movement may have superficially equated 'anti-racism' with black liberation. See, Gilroy, *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack*.  
62 For further discussion on Toronto's KKK Chapter, see, Julian Sher, *White Hoods: Canada's Ku Klux Klan*, (Vancouver: New Star Books, 1983); Ciaran, O Maolain, *The Radical Right: A World Directory*, (Burnt Mill, Harlow, Essex: Longman, 1987), 47.

63 'Interview with Nicholas Jennings'.  
64 Ibid.  
65 *Rebel Music*, 1, (June 1981) and *Rebel Music*, 2, (September 1982), newsletters from the private collection of Nicholas Jennings.  
66 'Interview with Nicholas Jennings'.  
67 Ibid.  
68 Ibid.

69 The Clash, 'Armageddon Time', *Black Market Clash*, (Epic: WPE38540, 1980). 'Jah Punk' was a term coined by Vivien Goldman in the late 1970s in Britain, see, Goldman, *The Book of Exodus*, 185.  
70 'Interview with Willi Williams'.  
71 'Interview with Adrian Miller'.  
72 R. Zee Jackson in interview with James Marck, as cited in Nancy Gyokeres, 'Jackson fights the reggae cause', *The Music Scene*, 335, (January-February 1984), 16.  
73 Hill, 'Backbeat for Jah Jah', 11.  
74 'Interview with Natasha Emery'.  
75 'Interview with Nicholas Jennings'.  
76 Spencer, 'Reggae: the sound that revolutionised Britain'.  
77 'Interview with Brian Robertson'.  
78 'Interview with Greg Lawson'.  
79 Ibid.

80 As Klive Walker attested: 'Buster's UK television appearance on the program *Ready Steady Go* was a defining moment for many young fans at the time.' See, Walker, *Dubwise*, 138.  
81 The English Beat, *I Just Can't Stop It*, (Go-Foot Records: BEAT 1, BEAT 001, 1980).  
82 The Specials, 'Rudie', *The Specials*, (2-Tone Records: CDL 1265, 1979).  
83 Jones, *Black Culture, White Youth*, 105, 128.  
84 At their most uncharitable, music critics have called UB40 'cod-reggae', referring to the music being bland and, crucially, white (despite the band's two and a half Jamaicans and Arab member). See, Larkin, *The Guinness Who's Who of Reggae*, 277-78.  
85 Jones, *Black Culture, White Youth*, 112.  
86 Jones believed the same was true in the case of Britain's inner-cities, see, Ibid., 104-5.  
87 Ibid., 141.  
88 'Interview with Greg Lawson'.  
89 'Interview with Mark Matthews'.  
90 'Interview with Jesse King'.  
91 'Interview with Jeffrey Holdip'.  
92 'Interview with Todd Britton', (Guelph: 8 January 2011).  
93 'Interview with Errol Nazareth'.

---

94 Ibid.  
95 Amérimage Spectra Co-Production/Soapbox Productions, *This Beat Goes On*.  
96 'Interview with David Kingston'.  
97 'Interview with Tomaz Jardim'.  
98 Robert Martin, 'Wailers get them dancing in the aisles', *Globe and Mail*, (9 June 1975), 14.  
99 Ibid.  
100 For example, see, 'Rastafarians called most violent crime group in New York', *Globe and Mail*, 3; 'U.S. report says sect uses marijuana as an aphrodisiac', *Globe and Mail*, 3; 'Followers called walking time bombs, lawyer says', *Globe and Mail*, 3; 'Religion's members are basically anarchists', *Globe and Mail*, 3; 'Reggae records the beliefs of the rudies and Rastas', *Globe and Mail*, 3; 'Cultists believed Selassie would take them back to Ethiopia', *Globe and Mail*, 3; 'Church says troublemakers can't be Brethren', *Globe and Mail*, 3.  
101 Steckles, 'Carlene Davis could make break for reggae', F3.  
102 Ibid.  
103 'Best of the Century', *Time Magazine*, (31 December 1999); Jane Robins, 'Yawns greet BBC millennium line-up', *The Independent*, (3 December 1999).  
104 'Interview with Fergus Hambleton'.  
105 Bob Marley and the Wailers, *Natty Dread*, (Tuff Gong: 422-846 204-1, 1974).  
106 See, for example, Steely Dan, 'Haitian Divorce', (ABC Records: ABC 4152, 1976).  
107 'Interview with Paul Corby', (Toronto: 26 January 2011).  
108 'Interview with David Fowler', (Toronto: 22 September 2010). Marley played the University's Centre Sportif on May 4 1976 during his *Rastaman Vibration* tour.  
109 'Interview with Todd Britton'.  
110 Jekyll, *Jamaican Song and Story*, 6.  
111 'Interview with Sam Weller'.  
112 Jeffrey later heard Marley's 'Jamming' on Q107 in grade ten. After school, he went straight to Sam the Record Man and bought Marley's live album *Babylon by Bus*. See, 'Interview with Jeffrey Holdip'.  
113 'Interview with Andru Branch'.  
114 'Interview with Isax Injah'.  
115 Ibid.  
116 'Interview with Fergus Hambleton'.  
117 Paul McGrath, 'NORML's reggae rally serves joint purpose', *Globe and Mail*, (26 July 1979).  
118 'Interview with Natasha Emery'.  
119 Fowler had spent the summer of love in San Francisco and then moved to Montreal with the band that helped to bring the psychedelic phase to Eastern Canada. While he had voted for the Partis Quebecois, Fowler, like many other Anglophones living in Quebec was motivated to leave due to the contentious politics in that province in the 1970s. Fowler moved to Toronto in 1978 at the age of 28. 'Interview with David Fowler'.  
120 Ibid.  
121 Ibid.  
122 'Interview with Sebastian Cook'.  
123 'Interview with JuLion King'.  
124 Ibid.  
125 'Interview with Wayne Hanson'.  
126 'Interview with JuLion King'.  
127 'Interview with Jeffrey Holdip'.  
128 Ibid.  
129 'Interview with Tomaz Jardim'.  
130 Ibid.  
131 'Interview with Greg Lawson'.  
132 Ibid.  
133 Ibid.  
134 'Interview with Paul Corby'.  
135 Ibid.  
136 Ibid.



137 'Interview with Natasha Emery'.  
138 Ibid.  
139 Ibid.  
140 'Interview with Isax Injah'.  
141 Ibid.

## VII ACCEPTABLE IN THY SIGHT: BLACKNESS, WHITENESS AND REGGAE

<sup>1</sup> Todd Fraley, 'I Got a Natural Skill...: Hip-Hop, Authenticity, and Whiteness', *The Howard Journal of Communications*, 20, (2009), 37-8.

<sup>2</sup> See, Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Witness author William Perkins' endorsement of white rapper MC Serch, who was given approval for not 'trying to be Black.' Similarly, California's DJ Shadow was regarded by cultural critic Donnell Alexander as 'one of the most naturally flowing and expansive DJ's in the world.' See, William E. Perkins, 'The Rap Attack: An Introduction', William E. Perkins (ed.), *Droppin' Science: Critical Essays of Rap Music and Hip Hop Culture*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996), 36.

<sup>4</sup> The remainder was 1 percent white and 2 percent Asian. See, Stephens, *On Racial Frontiers*, 167-8; Scott Gurtman, 'The Influence of Bob Marley's Absent, White Father', (Burlington: University of Vermont, Essays from the University of Vermont Class, Rhetoric of Reggae Music, 2002), 3.

<sup>5</sup> Stephen Davis, *Bob Marley*, (London: Plexus, [1985] 1993); Goldman, *The Book of Exodus*, 30.

<sup>6</sup> Stephens, *On Racial Frontiers*, 169.

<sup>7</sup> Walker, *Dubwise*, 45.

<sup>8</sup> Davis, *Bob Marley*.

<sup>9</sup> For further discussion on Marley's father, see, Gurtman, 'The Influence of Bob Marley's Absent, White Father'.

<sup>10</sup> For an excellent overview of how Marley's 'whiteness' affected his 'blackness', see, Grant, *I & I The Natural Mystics*, 40-8.

<sup>11</sup> Stephens, *On Racial Frontiers*, 149.

<sup>12</sup> While it might not approximate hard science, this author took a survey of approximately fourteen websites boasting the 'Top 100' reggae songs of all-time. I found that between 65-72 percent of the songs listed did not have Rasta-related themes. And approximately a little less than half of the artists were not Rasta (notwithstanding the trouble of those artists who might be 'weekend Rastas': Rastafarian in name/appearance only). The results that emerged out of the University of the West Indies in Mona Jamaica were perhaps more compelling. In 2009, the university conducted a symposium that was centred on locating the top 100 Jamaican songs of the previous fifty years. The definitions allowed for, as former Jamaican Finance and Planning Minister Dr. Omar Davies explained, 'any Jamaican genre of music recorded or produced whether in Jamaica or overseas – between 1957 and 2007.' And to qualify, the artist(s) 'must either be Jamaican born, a naturalised Jamaican or first generation Jamaican born elsewhere.' Both original and, given their importance to Jamaican music, cover songs were allowed. The panel was headed by Davies and included co-author of *Reggae Routes*, Wayne Chen; Jamaican musicologist Vaughn "Bunny" Goodison; broadcaster Francois St. Juste; journalist Basil Walters; and a variety of key Jamaican musicians including Fab Five bandleader Frankie Campbell, Boris Gardiner, Dean Fraser and Sly Dunbar (all of whom this author has had the privilege to perform with). The results for the top twenty are as follows:

1. One Love/People Get Ready (Bob Marley and the Wailers)
2. Oh Carolina (The Folkes Brothers)
3. 54-46 (The Maytals)
4. Got To Go Back Home (Bob Andy)
5. My Boy Lollipop (Millie Small)
6. Many Rivers to Cross (Jimmy Cliff)
7. Israelites (Desmond Dekker and the Aces)
8. Cherry Oh Baby (Eric Donaldson)
9. Simmer Down (The Wailers)
10. Carry Go Bring Come (Justin Hinds and the Dominoes)
11. The Harder They Come (Jimmy Cliff)

- 
12. No Woman No Cry (Bob Marley and The Wailers)
  13. Rivers of Babylon (The Melodians)
  14. Redemption Song (Bob Marley and the Wailers)
  15. Easy Snappin' (Theophilus Beckford)
  16. Girl I've Got a Date (Alton Ellis)
  17. Satta Massagana (The Abyssnians)
  18. Everything I Own (Ken Boothe)
  19. Eastern Standard Time (Don Drummond)
  20. Wear You To The Ball (U-Roy)

Of the panel's top twenty songs, then, only seven songs could be considered obviously Rasta-themed, and a little less than half of the artists were Rastas (for those who are counting, I've included the mento group the Folkes Brothers as Rasta – given the importance of Count Ossie's involvement – and Toots as not Rasta; which he wasn't when he recorded 54-46). At the risk of sounding trite, I must once again stress that some, and maybe even most of the best reggae is Rasta-reggae and the best reggae artists may very well be Rastas, I've only tried to highlight that while much of Jamaican reggae is oppositional, it is not *all* Rasta. Crucially, eleven of the top twenty songs – so deemed by a panel of Jamaican music experts – were recorded by artists who, at least at the time of the recording, did *not* have dreadlocks. See, Mel Cooke, "One Love/People Get Ready' heads Jamaican top 100: Criticism, congrats after list revealed at UWI", *The Gleaner*, (20 April 2009), cover story. For a sample of websites listing 'Top 100 Jamaican songs of all-time', visit: [www.digitaldreamdoor.com](http://www.digitaldreamdoor.com); <http://dj-funktual.hubpages.com>; [www.squidoo.com](http://www.squidoo.com); [www.musicianwages.com](http://www.musicianwages.com).

13 Marley himself was not immune from some who believed that he had sold out to gain a wider appeal. As Alleyne observed:

The commercially motivated dilution of a core element is alarming at the very least, and raises serious questions regarding authenticity and integrity... Later Marley albums and, indeed, posthumous releases provide further evidence of this damaging trend.

It is, however, a bit rich to think that 'Rastaman Chant', 'Zimbabwe', 'Africa Unite', 'Babylon System', or 'Talkin' Blues' with the lyric: 'I'm a gonna take a just one step more, 'cause I feel like bombin' a church, now that you know that the preacher is lyin', was all part of some damaging trend that compromised reggae's oppositional text. Now, 'What's New Pussycat', on the other hand, seems far more dangerous. See, Alleyne, 'White Reggae', 19-20. See also, Mike Alleyne, 'Resistance and Subversion in Caribbean Popular Music', *The Griot*, 16, 1, (Spring 1997), 58-64; Bob Marley and the Wailers, 'Talkin' Blues', *Natty Dread*, (Tuff Gong: 422-846 204-1, 1974). For an example of Rasta reggae's authenticity, see, Verena Reckford, 'Reggae, Rastafarianism, and Cultural Identity', 3.

14 Alleyne, for example, believed that because of Marley's success, the major label careers of later reggae acts like Steel Pulse, Aswad and Third World 'suffered' from the Marley-aesthetic and were made to 'conform' to it. Having had the privilege of working with Aswad's Brinsley Forde for years, it's hard to imagine him 'conforming' to any preconceived notion of what and how his art was going to emerge.

15 'Interview with Brinsley Forde'.

16 Forde addressed the quality of his and others' work as it applied to Marley's production sensibilities:

Bob said 'I and I are the roots'. Break it down: the roots give sustenance to the tree with leaves and branches which in its turn bears fruit which bears seed to start the whole process. See the high-end production spread that seed so far around the world; that the reggae influence can be found present in all genres of music past or present.

See, 'Interview with Brinsley Forde'.

17 'Interview with Ali Campbell', (Cleveland: 8 April 2006; Montreal: 10 April 2006; Toronto: 11 April 2006).

18 For Dave Thompson, UB40's version of 'I Got You Babe' was 'truly, truly ghastly.' L.J. McCarthy's flawed and awkwardly titled thesis compared 'I Got You Babe' to what the self-confessed 'dabbler' in reggae music (McCarthy) considered more 'authentic' songs in an attempt to categorically dismiss UB40 as

a 'real' reggae band. Thompson and McCarthy may have missed the send-up that was intended. To be fair to them, the video for the song that featured a caricature of Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Regan embraced in a romantic dance was banned by the BBC. See, L.J. McCarthy, 'The Significance of Corporeal Factors and Choreographic Rhythms in Jamaican Popular Music Between 1957-1981 (Ska, Rocksteady, Reggae), With an Historical and Critical Survey of all Relevant Literature Dealing with Jamaican Folk, Religious and Popular Musics and Dance', PhD Dissertation, (Toronto: York University, Canada, 2007); Dave Thompson, *Wheels out of Gear: 2-Tone, The Specials and a World in Flame*, (London: Soundcheck Books, 2004), 203-4.

19 As Dave Thompson rightly observed, 'UB40 aren't simply established as the most successful reggae act outside of Bob Marley, they are also among the most successful bands in British chart history.' See, Thompson, *Wheels out of Gear*, 203.

20 In what was otherwise an exceptional journalistic history of reggae, Lloyd Bradley did not mention UB40 (though ample space was afforded to other exclusively black British reggae bands like Aswad, Black Slate, Matumbi and Steel Pulse). One of the 'choice quotes' used on the back cover to endorse the book was a review from *Mojo* magazine that declared: 'And if UB40 get a mention, I missed it. Isn't that recommendation enough for you?' A key exception in this pattern of exclusion when it comes to UB40 can be found in Colin Larkin's work, where he explains that some critics have called UB40 'cod-reggae'. See, Bradley, *Bass Culture*, back cover; Larkin, *The Guinness Who's Who of Reggae*, 278.

21 Lord Creator is one example. In the copyright-free era of Jamaican music, musicians like Kentrick Patrick (*aka* Lord Creator) made a paltry £10 a song from Jamaican producers but received no further royalties. This was even the case for those tracks that had been significant hits, such as his 'Kingston Town'. By the early 1990s, Patrick was in a very poor way. Suffering from a stroke and on a Jamaican hospital bed not knowing how he was going to pay for his medical bills, Lord Creator was saved by UB40's version of 'Kingston Town' (a single which sold 581,000 units in France alone). As Patrick himself attested, 'I have five and half acres of land and live in a big mansion and can buy anything I want. I'm thankful.' Lord Creator as quoted on BBC Television, '*I Love Jamaica*' (London: 2002). See also, Claude Mills, 'Lord Creator has a passion for ballads', *The Sunday Gleaner*, (12 April 1998). E3; Lord Creator as quoted on BBC Television, '*I Love Jamaica*'.

22 Ranking Miss P and Don Letts as quoted on BBC Television, '*I Love Jamaica*'.

23 'An era dies with Isaacs', *The Gleaner*, (14 November 2010). See also, UB40, *Labour Of Love IV*, (Virgin: CDV3072, 2010); UB40, *Labour Of Love III*, (DEP International: DEP CD 18; Virgin: 7243 8 46469 2 9, 1998); UB40, *Labour Of Love II*, (DEP International: DEPCD 14, 1989); UB40, *Labour Of Love*, (DEP International: DEP 5, 1983).

24 UB40, *The Fathers of Reggae*, (DEP International: DEPCD20; Virgin: 7243 8 12675 2 3, 2002).

25 See, Walker, *Dubwise*, 197.

26 Ibid.

27 Lloyd Bradley has since been more inclusive of UB40 and had high praise for the rerelease of the band's debut album *Signing Off*:

But pride of place must go to 12 minutes of Madam Medusa, the witty, wickedly perceptive verbal caricature of Margaret Thatcher and her rise to power, which issues a stark warning of what she might be capable of. It was the sharpest summing up of the Iron Lady outside of the satirical puppet show of the times.

Similarly, *Mojo* magazine's 4-star review of the rerelease struck a more charitable tone:

'[*Signing Off*] is flinty, political and Britain-focused reggae.'

Likewise, *Record Collector* magazine said of UB40's debut album that it 'remains one of the most articulate and important political statements in British popular music.' UB40 drummer James Brown confessed his annoyance at the British press' regular perception of the band in the wake of these positive reviews:

The press have been unusually kind to us. The reviews for the re-release of *Signing Off* have been a pleasure to read. Although the perception of the band in the press can be annoying. The narrative

---

they seem to follow is - The band were radical at the beginning of their careers. Our sound was unique, and our lyrics were radical. And, despite that, we were also hugely popular [70 -odd weeks in chart top 50]. Then, we started doing MOR cover versions with LOL and red red wine. We became even more hugely popular but turned our back on our roots and never made another political song, or played anything with any musical depth. What they are really saying is, after labour of love, they stopped listening to our records. So, to them, none of those records existed. The fact is we have made 26 studio albums over the years, plus live recording and endless compilations. Of those 26 albums 4 have been cover versions [LOL]. The other 22 are comprised of mostly our own compositions, with a few cover versions scattered around. Of our own compositions about 50% are political songs. But I suppose the reality is a bit complicated when your [sic] looking for a pithy soundbite for your review. It's lazy journalism [the type of journalists that use wikipedia as a main source of research]. But that's the way it is.

See, Lloyd Bradley, '30th anniversary edition of the group's great debut album', *BBC Review*, (9 November 2010); Ian Harrison, 'Review of UB40, *Signing Off: Collector's Edition*', *Mojo*, 204, (November 2010), 121; Terry Staunton, 'Thirtieth anniversary edition of a conscientious classic: UB40, *Signing Off, Record Collector*, 382, (December 2010), 90; James Brown, 'Signing Off and the press', *ub40.co.uk*, (6 November 2010).

28 That is to say, that a pint glass was broken on his face. See, 'Interview with Ali Campbell'.

29 'Interview with Michael Virtue'.

30 Ibid.

31 UB40, *Who You Fighting For?*, (DEP International: DEP CD 23, 2005); UB40, *Cover Up*, (DEP International: DEPDJ56, 2002); UB40, *Guns in the Ghetto*, (DEP International: DEPCD16; Virgin: 7243 8 44402 2 0, 1997).

32 Giroux and Fraley are among these scholars. They are, however, at odds in one respect. Giroux sees the evolution of the construct of whiteness 'as part of a broader project of cultural, social, and political citizenship', whereas Fraley warned that some strategies that white MCs employ 'continue to essentialize and partition racial identities.' See, Henry Giroux, 'Rewriting the Discourse of Racial Identity: Towards a Pedagogy and Politics of Whiteness', *Harvard Education Review*, 67, (1997), 285-320; Fraley, 'I Got a Natural Skill', 49.

33 For further discussions on the intersection between socially constructed notions of race as applied to identity, culture and politics, see, Murray Forman, 'Represent: Race Space and Place in Rap Music', *Popular Music*, 19, 1, (2000), 65-90; Ronald L. Jackson, *Scripting the Black Masculine Body: Identity, Discourse, and Racial Politics in Popular Media*, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006); Perkins, 'The Rap Attack', 1-45; Tricia Rose, *Black Noise: Rap Music and Black Culture in Contemporary America*, (London: Wesleyan University Press, 1994); Robyn Wiegman, *American Anatomies: Theorizing Race and Gender*, (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995).

34 See, Fraley, 'I Got a Natural Skill', 39. Bakari Kitwana called this: 'the new politics of race'. See, Bakari Kitwana, *Why White Kids Love Hip Hop: Wankstas, Wiggers, Wannabes, and the New Realities of Race in America*, (New York: Basic Civitas Books, 2005); Giroux, 'Rewriting the Discourse of Racial Identity', 288. See, Fraley, 'I Got a Natural Skill', 50. As John L. Jackson has rightly observed: 'Contemporary society is preoccupied with racial identity.' See, John L. Jackson, *Real Black: Adventures in Racial Sincerity*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 9.

36 This discourse, however, has its critics. In his work, Tavia Nyong'o posited that the very idea of the 'hybrid' has received favourable treatments by scholars who have couched their arguments in terms of hope and promise for a raceless future. Tavia Nyong'o, *The Amalgamation Waltz: Race, Performance, and the Ruses of Memory*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009).

37 Jeff Chang, 'Overpowered by Funk', *San Francisco Bay Guardian*, (1 January 2003). For the most compelling of the various Clash biographies, see, Pat Gilbert, *Passion is a Fashion: The Real Story of the Clash*, (London: Aurum Press Ltd., 2004); Chris Saleqicz, *Redemption Song: The Ballad of Joe Strummer*, (New York: Faber and Faber Inc., (2006) 2007).

