

London is the Place: Caribbean Music in the Context of Empire 1900-60

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The development of indigenous music in the English-speaking Caribbean is a complex subject. In generalisation, however, the most persistent evolutions are associated with either sacred or secular occasions, sometimes reflecting a combination of both. Usually such activities show evidence of cross-fertilisation stemming from adaptation to new circumstances by people of African, European, and other cultures involved in the world diaspora to the Americas.

In Jamaica, where the predominant European Christian influence has been Protestantism, the primary black sacred / secular celebration is known as 'Jonkunnu'. It has been held at Christmas for two centuries or more and is held also on 1 August, in commemoration of the day in 1838 when Apprenticeship was abolished and Emancipation from slavery finally achieved throughout the British Caribbean. Among other 'Protestant' islands, St. Kitts-Nevis have their 'Christmas Sports' including mumming, Bermuda its 'Gombey' parades, while the Bahamas have adopted 'Jonkunnu' as the name for their Christmas festivities.

Caribbean-French sugar planters and their slaves, from Martinique and other French-speaking territories in the region, settled in Trinidad in the 1780s. They consolidated the European influence of Roman Catholicism in the island and thereby provided the focus for its most important sacred / secular event Shrovetide Carnival. Christmas is also celebrated to a lesser extent. The history of both festivals has been traced from the time the British took the island from Spain in 1797. Shrovetide Carnivals are held also in Carriacou, Grenada, Dominica, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and Tobago.¹

Music is a fundamental ingredient of these events — whether the primary activity is at Christmas, Carnival, or at another point in the calendar — and is organised to accompany street parades and other forms of communal or individual competitive activity, including recreational dances.

Festivals provide a focal point for performing different musical styles that have evolved separately in each of the islands of the Caribbean, sometimes just in the context of these types of carnivalesque, but more often than not in relation to other social activities. They also integrate with common elements such as language and similar cultural evolutions, including migration of people from island to island, or elsewhere, in the course of international circumstances.

TWO PERIODS

The history of black British Caribbean music, within this context of 'Empire,' and the time span 1900-1960, can be divided roughly into two periods. The first is represented by the close of the reign of Queen Victoria (on her death in 1901) and the end of the Second World War. The second ends immediately prior to the 1962 Independence of Jamaica and Trinidad, when Empire links were in crisis. I shall emphasise 'indigenous' music, its relationship to the Empire capital, London, and the employment of migrant musicians there. The word 'Empire' is used here in the context of how the British hierarchy perceived its overseas territories at this time and conditioned the way in which inhabitants lived there or in Britain itself.

In the earlier period the principal musical region was the Eastern Caribbean, centred on Trinidad and including Guyana. Most documentary evidence available concerns Trinidad and the evolution of calypso as an important, but sometimes separate, ingredient of the island's multicultural Carnival tradition, founded on a strong African-American base. There are, however; data on other independent strands of West-Indian-developed music.

In the English-speaking area as a whole, British music from that of the social 'elite' to that of the 'folk' had considerable influence, including the 'mother country's' military repertoire, represented by black membership in the bands of the armed forces and the police. With the exception of some contemporary folklore material and data on the band of the British West India Regiment (whose headquarters were in the island), very little has been published on 'popular' music and musicians in the more northerly British territory of Jamaica during this first time span.²

Reports of topical themes in African-American songs range from the period of slavery to the present day and in all regions of the Americas where Blacks have settled. Calypso, which originated in Trinidad, is one of the most famous of these genres to have developed in the Caribbean. In many respects it grew from the hierarchical structure of Carnival bands which, in masquerade, adopted the European nomenclature of Kings, Queens, Lords, Ladies and other measures of social status. For the black maskers, in a world turned upside down, these served to satirise the symbols of European power as well as to establish an African-American authority over them. A pattern of past African hierarchies in the masquerade traditions was probably maintained. Lead singers, or chantwells, sang at the head of marching bands to responses in chorus by their members as they paraded competitively in Carnival. In line with band hierarchy the songsters also adopted 'powerful' names as their sobriquets. Among numerous accretions their topical calypsos were based on earlier improvised songs for

creole drum dances such as the *belair* and old *kalenda* (common in the French-speaking Caribbean), the songs of stickfighting-*kalenda* bands, the *bongo* wake dance, and the *paseo* dance rhythm from Venezuela.

FIRST PERIOD (1900-1945)

Calypso in Trinidad prior to the early 1900s was sung almost exclusively in French Creole, but a gradual change began around the turn of the century and some of the earliest printed ‘calipsos’ (note the alternative spelling), published in the *Port of Spain Gazette* during the 1900 Carnival season, are almost wholly in English. They include panegyrics for the British Empire in the form of boasts of military prowess. One is ascribed to the White Rose masquerade band and was sung, probably, by its one time leader Henry Julian: Julian White Rose. His masquerade character and singing sobriquet at that time was Iron Duke. The first calypsonian to record commercially (in Trinidad in 1914, for the U.S.-based Victor Talking Machine Company), he provides an important early example of a musician and his professional activities. So too does dance-band leader and pianist Lionel Belasco, who was recorded at this time and in the vanguard of Trinidad musicians who migrated to New York to make a career that included regular recording sessions (from 1915 onwards). His releases were exported to Trinidad and Latin American countries.³

Migration has been a feature of English-speaking West Indian societies, both within the circum-Caribbean, and to North America and Europe, principal destinations being the conurbations of New York City and London. Both were (and remain) centres of local and mass ‘entertainment’ and afforded jobs for expatriate musicians in clubs, the theatre and, on occasion, recording for the gramophone, together with radio broadcasts (after the latter’s rise as a mass medium in the 1920s). There is documentary evidence from both metropolises of participation by West Indian musicians in all these activities. Indigenous Caribbean music was one means by which they earned a living in New York from the 1920s and in London from the 1940s.

Centring on the ‘Heart of Empire’ (London) and concentrating on commercial enterprises, I shall briefly explore metropolitan-Caribbean musical relationships. In this my purpose is not to look at concert styles, nor to provide a definitive study, but to pinpoint illustrations in context.

End of the First World War

While 1900 is a convenient date for commencing discussion of musical developments in the Eastern Caribbean, the cessation of the First World War (1918) provides a focal point for describing West Indian music and musician in London — following demobilisation of black soldiers and sailors who fought for the Empire cause. For example, in a 1946 *Melody Maker* article, Trinidad-born string-bass player and bandleader Gerald ‘Al’ Jennings refers to a band that he formed during his naval service which played for wounded ‘coloured’ soldiers prior to their repatriation. West Indian and African musicians were involved in the popular black Southern Syncopated Orchestra that came to Britain in mid-1919, originally with a supposedly all-U.S. American complement, and toured the country until 1921.⁴

Proportionately few Blacks lived in Britain at this time and migrants or visitors tended to find accommodation via family connections or, perhaps, occupational association. The latter is true for the St. Kitts-born pianist George Ruthland Clapham. He shared an address with the celebrated reed-playing virtuoso Sidney Bechet (an original member of the Southern Syncopated Orchestra) at the time of the latter’s deportation in 1922.⁵

Documentary material on the activities of black Caribbean musicians in London is scanty throughout the 1920s, brushes with the authorities excepted. The position of the capital as a major centre of commerce, including companies manufacturing gramophone records, however, led to the publication in 1927 of nine specialist records for an English-speaking West Indian clientele. These were so designated in the British Parlophone catalogue for that year. They were drawn from the OKeh West Indian series of Parlophone’s U.S. affiliate, the General Phonograph Corporation. The OKeh records were exported to the Caribbean and, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, it is assumed that purchasers of Parlophone’s equivalents were local: they were issued in a series in which other specialist British material was marketed.

