'Islands in the Sun': Calypso to reggae

This town (town) is coming like a ghost town
All the clubs have been closed down
This place (town) is coming like a ghost town
Bands won't play no more
Too much fighting on the dance floor

The Specials, 'Ghost Town,'

PARTICULARLY SINCE THE turn of the twentieth century, popular music in England had been influenced by various musical innovations from America. African-American musicians had been seen in a variety of venues and media, but they were essentially visitors. The advent of African-Caribbean music was fundamentally different. Migrants from the various islands came over, particularly after the second world war, bringing with them their musical traditions. Not since the mass immigration of the Irish in the mid-nineteenth century, had there been a similar cultural importation. In both cases, there were initially two broadly defined, but not undifferentiated, communities – host and immigrant – but, with the passing of time, greater social interaction, including marriages, blurred the distinction and created a more complex society, which raised crucial questions of individual and collective identity. What did it mean to be black and British? What did Britishness mean in a multi-cultural country?

African Caribbean music and dance had a profound impact on English popular music. Musicians attracted to and experimenting with different musical forms, and entrepreneurs looking for new commercial opportunities facilitated its

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dissemination. Demand was fundamental and there was a growing and diverse market for popularised versions of ska and reggae, for Jimmy Cliff and Bob Marley, Steel Pulse and Aswad, the Beat and the Specials, let alone Madness and UB40. As a consequence, music which was once denounced and derided, as boring, repetitive or worse, became one of the major influences on late-twentieth century popular music. However, this cultural intermixing and development of new musical forms was intimately related to wider social changes, in part responding to, in part shaping them.

Sound systems

Sound systems, developed in post-war Jamaica as a response to particular circumstances, were established in England in the mid-1950s and retained their importance through the following decades. With their distinctive bass sound and DJ/record-based culture, they were, in many respects, at the top of the musical hierarchy.[1] Considerable attention has been focussed on London, with its various competing sound systems, but they were to be found in every African Caribbean community across the country, in the big cities (Birmingham, Bristol, Leeds and Manchester) but also the smaller towns (Huddersfield, Reading and Wolverhampton). Records, imported from Jamaica or licensed from abroad, were central, with novelty, especially pre-releases, at a premium. Equally important was the role of the DJ. In the intimate atmosphere of the dance hall, DJs and audience were not simply physically close but also interacting. There was an opportunity to comment on their lived experience and in a language of their own. Patois, precisely because it was not received English, was a powerful way of articulating grievances, making sense of a hostile and otherwise incomprehensible world, and developing an individual and collective sense of pride and worth. Sound systems became sites of self-awareness, resistance and protest.

Calypso: Lord Kitchener, Harry Belafonte … and Lance Percival

Insofar as Caribbean music was known in immediate post-war England, it was Trinidad and calypso that came to mind. Trinidad had a distinctive, Catholic carnival tradition and its

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music evolved out of a variety of influences from European quadrilles, Venezuelan string bands and Cuban *son*, not to mention American rhythm and blues later.[2] Furthermore, calypso and protest went together, not least since the 1940s with anti-Americanism and the growing demands for independence.[3] However, from the carefully choreographed arrival of Lord Kitchener on the *Windrush* in 1948, with his newly-written 'London is the place for me,' through the celebration of West Indian cricket success, such as 'Cricket, Lovely Cricket,' (1950), to the appearance of the Trinidadian All Steel Percussion Orchestra at the 1951 Festival of Britain celebrations, an image for public consumption was created of fun-loving but essentially harmless (almost childlike) musicians.[4] This was deceptive – and largely deliberately so. There was a tradition of innuendo that shocked broadcasters and politicians. Marie Bryant's 'Don't Touch Me Nylons' was banned by the BBC and had Lt. Col. Marcus Lipton asking questions in parliament about 'indecent records.'[5] More importantly, there were a range of calypsos that dealt with the more mundane realities of life. 'Nora,' for example, was the lament of a homesick Trinidadian about to abandon London. The affable Lord Kitchener was highly critical of racially prejudiced London. 'The complexion of your face/Cannot hide you from the negro race.' Thus, he sang, in a mixture of sadness and bitterness, 'You can never get away from the fact / if you're not white you're black.'[6] Similarly, in 'If You're Brown,' he lamented, 'if you're white well everything's all right/If your skin is dark, no use, you try/You got to suffer until you die.' There was also defiance, not least in the independence song 'Black Power' with its demand for 'black dignity' and a chorus repeatedly echoing 'black power.' Lord Invader's response to the 1958 riots was also unambiguous:[7] 'Teddy Boy Calypso (Bring Back the Cat O Nine)'.