38 Duncombe and Tremblay, *White Riot*, 155.

39 For further discussion on Knibb's role in the emancipation movement, see, Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Colony and Metropole in the English Imagination, 1830-1867*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

40 Chris' father Middleton Blackwell was an Irish-Jamaican whose family had made a fortune with Crosse and Blackwell canned foods. Blackwell's mother Blanche Lindo was a Costa Rican-born Sephardic Jew with Jamaican ancestry, and her family was similarly well invested with Appleton, makers of the island's famous rum. See, Walker, *Dubwise*, 182.

41 The novel also inspired Harry Belafonte's famous mento hit of the same name. See, Alec Waugh, *Island in the Sun: A Story of the 1950's Set in the West Indies*, (New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1955); Harry Belafonte, *Belafonte Sings of the Caribbean*, (RCA Victor: LPM1505, 1957); Brian Southall, *The A-Z of Record Labels*, (London: Sanctuary Publishing, 2000).

42 Walker, *Dubwise*, 182.

43 It was, after all, Blackwell who envisioned reggae's possibilities in the international market, and whose savvy marketing of the Wailers was able to realize that dream and introduce many black Jamaican artists to the world.

44 Winston Rodney (*aka* Burning Spear), 'Wisdom to do What is Right', *The Burning Spear Blog* (23 August 2009).

45 Terrell, 'Liner Notes', Linton Kwesi Johnson, *Independant Intavenshan*, 14-5.

46 Sheridan, *Bob Marley: Soul Rebel*.

47 Prince Buster, 'Wash All Your Troubles Away (Wash Wash)/Reco & His Blues Band, 'Soul of Africa', (Blue Beat: BB 200, 1963).

48 'Interview with Sebastian Cook'.

49 'Interview with Tomaz Jardim'.

50 Wiegman, *American Anatomies*, 8.

51 'Interview with Fergus Hambleton'.

52 James Ledbetter, 'Imitation of Life', Gail Dines and Jean M. Humez (*eds.*), *Gender, Race and Class in Media*, (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1995), 541.

53 'Interview with Isax Injah'.

54 Bissoondath, *Selling Illusions*, 170.

55 Chris Dafoe, 'UB40 redeems pop reggae', *Globe and Mail*, (16 August 1988), C11.

56 UB40 had no idea 'Red Red Wine' was a Neil Diamond song. They had believed the song to be written by reggae artist Tony Tribe, until Mr. Diamond's legal counsel were in touch with the band's management.

57 Liam Lacey, 'Watered-down reggae from popular UB40', *Globe and Mail*, (13 March 1985), M7.

58 James Marck, 'Sattalites don't ignite', *NOW*, 6, 42, (25 June-1 July 1987), 29.

59 James Marck, 'Ward shows white stuff', *NOW*, 6, 43, (2 July 1987), 27, 29.

60 Christopher Jones, 'Spence above crowd', *NOW*, 8, 17, (5-11 January 1989), 31.

61 Kim Hughes, 'Penguins' island groove', *NOW*, 7, 30, (7-13 April 1988), 21.

62 Helen Lee, 'Syren Sunday diverts burger bunch', *NOW*, 7, 47, (4 August 1988), 23.

63 'Interview with Rupert "Ojiji" Harvey'.

64 'Interview with Bruce McGillivray'.

65 'Interview with David Fowler'.

66 'Interview with Jesse King'.

67 *Ibid.*

68 'Interview with Isax Injah'.

69 'Interview with Paul Corby'.

70 Nicholas Jennings, 'You Want Dancehall? Sattalites Got It', *Eye*. (Toronto: 8 October 1992), 15.

71 'Interview with Sebastian Cook'.

72 'Interview with David Kingston'.

73 'Interview with Sam Weller'.

74 'Interview with Brian Robertson'.

75 'Interview with Errol Nazareth'.

76 'Interview with Nicholas Jennings'.

77 'Interview with Jesse King'.

78 'Interview with Isax Injah'.

79 'Interview with David Kingston'.

80 'Interview with Patti Habib'.

81 'Interview with Bruce McGillivray'.

82 'Interview with Nicholas Jennings'.

- 
- 83 'Interview with Jeffrey Holdip'.  
84 'Interview with David Matthews', (Brampton: 17 February 2011).  
85 'Interview with Denise Jones'.  
86 'Interview with Leo Cripps'.  
87 'Interview with Mike Smith'.  
88 'Interview with Willi Williams'.  
89 'Interview with Ranford Williams'.  
90 'Interview with Peter Holung'.  
91 'Interview with Sebastian Cook'.  
92 'Interview with Mark Matthews'.  
93 'Interview with JuLion King'.  
94 'Interview with Paul Corby'.  
95 'Interview with Adrian Miller'.  
96 'Interview with Dalton Higgins', (Toronto: 13 February 2011).  
97 'Interview with David Fowler'.  
98 'Interview with Mark Matthews'.  
99 'Interview with Carrie Mullings', (North York: 7 February 2011).  
100 In his time, Karl managed Hopeton Lewis, The Sheiks, The Fabulous Flames with Glen Ricketts, The  
Cougars with Jay Douglas, Ibadan, Culture Shock (with Whitey Don and Friendlyman). See, Interview with  
Carrie Mullings', (North York: 7 February 2011).  
101 'Interview with Errol Nazareth'.  
102 Neville Francis, as quoted in Kastner, 'The Grand Ambassadors of Reggae Music in Canada: The  
Sattalites', 45.  
103 'Interview with Isax Injah'.  
104 'Interview with David Fowler'.  
105 'Interview with Jeffrey Holdip'.  
106 'Interview with Nicholas Jennings'.  
107 'Interview with Natasha Emery'.  
108 'Interview with Isax Injah'.

### VIII MEDITATIONS OF OUR HEART: IN SEARCH OF THE CANADIAN SOUND

- 1 In his impressive work in the field of aural history, social historian Mark Smith identified the importance of  
'keynote' sounds that present historical actors with 'represented' and 'actual' sounds that help to shape a  
given subject's understanding of themselves and of the society in which they live. See, Mark Smith,  
'Echoes in Print: Method and Causation in Aural History', *Journal of the Historical Society* 2, 3-4, (2002),  
318; Lorenzkowski, *Sounds of Ethnicity*, 7.  
2 See, Chalawa, featuring Stranger Cole, The Callander Sisters, Johnny Osbourne and Collie Smith, *Capture  
Land*, (1979); Chalawa, *Exodus Dub*, (Micron Music Limited: MICCAN-0008, 1977).  
3 Dave Tulloch, 'If You Didn't See Them... You Missed a Great Show', *The Spectrum: Making Minorities  
Visible*, 4, 5, (Ottawa: 16 May 1987).  
4 Adrian Miller, as quoted in Amérimage Spectra Co-Production/Soapbox Productions, *Rise Up*.  
5 'Interview with Adrian Miller'.  
6 Greg Quill, 'Sattalites on the rise in the reggae scene', *The Toronto Star*, (15 May 1987), D10.  
7 The 20TH Century Rebels enjoyed a lot of airplay with their track 'Running from the FBI'; Messenjäh with  
'Jam Session' and the Sattalites with 'Gimme Some Kinda Sign' and 'Wild'.  
8 This is discounting Sibbles' 1982 A&M released *Evidence* album, which was *not*, even according to the  
man himself, strictly a reggae album as such. Dave Tollington at WEA was a huge reggae fan and was  
responsible for the signing of Messenjäh. See, 'Interview with Nicholas Jennings'.  
9 'Interview with Mark Matthews'.  
10 'Interview with Willi Williams'.  
11 'Interview with David Kingston'.  
12 'Interview with JuLion King'.  
13 'Interview with Carrie Mullings'.  
14 'Interview with Peter Holung'.

- 15 'Interview with Paul Corby'.  
 16 'Interview with Ranford Williams'.  
 17 'Interview with Denise Jones'.  
 18 'Interview with Mike Smith'.  
 19 'Interview with Carrie Mullings'.  
 20 'Interview with David Kingston'.  
 21 'Interview with Phil Vassell'.  
 22 'Interview with Dalton Higgins'.  
 23 'Interview with Jeffrey Holdip'.  
 24 'Interview with Natasha Emery'.  
 25 'Interview with Paul Corby'.  
 26 'Interview with JuLion King'.  
 27 'Interview with Klive Walker'.  
 28 'Interview with Rupert "Ojiji" Harvey'.  
 29 'Interview with Isax Injah'.  
 30 For further discussion, see, Walker, *Dubwise*.  
 31 'Interview with Adrian Miller'.  
 32 'Interview with Dalton Higgins'.  
 33 'Interview with Paul Corby'.  
 34 'Interview with Mike Smith'.  
 35 'Interview with Phil Vassell'.  
 36 Truths & Rights, 'Acid Rain', b/w 'Live Up', (Bucktu: BT-45-1001, 1980); Walker, *Dubwise*, 170-1.  
 37 Truth & Rights, 'Metro's No. 1 Problem', written by Vance Tynes and Terrence "Chico" Paul, (Rhythm Discs: RD-500, 1981).  
 38 'Interview with Rupert "Ojiji" Harvey'.  
 39 Ibid.  
 40 'Interview with Brian Robertson'.  
 41 Messenjah, *Jam Session*, (WEA: 25-04551, 1984.)  
 42 On Lillian Allen's second album, the dub poet chose to employ not only diasporic musicians like bassist Terry Lewis and hand drummer Quammie Williams, but also Parachute Club members Billy Briens, Laurie Conger and Dave Gray. Lillian Allen, *Conditions Critical*, (Redwood Records: RR8802, 1987); Walker, *Dubwise*, 24-5.  
 43 Lillian Allen, *Revolutionary Tea Party*, (Verse to Vinyl: VV101, 1986).  
 44 Walker articulated the approach that forward-thinking reggae historian and DJ Dermott Hussey undertook:
- Dermott said, look, if jazz people use reggae, if rock people use reggae, it's a compliment to us and what it shows is that the music is not going to get lost, it's not going to get co-opted, but it's going to become part of the language of music internationally and this is a good thing. And that was his lesson to me, that's all I needed.
- See, 'Interview with Klive Walker'.  
 45 'Interview with Ranford Williams'.  
 46 'Interview with Jeffrey Holdip'.  
 47 'Interview with Sunray Grennan'.  
 48 'Interview with Jeffrey Holdip'.  
 49 'Interview with Rupert "Ojiji" Harvey'.  
 50 See, Ibid. Apart from Reggae Sunsplash, Messenjah also played the National Stadium in Kingston.  
 51 'Interview with Bruce McGillivray'.  
 52 'Interview with Fergus Hambleton'.  
 53 'Interview with Natasha Emery'.  
 54 Gerald Reid, 'Sattalites Gives Performances in Local Debut', *The Weekend Star: The Entertainment Paper*, 37, 22, (Kingston, Jamaica: 29 May 1987).  
 55 John Keating, 'Rich Reggae/Pop Fare', *The Daily Gleaner*, (Kingston, Jamaica: 4 July 1985), 6.  
 56 Diskreet, Album Review: *Sattalites*, *Share*, (Toronto: 20 June 1985), 13.  
 57 Ibid.

58 Reid, 'Sattalites Gives Performances in Local Debut'.  
59 Tulloch, 'If You Didn't See Them... You Missed a Great Show'.  
60 'Interview with Rupert "Ojiji" Harvey'.  
61 'Interview with Bruce McGillivray'.  
62 Ibid.  
63 David Fowler, as quoted in Kastner, 'The Grand Ambassadors of Reggae Music in Canada: The Sattalites',  
45.  
64 'Interview with Sam Weller'.  
65 'Interview with Isax Injah'.  
66 'Interview with JuLion King'.  
67 'Interview with Denise Jones'.  
68 'Interview with Paul Corby'.  
69 Ibid.  
70 Liam Lacey, 'Rare Partnership Key to Sattalites' Success', *The Globe and Mail*, (17 August 1985),  
Entertainment 6.  
71 Fergus Hambleton, as quoted in Ibid.  
72 'Interview with David Kingston'.  
73 'Interview with Sebastian Cook'.  
74 'Interview with Mark Matthews'.  
75 'Interview with Errol Nazareth'.  
76 Sibbles had met Hambleton at a jam session with Bruce Cockburn. Hambleton had been signed to Capitol  
Records in the early 1970s and was also later a member of the new wave band the Basics, before co-  
founding the Sattalites with Bennett. See, Lacey, 'Rare Partnership Key to Sattalites' Success',  
Entertainment 6; Liam Lacey, 'American Band More of Brand X', *The Globe and Mail*, (21 November  
1983), 21.  
77 'Interview with Fergus Hambleton'.  
78 Ibid.  
79 Tulloch, 'If You Didn't See Them... You Missed a Great Show'.  
80 Neville Francis, as quoted in Sattalites, *Sattalites: Ten Years*, (Toronto: 1991), 4.  
81 'Interview with Wayne Hanson'.  
82 Kastner, 'The Grand Ambassadors of Reggae Music in Canada: The Sattalites', 46.  
83 Lacey, 'American Band More of Brand X', 21.  
84 Greg Quill, 'Big Reggae Hullabaloo Launches Debut Album', *The Toronto Star*, (14 May 1985), D12.  
85 Jo Jo Bennett, as quoted in Sattalites, *Sattalites: Ten Years*, 6.  
86 Jo Jo Bennett, as quoted in Reid, 'Sattalites Gives Performances in Local Debut'.  
87 Greg Hambleton also owned the publishing company Peer Music Canada that handled the Sattalites'  
material.  
88 Nicholas Jennings, 'Dance Tunes for Idealists', *Maclean's*, 98, 34, (26 August 1985).  
89 Liam Lacey, Album Review: *Sattalites*, *The Globe and Mail*, (20 June 1985), E5.  
90 James Marck, 'Sattalites' Strength', *NOW Magazine*, 4, 46, (Toronto: 25-31 July 1985).  
91 'Interview with Bruce McGillivray'.  
92 Liam Lacey, 'From Sex, Drugs and Rock 'n' Roll to Feeding the World', *The Globe and Mail*, (28  
December 1985), D9.  
93 Bob Thompson, 'Forum Swings to Sounds of Soul: Reggae Turns on the Heat', *The Toronto Sun*, (10 June,  
1987), 69.  
94 'Sattalites Beam Down a Beauty', *The Globe and Mail*, Entertainment Section, (9 April 1987).  
95 Quill, 'Sattalites on the rise in the reggae scene', D10.  
96 *National Campus Report*, 'Top 40 Albums for June 1987', 36, (June 1987).  
97 Elizabeth Renzetti, 'You Oughta Know: Morissette Sweeps Junos', *The Globe and Mail*, (11 March 1996),  
Section Cover Page; Peter Howell, 'Morissette Tweaks Twain Again', *The Toronto Star*, (11 March 1996),  
Section Cover Page.  
98 Christopher Jones, 'Satisfying Sattalites', *NOW Magazine*, (Toronto: 23-29 1989), 27.  
99 Betsy Powell, 'Reggae Band Fights for Survival', *The Toronto Star*. 10 April 1996.  
100 Messenjah, 'Could it be I'm Falling in Love', *Rock & Sway*, (Kick Up: KUCD-001, 1990).  
101 CBC News, 'Grammy board axes polka category to stay 'relevant and responsive'', (4 June 2009).



102 Davina Hamilton, 'Is Reggae Dying a Slow Death', *Voice-Online*, (1 October 2010).  
 103 David Rodigan, as quoted in Hamilton, 'Is Reggae Dying a Slow Death'.  
 104 Soloman, as quoted in Ibid.  
 105 'Interview with David Kingston'.  
 106 'Interview with Jesse King'.  
 107 'Interview with Tomaz Jardim'.  
 108 Ibid.  
 109 'Interview with JuLion King'.  
 110 David Young explored the dearth of Franco-phones, blacks and First Nation peoples at the Juno Awards: a ceremony designed to celebrate excellence in the Canadian recording industry. Within his 'Ethno-racial Minorities and the Juno Awards', Young targeted the Canadian Academy of Recording Arts and Sciences and its official policies and promotional campaigns which have, according to the author, strategically reduced the representation of minorities whilst securing an Anglophone cultural hegemony. While Young's argument may appear to some to be somewhat overly conspiratorial, I can attest that, having been twice nominated for a Juno in a 'black-music' category, the presentation of the Juno to the award winners in such categories are seldom televised; thus lessening the exposure of non-dominant genres to the largest audience. See, David Young, 'Ethno-racial Minorities and the Juno Awards', *The Canadian Journal of Sociology*, 31, 2, (2006).

111 Goddard, 'Olivia makes a play for T.O. reggae', F1.  
 112 Fergus Hambleton, as quoted in Lacey, 'Rare Partnership Key to Sattalites' Success', Entertainment 6.  
 113 Walker, *Dubwise*, 162.  
 114 WEA re-released Messenjah's *Rock You High* album in 1983 (the band originally released it independently a year prior), and also the *Jam Session* album in 1984. The Sattalites' third album *Miracles* was released on WEA's Risqué Disque label in 1990, while their fourth effort *All Over the World* came out on Intrepid/Capitol in 1993

115 Goddard, 'Olivia makes a play for T.O. reggae', F1.  
 116 Henry, *The Caribbean Diaspora in Toronto*.  
 117 'Interview with Carrie Mullings'.  
 118 'Interview with Sebastian Cook'.  
 119 This author crawled out of the concert hall one night when gunshots rang out on the second level of the Masonic Temple, just as Frankie Paul was about to take the stage.

120 'Interview with Adrian Miller'.  
 121 'Interview with Dalton Higgins'.  
 122 'Interview with Nicholas Jennings'.  
 123 For works that deal with this very Canadian 'theme', see, Vance, *A History of Canadian Culture*; Vipond, *The Mass Media in Canada*; Tippett, *Making Culture: English-Canadian Institutions and the Arts Before the Massey Commission*.  
 124 'Interview with Phil Vassell'.

## IX A STRANGE LAND: CONCLUSION

1 Norman Otis Richmond, 'Reggae: the heartbeat goes on', *Globe and Mail*, (21 September 1983), 17.  
 2 Alan Niester, 'Reggae's sun about to set', *Globe and Mail*, (4 April 1985), E4.  
 3 Duncombe and Tremblay, *White Riot*, 217.  
 4 'Interview with Willi Williams'.  
 5 Though for Goddard, Canadian reggae had 'less to do with revolution than recreation.' See, Goddard, 'Olivia makes a play for T.O. reggae', F1.  
 6 See, Hebdige, *Subculture*; Jones, *Black Culture, White Youth*.  
 7 The Specials, 'Ghost Town', (Two-Tone Records: CHS TT 1217, 1981). See also, Jones, *Black Culture, White Youth*, 110.  
 8 For further discussion, see, Hebdige, *Cut 'n' Mix*, 96.  
 9 Chips Richards as quoted in: Clarke, *Jah Music*, 151.  
 10 'Interview with Rupert "Ojiji" Harvey'.  
 11 'Interview with Bruce McGillivray'.  
 12 Big Sugar, 'Turn The Lights On', (A&M: AMCD032299, 1999).

---

13 Larkin, *The Guinness Who's Who of Reggae*, 256.  
14 Snow, *Informer*, (East/West/Warner: 1994).  
15 Witness the works of Michi Mee, Dream Warriors and Maestro Fresh Wes. See, Walker, *Dubwise*, 174-5.  
16 Ibid., 173.  
17 'Interview with Carrie Mullings'.  
18 Ibid.  
19 Ibid.

—  
1 **EPILOGUE**

See, Ted Boothroyd, 'Album Review: *The Peacemaker's Chauffeur*', *Beat*, 28, 1, (Los Angeles: 2009), 51-52; 'Jason Wilson', *Guelph Mercury*, (26 June 2009); Colin Irwin, 'Rebel Music: Dave Swarbrick, Jason Wilson and David Francey', *Penguin Eggs*, (Summer 2009), 22-24; Errol Nazareth, 'Tribute to late reggae great Mittoo', *Toronto Sun*, (14 March 2008); Nicholas Jennings, 'Album Review: *The Peacemaker's Chauffeur*', *Inside E Canada*, 7, 6, (Nov-Dec 2008), 108; Errol Nazareth, 'Songs of War and Peace: Jason Wilson', *Toronto Sun*, (3 October 2008), E5; Sebastian Cook, 'Jason Wilson', Performance Review, *The Live Music Report*, (25 September 2008); John Jason Wilson and Kevin Shea, *Lord Stanley: The Man Behind the Cup*, (Toronto: Fenn Publishing, 2006); John Jason Wilson, 'UB40's Got Plenty More', *Word Magazine*, (April 2006), 18; Greg Quill, 'Two Musical Icons, One Heartfelt Style: The Two Bobs', *Toronto Star*, (25 January 2006), Entertainment Section Cover Page, E2; CBC, 'The Grateful Dread: Jason Wilson', *The National with Peter Mansbridge*, (Toronto: August 2004); Kevin Shea, 'Big Shiny Tunes: Jason Wilson', *Legends Magazine*, (Toronto: Hockey Hall of Fame, Fall 2003), 74, 76-78; Stuart Bearman, 'Rastaman Variations: Jason Wilson and Tabarruk', *Eye Magazine*, (21 May 1998), 21; Jane Stevenson, 'Alanis Vocal Fires Interest in Local Band', *Toronto Sun*, (25 March 1996).