Three performers resident in New York City were represented: Slim Henderson (a Black American vaudevillian); Sam Manning (a Trinidad-born actor and vaudevillian, later involved in musical production); and Cyril Monroe (a superbly idiomatic Trinidad violin player and bandleader). Henderson (recorded 1924) and Monroe (recorded 1925) were responsible for one release each; the seven others were by Manning (two recorded in 1924, the remainder in 1925). *Amba Cay La’ (Under the House)* (made by Manning in 1924) is the first recording of a popular Trinidad Carnival ‘leggo’ sung in French Creole. ‘Leggo’ — meaning ‘let yourself go’ — is a primitive form of calypso sung during Shrovetide parades. *The Bargee*, recorded by Manning in 1925, describes the murder of an East Indian by a black ex-West Indian soldier in a dispute over a girl.

Listen folks, listen carefully,
While I tell you all a story,
A story that ends in tragedy — ah-h.

It’s called a bargee, this,

Bargee in Hindustani,
But in English, it means a tragedy — mmm.

The girl, a telephone operator,
Her lover, a handsome ex-soldier,
The murderer of the East Indian — ah-h.

Soldier took his girl out motoring,
The Indian took his cows out grazing,
When he saw the lovers swooning,
He started out interfering — ah-h.

In the accompaniment the clarinet weaves round the melody and a *cuatro* player strums rapidly, occasionally knocking on his instrument.

Generally, the music in O'Keh's series represents the repertoire of the Eastern Caribbean, exceptions are Slim Henderson's *My Jamaica* — a satirically sentimental song about Jamaica from the 'viewpoint' of a migrant to the U.S.A.; and Manning's *Sly Mongoose* — with lyrics symbolising the career of the black Jamaican prophet, Alexander Bedward.⁶

Rudolph Dunbar and Ken 'Snakehips' Johnson

By virtue of their activities, two personalities dominate the West Indian musical scene in Britain in the period between 1930 and the Second World War. Both were from Guyana: clarinetist, bandleader, promoter and journalist Rudolph Dunbar, and the dancer and bandleader Ken 'Snakehips' Johnson. They each led 'all coloured' dance bands which employed British West Indian musicians. The latter came from a variety of backgrounds, including the former band of the British West India Regiment, and police bands in Guyana and Trinidad. Dunbar's and Johnson's main clienteles were Whites and, in general, their repertoires were drawn from the popular music of the day; which included black American jazz. *Melody Maker* reports indicate that both bands drew upon a pan-Caribbean personnel and directed their music towards an Empire audience.

Dunbar was domiciled in France from 1925, whence he travelled from the United States where he had lived for several years. He may have visited the U.K. in 1926 but was certainly in the country in 1927, when he joined the Plantation Orchestra for a road tour of the show *Blackbirds of 1927*. Dunbar was a member of the band of black British musicians that the Paris-based black American jazz violinist Leon Abbey brought to London in 1930. This arrangement was to circumvent work permit restrictions on U.S. and other foreign musicians, one of the factors underlying the employment of black British instrumentalists at this time. Rudolph Dunbar appears to have settled in Britain by mid-1931 and his band flourished in the period 1933-34. In December 1934 it made one issued recording accompanying the vocalist Gladys Keep (of Reading) singing two American jazz standards: *Dinah* and *St. Louis Blues*.⁷

Sam Manning and Lionel Belasco Arrive in Britain — 1934

Late in June 1934 Sam Manning and Lionel Belasco arrived in Britain from New York and, by the beginning of August, Belasco and his Orchestra had recorded twelve titles for U.K. Decca's foreign series. Featuring 'Rumbas' and 'Valses' these were probably aimed at the growing European market for Latin American music, which had been developing since the introduction of the 'sinful' tango in the first decade of the century. Led by Belasco playing piano, it is possible that members of Dunbar's band were the instrumentalists. Manning sang (in English) in four of these performances.

At some point Belasco returned to the U.S.A., where he recorded again in September 1935. Manning, however, remained in Britain, touring initially with a show called *Harlem Nightbirds*, and stayed for several years. Probably because of his extensive and successful recording career in the U.S.A. and his 1927 British releases, he was able to negotiate a session with Parlophone in July 1935, leading his West Indian Rhythm Boys. These four sides have some claim to be the first recordings of idiomatic English-speaking Caribbean music in Britain. Two of the songs, *Help Me To Fly Over Jordan* and *No Hidin' Place*, are classified as West Indian Negro spirituals. In these Manning sings lead to responses by a mixed chorus. A guitar is featured; it is played Hawaiian style in the latter. Of the other coupling, one title *Sweet Willie* (a St. Lucian biguine, about a wayward girl and her man) is sung by Manning, a re-creation of a song he had recorded for O'Keh in 1925 (released here in 1927). As a novelty, the 1935 recording features rhythm and Hawaiian guitar accompaniment, with piano and percussion. This instrumentation is also featured on the other side of the record with, in addition, trumpet, violin and saxophone. Entitled *Ara Dada* – Pasea, it is sung by Gus Newton (a Trinidad-born percussionist who had played in Rudolph Dunbar's band), with a chorus influenced heavily by contemporary recordings of Hawaiian music. The violin, however, is played in a style associated with Trinidad. The title and words of the song are in Trinidad Hindi, reflecting the East Indian-American population in the island. The Venezuelan pasea is a dance

tempo designated on many early calypso records that, as has been pointed out, was absorbed by the calypso itself.

In June 1936, Manning, Amy Ashwood Garvey (first wife of Marcus Garvey, and co-founder of the Universal Negro Improvement Association), and Rudolph Dunbar started the Florence Mills Social Parlour in Carnaby Street, London, an evening live music venue and restaurant, at which both Manning and Dunbar performed. Neither musician, however, was involved in further recordings of black music in Britain before the Second World War.⁸

The Emperors of Jazz

Two months earlier saw the formation of a band of black West Indian musicians under the leadership of Jamaican trumpeter Leslie Thompson, and 'Guyanese dancer Ken 'Snakehips' Johnson. Called initially the Emperors of Jazz, or Jamaican Emperors, it drew on a slowly increasing pool of black musicians from the Caribbean active in London during the 1930s. Thompson and Johnson parted company in 1937. Under the latter's leadership, however, the band was to sustain a much higher profile for black British jazz and dance band music in the United Kingdom until Johnson's untimely death when a bomb hit the Café de Paris in London, where he and his band were entertaining (8 March 1941).