Such songs were heard by a minority. Cheerful calypsos might be heard at the Café Royal and the Hurlingham Club, and steel pans at an Oxford Commemoration ball, but the overall 'white' audience was limited.[8] In English popular music, calypso owed more to the Jamaican-American, Harry

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Belafonte, dubbed the 'King of Calypso,' despite the fact (which he freely acknowledged) that he had never won a competition for either road song or tent song in Trinidad. Indeed, his calypso owed more to Jamaican mento. Nonetheless, a series of records – 'Island in the Sun,' 'Matilda,' 'Banana Boat Song' and 'Jamaica Farewell' – established his name in both Britain and America.[9] Calypso was a short-lived craze, briefly reappearing in comic form with Bernard Cribbins' 'Gossip Calypso' and Lance Percival's 'Woe Is Me (Shame and Scandal in the Family)', both of which were minor chart hits.[10] Probably the biggest, but unrecognised, calypso chart hit was a version of a song recorded by the Mighty Dictator and, later the Duke of Iron. Johnny Duncan's version of 'Last Train To San Fernando,' however, is remembered as a bluegrass number.[11]

The most lasting legacy of Trinidadian carnival, was the Notting Hill Carnival, which came be traced back to an indoor (and televised) *Caribbean Carnival* in 1959, organised by Claudia Jones, following the Notting Hill Riots of the previous year.[12] As well as the Trinidad All Stars and Hi Fi steel bands, the carnival featured the Trinidadian calypso singer, Mighty Terror, whose repertoire was varied. His popular 'Chinese Children Call Me Daddy,' referring to an affair his wife had had, was deemed obscene in some quarters, while 'Patricia Gone with Millicent' was shocking for its subject matter, lesbianism, but in 'Negro Know Thyself,' which he had recorded in the early 1950s, he made clear that 'negro people must all unite … [to] save ourselves from iniquity.'[13] His presence in the 1959 'Caribbean Carnival' was an important signifier of an emerging sense of black identity in an often openly racist society, but the impact of calypso in England was relatively short-lived. Trinidadian music was soon to be overwhelmed by ska, rocksteady and reggae from Jamaica.

Ska

The emergence of ska in early-1960s Jamaica was dramatic. It grew out of restricted access to the American music market, rivalry between competing sound systems and entrepreneurial flair.[14] Theophilus Beckford's 'Easy Snappin' was recorded in 1959 and a year later the seminal 'O Carolina' by the Folkes brothers, featured the drumming of the Rastafarian Count

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Ossie, was released.[15] Within a short space of time individuals, such as Prince Buster, Jimmy Cliff and Desmond Dekker, and groups, such as the Maytals and the Skatalites were producing records which were heard, not simply in Jamaica but also in England. Although often seen as less political than reggae or calypso, there was social comment in Derrick Morgan's 'Starvation' or the Maytals 'Tough Times' and political comment in Skatalites 'Independence Ska.' With a (relatively) large market, especially in London, a network of specialist retail shops sprang up and, more importantly, the new music was heard in cafes, dance halls, at house parties and in clubs via the distinctive sound systems.[16] As Jah Vego, of the People's Record Store in Ladbroke Grove, observed, 'so many places … wouldn't let black men in. So we have to do our own thing, keeping dances in houses, in basements, in the shebeens, or in school dinner halls.' The absence of any available big hall effectively necessitated the growth of the sound system business.[17]