---

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### PRIMARY SOURCES

- Oral Interviews	381
- Periodicals	383
- Primary Books	385
- Primary Journals, Articles, Book Chapters, Reviews and Misc.	387
- Government Documents	395
- Radio, Film and Television Programmes	397
- Liner Notes	398
- Fiction, Poetry, Sheet Music and Misc.	399

### SECONDARY SOURCES

- Books	401
- Journals, Articles, Book Chapters and Reviews	423
- Essays, Masters Theses, PhD Dissertations and Misc.	442

---

## PRIMARY SOURCES

### ORAL INTERVIEWS

#### (Jamaican-Canadians)

- 'Interview with Jo Jo Bennett'. Toronto: 19 October 2010; 23 November 2010.
- 'Interview with Paul Bennett'. Toronto: 17 August 2010.
- 'Interview with Carol Brown'. Bolton, Ontario: 30 January 2011.
- 'Interview with Leo Cripps'. Calgary: 9 January 2011.
- 'Interview with Karen Cyrus'. North York: 14 February 2011.
- 'Interview with Sunray Grennan'. Toronto: 8 July 2010.
- 'Interview with Carl Harvey'. North York: 25 November 2010.
- 'Interview with Rupert "Ojiji" Harvey'. Toronto: 6 September 2010.
- 'Interview with Wayne Hanson'. Toronto: 30 December 2010.
- 'Interview with Earle Heedram (*aka* The Mighty Pope)'. Richmond Hill: 13 December 2010.
- 'Interview with Peter Holung'. Newmarket, ON: 3 February 2011.
- 'Interview with Denise Jones'. Toronto: 8 February 2011.
- 'Interview with JuLion King'. Toronto: 28 January 2011.
- 'Interview with Adrian Miller'. Toronto: 6 February 2011.
- 'Interview with Mike Smith'. Brampton: 15 July 2010.
- 'Interview with Michael St. George'. Hamilton: 24 November 2010.
- 'Interview with Marcia Vassell'. Brampton: 17 February 2011.
- 'Interview with Phil Vassell'. Brampton: 8 December 2010.
- 'Interview with Klive Walker'. Pickering, Ontario: 9 September 2010.
- 'Interview with Ranford Williams'. Toronto: 20 January 2011.
- 'Interview with Willi Williams'. Pickering, Ontario: 19 February 2011.

#### (Non-Jamaican Canadians):

- 'Interview with Andru Branch'. Halifax: 23 August 2010.
- 'Interview with Todd Britton'. Guelph: 8 January 2011.
- 'Interview with Sebastian Cook'. Toronto: 11 February 2011.
- 'Interview with Paul Corby'. Toronto: 26 January 2011.
- 'Interview with Natasha Emery'. Toronto: 29 December 2010.
- 'Interview with Patti Habib'. Toronto: 28 February 2011.
- 'Interview with Fergus Hambleton'. Toronto: 10 July 2010.
- 'Interview with Jeffrey Holdip'. Toronto: 20 January 2011.
- 'Interview with Isax Injah'. Scarborough: 19 January 2011.
- 'Interview with David Fowler'. Toronto: 22 September 2010.
- 'Interview with Tomaz Jardim'. Toronto: 21 August and 24 November 2010.
- 'Interview with Nicholas Jennings', Toronto: 17 January 2011.
- 'Interview with Jesse King'. Toronto: 15 February 2011.
- 'Interview with David Kingston'. Toronto: 1 September 2010.
- 'Interview with Greg Lawson'. Toronto: 7 February 2011.
- 'Interview with Mark Matthews'. Toronto: 12 January 2011.

---

'Interview with Bruce McGillivray'. Toronto: 19 August 2011.  
'Interview with Errol Nazareth'. Toronto: 6 January 2011.  
'Interview with Brian Robertson'. Toronto: 23 September 2011.  
'Interview with Sam Weller'. Toronto: 29 July and 5 August 2010.

(First Generation Canadians of Jamaican Heritage):

'Interview with Dalton Higgins'. Toronto: 13 February 2011.  
'Interview with David Matthews'. Brampton: 17 February 2011.  
'Interview with Carrie Mullings'. North York: 7 February 2011.

(Additional Interviews)

'Interview with Ali Campbell'. Cleveland: 8 April 2006; Montreal: 10 April 2006; Toronto: 11 April 2006; Toronto: 21 June 1999.  
'Interview with Brinsley Forde'. Coventry: 8 November 2010; Tenerife, 18 June 2005.  
'Interview with Ernest Ranglin'. Tower Isle, Jamaica: 1 May 2006; Calgary: 23 July 2011.  
'Interview with Leroy Sibbles'. Kingston, Jamaica: 1 March 2011.  
'Interview with David Swarbrick'. Coventry: 8–11 November 2010  
'Interview with Michael Virtue'. Coventry: 8 November 2010; Cleveland: 8 April 2006; Montreal: 10 April 2006; Toronto: 11 April 2006; Toronto: 21 June 1999.

---

PERIODICALS

*19<sup>th</sup>-Century Music*  
*American Quarterly*  
*American Studies*  
*Archives européennes de sociologie*  
*The Athenaeum*  
*The Beat*  
*The Beehive*  
*Canadian Composer*  
*Canadian Journal of Communication*  
*Canadian Music*  
*Canadian Unionist*  
*Caribbean Music Monthly*  
*Carroll County Times*  
*Carroll Free Press*  
*Cheer (Toronto)*  
*Contrast (Toronto)*  
*Diaspora*  
*Etudes Ecossaises*  
*Eye Weekly (Toronto)*  
*Freemasonry Today*  
*Fuse*  
*The Garden: An Illustrated Weekly Journal of Gardening in All Its Branches (London)*  
*The Gleaner (Kingston, Jamaica)*  
*The Globe and Mail*  
*The Guardian (Manchester)*  
*Hamilton Spectator*  
*Herizons*  
*History Today*  
*Immigrants and Minorities*  
*Jamaica Journal*  
*Jamaica Observer*  
*Jamaica Times*  
*The Journal of American Ethnic History*  
*The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education*  
*The Journal of the Folk-Song Society*  
*Latin American Review*  
*Lifeline: Sharing God's Love*  
*London Times*  
*Metro Word (Toronto)*  
*Mojo*  
*Musical Migrations*  
*The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular (London)*  
*Musicworks*  
*National Post*

---

*The New York Times*  
*Now (Toronto)*  
*Orange Coast Magazine*  
*Ottawa Citizen*  
*Past and Present*  
*Political Geography*  
*Popular Music*  
*Poverty Bay Herald*  
*Public Culture*  
*Radical History Review*  
*The Record*  
*Record Collector*  
*Reggae Quarterly*  
*Reggae Report*  
*Reggae Review*  
*Rock Express*  
*RPM*  
*San Francisco Bay Guardian*  
*Saturday Night*  
*Share (Toronto)*  
*Social and Cultural Geography*  
*Sounds*  
*Spear*  
*Spin*  
*Talent*  
*The Theosophical Path*  
*Time Magazine*  
*Times Literary Supplement*  
*The Toronto Star*  
*The Toronto Sun*  
*Urban History*  
*Uprising (Toronto)*  
*Word*

---

PRIMARY BOOKS

'All-night dance ends in violence', *Toronto Star*. 4 August 1987.

Baring-Gould, Sabine and H. Fleetwood Sheppard, *Songs Of The West: Folk Songs Of Devon And Cornwall Collected From The Mouths Of The People*. Four Volumes. London: Patey and Willis, 1889-91; London: Methuen & Co., 1895.

Broadwood, John, *Old English Songs as Now Sung by the Peasantry of the Weald of Surrey and Sussex*. London: 1843.

Burstow, Henry, with William Albery, *Reminiscences of Horsham: Being Recollections of Henry Burstow, the Celebrated Bellringer and Songsinger*. Folcroft, PA: Folcroft Library Editions (1911) 1975.

Butterworth, George, *Folk Songs from Sussex and Other Songs*. London: Stainer & Bell, 1912.

Child, Francis James, *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*. New York: Dover Publications (1904) 1965.

Gomme, Alice B., *The Traditional Games of England, Scotland and Ireland: With Tunes, Singing Rhymes and Methods of Playing According to the Variants Extant and Recorded in Different Parts of the Kingdom*. London: Nutt, 1894.

Gomme, George Laurence, *The Village Community*. London: W. Scott, 1890.

\_\_\_\_\_, *Folk-Lore Relics of Early English Life*. London: E. Stock, 1883.

\_\_\_\_\_, *Primitive Folk Moots; or, Open-Air Assemblies in Britain*. London: S. Low, Martson, Searle, and Rivington, 1880.

Headlam, Cecil (ed.), *The Milner Papers: South Africa, Vol. II: 1899-1905*. London: Cassell & Company Ltd., 1933.

Jekyll, Gertrude, *Old West Surrey: Some Notes and Memories*. London; New York and Bombay: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1904.

\_\_\_\_\_, *Old English Household Life: Some Account of Cottage Objects and Country Folk*, British Heritage Series. London: B.T. Batsford, 1939.

Jekyll, Walter, *The Wisdom of Schopenhauer: As Revealed in Some of his Principal Writings*. Rationalist Press Association; Schopenhauer, Arthur, 1788-1860. London: Watts, 1911.

\_\_\_\_\_, *Jamaican Song and Story: Annancy Stories, Digging Sings, Ring Tunes, and Dancing Tunes*. Collected and Edited by Walter Jekyll with an introduction by Alice Werner. London: David Nutt, for the Folk-Lore Society, (1907); republished Mineola: Dover Publications, Inc., (1966) 2005.

\_\_\_\_\_, *The Bible Untrustworthy: A Critical Comparison of Contradictory Passages in the Bible*. London: Watts & Co., 1904.

\_\_\_\_\_, *Guide to Hope Gardens*. Kingston: Aston W. Gardner and Co., 1903.



- 
- Kidson, Frank, *Traditional Tunes: A Collection of Ballad Airs*. Wakefield, Yorkshire: S. R. Publishers, 1970.
- Lamperti, Giovanni Battista, *The Art of Singing: According to Ancient Tradition and Personal Experience: Technical Rules and Advice to Pupils and Artists*. Translated by Walter Jekyll. London: G. Ricordi, 1884.
- Lubbock, John, *The Origin of Civilization and the Primitive Condition of Man: Mental and Social Condition of Savages*. London: Longmans Green, 1870.
- McKay, Claude, *My Green Hills of Jamaica*. Kingston; Port of Spain; London: Heinemann Educational Books (Caribbean Ltd.), 1979.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *A Long Way from Home*. New York: Arno Press and The New York Times, 1969.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Banana Bottom*. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc., 1933; London: Serpent's Tail, 2005.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Songs of Jamaica*. Kingston and London: Aston W Gardner, 1912.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Constab Ballads*. London: Watts, 1912.
- Moffat, Alfred and Frank Kidson, *Children's Songs of Long Ago*. London: Augener, 1905.
- North, Marianne, *Recollections of a Happy Life: Being the Autobiography of Marianne North*. Edited by her sister, Mrs. John Addington Symonds. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, (1894) 1993.
- Olivier, Sydney, *Letters and Selected Writings*, edited with a memoir by Margaret Olivier; with some impressions by Bernard Shaw. London: Allen & Unwin, 1948.
- Sharp, Cecil, *English Folk Song: Some Conclusions*. London: Simpkin and Novello, 1907.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and Charles L. Marson (eds.), *Folk Songs from Somerset*. 5 volumes. London: London and Taunton, 1904-9.
- Sloane, Hans, *Voyage to the Islands Madera, Barbados, Nieves, S. Christophers and Jamaica, with the Natural History of the Herbs and Trees, Four-footed Beasts, Fishes, Birds, Insects, Reptiles, etc. of the Last of those Islands*. Two Volumes. London: Printed by B.M. for the Author 1707.
- Stokoe, John and Samuel Reay, *Songs and Ballads of Northern England*. Collected and edited by John Stokoe, harmonized and arranged for pianoforte by Samuel Reay. Newcastle-Upon-Tyne and London: Walter Scott, 1892; Darby, Pennsylvania: Norwood Editions, 1973.
- Tylor, Edward B., *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Art, and Custom*. Two volumes. London: John Murray, 1871.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Researches into the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilization*. London: John Murray, 1865.

---

PRIMARY JOURNALS, ARTICLES, BOOK CHAPTERS, REVIEWS AND MISC.

Bartley, Wende, 'Dis word breeds my rhythm', *Musicworks*, 42. Fall 1988.

Batten, Jack, '100,000 blacks –and the sounds are all their own', *Globe and Mail*. 8 March 1975.

Beddoes, Dick, 'Reggae to rafters', *Globe and Mail*. 28 May 1979.

Bessen, Joan, 'Bloodfire', *Cheer*. April-May 1981.

'Britain Puts the Pressure on Canada', *Saturday Night*. 13 May 1961.

Broadwood, Lucy E., 'English Airs and Motifs in Jamaica', Walter Jekyll, *Jamaican Song and Story: Annancy Stories, Digging Sings, Ring Tunes, and Dancing Tunes*. Collected and Edited by Walter Jekyll with an introduction by Alice Werner. London: David Nutt, for the Folk-Lore Society, (1907); republished Mineola: Dover Publications, Inc., (1966) 2005.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'On the Collecting of English Folk Songs', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 31. 1906.

\_\_\_\_\_, *Journal of the Folk Song Society*, 1, 4. 1902.

\_\_\_\_\_, and J.A. Fuller Maitland, *English County Songs*. London: The Leadenhall Press Ltd, 1893.

Brunt, Stephen, 'Sibbles' new sound dips into mainstream', *Globe and Mail*. 10 July 1982.

Burrill, William, 'Why Jamaican reggae star Sibbles moved to Toronto - in January, yet!', *Toronto Star*. 3 August 1982.

Cambridge University Musical Society, 'Concert Programme'. 22 May 1877. (programme)

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Concert Programme'. 3 December 1877. (programme)

Cameron, Kim, 'Rock 'n' roll is a deep crack in civilization that can free the spirit', *Globe and Mail*. 19 November 1977.

*Canadian Musician*, 'Album Review: Sattalites', 8, 4. August 1985.

Carnegie, James, 'Notes on the History of Jazz and Its Role in Jamaica', *Jamaica Journal*, 4, 1. 1970.

Caudeiron, Daniel, 'Soul Beat: Tribute to a King', *The Record*, 21. January 1991.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Swimming upstream', *Juno Awards*. Toronto 1990. (programme)

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Reggae is alive and well...', *Spear*. March 1978.

'Charles Villiers Stanford', *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, 39, 670. 1 December 1898.

- 
- 'Church says troublemakers can't be Brethren', *Globe and Mail*. 11 June 1975.
- Clery, Val, 'On the Town', *The Toronto Star*. 21 May 1987.  
\_\_\_\_\_, 'Reggae and 'dub' poets join forces at Bam Boo [sic]', *The Toronto Star*. 19 February 1985.
- Clerk, Astley, 'Extract from the Music and Instruments of Jamaica', *Jamaica Journal*, IX. (1913) 1975.  
\_\_\_\_\_, *Manuscript*. Kingston: National Library, unpublished, c. 1910s.
- Collins, Dianne, 'Roots, Rock, Reggae', *Rock Express*, 124. May 1988.
- Conlogue, Ray, 'Jazz/Folk', concert listings, *Fanfare, Globe and Mail*. 29 March 1978.
- 'Cultists believed Selassie would take them back to Ethiopia', *Globe and Mail*. 11 June 1975.
- Cundall, Frank, 'Folk-lore of the Negroes of Jamaica', *Folklore*, 15 and 16, (1904-5).  
\_\_\_\_\_, *Frank Cundall Papers*. The Jamaica Institute, Kingston, Jamaica.
- Dafoe, Chris, 'UB40 redeems pop reggae', *Globe and Mail*. 16 August 1988.  
\_\_\_\_\_, 'Allen pushes dub poetry far beyond reggae roots', *Globe and Mail*. 5 April 1988.
- Diskreet, Album Review: *Sattalites, Share*. Toronto: 20 June 1985.
- Donaldson, Gordon, 'How We Cover Up Our Racial Abuses', *Saturday Night*. 15 February 1958.
- Doran, Susan, 'Taking aim with words', *Canadian Composer*, 218. February-March 1987.
- Dorsey, Paul, 'Sibbles Discusses Reggae's Future', *Now*. 1-7 October 1981.
- 'Entertainment Guide', *Toronto Star*. 9 February 1984.
- Flohil, Richard, 'The Sattalites', *Canadian Composer*, 229. April 1988.
- 'Followers called walking time bombs, lawyer says', *Globe and Mail*. 11 June 1975.
- 'For Your Night on the Town', Concert Listings, *Globe and Mail*. 30 April 1975.  
\_\_\_\_\_, Concert Listings, *Globe and Mail*. 29 July 1978.
- Freedman, Adele, 'Gladiators' reggae as tight as a fist', *Globe and Mail*. 24 June 1983.  
\_\_\_\_\_, 'Toronto reggae explodes despite security damper', *Globe and Mail*. 20 October 1980.  
\_\_\_\_\_, 'Doing It: One Heart, One Love...Amma', *Fanfare, Globe and Mail*. 15 February 1978.

- 
- Friberg, Camelia, 'Life's now beginning for One Love', *Cheer*. Summer 1981.
- Gallo, Nancy, 'Magnum Records – A New Force', *RPM*, 31, 12. May 1979.
- Goldman, Vivien, 'Interview with Bob Marley', *Sounds*. London: 3 September 1977.  
\_\_\_\_\_, 'Another bright Saturday', *Sounds*. London: 30 April 1977.
- Goddard, Peter, 'Nightbeat', *Performance: Canada's Leading Theatre Magazine*. Toronto: 6-12 May 1985.  
\_\_\_\_\_, 'Toronto talent helps Jamaica salute youth', *Toronto Star*. 31 March 1985.  
\_\_\_\_\_, 'Truths and Rights Toronto's band of the year', *Toronto Star*. 28 December 1983.  
\_\_\_\_\_, 'He's Metro's grand old man of reggae', *Toronto Star*. 29 May 1982.  
\_\_\_\_\_, 'Olivia makes a play for T.O. reggae', *Toronto Star*. 12 January 1980.
- 'GRT emerging as a major label', *RPM*, 25. 11 September 1976.
- Gyokeres, Nancy, 'Jackson fights the reggae cause', *The Music Scene*, 335. January-February 1984.
- Harry, Isobel, 'Leroy Sibbles: Ranking with Bob Marley', *Canadian Composer*. November 1983.  
\_\_\_\_\_, 'Reggae inna Canada', *Canadian Composer*, 152. June 1980.
- Hawthorn, Tom, 'Afroheat takes audience on trip around the globe', *Fanfare, Globe and Mail*. 2 June 1986.
- Hill, James, 'Backbeat for Jah Jah', *Fanfare, Globe and Mail*. 5 April 1978.
- 'How Can We Keep Our British Racial Balance?', *Saturday Night*. 11 December 1943.
- Hughes, Kim, 'Penguins' island groove', *NOW*, 7, 30. 7-13 April 1988.
- Tafari, I. Jabulani, 'Interview with Jackie Mittoo', *Reggae Report*, 6. 1988.
- The Jamaica Archives, *An Exhibition of Official Documents Relating to the 1865 Morant Bay Rebellion in the Jamaica Archives, Spanish Town*. Kingston: Government Printer, 1965.
- Jekyll, Agnes, *Ne Oublie*. Privately printed, Sally Festing, *Gertrude Jekyll*. New York: Viking, 1991.
- Jekyll, Joseph, 'Letter to Lady Gertrude'. 31 August 1833.
- Jekyll, Walter, 'In the Port Royal Mountains, Jamaica', *The Garden: An Illustrated Weekly Journal of Gardening in All Its Branches*. 14 September 1901.

- 
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Aloe Vera', *The Garden: An Illustrated Weekly Journal of Gardening in All Its Branches*. 7 September 1901.
- Jennings, Nicholas, 'You Want Dancehall? Sattalites Got It', *Eye*. Toronto: 8 October 1992.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Dance Tunes for Idealists', *Maclean's*, 98, 34. 26 August 1985.
- Johnson, Derek B., 'Backbeat for Jah Jah', *Globe and Mail*. 5 April 1978.
- Johnson, Jerry, 'Record Review: Various Artists, Rockers Soundtrack', *Globe and Mail*. 20 December 1980.
- Jones, Christopher, 'Satisfying Sattalites', *NOW Magazine*. Toronto: 23-29 1989.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Spence above crowd', *NOW*, 8, 17. 5-11 January 1989.
- Jung, Daryl and James Marck, 'Truth [*sic*] and Rights' Reggae Message', *Now*. 8-14 July 1982.
- Keating, John, 'Rich Reggae/Pop Fare', *The Daily Gleaner*. Kingston, Jamaica: 4 July 1985.
- Lazier, Kate, 'Political songwriters', *Canadian Composer*, 239. 1989.
- Lacey, Liam, 'From Sex, Drugs and Rock 'n' Roll to Feeding the World', *The Globe and Mail*. 28 December 1985.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Rare Partnership Key to Sattalites' Success', *The Globe and Mail*. 17 August 1985.
- \_\_\_\_\_, Album Review: *Sattalites*, *The Globe and Mail*. 20 June 1985.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Watered-down reggae from popular UB40', *Globe and Mail*. 13 March 1985.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Good news, music from Queen Street', *Globe and Mail*. 14 February 1984.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'American Band More of Brand X', *The Globe and Mail*. 21 November 1983.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Review of Compass', *The Globe and Mail*. October 1983.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Messenjah Beats the Odds', *Globe and Mail*. 25 August 1983.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Muffins finally sign deal with RCA', *Globe and Mail*. 19 November 1982.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Record Review: Leroy Sibbles, *Evidence*', *Fanfare, Globe and Mail*. 5 June 1982.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Review of Metro's No.1 Problem, by Truths and Rights'. *Globe and Mail*. February 1982.
- Lee, Helen, 'Syren Sunday diverts burger bunch', *NOW*, 7, 47. 4 August 1988.
- Lesser, Beth, 'Leroy Sibbles', *Reggae Quarterly*, 1. Summer 1984.
- 'Lillian Allen: Dub poetry is reggae', *Talent*, 1, 14. June-July 1989.
- Littler, William, 'Reggae star Sibbles rides the new wave', *Toronto Star*. 28 July 1980.