Johnson's band recorded in a newly launched 'Swing' series for British Decca in 1938, and again (with similar repertoire) for HMV in 1940. He was however, fully aware of indigenous black Caribbean music, as can be seen by the programme of 'Calypso and other West Indian Music' he presented in the BBC London regional service in 1939. This immediately followed the broadcast of the cricket test match between the West Indies and the M.C.C. at Lords on 24 June. It featured gramophone records of Trinidad calypsos from September 1938 British Brunswick releases, drawn from the extensive U.S. Decca catalogue of this music. He also played contemporary U.S. Decca issues themselves, and recordings of black Cuban and Martinique music made in Paris during the 1930s.⁹

Black Latin American music including rumba and other rhythms, was gaining popularity in Britain at this time and many of the English-speaking Caribbean musicians in London were versatile in these styles, in black American jazz, and in other dance band idioms. This is true of the West Indian membership of the 'All-Coloured' band led by Nigerian composer, organist and pianist Fela Sowande that played with the black American singer Adelaide Hall, who was resident in London from 1938. One member of this group was the Trinidad percussionist Edmundo Ross (later Ros), who was soon to build a career as London's premier Latin American music specialist (claiming to have come from Venezuela). Adelaide Hall's 'Empire' link was via her husband, a Trinidadian, Bert Hicks.¹⁰

Outbreak of the Second World War

With the outbreak of the Second World War, black West Indian musicians took a higher profile in London's clubland and so did their indigenous repertoires. From *Melody Maker* announcements and a wartime radio broadcast, calypsos, paseos, and West Indian folksongs are known to have been in the repertoire of the small band run at this time by Cyril Blake. He was a Trinidad-born guitarist, trumpeter and sometime vocalist, who was a veteran of the Southern Syncopated Orchestra, and of both the Dunbar and Johnson groups. He also played with the Cuban pianist, Don Marino Barreto, with whom Edmundo Ros had been associated. A band led by Blake, in which he played trumpet and provided the vocals, was featured in a celebrated 'live' recording session playing black American jazz in earthy fashion at Jig's Club, St. Anne's Court, Wardour Street, London, in December 1941. The following year, he composed the topical calypsos for his BBC Forces wavelength broadcast of this Trinidad music on 14 June 1942, on which the singer was Gus Newton.¹¹

Despite the success of Ken Johnson, general acceptance for black West Indian big bands in Britain was difficult to achieve. In 1944 the Jamaican-born trumpeter, and ex-British West India Regiment bandsman, Leslie 'Jiver' Hutchinson formed an 'All-Coloured Band' comprising the cream of London's black musicians. Like himself, many were former members of Ken Johnson's band. They recorded for Decca in July of that year, but their four jazz orientated sides were unissued. For fifteen years Hutchinson struggled to keep a band together and to make a living from his music.¹²

SECOND PERIOD (1945-1960)

At the commencement of the second period marked by the end of the Second World War, a recently demobbed Chief Petty Officer, the London based Trinidadian 'Al' Jennings, brought an All Star Caribbean Orchestra from his homeland to Britain. Arriving at Southampton on 5 November 1945 his intention was to fulfil a role similar to that performed by his small group at the end of the First World War, but Jennings experienced difficulties similar to those encountered by Hutchinson in maintaining his band.¹³

On a different level of musical activity, Trinidad folk music, including calypso, was among a variety of topics covered in a BBC series devoted to 'Travellers' Tales' from around the British Empire, broadcast between September 1943 and March 1945. Edric Connor, a folk music collector and trained baritone singer from

Trinidad, and Learie Constantine, the famous Trinidad cricketer (and a calypso enthusiast) were contributors to the series; Constantine had been resident in Britain since the early 1930s, and Connor arrived in 1944 to study engineering. By late 1945 Connor had recorded two examples of black Trinidad folk music, in formal setting, for British Decca: *The Lord's Prayer* based on a version used by the Shouters, or Spiritual Baptist Church, in Trinidad, and a carol *The Virgin Mary Had A Baby Boy*. He had published the music and words to both earlier in the year in a small collection of West Indian spirituals and folk songs.¹⁴

At the same time, a number of African musicians were performing in London, especially the group led by Ambrose Campbell, a Nigerian, which provided the accompaniment for the *Ballets Nègres*, organized by Jamaican dancer Berto Pasuka, with participants from Britain, Africa and the Caribbean. Eddic Connor performed a selection of his West Indian folk songs and a calypso during their appearance on BBC television on 24 June 1946.¹⁵

It is apparent that although London was a major centre for the production of gramophone records, very few recordings of indigenous black music originating in the English-speaking Caribbean or, for that matter, examples of dance band music played by black West Indians, were made in Britain during the first period 1900-1945. To some extent this is surprising in the light of the activities of the coterie of black musicians present in London. They represented, however, a very small minority of the population. In contrast with regular recordings of indigenous music made for export to British Africa from the 1920s, it is probable that commercial arrangements with U.S. associates and, in all likelihood, a British lack of market perception led to this situation.

Lord Kitchener and Lord Beginner arrive on the MV *Empire Windrush*: 1948

It was not until the arrival of the MV *Empire Windrush* at Tilbury on 21 June 1948, and with it the 'official' commencement of mass migration from the Caribbean to Britain, that there was a significant change in the West Indian musical complexion in the 'mother country'. The event signalled an expansion in the range of commercial activities. Of some seventeen individuals who described their occupation as artist, musician, singer or bandleader identified in the *Windrush* passenger list, two were the Trinidad calypsonians Lord Beginner (Egbert Moore) and Lord Kitchener (Aldwin Roberts). Also on board was the Trinidad vocalist Mona Baptiste, who had registered as a clerk. It was the presence of these authentic calypsonians together with the pool of musicians already available, and indirectly the Empire dollar crisis, that led to indigenous British Caribbean music being recorded in London for export and local consumption.

Before examining this phenomenon it should be mentioned that two more established Trinidad performers were in Britain in 1948: the calypsonian Lord Caresser (Rufus Callender) and bandleader Lionel Belasco (making a return visit). Belasco recorded a selection of instrumentals based on Caribbean rhythms for British Decca in October. It seems neither musician stayed in the country for a significant period.¹⁶

A session for Humming Bird by Aldwyn Roberts (Lord Kitchener)

With a reputation based on his earlier recording career, after disembarking in the U.K., Lord Beginner soon found employment, making BBC radio broadcasts and securing an engagement to appear with Jose Norman's rumba band at Churchills, an exclusive London niterie, commencing 9 August 1948. At about the same time, Kitchener began his U.K. singing career in Brixton hostelrys, accompanied by a band of black musicians from the Caribbean. Renico Simmons (who was almost certainly a Trinidadian, living in south London) became aware of Kitchener's presence and his band. Simmons, too, must have known of Kitchener's high reputation as a calypsonian in Trinidad. With entrepreneurial acumen, using the recording studio of R. G. Jones, situated in the grounds of the Manor House in Morden, south west London, Simmons arranged to have Kitchener recorded for Humming Bird, a label he set up specially for the purpose. The choice of repertoire was shrewd, with three titles *Jump In The Line*, *The Steel Band* and *Chinese Memorial* (or *Lai Fook Lee*) that had featured in the tents and swept the Port-of-Spain streets during the Carnival of 1946 (the first to be held since 1941, when the festival was curtailed because of the Second World War). There were eight Humming Bird titles in all (four couplings), including the ironic *Sweet Jamaica*, regretting the day Kitchener had taken the boat to London earlier that year. These records, however, were primarily for export to Trinidad (and perhaps Jamaica), as Kitchener implied in a letter to the *Trinidad Guardian* published in January 1949. His real break as a recording artist came in January 1950.¹⁷

1950: Kitchener and Beginner record for Parlophone — the role of Denis Preston

The Humming Bird records aside, I shall summarise briefly the principal elements in the early post-Second World War history of English-speaking Caribbean music recorded in Britain. A key personality in this was the jazz critic, radio presenter and journalist Denis Preston. As early as 22 July 1945, Preston sponsored a 'Ragtime Concert' at Toynbee Hall, East London, that included performances by the Guyanese reed-player and former Trinidad Police Bandsman Freddy Grant, with his West Indian Calypsonians (Grant had arrived in London in 1937). Preston was in New York from late July 1948, setting up London Records for the British Decca Record Company and was impressed by performances by authentic Trinidad calypsonians at locations on Lennox

Avenue, in Harlem. Beginning in 1935, for 10 years U.S. Decca (sold by their British owners during the war) had recorded calypsos regularly, either in New York City or Trinidad, for West Indian export and sales in the U.S.A. After 1945, and before the sterling crisis in 1947-48, other American companies had taken up this trade. On Preston's return to Britain he found Lord Kitchener and Lord Beginner in residence and put the idea to EMI-Parlophone that there was a void in recording this music because of the imposition of 'Empire' currency and trading restrictions between the sterling area and the U.S.A.

The period of the Second World War in Trinidad was one of transition among calypsonians, with those who had established their reputations before that time being dubbed, using wartime military terminology, the 'Old Brigade' by the younger and up-and-coming new bloods, who called themselves the 'Young Brigade'. During Carnival the groups competed one against another singing their calypsos in 'tents' — locations whose construction had been based originally on folk buildings used for African-American ceremonies.

Lord Beginner was one of the leading representatives of the Old Brigade, while Lord Kitchener was a prime member of the Young Brigade. It is useful to apply these distinctions when describing the group of Eastern Caribbean migrants led by Cyril Blake and organised by Denis Preston for his first calypso session in the United Kingdom, which took place at EMI's north-west London studios, Abbey Road, on 30 January 1950. It was fully reported both in the *Melody Maker* (London) and the *Trinidad Guardian* (Port of Spain). In addition to Beginner (who began his singing career in 1927), four other members of this band represented the 'Old Brigade'. All of them had migrated to Britain before the war: Cyril Blake himself (guitar), conga-drum-player 'Dreamer' (Reuben François), septuagenarian Brylo Ford (*cuatro* — a small four-string guitar) and clarinettist Freddy Grant. Their average age was fifty-one. Ford (string bass) and Grant had participated in Blake's Jig's Club session in 1941. Alongside Kitchener (who started singing in Arima in 1938 and moved to the capital, Port of Spain, in 1944) the other two 'Young Brigade' performers (average age thirty) were Neville Boucarut (bass) and Fitzroy Coleman (guitar). Both had arrived in Britain in 1945 with 'Al' Jennings' All-Star Caribbean Orchestra.

With a preponderance of older musicians familiar with the music popular in Trinidad earlier in the century it is not surprising that the string band styles from that period were echoed in the accompaniment to these recordings. Likewise, this is reflected in two subsequent Parlophone sessions, held in March, in which Preston also used a band led by Cyril Blake.

Ten titles, including two instrumentals, were recorded at these three sessions, Parlophone releasing eight of them in four 78-rpm records. One instrumental was issued, a string band March Calypso (for Carnival parades) entitled *Iere* — the Native American name for Trinidad. The other instrumental *Glendeena* was a Castilliane a popular form of 'fast waltz' which, like the string-band style itself, had reached Trinidad from nearby Venezuela. This and an up to date commentary by Fitzroy Coleman, *The French President Visit Great Britain*, that witnessed the state visit of M. Vincent Auriol on 7 March, was unissued. Lord Beginner was the principal vocalist, maintaining a stylistic continuity with the past by singing topical calypsos about political events: *The Dollar and the Pound* on the sterling crisis, and in *General Election* an outsider's view of the events of 23 February, observed at Piccadilly Circus — as he advises 'in the style of the old minor calypso, which we sing in Trinidad since many years'. He also commented on personal relations in *I Will Die A Bachelor* and in *Housewives* on conditions in a post-war Britain where goods were still rationed. Brylo Ford (using the calypso sobriquet of Julian White Rose — the Iron Duke) sang a version of a pre-war calypso by King Radio *Man Smart and Woman Smarter*. Kitchener, however, in more modern style, made a direct observation on his experience as migrant in London; describing the confusing novelty of travelling on *The Underground Train*:

Ah-ah never me again, to go back on that Underground train,
Never me again, to go back on that Underground train,
I took the train to Lancaster Gate,
And the trouble that I met, I am going to relate,
Well, friends, I had to bawl to a policeman,
When I lost my way in the tube station, — so boys,
I'm going to walk the journey and avoid the misery, not even a taxi,
I'm going to walk the journey and avoid the misery, not even a taxi.

Ah-ah my first misery, is when I embark at Piccadilly,
I went down below, I stand up in the crowd, don't know where to go,
I decided to follow a young lady,
Well I nearly met with my destiny,
That night was bad luck for Kitchener,
I fall down the escalator — so boys,
I'm going to walk the journey and avoid the misery, not even a taxi,
I'm going to walk the journey and avoid the misery, not even a taxi.

He also sang of his plans to escape from *Nora* and go back to Trinidad to ‘hear the steel band beating in John John’ (Plaisance Road in Port of Spain).¹⁸

Nora was a huge success, both in the Caribbean and English-speaking West Africa. British involvement in the recording of indigenous West Indian music had commenced with a sparkle. This commercial viability assured future recordings by Parlophone and others, in particular, the newly formed specialist company Melodisc Records Ltd. The latter, an Anglo-American affiliation with French associations, began trading in late August 1949 and was registered at Companies House on 21 January 1950.¹⁹

From the evidence available, Preston supervised all the ‘calypso’ recordings for Parlophone and the early sessions for Melodisc. His first Melodisc session followed soon after the West Indian cricket test match success over the M.C.C. at Lords on 29 June 1950. This comprised four recordings of traditional Trinidad music, including Lord Beginner’s hugely successful *Victory Test Match* — ‘cricket lovely cricket’ — commemorating the famous West Indian defeat of the M.C.C. and symbolically the ‘mother country’ itself. Beginner also sang *Straight Hair Girl* describing a contemporary fashion for hair-dyeing and straightening among black women.