- 
- Lord Milner, 'Address to the Municipal Congress, Johannesburg', 18 May 1903, C. Headlam (ed.), *The Milner Papers: South Africa, Vol. II: 1899-1905*. London: Cassell & Company Ltd., 1933.
- Marck, James, 'Sattalites don't ignite', *NOW*, 6, 42, (25 June-1 July 1987), 29.  
 \_\_\_\_\_, 'Sattalites' Strength', *NOW Magazine*, 4, 46. Toronto: 25-31 July 1985.
- Martin, Robert, 'Jimmy Cliff concert hits smooth stride after stumbling beginning', *Globe and Mail*. 15 October 1975.  
 \_\_\_\_\_, 'Cliff delivers reggae in the mainstream', *Globe and Mail*. 13 October 1975.  
 \_\_\_\_\_, 'Dad would understand the scene at Backstage Lounge', *Globe and Mail*. 9 October 1975.  
 \_\_\_\_\_, 'Wailers get them dancing in the aisles', *Globe and Mail*. 9 June 1975.  
 \_\_\_\_\_, 'A New sound from Jamaica and a new Clyde-style hero', *Globe and Mail*. 25 August 1973.
- McGrath, Paul, 'Hot Dub', *Fanfare, Globe and Mail*. 6 March 1982.  
 \_\_\_\_\_, 'Davis proves there is life after reggae', *Globe and Mail*. 5 August 1981.  
 \_\_\_\_\_, 'Island rhythms find new roots', *Fanfare, Globe and Mail*. 10 January 1981.  
 \_\_\_\_\_, 'The Beat: jumping ska rhythm and rock', *Globe and Mail*. 4 October 1980.  
 \_\_\_\_\_, 'Reggae's free spirit, Toots gives it his all', *Globe and Mail*. 14 June 1980.  
 \_\_\_\_\_, 'The Selector uses ska to leave 'em dancing', *Globe and Mail*. 16 May 1980.  
 \_\_\_\_\_, 'NORML's reggae rally serves joint purpose', *Globe and Mail*. 26 July 1979.
- McKay, Claude, 'Letter to C.K. Ogden'. 26 March 1920.  
 \_\_\_\_\_, 'Up to Date', (Harry Ransom), Josh Gosciak, *Between Diaspora and Internationalism: Claude McKay and the Making of a Black Public Intellectual*, PhD Dissertation. New York: City University of New York, 2002.
- McQueen, Mike, 'Leroy Brown', *Caribbean Music Monthly*. November 1975.
- Meredith, Joan, 'Jackie Mittoo's Music Brings a Touch of Sunshine from the Islands', *Canadian Composer*, 59. April 1971.
- Metella, Helen, 'Sattalites' Debut Happy, Infectious', *The Edmonton Journal*. 8 August 1985.
- Miller, Mark, 'Sibbles' music spare, elegant', *Globe and Mail*. 22 December 1983.
- Myers, Charles Samuel, 'Traces of African Melody in Jamaica', Walter Jekyll, *Jamaican Song and Story: Annancy Stories, Digging Sings, Ring Tunes, and Dancing Tunes*. Collected and Edited by Walter Jekyll with an introduction by Alice Werner. London: David Nutt, for the Folk-Lore Society, (1907); republished Mineola: Dover Publications, Inc., (1966) 2005.

---

*National Campus Report*, 'Top 40 Albums for June 1987', 36. June 1987.

Niester, Alan, 'Reggae's sun about to set', *Globe and Mail*. 4 April 1985.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Sibbles collects five awards', *Globe and Mail*. 29 April 1983.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Sibbles keeps his good-time reggae on the mark', *Globe and Mail*. 19 February 1981.

O'Conner, Chris, 'New ska squads have different ways to skank', *Toronto Star*. 30 August 1991.

O'Toole, Lawrence, 'Reggae the Jamaican Pop', *Globe and Mail*. 7 May 1975.

Powell, Betsy, 'Reggae Band Fights for Survival', *The Toronto Star*. 10 April 1996.

Quill, Greg, 'Reggae's Messenjahs', *Toronto Star*. 9 January 1988.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Sattalites on the rise in the reggae scene', *The Toronto Star*. 15 May 1987.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'For the Record: T.O. shops lead world in spinning rare discs', *What's On*, *Toronto Star*. 26 September 1986.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Big Reggae Hullabaloo Launches Debut Album', *The Toronto Star*. 14 May 1985.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Bruce Cockburn in tune with Jamaican audience', *Toronto Star*, 8 April 1985.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Reggae reigns but pop is tops at Jamfest 85', *Toronto Star*. 7 April 1985.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Sibbles makes a splash in London', *Toronto Star*. 26 July 1984.

'Rastafarians called most violent crime group in New York', *Globe and Mail*. 11 June 1975.

*Rebel Music*, 1, (June 1981) and *Rebel Music*, 2, (September 1982), newsletters from the private collection of Nicholas Jennings.

'Reggae records the beliefs of the rudies and Rastas', *Globe and Mail*. 11 June 1975.

Reid, Gerald, 'Sattalites Gives Performances in Local Debut', *The Weekend Star: The Entertainment Paper*, 37, 22. Kingston, Jamaica: 29 May 1987.

'Religion's members are basically anarchists', *Globe and Mail*. 11 June 1975.

Renzetti, Elizabeth, 'You Oughta Know: Morissette Sweeps Junos', *The Globe and Mail*. 11 March 1996.

Richards, Kenny, 'Chalawa', *Toronto News*. Spring 1978.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Reggae's last roundup?', *Contrast*. 5 January 1978.

Richmond, Norman Otis, 'Film festival focuses on issue of racism', *Globe and Mail*. 11 October 1984.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Reggae: the heartbeat goes on', *Globe and Mail*. 21 September 1983.

- 
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Truths and Rights: Baddest Band in the Land', *Contrast*. 12 March 1982.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'The Secret History of Black Music (in Canada)', *Fuse*. December 1980.
- 'Rocksteady? Reggae? They go with jump-up at Caribana', *Globe and Mail*. 18 May 1971.
- 'Sattalites Beam Down a Beauty', *Globe and Mail*, Entertainment Section. 9 April 1987.
- 'Sattalites Perform', *Globe and Mail*. 25 May 1988.
- 'Seventy-five Years Helping to Build Jamaica', *The Gleaner*. 29 August 1965.
- 'Starring at the Forum', *Toronto Star*. 19 May 1983.
- Steckles, Garry, 'Carlene Davis could make break for reggae', *Toronto Star*. 11 October 1980.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'A reggae feast for Toronto', *Toronto Star*. 11 October 1980.
- Steele, Lisa and Isobel Harry, 'Truths and Rights: An Interview', *Fuse*, 4, 1. November 1979.
- Steffens, Roger, 'Album Review of Linton Kwesi Johnson, *Reggae Greats*', *Spin*, 1, 3. July 1985.
- Stoute, Lenny, 'News and Briefs', *Music Express*, 92. 1985.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Messenjah', *Canadian Music*, 6. February 1984.
- 'TTC's all-night Yonge St. bus terrorized by drunks and goons', *Toronto Star*. 28 November 1988.
- Thompson, Bob, 'Forum Swings to Sounds of Soul: Reggae Turns on the Heat', *The Toronto Sun*. 10 June 1987.
- Thoms, William J., 'Letter to the Athenaeum', *The Athenaeum*. 22 August 1846.
- 'Toronto Negro Citizenship Association Protests Discrimination', *Canadian Unionist*. 28 May 1954.
- The Toronto Star*, 'Album Review: Sattalites, *Now and Forever*'. 24 August 1995.
- Tulloch, Dave, 'If You Didn't See Them... You Missed a Great Show', *The Spectrum: Making Minorities Visible*, 4, 5. Ottawa: 16 May 1987.
- Tuber, Keith, 'Reggae's Carlene Davis sends a message from Jamaica', *Orange Coast Magazine*. January 1983.



- 
- Tylor, Edward B., 'Phenomena of a Higher Civilization Traceable to a Rudimental Origin of the Savage Tribes,' The British Association for the Advancement of Science, Nottingham Meeting, *Report of the Papers, Discussions, and General Proceedings*. August 1866.  
\_\_\_\_\_, 'Wild Men and Beast Children', *Anthropological Review*, 1. 1863.
- Tyndall, John, 'Report of a meeting of the Eyre Defence Committee held at Willis's Rooms', as found in, A.H. Hume, *Life of Edward John Eyre*. London: R. Bentley, 1867.
- 'U.S. report says sect uses marijuana as an aphrodisiac', *Globe and Mail*. 11 June 1975.
- Van der Walt, Leon, 'Bag of Tools', *Financial Inspiration Café*.  
[www.financial-inspiration.com/bag-of-tools.html](http://www.financial-inspiration.com/bag-of-tools.html) (advertisement)
- Vipond, Patti, 'Keyboard King Jackie Mittoo', *Spear*, 5. November 1975.
- Wagner, Richard, *Richard Wagner's Prose Works*, translation by William Ashton Ellis. London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner 1892-99.
- Walpole, Mary, 'Dining Around the Town with Mary Walpole', event listings, *Globe and Mail*. 21 September 1974.
- Werner, Alice, 'Introduction', Walter Jekyll, *Jamaican Song and Story: Annancy Stories, Digging Sings, Ring Tunes, and Dancing Tunes*. Collected and Edited by Walter Jekyll with an introduction by Alice Werner. London: David Nutt, for the Folk-Lore Society, (1907); republished Mineola: Dover Publications, Inc., (1966) 2005.
- White, Noel, 'Forty-one Years on the Lighter Side of Jamaican Life', *The Gleaner*. 19 February 1972.

---

## GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS

Badets, Jane, Jennifer Chard, Andrea Levett, *Ethnic Diversity Survey: Portrait of a Multicultural Society*. Ottawa: Statistics Canada; Canadian Heritage, 89-593-XIE, 2003.

Canada, Department of the Secretary of State: Group Understanding and Human Rights Program, Frances Henry, *The Dynamics of Racism in Toronto: Research Report*. Ottawa; Toronto: Department of the Secretary of State: Group Understanding and Human Rights Program; York University, 1978.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'The 1966 White Paper', *House of Commons, Debates*. 14 October 1966.

\_\_\_\_\_, *The Immigration Act – An Act Respecting Immigrations*. Ottawa: S.C., 1910.

CARICOM Capacity Development Programme (CCDP), *2000 Round of Population and Housing Census Project: National Census Report, Jamaica*. Greater Georgetown, Guyana: The Regional Statistics Sub-Programme Information and Communication Technologies Caribbean Community (CARICOM), 2000.

City of Toronto, *City of Toronto Priority Neighbourhoods: Overview of Demographics and Community Services, Jane-Finch - #2*. Toronto: City of Toronto Social Development, Finance and Administration Division, Version 1.1 – 20 January 2006.

Thomas-Hope, Elizabeth, *Migration situation analysis, policy and program needs for Jamaica*. Kingston: The Planning Institute of Jamaica, PIOJ and UNFPA, 2004.

Lindsay, Colin, *Profiles of Ethnic Communities in Canada: The Jamaican Community in Canada, 12*. Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 89-621-XIE, 2007.

Milan, Anne and Kelly Tran, *Blacks in Canada: A Long History*. Ottawa: Statistics Canada; Canadian Social Trends, 11-008, Spring 2004.

National Archives of Canada, 'Brief Presented to the Prime Minister, the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, and Members of the Government of Canada by the Negro Citizenship Association', *Ontario Labour Committee Papers, Vol. 19*. Ottawa: 27 April 1954.

Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto and Urban Alliance on Race Relations, *Law Enforcement and Race Relations*. Urban Seminar Series, 4. Toronto: Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, 1976.

Statistics Canada, 'Ethnocultural Portrait of Canada Highlight Tables', *2006 Census*. Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 97-562-XWE2006002, 2008.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Profile for Census Metropolitan Areas and Census Agglomerations', *2006 Census*. Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 94-581-XCB2006004, 2008.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Population by Selected Ethnic Origins, by Census Metropolitan Areas', *2006 Census*. Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 2008.

\_\_\_\_\_, *Ethnic Diversity Survey 2002*. Ottawa: Statistics Canada; Canadian Heritage, 89M0019XCB, 2003.

---

\_\_\_\_\_, *1931 Census of Canada*. Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 98-1931, vol. 1, 1936.

\_\_\_\_\_, *Census of Canada, 1881*. Statistics Canada Fonds, Record Group 31-C-1; LAC microfilm C-13162 to C-13286. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada.

U.S. Department of State, *July-December, 2010 International Religious Freedom Report: Jamaica*. Washington: Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, 13 September 2011. [www.state.gov](http://www.state.gov)

---

RADIO, FILM AND TELEVISION PROGRAMMES

Amérimage Spectra Co-Production/Soapbox Productions, *Rise Up: Canadian Pop Music in the 1980s*. EMI Music Canada, 2009. (documentary film)

\_\_\_\_\_, *This Beat Goes On: Canadian Pop Music in the 1970s*. EMI Music Canada, 2009. (documentary film)

BBC Four, *Reggae Britannia*, produced and directed by Jeremy Marre. February 2011. (documentary film)

BBC Breakfast, 'Interview with Ali Campbell and Dennis Bovell'. 4 February 2011. (television programme)

BBC Television, *I Love Jamaica*. London: 2002. (television programme)

CBC, *50 Tracks with Jian Ghomeshi*. CBC Radio One: 2005. (audio)

\_\_\_\_\_, 'The Grateful Dread: Jason Wilson', *The National with Peter Mansbridge*, Toronto: August 2004. (television programme)

\_\_\_\_\_, *Fighting Words*. Toronto: 12 November 1957. (radio programme)

CBC Radio Two, Garvia Bailey, 'Feature on Jason Wilson', *Big City, Small World*. Toronto: September 2008. (radio programme)

Classic Albums, *Bob Marley and the Wailers: Catch a Fire*, directed by Jeremy Marre. Image Entertainment, 1999. (documentary film)

*Dr. No*. Directed by Terence Young, produced by Harry Saltzman and Albert R. Broccoli. Based on the novel by Ian Fleming. EoN Productions; United Artists, 1962. (film)

The Fifth Estate, *Lost in the Struggle*, directed by Paul Nguyen, produced by Mark Simms, with host Sabrina Gopaul. Toronto: CBC, 6 November 2006. (television documentary)

NFB, *Home Feeling: Struggle for a Community*, directed by Jennifer Hodge and Roger McTair; produced by John Kramer and Judy LeGros. Toronto: National Film Board of Canada, 1983. (documentary film)

*Rebel Music: The Bob Marley Story*, directed by Jeremy Marre. Palm Pictures/Island Entertainment, 2000. (documentary film)

TVO, 'Interview with Jason Wilson', *Studio 2*. Toronto: April 2004. (television programme)

Union Bank of Switzerland, Featuring Dame Maggie Smith, 'A Bag of Tools', directed by Neil French, produced by Simon Peters. Union Bank of Switzerland, 1998. (television programme)

---

LINER NOTES

Bilby, Kenneth, 'Liner Notes', *Drums of Defiance: Maroon Music from the Earliest Free Black Communities of Jamaica*. Washington: Smithsonian/Folkways Recordings, SF 40412, 1992.

Hawks, Noel, 'Liner Notes', *Take me to Jamaica: The Story of Jamaican Mento*. Pressure Sounds: PSCD 51, 2006.

Howes, Kevin, 'Liner Notes', *Summer Records Anthology, 1974-1988*. Light in the Attic Records: LITA029, 2007.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Liner Notes', Jackie Mittoo, *Wishbone*. Summus Records; Light in the Attic Records: (1971) 2006.

Jennings, Nicholas, 'Liner Notes', Various Artists, *QSW: The Rebel Zone*. Columbia: CK 80698, 2001.

Terrell, Tom, 'Liner Notes', Linton Kwesi Johnson, *Independent Intavenshan: The Island Anthology*. Island Records: 524 575-2, 1998.

Visser, Joop, 'Liner Notes', Joe Harriott, *The Joe Harriott Story*. Proper: Properbox160, 2011.

Williams, Mark, 'Liner Notes', *Alpha Boys' School: Music in Education*. Trojan Records: 06076-80550-2, 2006.

---

FICTION, POETRY, SHEET MUSIC AND MISC.

*The Age of Jahiliyah*. 16 February 2011. [ageofjahiliyah.wordpress.com](http://ageofjahiliyah.wordpress.com)

Alexander, A.L. (ed.), *Poems that Touch the Heart*. New York; London; Toronto; Sydney; Auckland: Doubleday, (1941) 1956.

Allen, Lillian, *Selected Poems of Lillian Allen: Women Do This Every Day*. Toronto: Women's Press, 1993.

Bennett, Louise, *Jamaica Labrish: Jamaica Dialect Poems*. Kingston: Sangster's, 1966.

Brenier, Laurence A., *An Introduction to West Indian Poetry*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Burns, Robert, *The Works of Robert Burns*. Ware, Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Editions, Ltd., [1786] 1994.

Code, Merl, 'Black History Month Presentation', delivered at Christ Church Episcopal School, Greenville, South Carolina. 15 February 2011. [www.cces.org](http://www.cces.org)

Dawes, Kwame, *Shook Foil: A Collection of Reggae Poems*. Leeds: Peepal Tree, 1997.

Eliot, T.S., 'Tradition and the Individual Talent', Frank Kermode (ed.), *Selected Prose of T.S. Eliot*. London: Faber, (1919) 1984.

Felleman, Hazel (ed.), *Best Loved Poems of the American People*. New York; London; Toronto; Sydney; Auckland: Doubleday & Co., 1936.

Haynes, W.F., 'Pastoral Reflections', *Lifeline: Sharing God's Love*, 57, 20. St. Simons Island, Georgia: 22 May 2011.

Hodd, Jack Lorne and R.L. Sharpe, 'A Bag of Tools: For Voice and Piano', Leslie Vocal Series no. 7068. Oakville: Leslie Music Supply, 1988. (sheet music)

O'Brien, Richard and Patti Habib, *The Bamboo Cooks: Recipes from the Legendary Nightclub*, Toronto: Random House of Canada Limited, 1997.

Packer, Boyd K., 'The Unwritten Order of Things', Devotional delivered at Brigham Young University on 15 October 1996, reprinted in The Church Educational System, *Principles of Leadership: Teacher Manual*, Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2001.

*The Pastor's Page*, St. Paul's United Methodist Church. West Deptford, NJ: February 2006. [www.bgm-umc.org/stpaulsthorofare](http://www.bgm-umc.org/stpaulsthorofare)

---

Sattalites, *Sattalites: Ten Years*. Toronto: 1991. (commemorative programme)

Sharpe, Edwin R., *Edwin R. Sharpe Papers, 1861-1869*. Savannah: Georgia Historical Society, Box MS 1485.

Sharpe, R.L., 'The Illusion of Time', Katherine Tingley and George de Perucker (eds.), *The Theosophical Path*, 39, 3. March 1931.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Bag of Tools', Hazel Felleman (ed.), *Best Loved Poems of the American People*. New York; London; Toronto; Sydney; Auckland: Doubleday & Co., 1936.

Waugh, Alec, *Island in the Sun: A Story of the 1950's Set in the West Indies*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1955.

---

## SECONDARY SOURCES

### BOOKS

- Abdel-Shehid, Gamal, *Who Da Man?: Black Masculinities and Sporting Cultures*. Toronto: CSPI and Women's Press, 2005.
- Adams, Charles Dennis, *Flowering Plants of Jamaica*. Mona, Jamaica: University of the West Indies, 1972.
- Aguwa, Jude C., *The Agwu Deity in Igbo Religion: A Study of the Patron Spirit Divination and Medicine in an African Society*. Enugu, Nigeria: Fourth Dimension Publishing Company, 1995.
- Alexander, Ken, and Avis Gaze. *Towards Freedom: The African Canadian Experience*. Toronto: Umbrella Press, 1996.
- Alleyne, Mervyn, *Roots of Jamaican Culture*. London: Pluto Press, 1989.
- Anisef, Paul and Paul Axelrod, (eds.) *Transitions, Schooling and Employment in Canada*. Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing Inc., 1993.
- Aparicio, Frances R. and Candida F. Jáquez (ed.), *Musical Migrations: Transnationalism and Cultural Hybridity in Latino America*. New York: Palgrave, 2003.
- Appadurai, Arjun, *Modernity at Larger: The Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996.
- Armstrong, Bromley and Sheldon Taylor, *Bromley: Tireless Fighter for Just Causes*. Pickering: Vitabu Publishing, 2000.
- Arnander, Primrose, 'Jekyll Family History', Michael Tooley and Primrose Arnander (eds.), *Gertrude Jekyll: Essays on the Life of a Working Amateur*. Durham: Michaelmas Books, 1995.
- Atkinson, David, *English Folk Song Bibliography: An Introductory Bibliography Based on the Holdings of the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library*, Third Edition. London: Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, English Folk Dance and Song Society, 2006.
- Austin-Broos, Diane J., *Jamaican Genesis: Religion and the Politics of Moral Orders*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997.
- Avery, Donald H., *Reluctant Host: Canada's Response to Immigrant Workers, 1896-1994*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1995.



- 
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Dangerous Foreigners: European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada, 1896-1932*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979.
- Aylward, Carol A., *Canadiana Critical Race Theory: Racism and the Law*. Halifax: Fernwood, 1999.
- Backhouse, Constance, *Colour Coded: Legal History of Racism in Canada, 1900-1950*. Toronto: The Osgoode Society for Canadian Legal History, University of Toronto Press, 1999.
- Bakan, Abigail B., *Ideology and Class Conflict in Jamaica: The Politics of Rebellion*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990.
- Baker, Christopher P., *Jamaica*. Oakland: Lonely Planet Publications, 2001.
- Baker Jr., Houston A., *Blues, Ideology, and Afro-American Literature: A Vernacular Theory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984.
- Baraka, Amiri, *Blues People*. New York: Morrow Quill, 1963.
- Barber, Marilyn, *Immigrant Domestic Servants in Canada, Canada's Ethnic Groups, 16*. Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1991.
- Barrow, Steve and Peter Dalton, *Reggae: The Rough Guide*. London: Rough Guides Ltd., 1997.
- Barthes, Roland, *Image, Music, Text*. Essays selected and translated by Stephen Heath. New York: Noonday Press, 1988.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Mythologies*. Paris: Editions de Seuil, 1957.
- Basch, Linda, Nina Glick Schiller and Christina Szanton Blanc, *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialized Nation-States*. Luxembourg: Gordon and Breach, 1994.
- Baxter, Ivy, *The Arts of an Island: The Development of the Culture and of the Folk and Creative Arts in Jamaica, 1494-1962 (Independence)*. Metuchen, New Jersey: Scarecrow Press, 1970.
- Beckford, George and Michael Witter, *Small Garden, Bitter Weed: The Political Economy of Struggle and Change in Jamaica*. London: Maroon Publishing House, 1980.
- Beckwith, Martha, *Jamaica Folk-Lore*. New York: The American Folk-Lore Society, 1928.
- Bennett, Milton J., *Basic Concepts of Intercultural Communication*. Boston: Intercultural Press, 1998.

- 
- Benitez-Rojo, Antonio, *The Repeating Island: The Caribbean and the Postmodern Perspective*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1992.
- Best, Curwen, *Culture @ the Cutting Edge: Tracking Caribbean Popular Music*. Mona: University Press of the West Indies, 2005.
- Bissoondath, Neil, *Selling Illusions: The Cult of Multiculturalism*. Toronto: Penguin Group, 1994.
- Black, Ayanna, *Voices: Canadian Writers of African Descent*. Toronto: Harper Collins, 1992.
- Blesh, Rudi, *Shining Trumpets: A History of Jazz*. New York: Da Capo Press, 1975.
- Bloom, Eric (ed.), *Groves Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, fifth edition. London: Macmillan, 1954.
- Bohlman, Philip V., *The Study of Folk Music in the Modern World*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988.
- Bonner, James C., *Georgia's Last Frontier: The Development of Carroll County*. Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1971.
- Bonnett, Aubrey W. and G. Llewellyn Watson (eds.), *Emerging perspectives on the Black Diaspora*. Lanham: University Press of America, 1990.
- Bonser, Wilfrid, *A Bibliography of Folklore as Contained in the First Eighty Years of the Publication of the Folklore Society*. London: William Glaisher for the Folklore Society, 1961.
- Bootles, Nannie, *When the Doodle was the Most Wonderful Doodle in the World: And makes the Bestest Music in the Whole Wide World*. Stouffville, Ontario: unpublished, 2010.
- Boyes, Georgina, *The Imagined Village: Culture, Ideology and the English Folk Revival, Music and Society*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993.
- Boyko, John, *Last Steps to Freedom: The Evolution Of Canadian Racism*. Winnipeg: Watson & Dwyer Publishing, 1995.
- Bradley, Lloyd, *Bass Culture: When Reggae was King*. London: Viking, 2000.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Reggae on CD*. London: Kylie Cathy Ltd., 1996.
- Brand, Dionne, *What We All Long For*. Toronto: Knopf Canada, 2005.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *No Burden to Carry: Narratives of Black Working Women in Ontario, 1920s-1950s*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989.

- 
- Brandel, Rose, *The Music of Central Africa*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1962.
- Brathwaite, Edward, *The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica, 1770-1820*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971.
- Brodber, Edna and J. Edward Greene, *Reggae and Cultural Identity in Jamaica*. Mona, Jamaica: Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies, (1981) 1988.
- Brooks, Dennis, *Race and Labour in London Transport*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975.
- Brown, Rosemary, *Being Brown: A Very Public Life*. Toronto: 1990.
- Brubaker, Rogers, *Ethnicity Without Groups*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004.
- Budd, Susan, *Varieties of Unbelief: Atheists and Agnostics in English Society, 1850-1960*. London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1977.
- Burnet, Jean, *Multiculturalism in Canada*. Ottawa: McClelland & Stewart, 1988.
- Burnet, Jean and Howard Palmer, *'Coming Canadians': An Introduction to a History of Canada's Peoples*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1988.
- Burton, Richard D.E., *Afro-Creole: Power, Opposition, and Play in the Caribbean*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997.
- Cameron, Elspeth. (ed.), *Multiculturalism in Canada: An Introductory Reader*. Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press, 2004.
- Campbell, Mavis C., *The Maroons of Jamaica 1655-1796: A History of Resistance, Collaboration and Betrayal*. Trenton: Africa World Press, 1990.
- Carby, Hazel V., *Cultures in Babylon: Black Britain and African America*. London: Verso, 1999.
- Careless, J.M.S. and R. Craig Brown (eds.), *The Canadians 1867-1967*. Toronto: Macmillan, 1968.
- Chan, Wendy and Kiran Mirchandani (eds.), *Crimes of Colour: Racialization and the Criminal Justice System in Canada*. Peterborough: Broadview Press, Ltd., 2002.
- Chang, Kevin O'Brien and Wayne Chen, *Reggae Routes: The Story of Jamaican Music*. Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 1998.
- Chartier, Roger, *Cultural History: Between Practices and Representations*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988.

- 
- Chevannes, Barry, *Rastafari: Roots and Ideology*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1995.
- Clarke, Edith, *My Mother Who Fathered Me: A Study of Three Selected Communities in Jamaica*. London, 1974.
- Clarke, Sebastian, *Jah Music: The Evolution of the Popular Jamaican Song*. London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd., 1980.
- Clifford, James, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997.
- Coelho, Elizabeth, *Caribbean Students in Canadian Schools*, Book 1. Toronto: 1988.
- Collier, James Lincoln, *The Making of Jazz: A Comprehensive History*. New York: Dell, 1978.
- Constant, Denis, *Aux sources du reggae: Musique société et politique en Jamaïque*. Roquevaire, France: Parenthèses, 1982.
- Cook, Ramsay, *Provincial Autonomy, Minority Rights and the Compact Theory, 1867-1921*. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1969.
- Cook, Richard and Brian Morton, *The Penguin Guide to Jazz Recordings*, 9th edition. London: Penguin Books, 2008.
- Cooper, Carolyn, *Sound Clash: Jamaican Dancehall Culture at Large*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Noises in the Blood: Orality, Gender and the 'Vulgar' Body of Jamaican Culture*. Kingston: Macmillan Caribbean, 1993.
- Cooper, Wayne F., *Claude McKay: Rebel Sojourner in the Harlem Renaissance, a Biography*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987.
- Copper, Bob, *A Song for Every Season*. London: Heinemann, 1971; St Albans: Paladin, 1975.
- Cordero-Guzman, Hector R., Ramon Grosfoguel and Robert Smith (eds.), *Race, Migration, Transnationalism, and Race in a Changing New York*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001.
- Cowan, Edward J. (ed.), *The Ballad in Scottish History*. Phantassie: Tuckwell Press Ltd., 2000.
- Creates, Marlene, *Places of Presence: Newfoundland kin and ancestral land, Newfoundland 1989-1991*. St. John's, NL: Killick's Press, 1997.
- Creighton, Donald G., *The Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence, 1760-1850*. Toronto:

- 
- Ryerson Press for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace: Division of Economics and History, 1937.
- Cruikshank, Julie, *Do Glaciers Listen?: Local Knowledge, Colonial Encounters, and Social Imagination*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2005.
- Cryderman, Brian K. and Augie Fleras, *Police, Race and Ethnicity*, revised edition. Toronto: Toronto Police, 1992.
- Rath, Richard Cullen, *How Early America Sounded*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003.
- Dahlie, Jorgen and Tissa Fernando (eds.), *Ethnicity, Power and Politics in Canada*. Toronto: Methuen, 1981.
- Davies, Carole B., *Black Women, Writing, and Identity: Migrations of the Subject*. London: Routledge, 1994.
- Davis, Stephen, *Bob Marley*. London: Plexus, (1985) 1993.
- Davis, Stephen and Peter Simon, *Reggae Bloodlines: In Search of the Music and Culture of Jamaica*. New York: Da Capo Press, (1977) 1992.
- \_\_\_\_\_, (eds.), *Reggae International*. New York: Rogner and Bernhard GMBH & Co., 1982.
- Dawes, Kwame, *Bob Marley: Lyrical Genius*. London: Sanctuary, 2002.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Natural Mysticism: Towards a New Reggae Aesthetic in Caribbean Writing*. Leeds: Peepal Tree, 1999.
- Dawney, Michael, 'George Butterworth's Folk Music Manuscript', *Folk Music Journal*, 2, 3. 1976.
- De Neve, Geert and Henrike Donner (eds.), *The Meaning of the Local: Politics of Place in Urban India*. London: Routledge, 2006.
- De Koningh, Michael and Marc Griffiths, *Tighten Up!: The History of Reggae in the UK*. London: Sanctuary Publishing Limited, 2004.
- De Koningh, Michael and Laurence Cane Honeysett, *Young, Gifted and Black: The Story of Trojan Records*. London: Sanctuary Publishing, Ltd., 2003.
- Dean-Smith, Margaret, 'Letters to Lucy Broadwood', *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society*, 9. 1964.
- Derrida, Jacques, *Of Grammatology*, English translation by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak. Baltimore & London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976.

- 
- DeVeaux, Scott, *The Birth of Bebop: A Social and Musical History*. Berkeley : University of California Press, 1997.
- Dines, Gail and Jean M. Humez (eds.), *Gender, Race and Class in Media*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1995.
- Dorson, Richard M., *The British Folklorists: A History*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968.
- Duncombe, Stephen and Maxwell Tremblay (eds.), *White Riot: Punk Rock and the Politics of Race*. London; Brooklyn: Verso, 2011.
- Eaton, George E., *Demographics of the Jamaican Community in Ontario*. Toronto: 1990.  
\_\_\_\_\_, *Canadians of Jamaican Heritage*. Chatham, Ont., 1986.  
\_\_\_\_\_, *Alexander Bustamante and Modern Jamaica*. Kingston, Jamaica, 1975.
- Edugyan, Esi, *The Second Life of Samuel Tyne*. Toronto: Random House Canada, 2004.
- Eldridge, Colin C., *The Imperial Experience: From Carlyle to Forster*. London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1996.
- English, John, *The Decline of Politics: The Conservatives and the Party System, 1901-1920*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977.
- Epp, Marlene, Franca Iacovetta and Frances Swyripa (eds.), *Sisters or Strangers?: Immigrant, Ethnic, and Racialized Women in Canadian History*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004.
- Evans, Amy, *Race Relations Bibliography*. Compiled for the Urban Alliance Centre on Race Relations. Toronto: Urban Alliance on Race Relations, 1985.
- Falassi, Alessandro (ed.), *Time out of Time: Essays on the Festival*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987.
- Festing, Sally, *Gertrude Jekyll*. New York: Viking, 1991.
- Foehr, Stephen, *Jamaican Warriors*. London: Sanctuary, 2000.
- Ford-Smith, Honor, *Lionheart Gal: Life Stories of Jamaican Women*. London: The Women's Press Limited, 1986.
- Foster, Chuck, *Roots, Rock, Reggae: An Oral History of Reggae Music from Ska to Dancehall*. New York: Billboard, 1999.

- 
- Frazier, Edward Franklin, *The Negro Family in the United States*. Revised and abridged edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, (1948) 1966.
- Fyfe, Christopher, *A History of Sierra Leone*. London: Oxford University Press, 1962.
- Gadsby, Meredith M., *Sucking Salt: Caribbean Women Writers, Migration, and Survival*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2006.
- Gans, David, *Conversations with the Dead: The Grateful Dead Interview Book*. Cambridge, MA: De Capo Press (1999) 2002.
- Gates Jr., Henry Louis, *The Signifying Monkey: A Theory of Afro-American Literary Criticism*. New York; London: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- Geertz, Clifford, *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology*. New York: Basic Books, 1983.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*. New York: Basic Books, 1973.
- Gibson, Chris and John Connell, *Music and Tourism: On the Road Again*. Tonawanda, NY: Channel View Publications, 2005.
- Gilbert, Pat, *Passion is a Fashion: The Real Story of the Clash*. London: Aurum Press Ltd., 2004.
- Gilroy, Paul, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack: The Cultural Politics of Race and Nation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.
- Glissant, Edouard, *Caribbean Discourse: Selected Essays*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1989.
- Goldman, Vivien, *The Book of Exodus: The Making and Meaning of Bob Marley and the Wailers' Album of the Century*. New York: Three Rivers Press, 2006.
- Goode, Coleridge and Roger Cotterrell, *Bass Lines: A Life in Jazz*. London: Northway Books, 2002.
- Gooden, Lou, *Reggae Heritage: Jamaica's Culture & Politics*. Kingston: Olivier Printery, 2003.
- Goodison, Lorna, *From Harvey River: A Memoir of My Mother and Her Island*. New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2007.
- Gordillo, Gaston R., *Landscapes of Devils: Tension of Place and Memory in the Argentinean Chaco*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004.

- 
- Gordon, Alan, *Making Public Pasts: The Contested Terrain of Montreal's Public Memories, 1891-1930*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001.
- Gordon, Shirley, *God Almighty Make Me Free: Christianity in Pre-Emancipation Jamaica*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996.
- Gosciak, Josh, *The Shadowed Country: Claude McKay and The Romance of the Victorians*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2006.
- Gosse, Van, *Rethinking the New Left: An Interpretive History*. New York: Palgrave, 2005.
- Govia, Francine and Helen Lewis, *Blacks in Canada: A Bibliographical Guide to the History of Blacks in Canada*. Edmonton: Harambee Centers Canada, 1988.
- Grant, Colin, *I & I The Natural Mystics: Marley, Tosh and Wailer*. London: Random House, 2011.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Negro with a Hat: The Rise and Fall of Marcus Garvey*. London: Vintage Books, 2009.
- Grant, John N., *The Maroons in Nova Scotia*. Halifax: Formac, 2002.
- Greaves, Ida C., *The Negro in Canada*. Montreal: McGill University Press, 1930.
- Gunst, Laurie, *Born Fi' Dead: A Journey Through the Jamaican Posse Underworld*. Edinburgh: Payback Press, 2005.
- Gwyn, Julian, *Excessive Expectations: Maritime Commerce and the Economic Development of Nova Scotia, 1740-1870*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997.
- Habekost, Christian, *Verbal Riddim: The Politics and Aesthetics of African-Caribbean Dub Poetry*. Amsterdam/Atlanta, GA: Rodpoi, 1993.
- Hall, Catherine, *Civilising Subjects: Colony and Metropole in the English Imagination, 1830-1867*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002.
- Hall, Stuart, 'Introduction: Who Needs "Identity"?', Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay, *Questions of Cultural Identity*. London: Thousand Oaks; California: Sage, 1996.
- Hamilton, Douglas J., *Scotland, the Caribbean and the Atlantic world, 1750-1820*. Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 2005.
- Harker, David, *Fakesong, The Manufacture of British 'Folksong' 1700 to the Present Day, Popular Music in Britain*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1985.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *One for the Money, Politics and Popular Song*. London: Hutchinson, 1980.



- 
- Robert Harney (ed.), *Gathering place: Peoples and Neighbourhoods of Toronto, 1834-1945*. Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1985.
- Harris, Joel Chandler, Brigadier General Clement A. Evans and W. J. Northen, *Memoirs of Georgia: Historical and Biographical Containing Historical Accounts of the State's Civil, Military, Industrial and Professional Interests, and Personal Sketches of Many of Its People*. Georgia: The Southern Historical Association, 1895.
- Harvey, David, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.
- Hawkins, Freda, *Canada and Immigration: Public Policy and Public Concern*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1972.
- Hayden, Dolores, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995.
- Head, Wilson A., *Adaptation of Immigrants: Perceptions of Ethnic and Racial Discrimination: An Exploratory Study*. Toronto: York University Press, 1981.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *The Black Presence in the Canadian Mosaic: A Study of Perception and Practice of Discrimination against Blacks in Metropolitan Toronto, Ontario*. Toronto: Ontario Human Rights Commission, 1975.
- Heartz, Daniel and Bonnie C. Wade (eds.), *International Musicological Society: Report of the Twelfth Congress, Berkeley 1977*. Kassel: Barenreiter, 1981.
- Hebdige, Dick, *Cut 'n' Mix: Culture, Identity and Caribbean Music*. London: Comedia, Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1987.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*. London: Methuen, 1979.
- Henderson, Stuart, *Making the Scene: Yorkville and Hip Toronto in the 1960s*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011.
- Henry, Frances, *The Caribbean Diaspora in Toronto: Learning to Live with Racism*. Toronto: University of Toronto, 1994.
- Henry, Frances and Effie Ginzberg, *Who Gets the Work: A Test of Racial Discrimination in Employment*. Toronto: The Urban Alliance on Race Relations and The Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, (1985) 1994.
- Henry, Keith S., *Black Politics in Toronto since World War I*, Occasional Papers in Ethnic and Immigration Studies. Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1981.

- 
- Herskovits, Melville J., *The Myth of the Negro Past*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1941.
- Heuman, Gad, *The Killing Time: The Morant Bay Rebellion in Jamaica*. London: Macmillan, 1994.
- Hier, Sean P. and B. Singh Bolaria, *Identity and Belonging: Rethinking Race and Ethnicity in Canadian Society*. Toronto: CSPI and Women's Press, 2006.
- High, Steven and David W. Lewis, *Corporate Wasteland: The Landscape and Memory of Deindustrialization*. Toronto: Between the Lines, 2007.
- Hill, Donna (ed.), *A Black Man's Toronto: The Reminiscences of Harry Gairey*. Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1981.
- Hoerder, Dick, *Creating Societies: Immigrant Lives in Canada*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000.
- Hogden, Margaret T., *The Doctrine of Survivals*. London: Allenson, 1936.
- Holt, Thomas C., *The Problem of Freedom; Race, Labor and Politics in Jamaica and Britain, 1832-1938*. Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 1992.
- Howes, Frank, *The English Musical Renaissance*. London: Secker and Warburg, 1966.
- Howe, Glenford D., *Race, War and Nationalism: A Social History of West Indians in the First World War*. Kingston: Ian Randle, 2002.
- Hurwitz, Sameul J. and Edith F. Hurwitz, *Jamaica: A Historical Portrait*. New York, 1971.
- Huttenback, Robert A., *Racism and Empire: White Settlers and Colored Immigrants in the British Self-Governing Colonies, 1830-1910*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1976.
- Huysen, Andreas, *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003.
- Iacovetta, Franca, *Gatekeepers: Reshaping Immigrant Lives in Cold War Canada*. Toronto: Between the Lines, 2006.
- Iacovetta, Franca, Paula Draper and Robert Ventresca (eds.), *A Nation of Immigrants: Women, Workers, and Communities in Canadian History, 1840s-1960s*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998.
- Iacovetta, Franca and Wendy Mitchinson (eds.), *On the Case: Explorations in Social History*. Toronto; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1998.

- 
- Innis, Harold (ed.), *Bilingualism and Biculturalism: An Abridged Version of the Royal Commission Report*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart in cooperation with the Secretary of State Department and Information Canada, 1973.
- Isajiw, Wsevolod (ed.), *Identities: The Impact of Ethnicity on Canadian Society*, Canadian Ethnic Studies Association, 5. Toronto: Martin, 1977.
- Jackson, John L., *Real Black: Adventures in Racial Sincerity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.
- Jackson, Ronald L., *Scripting the Black Masculine Body: Identity, Discourse, and Racial Politics in Popular Media*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006.
- Jahn, Brian and Tom Weber, *Reggae Island: Jamaican Music in the Digital Age*. New York: Da Capo, 1998.
- Jakubowski, Lisa M., *Immigration and the Legalization of Racism*. Black Point: Fernwood Publishing, 1997.
- James, Carl E. and Adrienne Shadd (eds.), *Talking About Identity: Encounters in Race, Ethnicity, and Language*. Toronto: Between the Lines, 2001.
- James, Winston, *A Fierce Hatred of Injustice: Claude McKay's Jamaica and His Poetry of Rebellion*. London: Verso, 2000.
- Jensen, Peta Gay, *The Last Colonials: The Story of Two European Families in Jamaica*. London: The Radcliffe Press, 2005.
- Johnson, G. Fuji and Randy Enomoto (eds.), *Race, Racialization, and Antiracism in Canada and Beyond*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007.
- Jones, Arthur M., *Studies in African Music*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959.
- Jones, Simon, *Black Culture, White Youth: The Reggae Tradition from JA to UK*. Basingstoke, England: Macmillan, 1988.
- Katz, David, *Solid Foundation: An Oral History of Reggae*. New York: Bloomsbury, 2003.
- Kelley, Ninette and Michael Trebilock, *The Making of the Mosaic: A History of Canadian Immigration Policy*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998.
- Kennedy, Michael, *The Works of Ralph Vaughan Williams*. London: Oxford University Press, 1966.

- 
- Killian, Crawford, *Go Do Some Great Thing: The Black Pioneers of British Columbia*. Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1978.
- King, Stephen A., *Reggae, Rastafari, and the Rhetoric of Social Control*. Mississippi: University Press of Mississippi, 2002.
- Kitwana, Bakari, *Why White Kids Love Hip Hop: Wankstas, Wiggers, Wannabes, and the New Realities of Race in America*. New York: Basic Civitas Books, 2005.
- Knowles, Valerie, *Strangers at Our Gates: Canadian Immigration and Immigration Policy, 1540-2006*. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2007.
- Laade, Wolfgang, *Die Situation von Musikleben und Musikforschung in den Laendern Afrikas und Asiens und die neuen Aufgaben der Musikethnologie*. Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1969.
- Lake, Marilyn and Henry Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men's Countries and the International Challenge of Racial Equality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Manuel, Peter Lamarche, Kenneth Bilby and Michael Largey, *Caribbean Currents: Caribbean Music from Rumba to Reggae*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995.
- Lambertson, Ross, *Repression and Resistance: Canadian Human Rights Activists, 1930-1950*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005.
- Larkin, Colin, *The Virgin Encyclopedia of Reggae*. London: Virgin Books, 1998.  
\_\_\_\_\_, (ed.), *The Guinness Who's Who of Reggae*. London: Guinness Publishing Ltd., 1994.
- Lawson, Winston A., *Religion and Race: African and European Roots in a Jamaican Testament, volume four, Research in Religion and Family*. New York: Peter Lang, 1996.
- Laycock, David, *Populism and Democratic Thought in the Canadian Prairies, 1910-1945*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990.
- Lee, Helene, *The First Rasta: Leonard Howell and the Rise of Rastafarianism*. Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books, 1999.
- Levi, Darrell E., *Michael Manley: The Making of a Leader*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1990.
- Levine, Barry B. (ed.), *The Caribbean Exodus*. New York: Praeger, 1987.