As well as calypsos, there were two *kalendas* — topical or reflective stickfighting songs used to accompany, what, by the 1880s, had become almost a form of ritual combat among black Trinidadians, especially at Carnival and other seasonal occasions. Chanted in African call-and response-fashion, with a lead singer and chorus, lyrics dating from the nineteenth and early-twentieth-centuries were usually composed in French Creole, as in these two songs. Like early calypso, with which they are associated, this music retains something of the Creole Franco-American as well as the Creole African-American influence in the cosmopolitan history of Trinidad.

Performing with the Calypso Rhythm Kings, Beginner took the lead in *Sergeant Brown (Lè Rèzon Mé)*, and Brylo Ford (as le Duc) sang the part of the caller in *Boul’ Vé-Sé*. The latter, with its line ‘*Fitzzy caree, Myler reve,*’ recalls a celebrated encounter between Eugene Myler and Fitzzy Banray, which Myler (noted in a 1905 newspaper as ‘Head stickfighter of Trinidad’) won with one blow. The accompaniment, by the Calypso Rhythm Kings, imitates the rhythms of the bamboo-bamboo stamping tubes that in the twentieth century usually accompanied this music. On aural identification the musicians were Freddy Grant (clarinet), Brylo Ford (string bass), Fitzroy Coleman (guitar), and a percussionist playing bottle and spoon.²⁰

A second session supervised by Denis Preston for Melodisc was recorded in about September 1950; it featured two more calypsos from Lord Beginner and two traditional Jamaican folksongs performed by the island’s dialect champion and writer, Louise Bennett. One, entitled *Bongo Man* (also known as *Wheel And Turn Me*), was described as a Christmas song and is thereby associated with the Jonkunnu masquerade held in Jamaica at this season. The other was a song of long standing, *Linstead Market*, which had been printed as early as 1907 in Walter Jekyll’s *Jamaican Song And Story*. The backing to this coupling included Leslie ‘Jiver’ Hutchinson (trumpet), Freddy Grant (clarinet) and Norbert Payson (tenor saxophone) — another ex-member of the ‘Al’ Jennings Orchestra.²¹

Louise Bennett recorded a further session at about the same time for the label Tri-Jam-Bar, with Leslie ‘Jiver’ Hutchinson’s West Indian Orchestra in accompaniment. It comprised four more Jamaican folk songs: *Cudelia Brown* and *Matty Rag* in one coupling, and *Hog Eeena De Cocoa* and *Dis Long Time Gal* in the other. Together with her Melodisc recordings, these appear to be the first releases of authentic black music from Jamaica made in Britain for sale both here and in that island. Evidently, Preston supervised one other session for Melodisc in the latter part of 1950, an instrumental version of the leggo *Caroline*, performed by the Trinidad Steel Band. Involved in the production was Boscoe Holder who, with his wife Sheila Clarke, came to Britain from Trinidad in April 1950 with their dancing troupe and a set of steel drums. All were featured in the Holder’s Creole miscellany *Bal Creole* broadcast by BBC television on 30 June 1950.²²

Taken as a whole, these 1950 recordings can be used as a general indication of the way in which British recording of West Indian music developed in the first five years of the decade. The emphasis was on Trinidad styles, with calypso to the fore, its topicality indicated in themes of migration, politics and personal relations. Sometimes new recordings were made of songs that can be traced to originals composed before the Second World War, and there were occasional glimpses of other aspects of the island’s musical heritage.

In contrast, only a small proportion of the singers who recorded in Britain at this time were from Jamaica. They tended to perform songs from traditional repertoire, rather than new material in the fashion of the Trinidadians. Later developments broadened the base of the musical styles recorded but, in essence, left intact its core components.

The 1951 Recordings

While recordings in 1950 set the scene for the subsequent development of English-speaking Caribbean music in Britain, 1951 was the year of its greatest surge, sparked probably by the advent of the Festival of Britain and the internationalist spirit of the times.

In this respect *Festival of Britain* is the title and subject of one of the songs that Kitchener featured in his first session for Melodisc, held on 15 March 1951. It was coupled with *London Is The Place For Me*, a song he had

composed during his passage on the *Windrush* and performed for a newsreel film on his arrival at Tilbury on 21 June 1948. The other two titles from this session were *Kitch's Cricket Calypso* in praise of the West Indies' clinching the test match rubber with England the previous year, and *Kitch's Be Bop Calypso* which praises many of the stars of that new wave of black American jazz. Most Be Bop performers recorded for U.S. Savoy, with whom Melodisc had a leasing arrangement via their American director Emil Shalit.

Departure from the norm of Denis Preston's previous calypso productions was signalled by his use of a more varied musical combination. This included the Jamaicans Bertie King (clarinet / alto-saxophone) and Clinton Maxwell (drums), as well as Freddy Grant (clarinet / tenor-saxophone), Neville Boucarut (string bass), Fitzroy Coleman (guitar) and the Guyanese pianist Mike McKenzie. Like Grant, both King and Maxwell had participated in the pre-war black music scene in London, the latter two having played together in Jamaica before migrating to Britain.²³

Variety of repertoire and instrumentation blossomed as the year progressed. Preston recorded further calypsos, two competitive West Indian comic dialogues, two castillianes, Martinique biguines, more Jamaican folk songs, Cuban music, and early French Creole calypsos for Melodisc; he also recorded calypsos for Parlophone. A feature of some of these sessions was the use of African percussionists — such as Billy Sholanke's conga drum playing in Mona Baptiste's version of Nat 'King' Cole's *Calypso Blues*. Preston also supervised the first Melodisc recordings by Ambrose Campbell's West African Rhythm Brothers.

All this activity, however, must be seen alongside what was, for Trinidad, the most significant musical event of the year: the successful sponsorship of the Trinidad All Steel Percussion Orchestra (TASPO) for the Festival of Britain celebrations at the South Bank in London. Key instrumentalists were selected from seventy steel bands in Trinidad. They were trained and conducted by Lieutenant N. Joseph Griffith of the St. Lucia Police, who had served previously in the Trinidad Police Band. Including Griffith, eleven musicians reached London where they made their debut at the Festival on 26 July 1951. Many of the important concert events in their ten-week stay were organised by Edric Connor. With a repertoire of calypsos, sambas, mambos, waltzes, marches and occasional adaptation of the 'classics,' they were a sensation. This acceptance in the 'mother country' led to greatly improved social recognition for steel bands in Trinidad and the Caribbean as a whole. On the first leg of their return journey to Trinidad, TASPO (as the Trinidad All Steel Percussion Band) recorded eight titles for French Vogue in Paris. Two of their French issues were released by Danceland in the U.K. and all four couplings by British Vogue. One band member, Sterling Bettancourt (of 'Crossfire,' St. James, Port of Spain), stayed in Britain to train as a Linotype operator and subsequently made recordings here.²⁴

On 21 July, just prior to the first appearance of TASPO, Esquire Records engaged Lord Beginner for a session that included a celebration of the arrival of the steelband in the U.K. — *West Indians and The Steel Band* (Esquire 5-034) and another in praise of the Festival itself — *1951 Festival Of Britain* (Esquire 5-041). Accompaniment was by Kenny Graham's Afro-Cubists, a British band that experimented with the contemporary fashion for merging jazz rhythms with those of Cuba, and directly with African percussion patterns.

At the same time that funds were raised in Trinidad for TASPO, attempts were made to secure patronage to enable four calypsonians to travel to the Festival and showcase a further aspect of the island's music. In the event this endeavour was unsuccessful, but one veteran calypsonian eventually made the journey: the Roaring Lion (Hubert Raphael Charles / Rafael de Leon). He arrived at Southampton on 25 August, and appeared at the Festival with TASPO on 3 September. Within a week Denis Preston had recorded him for Melodisc, and by early October also for Parlophone.²⁵

One further 1951 session organised by Preston is worthy of special mention. Renowned jazz reed-player Bertie King, a veteran of Ken Johnson's band, cut a 'farewell' session on 19 October, just before his first return trip to Jamaica since arriving in Britain in 1935. Included were versions of two Jamaican folksongs *Sweetie Charlie* and *Sly Mongoose*, with vocals by Tony Johnson, another Jamaican, who had arrived in Britain on the *Windrush*. Both titles were described as *mentos* — generic name for a style of dance and topical song in that island.

According to a *Melody Maker* report, King was to collect material for Melodisc's West Indian catalogue during his four-month engagement leading a seven-piece band at the Hotel Casablanca, Montego Bay. Probably at least one coupling resulted from this arrangement: *Don't Fence Her In* and *Glamour Girl* by The Ticklers with vocal by Harold Richardson (Melodisc 1214 — released in Britain in March 1952). This was recorded and issued originally by the Kingston, Jamaica-based Stanley Motta Ltd., on their Motta Recording Studio label. Almost certainly these were the first location recordings of Jamaican music to be issued in Britain for the home market.²⁶

The Grant-Lyttelton Paseo Jazz Band (1952-1953)

The year 1952 also saw a series of experimental recordings produced by Denis Preston for Parlophone that combined British disciples of New Orleans Creole Jazz, led by trumpeter Humphrey Lyttelton, with a West Indian rhythm section, led by Freddy Grant. These recordings, by the Grant-Lyttelton Paseo Jazz Band favoured a North American repertoire. There were two exceptions, however *Fat Tuesday* — another name for

Mardi Gras in New Orleans, — was based on a tune ‘dug up from the recesses of [Freddy Grant’s] memory’; and *Mike’s Tangana* was written by Mike McKenzie in a way that fused black Latin American and North American styles. A touring show was organised to feature this music and its musicians. Included in the package were three West Indian singers George Browne (a Trinidadian, known initially as Young Tiger), the Jamaican Tony Johnson, and the ‘tenor who makes no error’ Bill Rogers (Augustus Hinds), who was from Guyana.²⁷

Rogers, like Lion and Beginner, was a veteran of Caribbean music recording having first appeared in RCA Bluebird’s West Indian series in 1934. He called his calypso-like style Shanto, and remade some of his earlier material in two sessions cut for Preston in July; one for Parlophone, the other for Melodisc. These included two of his most famous songs *Weed Woman* and *B. G. Bargee*.

The Lyragon Sessions (1952-1954)

The Rogers Melodisc engagement, however, was Preston’s last accredited ‘calypso’ record supervision for the company. A disagreement between Emit Shalit (then living in Reading, Pennsylvania) and his British partner Jack Chilkes came to a head earlier in the year and legal action ensued. Chilkes began working for another small British record company, Polygon, and in November 1952 they launched the Lyragon label for the West Indian / West African market. Lyragon used some material that had almost certainly been destined for Melodisc, including recordings by Kitchener (with whom Melodisc had a U.K. contract).

Lyragon issued a steady stream of releases throughout 1953 and 1954. One, *Calypso Medley No. 1*, played on the ping pong steel drum by Sterling Bettancourt, provides a useful sample of the status of West Indian music in Britain and its popular dissemination at the time of its publication in May 1953.²⁸

The first side of this two part record features the melodies of *Ugly Woman* (recorded by the Lion in London in 1951, but also at his first recording session, in New York in 1934); *Nora* (Kitchener’s 1950 hit); and *Brown Skin Gal* (recorded in Trinidad in 1947 by King Radio, and in London by Edmundo Ros in 1949). Side two has melodies of *Rum and Coca-Cola* (the 1943 Lord Invader calypso on which was based a 1944 U.S. hit by the Andrews Sisters); *Everybody Loves Saturday Night* (a West African Highlife, the earliest traced recording of which was made in Lagos by Akanbi Wright in 1942); and *Anacaona* (a 1935 New York title by Beginner, released in Britain in 1938). The inclusion of the Highlife emphasises the popularity of London-recorded calypsos in West Africa.²⁹

The Reconstitution of Melodisc (1953)

Although this medley stresses continuity with the past, 1953 was a period of change in recording West Indian music in Britain. By April two key reed playing musicians had left London, Freddy Grant for New York in that month, and Bertie King for Jamaica in September 1952 (he returned in 1954). In June, Emil Shalit was successful in his lawsuit against Jack Chilkes but it was not until October that Melodisc began recording calypsos again, having undoubtedly come to an arrangement with Denis Preston regarding the latter’s master recordings. There was a change, too, in musical direction. While personal relations (sometimes in scatological fashion) were a feature of these recordings from the outset, Melodisc’s new policy was to place much greater emphasis on this aspect of the calypsonian’s repertoire.³⁰

A new Jamaican performer appeared in Melodisc’s lists at this time: Eric Hayden, whose version of the bawdy *Give Her the No. 1* gave further distribution to a song recorded originally in 1946 by the La Motta Brothers in New York. There were also recordings leased from the U.S.A., such as the very popular *Last Train to San Fernando* by the Duke of Iron (Cecil Anderson), a Trinidadian singer of calypsos who had been based in New York from the late 1930s.

Mention must be made of three more Trinidad calypsonians who came to Britain: the Mighty Terror (Fitzgerald Henry) in 1954; and Lord Invader (Rupert Grant) and Young Kitchener (Leonard Joseph) in 1956. All three recorded for Melodisc, and the former two for Nixa, a new label launched in 1956, for which Denis Preston produced recordings of jazz, calypso and other styles.

1956 — The Slowdown in British Calypso Recordings

The year 1956, however, signalled the end of the recording of calypso in Britain for the West Indies. The success of the Mighty Sparrow (Slinger Francisco) in winning the Carnival calypso competition that year heralded a new era for calypsos recorded on location in the West Indies. It paralleled the political rise of the Peoples National Movement in Trinidad and the imminent formation of what became an unsuccessful Federation of British West Indian Territories. EMI pressed some of Sparrow’s earliest recordings for the Kay label (run by the Christopher Recording Service in Trinidad) and in 1957 launched their own DPD export series of Guyanese-recorded calypsos on Parlophone. Some West Indian recordings, including calypsos, continued to be made in Britain, however, principally for the home market, or for West Africa such as Kitchener’s specially commissioned Melodisc recording *Birth of Ghana*, commemorating the date of Gold Coast Independence on 6 March 1957.³¹

Jamaican Developments

At some point in the mid-to-late 1950s, Emil Shalit began to extend his links with the burgeoning Jamaican record business, releasing material for distribution in the U.K. from (for example) the Chin, Kalypso and Caribou, marques. *Circa* 1958, Starlite (a subsidiary of the British label Esquire) also began to lease material from Jamaican sources and record Jamaicans in the UK. Soon after, Melodisc followed suite by launching Blue Beat in Britain for similar recordings featuring contemporary music from Jamaica.