- 
- Levitt, Kari and Alister McIntyre, *Canada-West Indies Economic Relations*. Montreal: McGill University, 1967.
- Levy, Andrea, *Fruit of the Lemon*. New York: Picador, (2005) 1999.
- Lewin, Olive, *Rock it Come Over: The Folk Music of Jamaica*. Mona, Jamaica: The University of the West Indies Press, 2000.
- Li, Peter S. (ed.), *Race and Ethnic Relations in Canada*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Lipsitz, George, *Dangerous Crossroads: Popular Music, Postmodernism and the Poetics of Place*. New York: Verso, 1994.
- Lloyd, A.L., *Folk Song in England*. London: Lawrence and Wishart Ltd., 1967.
- Long, Edward, *The History of Jamaica: Reflections on its Situation, Settlements, Inhabitants, Climate, Products, Commerce, Laws and Government*, three volumes. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, (1774) 2003.
- Lorenzkowski, Barbara, *Sounds of Ethnicity: Listening to German North America, 1850-1914*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2010.
- Mackerness, Eric David, *A Social History of English Music*. London: Routledge and K. Paul, (1964) 1966.
- MacLennan, Christopher, *Toward the Charter: Canadians and the Demand for a National Bill of Rights, 1929-1960*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003.
- MacNutt, W. Stewart, *The Atlantic Provinces: The Emergence of Colonial Society, 1712-1857*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1965.
- Magosci, Paul R., *Encyclopaedia of Canada's Peoples*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999.
- Marc, Stephen, *The Black Trans-Atlantic Experience: Street Life and Culture in Ghana, Jamaica, England, and the United States*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992.
- Mason, Laura, *Singing the French Revolution: Popular Culture and Politics, 1787-1799*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996.
- Masouri, Jon, *Wailing Blues: The Story of Bob Marley's Wailers*. London: Omnibus Press, (2008) 2009.
- Massingham, Betty, *Miss Jekyll: Portrait of a Great Gardener*. London: Country Life Ltd., 1966.

- 
- McKay, Ian, *Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994.
- McLaren, Angus, *Our Own Master Race: Eugenics in Canada 1885-1945*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1990.
- McLaren, John P.S., Robert Menzies and Dorothy E. Chunn (eds.), *Regulating Lives: Historical Essays on the State, Society, the Individual, and the Law*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2002.
- McClellan, Daniel and Karsten Schubert (eds.), *Dear Images: Art, Copyright, and Culture*. London: Ridinghouse, ICA, 2002.
- McWatt, Tessa, *Out of My Skin*. Toronto: Riverbank Press, 1998.
- Mintz, Sydney W. and Richard Price, *The Birth of African-American Culture: An Anthropological Perspective*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1992.
- Mintz, Sidney W. and Sally Price (eds.), *Caribbean Contours*. Baltimore; London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985.
- Moore, Don, *Don Moore: An Autobiography*. Toronto: Williams-Wallace, 1985.
- Morrison, James Dalton (ed.), *Masterpieces of Religious Verse*. New York; London: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1948.
- Moskowitz, David, *Caribbean Popular Music: An Encyclopaedia of Reggae, Mento, Ska, Rock Steady and Dancehall*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2006.
- Murray, Tom (ed.), *Folk Songs of Jamaica*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1951.
- Nettleford, Rex M., *Mirror Mirror: Identity, Race and Protest in Jamaica*. Kingston: LMH Publishing, (1970) 1998.
- Nicholson, G. (et al.), The Community Review and Research Group – Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, *Who Comes Here?: A Background Analysis of the Federal Green Paper on Immigration*. Toronto: The Council, 1975.
- Nketia, J.H. Kwabena, *The Music of Africa*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1974.  
\_\_\_\_\_, *African Music in Ghana*. Evanston, Ill: Northwestern University Press, 1963.
- Norrell, Robert J., *Up from History: The Life of Booker T. Washington*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009.
- North, Michael, *The Dialect of Modernism: Race, Language and Twentieth-Century Literature*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.

- 
- Nyong'o, Tavia, *The Amalgamation Waltz: Race, Performance, and the Ruses of Memory*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009.
- O Maolain, Ciaran, *The Radical Right: A World Directory*. Burnt Mill, Harlow, Essex: Longman, 1987.
- Ojo, Adebayo, *Bob Marley: Songs of African Redemption*. Lagos: Malthouse Press Ltd., 2000.
- Opp, James and John C. Walsh, *Placing Memory and Remembering Place in Canada*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010.
- Owram, Doug, *Born at the Right Time: A History of the Baby Boom in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996.
- Palmer, Bryan D., *Descent into Discourse: The Reification of Language and the Writing of Social History*. Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 1990.
- Panish, Jon, *The Color of Jazz: Race and Representation in Postwar American Culture*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1997.
- Patterson, Orlando, *The Sociology of Slavery: An Analysis of the Origins, Development and Structure of Negro Slave Society in Jamaica*. Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1969.
- Perdue, Theda, *Race and the Atlanta Cotton States Exposition of 1895*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2010.
- Perkins, William E. (ed.), *Droppin' Science: Critical Essays of Rap Music and Hip Hop Culture*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996. 1-45.
- Peterson, John, *Province of Freedom: A History of Sierra Leone, 1787-1870*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1969.
- Potash, Chris (ed.), *Reggae, Rasta, Revolution: Jamaican Music from Ska to Dub*. New York: Schirmer Books, 1997.
- Prazniak, Roxann and Arif Dirlik (eds.), *Places and Politics in an Age of Globalization*, Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001.
- Price, Richard, *The Convict and the Colonial*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1998.
- Ramsey, Guthrie P., *Race Music: Black Cultures from Bebop to Hip-hop*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.

- 
- Reitz, Jeffrey G., Liviana Calzavara and Donna Dasko, *Ethnic Inequality and Segregation in Jobs*. Toronto: Centre for Urban and Community Studies, University of Toronto, 1981.
- Richmond, Anthony H., *Caribbean Immigrants: A Demographic Economic Analysis*. Ottawa: 1989.
- Robertson, Alan, *Joe Harriott: Fire in His Soul*. London: Northway Publications, 2012.
- Robinson, Carey, *The Iron Thorn: The Defeat of the British by the Jamaican Maroons*. Kingston: Kingston Publishers, 1993.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *The Fighting Maroons of Jamaica*. Kingston: William Collins & Sangster Ltd., 1969.
- Rose, Euclid A., *Dependency and Socialism in the Modern Caribbean: Superpower Intervention in Guyana, Jamaica and Grenada, 1970-1985*. Boston: Lexington Books, 2002.
- Rose, Tricia, *Black Noise: Rap Music and Black Culture in Contemporary America*. London: Wesleyan University Press, 1994.
- Roszak, Theodore, *The Making of a Counterculture*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday Anchor, 1969.
- Rouse, Marylin, *Jamaican Folk Music – A Synthesis of Many Cultures*. Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2000.
- Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, *Marianne North at Kew Gardens*. Exeter, Devon: Webb & Bower, in association with the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, 1990.
- Ruck, Calvin, *Canada's Black Battalion, 1916-1920: Canada's Best Kept Military Secret*. Halifax: Nimbus, 1987.
- Said, Edward, *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Knopf, 1993.
- Saleqicz, Chris, *Redemption Song: The Ballad of Joe Strummer*. New York: Faber and Faber Inc., (2006) 2007.
- Salewicz, Chris and Adrian Boot, *Bob Marley: Songs of Freedom*. New York: Viking Studio Books, 1995.
- Sanchez, George, *Becoming Mexican American: Ethnicity, Culture, and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900-1945*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Satzewich, Vic, *Racism and the Incorporation of Foreign Labour: Farm labour Migration to Canada since 1945*. New York: Routledge, 1991.



- 
- Saul, Scott, *Freedom Is, Freedom Ain't: Jazz and the Making of the Sixties*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003.
- Saunders, Charles R., *Sweat and Soul: The Saga of Black Boxers from the Halifax Forum to Caesar's Palace*. Hantsport: Lancelot Press, 1990.
- Savage, Jon, *England's Dreaming: Anarchy, Sex Pistols, Punk Rock, and Beyond*. New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 2001.
- Schafer, R. Murray, *The Tuning of the World: Towards a Theory of Soundscape Design*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1980.
- Seenath, Harriet, Navin Joneja, Antoni Shelton, *Race and the Canadian Justice System: An Annotated Bibliography*. Toronto: Urban Alliance on Race Relations, 1995.
- Sefa-Dei, George J. and Agnes Calliste, *Anti Racist Feminism, Critical Race and Gender Studies*. Halifax: Fernwood, 2000.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Removing the Margins: The Margins and Possibilities of Inclusive Schooling*. Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press, 2000.
- Sher, Julian, *White Hoods: Canada's Ku Klux Klan*. Vancouver: New Star Books, 1983.
- Segal, Ronald, *The Black Diaspora*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1995.
- Semmel, Bernard, *The Governor Eyre Controversy*. London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1962.
- Shea, Kevin and John Jason Wilson, *Lord Stanley: The Man Behind the Cup*. Toronto: Fenn Publishing, 2006.
- Sheridan, Maureen, *Bob Marley: Soul Rebel: The Stories Behind Every Song 1962-1981*. Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 1999.
- Silvera, Makeda, *Silenced: Caribbean Domestic Workers Talk With Makeda Silvera*. Toronto: Sister Vision Press, 1983.
- Simpson, Donald G., *Under The North Star: Black Communities in Upper Canada before Confederation (1867)*, edited by P.E. Lovejoy. New Brunswick, NJ: Africa World Press, 2005.
- Small, Christopher, *Music of the Common Tongue: Survival and Celebration in Afro-American Music, 1927-2011*. London: J. Calder; New York: Riverrun Press 1987.
- Smith, Anthony D., *Nationalism and Modernism*. New York: Routledge, 1998.

- 
- Smith, Mark, *Listening to Nineteenth-Century America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001.
- Smith, Michael Garfield, *The Plural Society in the British West Indies*. Berkeley, Calif., 1974.
- Smith, Zadie, *White Teeth*. London: Hamish Hamilton, 2000.
- Southall, Brian, *The A-Z of Record Labels*. London: Sanctuary Publishing, 2000.
- Spray, William A., *The Blacks in New Brunswick*. Fredericton: Brunswick Press, 1972.
- Stephens, Gregory, *On Racial Frontiers: The New Culture of Frederick Douglass, Ralph Ellison, and Bob Marley*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Stewart, Dianne M., *Three Eyes for the Journey: African Dimensions of the Jamaican Religious Experience*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Stocking Jr., George W., *Victorian Anthropology*. New York and London: Macmillan, 1987.
- Stolzoff, Norman, *Wake the Town & Tell the People: Dancehall Culture in Jamaica*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2000.
- Storti, Craig, *Cross-Cultural Dialogues*. Boston: Intercultural Press, 1994.
- Stranger-Ross, Jordan, *Staying Italian: Urban Change and Ethnic Life in Postwar Toronto and Philadelphia*. Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2009.
- Sutherland, Neil, *Growing Up: Childhood in English Canada from the Great War to the Age of Television*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997.
- Taussig, Michael, *Mimesis and Alterity*. New York: Routledge, 1993.
- Talbot, Carol, *Growing Up Black in Canada*. Toronto: Williams-Wallace Productions, 1984.
- Taylor, Timothy D., *Global Pop: World Music, World Markets*. New York: Routledge, 1997.
- Thomas, Deborah, *Modern Blackness: Nationalism, Globalization and the Politics of Culture in Jamaica*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2004.
- Thomson, Colin A., *Blacks in Deep Snow*. Toronto: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1979.
- Thompson, Dave, *Wheels out of Gear: 2-Tone, The Specials and a World in Flame*. London: Soundcheck Books, 2004.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Reggae & Caribbean Music*. San Francisco: Backbeat Books, 2002.

- 
- Tippett, Maria, *Making Culture: English-Canadian Institutions and the Arts Before the Massey Commission*, third edition. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990.
- Tooley, Michael and Primrose Arlander (eds.), *Gertrude Jekyll: Essays on the Life of a Working Amateur*. Durham: Michaelmas Books, 1995.
- Tulchinsky, Gerald J.J. (ed.), *Immigration in Canada: Historical Perspectives*. Toronto: Copp Clark Longman, 1994.
- Turkel, William, *The Archive of Place: Unearthing the Past of the Chilcotin Plateau*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007.
- Turino, Thomas, *Nationalists, Cosmopolitans, and Popular Music in Zimbabwe*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.
- Underhill, Edward Bean, *The Tragedy of Morant Bay, 1813-1901*. Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1971.
- Urry, John, *The Tourist Gaze*, Second Edition. London: Sage Publications, 2002.
- Vance, Jonathan F., *A History of Canadian Culture*. Don Mills, Ontario: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Veal, Michael, *Dub: Soundscapes and Shattered Songs in Jamaican Reggae*. Hanover: Wesleyan University Press, 2007.
- Venn, John Archibald (comp.), *Alumni Cantabrigienses*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1922-1954.
- Vipond, Mary, *The Mass Media in Canada*. Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, [1989] 2000.
- Von Eschen, Penny, *Race against Empire: Black American and Anticolonialism, 1937-1957*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997.
- Wald, Elijah, *Escaping the Delta: Robert Johnson and the Invention of the Blues*. New York: Amistad, 2004.
- Walker, Barrington (ed.), *History of Immigration and Racism in Canada*. Toronto: CSPI and Women's Press, 2008.
- Walker, James W. St. G., *'Race,' Rights and the Law in the Supreme Court of Canada: Historical Case Studies*. Waterloo: The Osgoode Society for Canadian Legal History and Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1997.

- 
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Racial Discrimination in Canada: The Black Experience*. Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1985.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *The West Indians in Canada, Canada's Ethnic Groups*, 6. Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1984.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *The Black Loyalists: The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone, 1783-1870*. London: Longman and Dalhousie University Press, 1976.
- Walker, James W. St. G. and Patricia Thorvaldson, *Identity: The Black Experience in Canada*. Toronto: Gage, 1979.
- Walker, Klive, *Dubwise: Reasoning from the Reggae Underground*. Toronto: Insomniac Press, 2005.
- Walker, Martin, *The National Front*. Glasgow: Fontana Collins, (1977) 1978.
- Washington, Booker T., *Up from Slavery*. New York: Doubleday, Page, 1901.
- Waters, Anita M., *Race, Class, and Political Symbols: Rastafari and Reggae in Jamaican Politics*. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Books, 1985.
- Weiner, Martin J., *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985.
- Weis, Lois (ed.), *Race, Class and Schooling*. Buffalo: 1986.
- White, Newman I., *American Negro Folk-Songs*. Hatboro, Pa.: Folklore Associates, (1928) 1965.
- White, Timothy, *Catch a Fire: The Life of Bob Marley*. New York: Henry Holt and Co., (1983) 1998.
- Whitfield, Harvey Amani, *Blacks on the Border: The Black Refugees in British North America, 1815-1860*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2006.
- Whitney, Malika Lee and Dermott Hussey, *Bob Marley: Reggae King of the World*. Kingston: Kingston Publishers Limited, 1984.
- Whitzman, Carolyn, *Suburb, Slum, Urban Village: Transformations in Toronto's Parkdale Neighbourhood, 1875-2002*. Vancouver; Toronto: UBC Press, 2009.
- Whyllie, Marjorie, *Mento: The What and the How*. Kingston: Whyllie Communications, 2000.
- Widgery, David, *Beating Time*. London: Pluto, 1986.
- Wiegman, Robyn, *American Anatomies: Theorizing Race and Gender*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995.

- 
- Williams, Rosalie, *Jamaican National Bibliography: 1964-1970*. Kingston: West India Reference Library, Institute of Jamaica, 1973.
- Williams, Ursula Vaughan, *R.V.W: A Biography of Ralph Vaughan Williams*. London: Oxford University Press, 1965.
- Winks, Robin W., *The Blacks in Canada: A History*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1971.
- Wulff, Helena, *Twenty Girls: Growing up, Ethnicity and Excitement in a South London Microculture*. Stockholm: Stockholm Studies in Anthropology, University of Stockholm, 1988.
- Young, Robert J.C., *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race*. London: Routledge, 1995.

---

JOURNALS, ARTICLES, BOOK CHAPTERS AND REVIEWS

Abrahams, Roger D., 'An American Vocabulary of Celebration', in Alessandro Falassi (ed.), *Time out of Time: Essays on the Festival*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987.

Abu-Laban, Yasmeeen, 'Welcome/Stay Out: The Contradiction of Canadian Integration and Immigration Policies at the Millennium', *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 30, 3. 1998.

Aitken, Will, 'Jolt of Juno power could do the trick', *Globe and Mail*. 2 November 1985.

Alexander, Donnell, 'Cool like me (are Black people cooler than White people?)', *Shiny Adidas Tracksuits and the Death of Camp. And other essays from Might Magazine*. New York: Berkley Boulevard Books, 1998. 46-58.

Alleyne, Mike, 'White Reggae: Cultural Dilution in the Record Industry', *Popular Music and Society*, 24, 1. 2000.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Resistance and Subversion in Caribbean Popular Music', *The Griot*, 16, 1. Spring 1997.

'An era dies with Isaacs', *The Gleaner*. 14 November 2010.

Andre, Irving, 'The Genesis and Persistence of the Commonwealth Caribbean Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program in Canada', *Osgoode Hall Law Journal*, 28, 2. 1990.

Appadurai, Arjun, 'Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Economy', *Public Culture*, 2, 2. 1990.

Armitage, David, 'The Scottish Diaspora', J. Wormald (ed.), *Scotland: A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

Bailey, Peter, 'Conspiracies of Meaning: Music-Hall and the Knowingness of Popular Culture', *Past and Present*, 144. 1994. 138-170.

Bakish, Nazim, 'Toronto murders drop after Jamaica-based gang crackdown', CBC News, 19 January 2012. www.cbc.ca.

Barth, Frederick (ed.), 'Introduction', in *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference*. Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1969.

Bashi, Vilna, 'Globalized Anti-Blackness: Transnationalizing Western Immigration Law, Policy, and Practice,' *Ethnic & Racial Studies*, 27, 4. 2004.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Neither Ignorance Nor Bliss: Race, Racism, and the West Indian Immigrant Experience', Hector R. Cordero-Guzman, Ramon Grosfoguel and Robert Smith (eds.), *Race, Migration, Transnationalism, and Race in a Changing New York*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001.

- 
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Racial Categories Matter Because Racial Hierarchies Matter: A Commentary', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 21, 5, 1998.
- Bashi, Vilna and Antonio McDaniel, 'A Theory of Immigration and Racial Stratification', *Journal of Black Studies*, 27, 5, 1997.
- Bauerlein, Mark, 'Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois: The origins of a bitter intellectual battle', *The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education*, 46. Winter 2004.
- Bearman, Chris J., 'Cecil Sharp in Somerset: Some Reflections on the Work of David Harker', *Folklore*, 113. 2002. 11-34.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Who Were the Folk?: The Demography of Cecil Sharp's Somerset Folk Singers', *Historical Journal*, 43, 3. 2000.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Kate Lee and the Foundation of the Folk-Song Society', *Folk Music Journal*, 7. 1999.
- Bearman, Stuart, 'Rastaman Variations: Jason Wilson and Tabarruk', *Eye Magazine*. 21 May 1998.
- Benjamin, Akua, 'The Social and Legal Banishment of Anti-racism: A Black Perspective', Wendy Chan and Kiran Mirchandani (eds.), *Crimes of Colour: Racialization and the Criminal Justice System in Canada*. Peterborough: Broadview Press, Ltd., 2002.
- Benjamin, Walter, 'Unpacking My Library', Jo Steffens (ed.), *Unpacking My Library: Architects and Their Books*. New Haven, CT; New York: Yale University Press; Urban Center Books, (1931) 2009.
- Beckwith, Martha, 'The English Ballad in Jamaica: A Note Upon the Origin of the Ballad Form', *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 39. 1924.
- Benham, Robert, 'Booker T. Washington: 'A Man Who Had a Vision, Who Believed that We Were All in this Boat Together''. Excerpts from a speech delivered by Justice Robert Benham at the Georgia Public Policy Foundation's Nov. 9 Policy Briefing Luncheon at the Commerce Club. Published online 9 June 2006. [www.gppf.org](http://www.gppf.org)
- Bennett, Gillian, 'The Thomsian Heritage in the Folklore Society (London)', *Journal of Folklore Research*, 33, 3. 1996.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Folklore Studies and the English Rural Myth', *Rural History*, 4. 1993. 77-91.
- Bennett, Louise, 'Me and Annancy', Walter Jekyll, *Jamaican Song and Story: Annancy Stories, Digging Sings, Ring Tunes, and Dancing Tunes*. Collected and Edited by Walter Jekyll with an introduction by Alice Werner. London: David Nutt, for the Folk-Lore Society, (1907); republished Mineola: Dover Publications, Inc., (1966) 2005.

- 
- Berry, Glyn R., 'The West Indies in Canadian External Relations: Present Trends and Future Prospects', B.D. Tennyson (ed.), *Canada and the Commonwealth Caribbean*. London: University Press of America, 1988.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Immigration in Canada – West Indies Relations: An Unwelcome Retrenchment', *Review Interamericana*, 7, 1. 1977.
- 'Best of the Century', *Time Magazine*. 31 December 1999. [www.time.com](http://www.time.com).
- Bilby, Kenneth, 'Gumbay, Myal, and the Great House: New Evidence on the Religious Background of Jonkonnu in Jamaica', *ACIJ Research Review*, 4. 1999.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'The Caribbean as a Musical Region', Sidney W. Mintz and Sally Price (eds.), *Caribbean Contours*. Baltimore; London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Kromanti Dance of the Windward Maroons of Jamaica', *Nieuwe West-Indische Gids*, 55, 1/2. 1981.
- Bohlman, Philip V., 'On the Unremarkable in Music', *19<sup>th</sup>-Century Music*, 16, 2. 1991. Rogers
- Bold, Valentina, "'Nouther right spelled nor right setten down": Scott, Child and the Hogg Family Ballads', Edward J. Cowan, (ed.), *The Ballad in Scottish History*. Phantassie: Tuckwell Press Ltd., 2000.
- Bonnett, Alistair, 'Whiteness in Crisis', *History Today*. December 2000.
- Boothroyd, Ted, 'Album Review: *The Peacemaker's Chauffeur*', *Beat*, 28, 1. Los Angeles: 2009.
- Boxill, Ian, 'The Two Faces of Caribbean Music', *Social & Economic Studies*, 43, 2. 1994.
- Bradley, Lloyd, '30th anniversary edition of the group's great debut album', *BBC Review*. 9 November 2010. [bbc.co.uk/music/reviews](http://bbc.co.uk/music/reviews)
- Brand, Dionne, 'Black Women and Work: The Impact of Racially Constructed Gender Roles on the sexual Division of Labour', Part 2, *Fireweed*, 26. 1988.
- Brathwaite, Keren S. and C. James, 'The Education of African Canadians: Issues, Contexts and Expectations', Keren S. Brathwaite and Carl E. James (eds.), *Educating African Canadians*. Toronto: James Lorimer, 1996.
- Brewster, Havelock, 'Canada and the West Indies: Some Issues in International Economic Relations', *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 2, 3. 1967.
- Brown, James, 'Signing Off and the press', [ub40.co.uk](http://ub40.co.uk). 6 November 2010.
- Brubaker, Rogers, 'Ethnicity Without Groups', *Archives européennes de sociologie*, 43, 2. November 2002.