Penultimately, in the light of this new musical emphasis, it is worth drawing attention to one Starlite session undertaken in Britain in 1960 by the Jamaican singer Azie Lawrence. All four songs he recorded were credited to (Sam) Manning and his Antilliana Music publishing house. It seems fitting that this Trinidadian pioneer of West Indian music recording both in the U.S.A. and Britain should conclude this résumé of London based English-speaking West Indian musical activity. Lawrence's origin in Jamaica anticipates the rise in Britain of *ska*, *blue beat* (a genre identification taken from the name of the record label) and other Jamaican derived popular styles of the 1960s. It is significant, however, that means to distribute such recordings in Britain was already in place.³²

CHANGING CIRCUMSTANCES

This short survey of music played by black Caribbean musicians in Britain, from the turn of the century to 1960, gives a general indication of their relationship with their 'mother country' (using the phraseology of the time). By virtue of their birth, until the break-up of the Empire and the U.K. Immigration Act, all were British subjects and free to travel within the world-wide bounds of British territories. This also gave them easy access to the U.S.A. that was curtailed only by the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act of 1952. Many instrumental musicians among this group, especially those who arrived before 1945, received their training via British institutions, principally police bands in the Caribbean, and the British Army's musical training establishment at Kneller Hall, Whitton, in Britain. In many respects these older musicians were representative of the Empire culture into which they were born, and in which they made their living. In this they parallel the Old Brigade calypsonians in Trinidad, whose repertoire evolved in the same period under similar circumstances. The upheaval of the Second World War with, for example, the introduction of U.S. military forces in the West Indies (Trinidad in particular), altered the musical landscape in these colonies and later in Britain itself. Younger musicians adapted to this different perspective.

Something of the change can be discerned from the repertoire of the calypsonians who recorded in Britain after the Second World War: Lord Beginner, the Lion, and Lord Invader being identified with the Old Brigade (who had risen to fame in Trinidad prior to the War) and Lord Kitchener, the Mighty Terror, and Young Kitchener with subsequent Young Brigade developments.

Direct observation on international politics, critical or otherwise, was the remit of the Old Brigade exemplified by Beginner's 1951 recording *Federation* encouraging unity for the British West Indian colonies, and Lion's 1952 commentary on procrastination among the politicians in his *West Indies Get Together*. In contrast, Kitchener's 1957 recording *Federation* in praise of the short-lived coalition does not have such political conviction.³³

For the representatives in Britain of the Young Brigade the issues had changed, in general their commentaries were directed at more readily identifiable local issues, such as the problems of migration (including racial discrimination). Exceptions, where Old and Young Brigades came together, were in the treatment of black success in sport, which symbolised integrity for Blacks in relation to Whites, and identification with Africa. The latter had been an important component in calypso commentaries from the 1930s, when Mussolini invaded Ethiopia / Abyssinia. In this vein Terror's *The Emperor of Africa* (recorded in 1954) relates his wish to go to Ethiopia and visit its Emperor (Haile Selassie) and escape from racial discrimination in Britain.

Ah, lovely Africa, lovely Africa,
Please send for Terror,
I want to have a good talk with the Emperor,
I want to go to *lovely Africa*, Mama,
lovely Africa,
Please send for Terror,
I want to have a good talk with the Emperor. – Mama.

I dreamt him last night, so to see him is my delight,
I would feel as a man
To be in Africa and finish with Great Britain,
I want to go to *lovely Africa*, Mama,
lovely Africa, [etc]

Ah, I want my tribe markings,

Doing such a thing is no sky lark,
 For in the white man's land, there is too much racial discrimination
 I want to go to *lovely Africa*, [etc]

More generally British West Africa (like the West Indies, moving towards independence) was the subject of such songs — Kitchener's *Africa My Home* from 1952, Invader's broader-based *I'm Going Back to Africa* from 1956 (with a melody taken from a stickfighting *kalenda*), and the Tobagonian Lord Ivanhoe's *Africa Here I Come* (celebrating Ghana's Independence and expressing sentiments similar to Invader) from 1958.

In Trinidad, especially after the rise of Sparrow, the emphasis shifted from the general to more particular commentary on local events. The Empire, and the Commonwealth that began to replace it, faded into the background as more urgent issues based in the West Indies became the thrust of the topical repertoires for the popular calypsonians of the day.

By the time of Independence in Trinidad and Jamaica in 1962, the resident Old and Young Brigade calypsonians had begun to leave Britain and settle in Trinidad again. It seems the Mighty Terror was last to leave and, symbolically, he won the crown as King of Calypso for 1966 singing *Last Year's Happiness*, celebrating his return to Trinidad for Carnival in the previous year. With the rise of the street Carnival in Notting Hill at the same time, this heralded the end of an era and the beginning of another for West Indian music in Britain.³⁴

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Appendix: List of records, by label and issue number, to which direct reference has been made

Arco (U.S.A.) 1209	<i>Give Her Number One / I Wanna Settle Down</i>	La Motta Brothers
Brunswick (UK) 02625	<i>Anacaona / Good Will Flyers</i>	Beginner Atilla
03576	<i>Rum And Coca-Cola / One Meat Ball</i>	The Andrews Sisters
Continental (USA / Trinidad) 9007	<i>Brown Skin Girl / Venezuela</i>	Radio Lion
Danceland (UK) DL 0011	<i>Allies Quick Step / Papito</i>	Trinidad All Steel Percussion Orchestra
DL 0012	<i>Coolie Man's House A Fire / Go Away Gal</i>	Trinidad All Steel Percussion Orchestra
Decca (UK) F 8531	<i>The Lord's Prayer / The Virgin Mary Had a Baby Boy</i>	Edric Connor
F 8543	<i>Rum And Limonada In Chi Chi Castenango</i>	Edmundo Ros
F 9196	<i>Brown Skin Gal / Opportunity</i>	Edmundo Ros
Decca (US) 17252	<i>Anacaona / Good Will Flyers</i>	Beginner Atilla
18636	<i>Rum And Coca-Cola / One Meat Ball</i>	The Andrews Sisters
Esquire (UK) 5-034	<i>West Indians And The Steel Band / Randolph Turpin's Victory</i>	Beginner
5-041	<i>1951 Festival Of Britain / Fifty Women To One Man</i>	Beginner

HMV (export line for Nigeria)

JL 11 *Everyone Likes Saturday Night /
The Five Nigerian RAF* Akanbi Wright

Humming Bird (UK) [side numbers are used]

300 *Sweet Jamaica /*
301 *Death Is Compulsory* Aldwin Roberts (Lord Kitchener)
302 *Jump In The Line /*
303 *Take Me To Trinidad* Aldwin Roberts (Lord Kitchener)
304 *Chinese Memorial /*
305 *I Want To Join In Matrimony* Aldwin Roberts (Lord Kitchener)
306 *The Steel Band /*
307 *Blood Is Thicker Than Water* Aldwin Roberts (Lord Kitchener)