- 
- Bryan, Beverley, 'Jamaican Creole: In the Process of Becoming', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 27, 4. 2004.
- Cahill, Barry, 'Book Review', *Canadian Historical Review*, 82, 2. 2001.
- Calliste, Agnes, 'African Canadians' Organizing for Educational Change', Keren S. Brathwaite and Carl E. James (eds.), *Educating African Canadians*. Toronto: James Lorimer. 1996.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'The Struggle for Employment Equity by Blacks on American and Canadian Railroads', *Journal of Black Studies*, 25, 3, 1995.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Race, Gender and Canadian Immigration Policy: Blacks from the Caribbean, 1900-1932', *Journal of Canadian Studies* 28, 4, 1993-4.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Women of Exceptional Merit': Immigration of Caribbean Nurses to Canada', *Canadian Journal of Women and Law*, 6, 1993.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Canada's Immigration Policy and Domesticity from the Caribbean: The Second Domestic Scheme', *Socialist Studies*, 5, 1989.
- Campbell, Howard, 'Carlene Davis focuses on "Best of Glory"', *The Gleaner*. 4 August 2009.
- Carlson, Kathryn Blaze, "'Canada's Rosa Parks,' Viola Desmond, posthumously pardoned', *National Post*. 14 April 2010.
- Carr, Brenda, 'Come mek wi work together: Community Witness and Social Agency in Lillian Allen's Dub Poetry', *Ariel: A Review of International English Literature*, 29. July 1998.
- Carrión, Ulises, 'The New Art of Making Books', *Kontexts*, 6-7. 1975.
- Carrothers, William A., 'The Immigration Problem in Canada', *Queen's Quarterly*. 1929.
- Carter, Tim, 'The Sounds of Silence: Models for an Urban Musicology', *Urban History*, 29, 1. 2002.
- Caudeiron, Daniel, 'Jackie Mittoo', *The Encyclopedia of Music in Canada*, encyclopaedia entry. Historica Dominion Institute; The Canadian Encyclopedia: c.2006. [www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com](http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com)
- Caudeiron, Daniel and Corinna Prior, 'Reggae', *The Encyclopedia of Music in Canada*, encyclopaedia entry. Historica Dominion Institute; The Canadian Encyclopedia: c.2006. [www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com](http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com)
- CBC, 'The Harder They Come hits Toronto Musical is based on 1972 film that made Jimmy Cliff a star', *CBC News: Arts and Entertainment*. 20 July 2009. [www.cbc.ca](http://www.cbc.ca)
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Grammy board axes polka category to stay 'relevant and responsive'', *CBC News: Arts and Entertainment*. 4 June 2009. [www.cbc.ca](http://www.cbc.ca)

- 
- Cecil, Robert G. and G. Eddie Ebanks, 'The Human Condition of West Indian Migrant Farm Labour in Southwestern Ontario', *International Migration*, 29, 3. 1991.
- Chang, Jeff, 'Overpowered by Funk', San Francisco Bay Guardian. 1 January 2003.
- Citizen K., 'The Heptones: Book of Rules', *Just A Song: Thoughts on songs and songwriters*. 28 April 2009. justasong2.blogspot.com
- Cobham, Rhonda, 'Jekyll and Claude: The Erotics of Patronage in Claude McKay's Banana Bottom', Cindy Patton and Benigno Sánchez-Eppler, *Queer Diasporas*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000.
- Codjoe, Henry, 'Fighting a 'Public Enemy' of Black Academic Achievement: The Persistence of Racism and the Schooling Experiences of Black Students in Canada', *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 4, 4, 2001.
- Conway, Dennis and Robert B. Potter, 'Caribbean Transnational Return Migrants as Agents of Change', *Geography Compass*, 1, 1. 2007.
- Conzen, Kathleen Neils, David A. Gerber, Ewa Morawska, George E. Pozzetta and Rudolph J. Vecoli, 'The Invention of Ethnicity: A Perspective from the U.S.A.', *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 12, 1. 1992.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Mainstream and Side Channels: The Localization of Immigrant Cultures', *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 11, 1. 1990.
- Cook, Sebastian, 'Jason Wilson', Performance Review, *The Live Music Report*. 25 September 2008.
- Cooke, Mel, "'One Love/People Get Ready' heads Jamaican top 100: Criticism, congrats after list revealed at UWI', *The Gleaner*. 20 April 2009.
- Cooper, Derek W., 'Migration From Jamaica In The 1970s: Political Protest Or Economic Pull?', *International Migration Review*, 19, 4. 1985.
- Cornell, Saul, 'Splitting The Difference: Textualism, Contextualism, and Post-Modern History', *American Studies*, 36, 1. Spring 1995.
- Cowan, Edward J., 'Hunting of the Ballad', Edward J. Cowan (ed.), *The Ballad in Scottish History*. Phantassie: Tuckwell Press Ltd., 2000.
- Cross, M., 'West Indians and the Problem of the Metropolitan Majority', *Black Kids, White Kids, What Hope?* Papers presented at the second symposia organized by the Regional Training Consultative Unit at Brunel University, Leicester, England. December: 1978.

- 
- Cushman, Thomas, 'Rich Rastas and Communist Rockers: A Comparative Study of the Origin, Diffusion, and Defusion of Revolutionary Musical Codes', *Journal of Popular Culture*, 25, 3. 1991.
- Cuthbert, Marlene and Vernone Sparkes, 'Coverage of Jamaica in the U.S. and Canadian Press in 1976', *Social & Economic Studies*, 27, 2. 1978.
- Daley, Dianne, 'Copyright Law and Administration in Jamaica (1990-2000): A Decade of Positive Development'. 2001. [www.fogadaley.com](http://www.fogadaley.com).
- Darden, Joe T. Darden and Sameh M. Kamel, 'Black And White Differences In Homeownership Rates In The Toronto Census Metropolitan Area: Does Race Matter?', *Review Of Black Political Economy*, 28, 2. 2000.
- Davis, Andrea, 'Translating Narratives of Masculinity across Borders: A Jamaican Case Study', *Caribbean Quarterly*, 52, 2-3. 2006.
- Dawes, Kwami, '360 Degrees Black: A Conversation with Lillian Allen', *West Coast Line*, 31. Spring-Summer 1997.
- DiManno, Rosie, 'Jane-Finch: Perceptions and Realities', *Toronto Star*. 30 November 1986.
- Donaghy, Greg, 'The Rise and Fall of Canadian Military Assistance in the Developing World, 1952-1971', *Canadian Military History*, 4, 1. 1995.
- Dorson, Richard M., 'The Eclipse of Solar Mythology', Alan Dundes (ed.), *The Study of Folklore*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965.
- Doumerc, Eric, 'Nuff Lyrics" The Heptones – "Book of Rules"', *Reggae Review*. April/May 2007. [www.reggaereview.com](http://www.reggaereview.com)
- Duany, Jorge, 'Beyond the Safety Valve: Recent Trends in Caribbean Migration', *Social & Economic Studies*, 43, 1. 1994.
- Duffin, Charles, 'Fixing Tradition: Making History from Ballad Texts', Edward J. Cowan (ed.), *The Ballad in Scottish History*. Phantassie: Tuckwell Press Ltd., 2000.
- Eaton, George E., 'Jamaicans', Paul R. Magosci, *Encyclopaedia of Canada's Peoples*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Sugar and the Commonwealth Caribbean', *Caribbean Quarterly*, 18, 1. 1972.
- Elam, Rachel, 'Jamaican Christian Missions and the End of Slavery', *Historia*, 14. Charleston, Illinois: *Epsilon Mu Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta* and the Department of History at Eastern Illinois University, 2005.

---

Erlewine, Stephen Thomas. *All Music Guide*. www.allmusic.com

Escobar, Arturo, 'Culture Sits in Places: Reflections on Globalism and Subaltern Strategies of Localization', *Political Geography*, 20. 2001.

Evans, David, 'Introduction', *American Music*, 14, 4. December 1996.

Eversole, Linda, 'John Robert Giscome, Jamaican Miner and Explorer', *British Columbia Historical News*, 18, 3, 1985.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Canada's First Black Jamaican Lawyer', in *Jamaican Weekly Gleaner*. February 1996.

Fisher, Kristen J., 'Book Review', Race, Racialization, and Antiracism in Canada and Beyond, *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 41, 2. June 2008.

Flynn, Karen C., 'Experience and Identity: Black Immigrant Nurses to Canada, 1950-1980', in Marlene Epp, Franca Iacovetta and Frances Swyripa (*et al*), *Sisters or Strangers? Immigrant, Ethnic, and Racialized Women in Canadian History*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004.

Foner, Philip S., 'The Coloured Inhabitants of Vancouver Island', *B.C. Studies*, 8. 1970-71.

Ford-Smith, Honor, 'Making White Ladies: Race, Gender and the Production of Identities in Late Colonial Jamaica', *Resources for Feminist Research*, 23, 4. 1994-1995.

Forman, Murray, 'Represent: Race Space and Place in Rap Music', *Popular Music*, 19, 1. 2000.

Fraley, Todd, 'I Got a Natural Skill...: Hip-Hop, Authenticity, and Whiteness', *The Howard Journal of Communications*, 20. 2009.

Francmanis, John V., 'National Music to National Redeemer: The Consolidation of a "Folk Song" Construct in Edwardian England', *Popular Music*, 21. 2002. 1-25.

Franklin, John Hope, 'Introduction', *Three Negro Classics: Booker T. Washington, Up From Slavery; W.E.B. Dubois, The Souls of Black Folk; James Weldon Johnson, The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man*. New York: Avon Books, (1965) 1999.

Freyburg, Annabel, 'Edward and Julia Jekyll and their Family', Michael Tooley and Primrose Arnander (*eds.*), *Gertrude Jekyll: Essays on the Life of a Working Amateur*. Durham: Michaelmas Books, 1995.

Frith, Simon, 'Music and Identity', in Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay (*eds.*), *Questions of Cultural Identity*. London: Sage Publications, 1996.

- 
- Fulani, Ifeona, 'Representations of the Body of the New Nation in The Harder They Come and Rockers', *Anthurium: A Caribbean Studies Journal*, 3, 1. Spring 2005.
- Gammon, Vic, 'Folk Song Collecting in Sussex and Surrey: 1843-1914', *History Workshop Journal*, 10. 1980.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Cecil Sharp and English Folk Music', Steve Roud, Eddie Upton and Malcolm Taylor (eds.), *Still Growing: English Traditional Songs and Singers from the Cecil Sharp Collection*. London: English Folk Dance & Song Society in association with Folk South West, 2003.
- Garrioch, David, 'Sounds of the City: The Soundscape of Early Modern European Towns', *Urban History*, 30, 1. 2003.
- Genn, Robert (ed.), 'Note on R.L. Sharpe', *Tool Time*. 9 March 2001. www.painterskeys.com.
- Giovannetti, Jorge L., 'Popular music and culture in Puerto Rico: Jamaican and rap music as cross-cultural symbols', Frances R. Aparicio and Candida F. Jáquez (ed.), *Musical Migrations: Transnationalism and Cultural Hybridity in Latino America*. New York: Palgrave, 2003.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Book Review', *Plantation Society in the Americas*, 5, 2-3. 1998.
- Giroux, Henry, 'Rewriting the Discourse of Racial Identity: Towards a Pedagogy and Politics of Whiteness', *Harvard Education Review*, 67. 1997. 285-320.
- Glick, Carl (ed.), *A Treasury of Masonic Thought*. London: Robert Hale (1950) 2003.
- Gooden, Amoaba, 'Community Organizing by African Caribbean People in Toronto, Ontario', *Journal of Black Studies*, 38, 3. 2008.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'I Know Who I Am: A Caribbean Woman's Identity in Canada', *Canadian Woman Studies*, 23, 2. 2004.
- Goodyear, Ian, 'Rock Against Racism: Multiculturalism and Political Mobilization, 1976-81', *Immigrants and Minorities*, 22, 1. March 2003.
- Goulbourne, Harry and John Solomos, 'The Caribbean Diaspora: Some Introductory Remarks', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 27, 4. 2004.
- Grant Eddie, 'City Lights in Toronto', *The Jamaican Weekly Gleaner* (N.A.). Kingston: 1-7 September, 1995.
- Gregory, E. David, 'A.L. Lloyd and the English folk song revival, 1934-44', *Canadian Journal for Traditional Music*, 25. 1997.

- 
- Green, J. Edward, 'Political Perspectives on the Assimilation of Immigrants: A Case Study of West Indians in Vancouver', *Social & Economic Studies*, 19, 3. 1970.
- Greene, Jo-Ann, 'Song Review: "Book of Rules"', *Allmusic*. Rovi Corporation: 2011.  
www.allmusic.com
- Gross, Theodore L., 'The Negro in the Literature of Reconstruction', *Phylon: The Atlanta University Review of Race and Culture*, 22, 1. Spring 1961. 5-14.
- 'GRT', *The Encyclopedia of Music in Canada*, encyclopaedia entry. Historica Dominion Institute; The Canadian Encyclopedia: c.2006. www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com
- Hamilton, Davina, 'Is Reggae Dying a Slow Death', *Voice-Online*. 1 October 2010.  
www.voice-online.co.uk
- Harbron, John D., 'Canada in Caribbean America: Technique for Involvement', *Journal of InterAmerican Studies & World Affairs*, 12, 4. 1970.
- Harker, David, 'Cecil Sharp in Somerset – Some Conclusions', *Folk Music Journal*, 2, 3. 1970.
- Harvie, Christopher, 'Ballads of A Nation', *History Today*, 49, 9. September 1999.
- Harrison, Ian, 'Review of UB40, *Signing Off: Collector's Edition*', *Mojo*, 204. November 2010.
- Harzig, Christiane, 'The Movement of 100 Girls': 1950s Canadian Immigration Policy and the Market for Domestic Labour', *Zeitschrift Für Kanada-Studien*, 19, 2. 1999.
- Hawke, Harry, 'Over and Over', *Record Collector*. Christmas 2001.
- Healy, Michael S., 'Colour, Climate, and Combat: The Caribbean Regiment in the Second World War', *International History Review*, 22, 1. 2000.
- Heathcott, Joseph, 'Urban Spaces and Working-Class Expressions across the Black Atlantic: Tracing the Routes of Ska'. *Radical History Review*, 87. Fall 2003.
- Henry, Frances, 'The West Indian Domestic Scheme in Canada', *Social and Economic Studies*, 17, 1. March 1968.
- Hill, Dan G., 'The Blacks in Toronto', Robert Harney (ed.), *Gathering place: Peoples and Neighbourhoods of Toronto, 1834-1945*. Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1985.
- Himmelfarb, Gertrude, 'Telling it as You Like it: Post-Modernist History and the Flight From Fact', *Times Literary Supplement*. 16 October 1992.

- 
- Hoelscher, Steven and Derek H. Alderman, 'Memory and Place: Geographies of a Critical Relationship', *Social and Cultural Geography*, 5, 3. 2004.
- Hoerder, Dick, 'Ethnic Studies in Canada from the 1880s to 1962: A Historiographical Perspective and Critique', *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 26, 1. 1994.
- Holmes, Shirley, (*interviewer*), Johnny Scab (*pseud.*), 'Rock 'N Roles: Fear and Loathing on the Cultural Front', *Radical America*, 18, 6. 1984.
- Howard, Dennis, 'Copyright and the Music Business in Jamaica: Protection for Whom?', Anais V International Symposium of the Center for Caribbean Studies in Brazil. Salvador-Bahia, 30 September to 3 October 2008.
- Howe, Glenford D., 'West Indian Blacks and the Struggle for Participation in the First World War', *Journal of Caribbean History*, 28, 1. 1994.
- Howell, Peter, 'Morissette Tweaks Twain Again', *The Toronto Star*. 11 March 1996.  
\_\_\_\_\_, 'Jamaica beckons and Sibbles is listening', *Toronto Star*. 26 April 1991.
- Howkins, Alun, 'The Discovery of Rural England', Robert Colls and Philip Dodd (*eds.*), *Englishness: Politics and Culture 1880-1920*. London: Croom Helm, 1986. 62-88.
- Huttenback, Robert A., 'The British Empire as a "White Man's Country" – Racial Attitudes and Immigration Legislation in the Colonies of White Settlement', *Journal of British Studies*, 13, 1. 1973.
- Hylton, Patrick, 'The Politics of Caribbean Music', *Black Scholar*, 7, 1. 1975.
- Iacovetta, Franca, 'Manly Militants, Cohesive Communities, and Defiant Domestics: Writing About Immigrants in Canadian Historical Scholarship', *Labour/Le Travail*, 36. 1995.
- Infantry, Ashante, 'Little Jamaica Competition', *Toronto Star*. 7 August 1995.
- Irwin, Colin, 'Rebel Music: Dave Swarbrick, Jason Wilson and David Francey', *Penguin Eggs*. Summer 2009.
- 'Jack Lorne Hodd', 'Obituary', *Hamilton Spectator*. 11 October 2005.
- Jackson, Lois A., 'Canadian Bilateral Aid to Jamaica's Agricultural Sector from 1972-86', *Social & Economic Studies*, 41, 2. 1992.
- Jackson, Steven, David Andrews, and Cheryl Cole, 'Race, Nation and Authenticity of Identity: Interrogating the 'Everywhere' Man (Michael Jordan) and the 'Nowhere Man' (Ben Johnson)', *Immigrants & Minorities*, 17, 1. 1998.

---

*Jamaica Journal*, 18, 4. November 1985-86.

Jamaican Canadian Association, 'JCA History'. [jcaontario.org](http://jcaontario.org). (official website)

James, Carl E., 'Getting There and Staying There: Blacks' Employment Experience', Paul Anisef and Paul Axelrod, (eds.) *Transitions, Schooling and Employment in Canada*. Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing Inc., 1993.

'The Jane-Finch "Corridor"', *Jane-Finch.com*. 1995. [www.jane-finch.com](http://www.jane-finch.com)

'Jason Wilson', *Guelph Mercury*. 26 June 2009.

Jay, Paul, 'Hybridity, Identity and Cultural Commerce in Claude McKay's Banana Bottom', *Callaloo*, 22, 1. 1999.

Jennings, Nicholas, 'Album Review: *The Peacemaker's Chauffeur*', *Inside E Canada*, 7, 6. November-December 2008.

Jones, Lewis, 'Francis Jekyll (1882-1965): Forgotten Hero of the First Folk Song Revival', *English Dance and Song*. June 2000.

Kapica, Jack, 'Laws of Identity: Interview with Kim Cameron', *Globe and Mail*. 31 March 2009.

Kaplan, Jon, 'Rousing Reggae: The stage version of the classic film *The Harder They Come* has a powerful beat', *Now*, daily online story. 26 July 2009. [www.nowtoronto.com](http://www.nowtoronto.com)

Kastner, Jamie, 'The Grand Ambassadors of Reggae Music in Canada: The Sattalites', *Canadian Musician*, 18, 3. June 1996.

Kehler, Grace, 'Gertrude Jekyll and the Late-Victorian Garden Book: Representing Nature-Culture Relations', *Victorian Literature and Culture*. 35. 2007.

Kenny, Kevin, 'Diaspora and Comparison: The Global Irish as a Case Study', *The Journal of American History*, 90. 2003.

Kerrigan, Catherine, 'Reclaiming History: The Ballad as a Women's Tradition', *Etudes Ecossaises*, 1. Grenoble: University of Stendhal, 1991.

Kiernan, Peter, 'Walter Jekyll and his Jamaica Garden', slide-show lecture delivered at The Gallery, London, Garden History Society, Winter Lectures. London: 2 February 2005.

Kriz, Kay Dian, 'Curiosities, Commodities and Transplanted Bodies in Hans Sloane's "Natural



- 
- History of Jamaica”’, *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, 57, 1. January 2000.
- Lake, Marilyn, ‘White Man's Country: The Trans-National History of a National Project’, *Australian Historical Studies*, 122. 2003.
- Leacock, Stephen, ‘Canada and the Immigration Problem’, *National and English Review*. April 1911.
- Ledbetter, James, ‘Imitation of Life’, G. Dines and J. Humez (eds.), *Gender, Race and Class in Media*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1995.
- Lewin, Olive, ‘Jamaican Folk Music’, *Caribbean Quarterly*, 14. 1968.
- Mackenzie, Ian, ‘Early Movements of Domestic Workers from the Caribbean and Canadian Immigration Policy’, *Alternate Routes: A Journal of Critical Social Research*, 8. 1988.
- Makin, Kirk, ‘Judges Garner Greater Trust than Politicians’, *The Globe and Mail*. 9 April, 2007.
- Manning, Frank E., ‘Carnival in the City: The Caribbeanization of Urban Landscapes’, *Urban Resources*, 5, 3. Spring 1989.
- Mansfield, Earl and John Kehoe, ‘A Critical Examination of Anti-Racist Education’, *Canadian Journal of Education*, 19, 4. 1994.
- Manzo, John F. and Monetta M. Bailey, ‘On the Assimilation of Racial Stereotypes Among Black Canadian Young Offenders’, *Canadian Review of Sociology & Anthropology*, 42, 3. 2005.
- Marre, Jeremy, ‘Reggae Britannia’, *BBC Music Blog*. 7 February 2011.  
[http://www.bbc.co.uk/blogs/bbcmusic/2011/02/reggae\\_britannia.html](http://www.bbc.co.uk/blogs/bbcmusic/2011/02/reggae_britannia.html).
- Marshall, Dawn I., ‘A History of West Indian Migrations: Overseas Opportunities and “Safety-Valve” Policies’, Barry B. Levine (ed.), *The Caribbean Exodus*. New York: Praeger, 1987.
- Mathieu, Sarah-Jane, ‘North of the Colour Line: Sleeping Car Porters and the Battle Against Jim Crow on Canadian Rails, 1880-1920’, *Labour/Le Travail*, 47. 2001.
- McGee, William H.J., ‘Canada-West Indies: A Cooperative Venture in Library Education’, *Canadian Library Journal*, 38, 3. 1981.
- McKay, Ian, ‘The Liberal Order Framework: A Prospectus for a Reconnaissance of Canadian History’, *Canadian Historical Review*, 81, 4. December 2000.