Kiskedee (Trinidad)

5006 *Brown Skin Girl /
Venezuela* Radio
Lion

Lyragon (UK)

J 704 *West Indies Get Together /
Sons and Daughters of Africa* Lion
Beginner
J 712 *Calypso Medley No. 1*
(both sides of record) Sterling Bettancourt

Melodisc (UK)

1133 *Victory Test Match /
Sergeant Brown (Lè Rèzon Mè)* Beginner
1134 *Straight Hair Girl /
Boul' Vé-Sé* Beginner
Le Duc (Brylo Ford)
1139 *Linstead Market /
Bongo Man* Louise Bennett
1162 *Kitch's Cricket Calypso /
Kitch's Be Bop Calypso* Kitchener
1163 *Festival of Britain /
London Is The Place For Me* Kitchener
1181 *Calypso Blues /
Ba Mwe Un Ti Bo'* Mona Baptiste
1185 *Caroline /
Six String Calypso* Trinidad Steel Band
Fitzroy Coleman
1198 *Sweetie Charlie /
Donkey City* Bertie King
1208 *Africa My Home /
My Landlady* Kitchener
1214 *Glamour Girl /
Don't Fence Her In* The Ticklers
1230 *B. G. Bargee /
Nice Woman, Ugly Man* Bill Rogers
1231 *Imogene /
Sly Mongoose* Bertie King
1256 *Give Her The No. 1 /
Montego Bay* Eric Hayden
1316 *Big Bamboo /
Last Train To San Fernando* Duke of Iron
1319 *The Emperor Of Africa /
Hydrogen Bomb* Terror
1390 *Birth of Ghana /
Kitch's Mambo Calypso* Kitchener
1430 *Federation /
Alphonso in Town* Kitchener

MNE (Trinidad) (in long-playing record)		
00I	<i>Last Year's Happiness</i>	Terror
MRS (Jamaica)		
DSM 08	<i>Glamour Girl / Don't Fence Her In</i>	The Ticklers
Nixa (UK) (in extended play records)		
NEP 24038	<i>I'm Going Back To Africa</i>	Invader
NEP 24087	<i>Africa Here I Come</i>	Ivanhoe
Parlophone (UK)		
E 4109	<i>Help Me to Fly Over Jordan / No Hidin' Place</i>	Sam Manning
E 4110	<i>Sweet Willie / Ara Dada – Pasea</i>	Sam Manning Gus Newton
R 3850	<i>The Bargee / Mabel (See What You've Done)</i>	Sam Manning
R 3851	<i>Sweet Willie / Camilla (When You Go Please Don't Come Back)</i>	Sam Manning
R 3853	<i>Susan Monkey Walk / Amba Cay La' (Under the House)</i>	Sam Manning
R 3854	<i>Sly Mongoose / Brown Boy</i>	Sam Manning
R 3857	<i>Goofer Dust John / My Jamaica</i>	Slim Henderson
R 3543 (new series)	<i>Friendless Blues / Fat Tuesday</i>	Grant-Lyttelton Paseo Jazz Band
R 3587 (new series)	<i>London Blues / Mike's Tangana</i>	Grant-Lyttelton Paseo Jazz Band
MP 102	<i>Nora The Dollar And The Pound</i>	Kitchener Beginner
MP 103	<i>The Underground Train I Will Die A Bachelor</i>	Kitchener Beginner
MP 104	<i>Housewives / General Election</i>	Beginner
MP 109	<i>Man Smart And Woman Smarter Iere</i>	Iron Duke (Brylo Ford) Cyril Blake
MP 112	<i>Federation / Rum More Rum</i>	Beginner
MP 115	<i>Ugly Woman / Tick! Tick! (Story of The Lost Watch)</i>	Lion
MP 118	<i>Weed Woman / Hungry Man From Clapham</i>	Bill Rogers
Perfect (US)		
P-735	<i>Marry An Ugly Woman / Young Man's Slave</i>	Hubert Raphael Charles [The Lion] Raymond Quevedo [Atilla]
Regal-Zonophone (UK)		
MR 1531	<i>Dinah / St. Louis Blues</i>	Gladys Keep
Starlite (UK)		
45-022	<i>West Indians In England / Jump Up</i>	Azie Lawrence
45-041	<i>Love In Every Land / No Dice</i>	Azie Lawrence

Tri Jam-Bar (UK)

AB 101	<i>Cudelia Brown / Matty Rag</i>	Louise Bennett
AB 102	<i>Hog Eena De Cocoa / Dis Long Time Gal</i>	Louise Bennett

Vogue (France) / (UK)

V 3054 / V 9017	<i>Mango Walk / Take Me</i>	Trinidad All Steel Percussion Band
V 3055 / V 9018	<i>Ramadin / Johnny</i>	Trinidad All Steel Percussion Band
V 3056 / V 9019	<i>Papito / Allies Quick Step</i>	Trinidad All Steel Percussion Band
V 3067 / V 9020	<i>Go 'Way Girl / Coolie Man's House</i>	Trinidad All Steel Percussion Band

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- ²⁸ Sinclair Traill, 'Pings, Pongs, and Booms: Music from Port of Spain,' *Jazz Journal*, Vol. 6, No. 4, April 1953, p. 21, 23
- ²⁹ **Ugly Woman** (de Leon):
Original recording: *Marry An Ugly Woman*, Hubert Raphael Charles [The Lion]: release – Perfect P-735 &c.; recorded New York City, New York, U.S.A., 7 March 1934;
UK recording *Ugly Woman* (de Leon), Lion – release: Parlophone MP 115; recorded London, Britain, 9 October 1951
- Nora** (Roberts):
Lord Kitchener: release – Parlophone MP 102; recorded London, Britain, 30 January 1950
- Brown Skin Gal** (Span)
King Radio: release – Continental 9007; recorded Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, August 1947 (U.S. pressing.);
King Radio: re-release – Kiskedee 5006 (c. 1948-49 U.K. pressing);
UK recording Edmundo Ros – release: Decca F 9196; recorded London, Britain, 10 June 1949
- Rum & Coca-Cola** (Baron, Sullavan, Amsterdam) [ascribed to Lord Invader and first published in: Lion and Atilla, *Victory Calypsoes 1943 Souvenir Collection*, Trinidad, 1943]
Andrews Sisters – release: Decca 18636; recorded New York City, New York, U.S.A., 10 October 1944
UK release: Brunswick 03576, issued *circa* April 1946 [but banned from the airwaves: advertising]
Rum And Limonada (Amsterdam-Sullivan-Baron),
First U.K. cover: Edmundo Ros and His Cuban Band – release Decca F 8543; recorded London, Britain, 11 July 1945
- Everybody Loves [Likes] Saturday Night** Highlife
Earliest traced recording: *Everybody Likes Saturday Night* (English and Yoruba)
Akanbi Wright and his Rhythm Band – release: HMV JL 11; recorded Lagos, Nigeria, December 1942
- Anaconda** (Moore)
Egbert Moore [Lord Beginner]: release – Decca 17252; recorded New York City, New York, U.S.A., 15 March 1935
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