- 
- 'Messenjah', *The Encyclopedia of Music in Canada*, encyclopaedia entry. Historica Dominion Institute; The Canadian Encyclopedia: c.2006. [www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com](http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com)
- Mills, Claude, 'Lord Creator has a passion for ballads', *The Sunday Gleaner*. 12 April 1998.
- Momsen, Janet Henshall, 'Canada-Caribbean Relations: Wherein the Special Relationship?', *Political Geography*, 11, 5. 1992.
- Monk, Janice, 'Race and Restrictive Immigration: A Review Article', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 4, 2. April 1978.
- Nazareth, Errol, 'Songs of War and Peace: Jason Wilson', *Toronto Sun*. 3 October 2008.  
\_\_\_\_\_, 'Tribute to late reggae great Mittoo', *Toronto Sun*. 14 March 2008.
- Neatby, Hilda B., 'The New Century', J.M.S. Careless and R.C. Brown (eds.), *The Canadians 1867-1967*. Toronto: Macmillan, 1968.
- Neely, Daniel Tannehill, 'Long Time Gal! Mento is Back!', *The Beat*, 20, 6. 2001.
- Nettleford, Rex, 'Jamaican Song and Story and the Theatre', Walter Jekyll, *Jamaican Song and Story: Annancy Stories, Digging Sings, Ring Tunes, and Dancing Tunes*. Collected and Edited by Walter Jekyll with an introduction by Alice Werner. London: David Nutt, for the Folk-Lore Society, (1907); republished Mineola: Dover Publications, Inc., (1966) 2005.
- Nopper, Sheila, 'Vocal Resisters', *Herizons*, 11, 3. 1997.
- Oliver, Paul, 'That Certain Feeling: Blues and Jazz... in 1890?', *Popular Music*, 10, 1. January 1991.
- Osborne, Brian, 'From Patriotic Pines to Diasporic Geese: Emplacing Culture, Setting Our Sights, Locating Identity in a Transnational Canada', *Canadian Journal of Communication*, 31, 1. 2006.
- Ostendorf, Bernd, "'The Diluted Second Generation": German-Americans in Music, 1870 to 1920', in Hartmut Keil (ed.), *German Workers' Culture in the United States 1850 to 1920*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988.
- Ouzounian, Richard, 'The Play's Harder to Take than Iconic Film', *Toronto Star*. 24 July 2009.
- Padgett, Tim, 'The Most Homophobic Place on Earth?', *Time World*. 12 April 2006.  
[www.time.com](http://www.time.com).
- Palmer, Howard, 'Reluctant Hosts: Anglo-Canadian Views of Multiculturalism in the Twentieth Century', Gerald Tulchinsky (ed.), *Immigration in Canada: Historical Perspectives*.

- 
- Toronto: Copp Clark Longman, 1994.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Canadian Immigration and Ethnic History in the 1970s and 1980s', *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 17. 1982.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'History and Present State of Ethnic Studies in Canada', W. Isajiw (ed.), *Identities: The Impact of Ethnicity on Canadian Society*, Canadian Ethnic Studies Association, 5. Toronto: Martin, 1977.
- Perlich, Tim and Benjamin Boles, 'The Season's Must-See Concerts, Fall Concert Preview: Jason's coup', *NOW*, 28, 4. Toronto: September 23-30, 2008.
- Perkins, William E., 'The Rap Attack: An Introduction', William E. Perkins (ed.), *Droppin' Science: Critical Essays of Rap Music and Hip Hop Culture*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996. 1-45.
- Petridis, Alexis, 'Famous for 15 Months', *The Guardian*. 21 March 2003.
- Pichler, Michalis, 'Statements on Appropriation', UbuWeb Papers. New York, UbuWeb. 2009.
- Plaza, Dwaine, 'The Construction of a Segmented Hybrid Identity Among One-and-a-Half-Generation and Second-Generation Indo-Caribbean and African Caribbean Canadians', *Identity*, 6, 3. June 2006.
- Porter, Gerald, 'Verbal Riddim: The Politics and Aesthetics of African-Caribbean Dub Poetry', *Journal of American Folklore*, 107, 425. 1994.
- Preibisch, Kerry and Leigh Binford, 'Interrogating Racialized Global Labour Supply: An Exploration of the Racial/National Replacement of Foreign Agricultural Workers in Canada', *Canadian Review of Sociology & Anthropology*, 44, 1. 2007.
- Premdas, Ralph R., 'Diaspora and its Discontents: A Caribbean Fragment in Toronto in Quest of Cultural Recognition and Political Empowerment', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 27, 4. 2004.
- Quill, Greg, 'Two Musical Icons, One Heartfelt Style: The Two Bobs', *Toronto Star*. 25 January 2006.
- Rath, Richard Cullen, 'African Music in Seventeenth-Century Jamaica: Cultural Transit and Transition', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, 50, 4. October 1993.
- Ralston, H. Keith, 'John Sullivan Deas: A Black Entrepreneur in British Columbia', *B.C. Studies*, 32. Winter 1976-77.
- Ramcharan, Subhas, 'Special Problems of Immigrant Children in Toronto', A. Wolfgang (ed.), *Education of Immigrant Students: Issues and Answers*. Toronto: 1975.

- 
- Ratnapalan, Laavanyan, 'E.B. Tylor and the Problem of Primitive Culture', *History and Anthropology*, 19, 2. June 2008.
- Reckford, Mary, 'The Jamaica Slave Rebellion of 1831', *Past and Present*, 40. 1968.
- Reckford, Verena, 'Reggae, Rastafarianism, and Cultural Identity', Chris Potash, *Reggae, Rasta, Revolution: Jamaican Music from Ska to Dub*. New York: Schirmer, 1997.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Rastafarian Music: An Introductory Study', *Jamaica Journal*, 11, 1– 2. 1977.
- Regis, Humphrey A., 'Changes in Reggae Music since the Mid-1970s and Cultural Domination by Re- Exportation', *Western Journal of Black Studies*, 18, 1. 1994.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Calypso, Reggae and Cultural Imperialism by Reexportation', *Popular Music and Society*. Spring 1988.
- Richards, Jason, 'Disc Review of Jason Wilson and Tabarruk's *dREaD & BLUE: A Canadiana Suite*', *NOW*, 23, 33. April 15-22, 2004.
- Richmond, Norman Otis, 'Bathurst St. has always been part of Black life in T.O', *Share*. Toronto: 14 October 2009.
- Roberts, Helen, 'Possible Survivals of African Songs in Jamaica', *Musical Quarterly*, 12, 3. 1926.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'A Study of Folk Song Variants Based on Field Work in Jamaica', *Journal of American Folk-lore*, 38, 148. 1925.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Some Drum and Drum Rhythms of Jamaica', *Natural History*, 24. 1924.
- Roberts, Julia, "'A Mixed Assemblage of Persons': Race and Tavern Space in Upper Canada", *Canadian Historical Review*, 83, 1. 2002.
- Rodney, Winston (aka Burning Spear), 'Wisdom to do What is Right', *The Burning Spear Blog*. 23 August 2009. [www.burningspear.net/blog/](http://www.burningspear.net/blog/)
- Rohlehr, Gordon, 'Some Problems of Assessment: A Look at New Expressions in the Art of the Contemporary Caribbean', *Caribbean Quarterly*, 17, 3-4. September-December 1971.
- Robins, Jane, 'Yawns greet BBC millennium line-up', *The Independent*. 3 December 1999.
- Rommen, Timothy, 'Protestant Vibrations? Reggae, Rastafari, and conscious Evangelicals', *Popular Music*, 25, 2. 2006.
- Sakamoto, John, 'How Jane-Finch was born', *Toronto Star*. 30 November 1986.
- Samaroo, Brinsley, 'The Politics of Disharmony: The Debate on the Political Union of the British West Indies and Canada, 1884-1921', *Review Interamericana*, 7, 1. 1977.

- 
- Satzewich, Vic, 'Racism and Canadian Immigration Policy: The Government's View of Caribbean Migration, 1962-1966', *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 21, 1. 1989.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'The Canadian State and the Racialization of Caribbean Migrant Farm Labour 1947-1966', *Ethnic & Racial Studies*, 11, 3. 1988.
- Satzewich, Vic and Lloyd Wong, 'Immigration, Ethnicity, and Race: The Transformation of Transnationalism, Localism, and Identities', in W. Clement and L.F. Vosko (eds.), *Changing Canada: Political Economy as Transformation*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's, 2003.
- Saunders, Mahogany, 'Where Jamaicans Live', *Jamaicans.com: Out of Many One People Online*. 1 August 2003. [www.jamaicans.com](http://www.jamaicans.com)
- Schwarz, Joan M., 'Constituting *Places of Presence*: Landscape, Identity and the Geographical Imagination', *Places of Presence: Newfoundland kin and ancestral land, Newfoundland 1989-1991*. St. John's, NL: Killick's Press, 1997.
- Scott, Derek B., 'Music and Social Class in Victorian London', *Urban History*, 29, 1. 2002.
- Sefa-Dei, George J., 'Schooling as Community: Race, Schooling, and the Education of African Youth', *Journal of Black Studies*, 38, 3. 2008.
- Sermon, David, 'Book Review: A Treasury of Masonic Thought', *Freemasonry Today*, 25. Summer 2003.
- Sharpe, Jenny, 'Is the United States Postcolonial? Transnationalism, Immigration, and Race', *Diaspora*, 4, 2. 1995.
- Shea, Kevin, 'Big Shiny Tunes: Jason Wilson', *Legends Magazine*. Toronto: Hockey Hall of Fame, Fall 2003.
- Sherlock, Philip, 'The Living Roots', Walter Jekyll, *Jamaican Song and Story: Annancy Stories, Digging Sings, Ring Tunes, and Dancing Tunes*. Collected and Edited by Walter Jekyll with an introduction by Alice Werner. London: David Nutt, for the Folk-Lore Society, (1907); republished Mineola: Dover Publications, Inc., (1966) 2005.
- Smith, Adrian A., 'Legal Consciousness and Resistance in Caribbean Seasonal Agricultural Workers', *Canadian Journal of Law and Society*, 20, 2. 2005.
- Smith, Mark, 'Echoes in Print: Method and Causation in Aural History', *Journal of the Historical Society* 2, 3-4. 2002.
- Solomon, Rovell Patrick, 'The Lived Culture of West Indian [Jamaican] Boys in a Toronto High School', Lois Weis (ed.), *Race, Class and Schooling*. Buffalo: 1986.

- 
- Spencer, Neil, 'Reggae: the sound that revolutionised Britain', *The Observer (The Guardian)*, 29 January 2011.
- Staunton, Terry, 'Thirtieth anniversary edition of a conscientious classic: UB40, *Signing Off*, *Record Collector*, 382. December 2010.
- Stephens, Michelle A., 'Re-imagining the Shape and Borders of Black Political Space,' *Radical History Review*, 87. Fall 2003.
- Stevenson, Jane, 'Alanis Vocal Fires Interest in Local Band', *Toronto Sun*. 25 March 1996.
- Stoddart, Brian, 'Caribbean Cricket: The Role of Sport in Emerging Small-Nation Politics,' *International Journal*, 43, 4. 1988.
- Sugiman, Pamela, 'Privilege and Oppression: The Configuration of Race, Gender, and Class in Southern Ontario Auto Plants, 1939 To 1949', *Labour/Le Travail*, 47. 2001.
- Swyripa, Frances, 'Edmonton's Jasper Avenue: Public Ritual, Heritage, and Memory on Main Street', James Opp and John C. Walsh, *Placing Memory and Remembering Place in Canada*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010.
- 'Taoiseach meets with Young Entrepreneurs', *Merrion Street: Irish Government News Service*. 15 April 2011. [www.merrionstreet.ie](http://www.merrionstreet.ie)
- Taschereau, Sylvie, 'L'histoire de l'immigration au Quebec: Une invitation/l fuir les ghettos', *Revue d'Histoire de l'Amerique Francaise*, 41. 1988.
- Taylor, Kenneth Wayne, 'Racism in Canadian Immigration Policy', *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 23, 1. 1991.
- Thelen, David, 'Of Audiences, Borderlands, and Comparisons: Toward the Internalization of American History', *Journal of American History*, 79, 2. 1992.
- Thornhill, Esmeralda M.A., 'So Seldom For Us, So Often Against Us: Blacks and Law in Canada', *Journal of Black Studies*, 38, 3. 2008.
- Troper, Harold, 'Canada's Immigration Policy Since 1945', *International Journal*, 48, 2. 1993.  
\_\_\_\_\_, 'An Uncertain Past: Reflections on the History of Multiculturalism', *Immigration and Multiculturalism*, TESL Talk, 10, 3. Summer 1979.
- Van Biema, David, "The Legacy of Abraham", *Time*, 160, 14. 30 September 2002.
- Van Pelt, Carter, 'Interview with Leroy Sibbles'. c.2010. [leroy-sibbles.com](http://leroy-sibbles.com)

- 
- Walker, Barrington, 'Book Review', Racial Profiling in Canada: Challenging the Myth of a 'Few Bad Apples', *The Humanities & Social Sciences*. March 2007.
- Walker, James W. St. G., 'The 'Jewish Phase' in the Movement for Racial Equality in Canada', in *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 34, 1. 2002.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Race and Recruitment in World War I: Enlistment of Visible Minorities in the Canadian Expeditionary Force', *Canadian Historical Review*, 70, 1. 1989.
- Walker, David, 'DVD Review: *Rockers*', *DVD Talk*. 21 June 2005. www.dvdtalk.com
- Walker, Klive, 'Marley on the Box', *Metro Word*. Toronto: 8 November 1992.
- Walters, Basil, 'Reggae rinsed the word black and made it a sweet-smelling rose', *Jamaica Observer*. 20 February 2008.
- Watts, Steven, 'The Idiocy of American Studies: Post-Structuralism, Language, and Politics in the Age of Self-Fulfillment', *American Quarterly*, 43. 1991.
- White, E.A., *An Index of English Songs Contributed to the Journal of the Folk Song Society, 1899-1931, and its continuation, The Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society, to 1950*. Edited by Maragret Dena-Smith, with a preface by R. Vaughan Williams. London: English Folk Dance & Song Society, 1951.
- White, Garth (*aka Razac Blacka*), 'Traditional Music Practice in Jamaica and its Influence on the Birth of Modern Jamaican Music', *African Caribbean Institute of Jamaica Newsletter*, 7. 1982.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Master Drummer', *Jamaica Journal*, 11, 1-2. 1977.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Rudie, Oh Rudie!', *Caribbean Quarterly*, 13, 3. 1967.
- White, Noel, 'Forty-one Years on the Lighter Side of Jamaican Life', *The Gleaner*. 19 February 1972.
- Wilson, John Jason Collins, 'The Fast Bowling Ernest Ranglin', *Word Magazine*, Caribana Edition. Brampton: July 2006.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'UB40's Got Plenty More', *Word Magazine*. Brampton: April 2006.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Natural Progression: Brinsley Forde of Aswad', *Word Magazine*, Caribana Edition. Brampton: July 2005.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Ernest Ranglin – Reggae Pioneer', *Word Magazine*, Brampton: December 2005.
- Winer, Lise, 'Intelligibility of Reggae Lyrics in North America: Dread in a Babylon', *English World-Wide: A Journal of Varieties of English*, 11, 1. 1990.
- Winders, James A., 'Reggae, Rastafarians and Revolution: Rock Music in the Third World', *Journal of Popular Culture*, 17, 1. Summer 1983.

---

Witmer, Robert, 'Kingston's Popular Music Culture – Neo-Colonialism to Nationalism', *Jamaica Journal*, 22, 1. 1989.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Local' and 'Foreign': The Popular Music Culture of Kingston, Jamaica, before Ska, Rock Steady, and Reggae', *Latin American Music Review*, 8, 1. 1987.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'African Roots: The Case of Recent Jamaican Popular Music', Daniel Hertz and Bonnie C. Wade (eds.), *International Musicological Society: Report of the Twelfth Congress, Berkeley 1977*. Kassel: Barenreiter, 1981.

Young, David, 'Ethno-racial Minorities and the Juno Awards', *The Canadian Journal of Sociology*, 31, 2, 2006.

Zack, Naomi, 'Book Review', *The Invention of Race: Black Culture and the Politics of Representation*. *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 33, 1. 2000.



---

ESSAYS, MASTERS THESES, PHD DISSERTATIONS, MISCELLANEOUS

Andracki, Stanislaw, 'The Immigration of Orientals into Canada with Special Reference to Chinese', PhD Dissertation. Montreal: McGill University, 1958.

The Applied History Research Group, *The Peopling of Canada: 1946-1976*. Calgary: The University of Calgary; The Applied History Research Group, 1997.

Bauder, Harald and Margot Corbin, *Foreign Farm Workers in Ontario: Representations in the News Media*, as part of the Collaborative International Development Studies Program. Guelph: University of Guelph, 2002.

[www.uoguelph.ca/geography/research/ffw/papers/foreign-farm-workers.pdf](http://www.uoguelph.ca/geography/research/ffw/papers/foreign-farm-workers.pdf)

Bearman, Christopher James, *The English Folk Music Movement: 1898-1914*, PhD Disertation. Hull: University of Hull, 2001.

Brodber, Erna, 'Reggae as Black Space', Opening Plenary delivered at the Global Reggae Conference, University of West Indies. Mona, Jamaica: 18 February 2008.

Clifford, Elizabeth J., 'Racing the Nation: Immigration Policy, Race, and National Identity in Canada and the United States, 1905-1925', PhD Dissertation. Evanston: Northwestern University, 1997.

Conville, Vincent G., 'The Jamaican Canadian Association in a Multiracial and Multicultural Society: Four Decades of Service', PhD Dissertation. Toronto: University of Toronto, 2004.

Flynn, Karen C., 'Race, Class, and Gender: Black Nurses in Ontario, 1950-1980', PhD Dissertation. York University: 2004.

Francmanis, John V., *The Musical Sherlock Holmes, Frank Kidson and the English Folk Music Revival, c.1890-1926*, PhD Disertation. Leeds: Leeds Metropolitan University, 1997.

Galuska, John D., 'Guerilla Queens and Percussive Poets There Where Our Paths Cross: In Search of Dub Poetry Scholarship and Practitioners', MA Thesis. Indiana: Department of Folklore of Indiana University, January 2000.

Gilkes, Alwyn D., 'Among Thistles and Thorns: West Indian Diaspora Immigrants in New York City and Toronto', PhD Dissertation. New York: City University of New York, 2005.

Goddard, Lawford, 'Social Structure and Migration: A Comparative Study of the West Indies', PhD Dissertation. Stanford: Stanford University: 1976.

Gosciak, Josh, *Between Diaspora and Internationalism: Claude McKay and the Making of a Black Public Intellectual*. PhD Dissertation. New York: City University of New York, 2002.

- 
- Gurtman, Scott, 'The Influence of Bob Marley's Absent, White Father', Burlington: University of Vermont, Essays from the University of Vermont Class, Rhetoric of Reggae Music, 2002.
- Harris, Ruth L., 'The Transformation of Canadian Policies and Programs to Recruit Foreign Labour: The Case of Caribbean Female Domestic Workers, 1950s-1980s', PhD Dissertation. East Lansing: Michigan State University, 1988.
- Henry, Frances, *The Dynamics of Racism in Toronto: Research Report*. Toronto: York University, 1978.
- Jackson, Lois A., 'In Whose Interests? A Study of Canadian Bilateral Aid to Jamaica's Agricultural Sector', PhD Dissertation. Toronto: University of Toronto, 1988.
- Jones, Terry-Ann, 'Comparative Diasporas: Jamaicans in South Florida and Toronto', PhD Dissertation. Miami: University of Miami, 2005.
- Larkin, Sherrie N., 'Workin' on the Contract: St Lucian Farmworkers in Ontario: A Study of International Labour Migration', PhD Dissertation. Hamilton: McMaster University, 1998.
- Mallouh, Peter, 'The Turf of the Imagination: An Examination of the B-Boys Youth Culture in Metropolitan Toronto', PhD Dissertation. Toronto: University of Toronto, 1995.
- Wayne G. Marshall, 'Routes, Rap, Reggae: Hearing the Histories of Hip-Hop and Reggae Together', PhD Dissertation. Madison: University of Wisconsin, 2007.
- Len J. McCarthy, 'The Significance of Corporeal Factors and Choreographic Rhythms in Jamaican Popular Music Between 1957-1981 (Ska, Rocksteady, Reggae), With an Historical and Critical Survey of all Relevant Literature Dealing with Jamaican Folk, Religious and Popular Musics and Dance', PhD Dissertation. Toronto: York University, Canada, 2007.
- Medovarski, Andrea Katherine, 'Unsettled Migrations: Rethinking Nation through the Second Generation in Black Canadian and Black British Women's Writing', PhD Dissertation. Toronto: York University, 2007.
- Mendoza, Aloma Mary, *An Exploratory Study on the Socioeconomic, Cultural and Sociopsychological Experiences of Caribbean-born Women in Ontario, Canada*. PhD Dissertation, York University: 1991.
- Muraldo, Caroline, 'The Caribbean Quadrille'. 2007. [www.muraldodc.com](http://www.muraldodc.com)
- Neely, Daniel Tannehill, "'Mento, Jamaica's Original Music": Development, Tourism and the

- 
- Nationalist Frame', PhD Dissertation. New York: New York University, 2008.
- Nketia, J.H. Kwabena, 'The Musical Languages of Subsaharan Africa', *African Music: Proceedings From a Meeting in Yaoundé, Cameroon, 23– 27 February 1970*. Yaoundé: 1970.
- Potter, Harold H., *The Occupational Adjustment of Montreal Negroes*. Montreal: MA Thesis, McGill University, 1949.
- Ramcharan, Subhas, 'The Adaptation of West Indians in Canada', MA Thesis. Ottawa: National Library, Cataloguing Branch, 1974.
- Renaud, Louise, 'A Study in the Persistence of Poor Working Conditions and Low Status: Immigrant Domestic Workers in Canada', MA Thesis. Ottawa: Carleton University, 1984.