Ska, with its links to Rude Boy culture in downtown Kingston, was successful in Jamaica, but its impact in England was less apparent. The BBC showed as little interest in ska as it had in calypso, arguably less, and its production and distribution was confined to small independent labels and retailers. On the few occasions that a ska (or ska-light) record appeared in the charts, it was as a novelty number. The idiosyncratic Migil 5 had a top-ten hit with a bluebeat version of 'Mockin' Bird Hill' in 1964. Almost at the same time, the Jamaican-born Milly (Small) reached number two in the charts with 'My Boy Lollipop.'[18] A lightweight, feel-good song that played into the 'black as exotic' trope, it is nonetheless of interest for two reasons. Firstly, it highlighted the movement of songs between America, the Caribbean and England. Chris Blackwell, looking to create a mass market for commercialised ska, took a 1950s American rhythm and blues number and transformed it into a commercial success.[19] Secondly, it pointed to emerging awareness of new musical genres. Millie was backed by an all-white group, the Five Dimensions, which included Georgie Fame. At a time when there were few opportunities to hear ska outside immigrant communities, he was experimenting with ska and playing with a range of African and African-Caribbean musicians at the Flamingo and Roaring Twenties clubs. Fame

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played with Prince Buster on 'Wash, Wash' and the latter's 'Al Capone' sealed the link with Mod subculture, as white 'Rude Boys' emerged in London. Fame was by far the most serious and most able English exponent of ska.[20]

By the mid-1960s ska lost much of its popularity in Jamaica. Rocksteady, briefly, and reggae became dominant. Ska retained a following among black Britons, but it was increasingly seen as 'old man's music' by a generation born in England, many of whom looked to roots reggae. Before looking at this, Two Tone and the ska revival of the late 1970s/early 1980s needs to be considered.

Two Tone and the ska revival

Two Tone emerged in the late-1970s, in part a reaction against 'heavier,' and more exclusionary roots reggae. It was music to dance to for people who 'want to jump around a bit.'[21] There was also a commercial incentive to create a larger market that encompassed black and white audiences. Additionally, there was a wider, social and political aspiration, which grew out of new experiences. Particularly in inner-city locations, such as Handsworth or Brixton, the generation born in the early and mid-1960s had grown up in an ethnically and culturally mixed community, in a way that their parents had not. From this arose a desire to find a common voice, particularly for black and white working-class youths, at a time of increasing racial hostility. The Selecter's singer, Pauline Black observed clear in an early interview in 1979: "We like to give people something to dance to and enjoy themselves. They can listen to the words, listen to the beat.' As she later stated, 'you're here to dance and then to think.' [22] The Two-Tone record label logo summed the multiracial ideal of black and white, separate but adjacent and connected. So too did the mixed race (and gender) line-ups of the Selecter, the Specials and the Beat. As Ranking Roger, of the Beat, made clear: 'All you got to do is to look on stage and you see unity.'[23] Madness, the only all-white band on the Two Tone label, also aspired to this ideal – though not without problems as the result of some of their followers – as did, a little later, UB40.

A significant element in their repertoires were tributes to earlier ska and reggae stars. The Specials first album, for

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example contained covers of Toots and the Maytals' 'Monkey Man,' the Skatalites 'You're Wondering Now' and Dandy Livingstone's 'A Message to You, Rudy.' There was, as several media observers noted, social and political commentary on aspects of contemporary society.[24] They addressed a range of social problems, notably the soul-destroying nature of work, or of the lack of it, as in the Beat's 'Get A Job,' or giving voice to a more generalised despair, as in the Selecter's 'Time Hard,' and especially, the Specials' 'Ghost Town.' There was a clear political dimension to their music, most explicitly in the Beat's 'Stand Down Margaret.' However, their principal focus was on the various manifestations of racism, from violence on the streets to police harassment. One of the starkest songs was 'Concrete Jungle,' by the Specials, in which 'animals are after me … it ain't safe on the streets.' Thus, 'I have to carry a knife because there's people threatening my life' and 'I can't dress the way I want I'm being chased by the National Front. In 'It's up to you' they made clear that there was a choice to be made. For 'Black' and 'White' the choice was 'Unite! It's up to you, or fight!' Or, in 'It doesn't make it right,' just because you're black or white 'it doesn't mean you've got to hate him/It doesn't mean you have to fight/It doesn't make it alright.' Not dissimilar was the Beat's 'Monkey Murder.' Their involvement in Rock Against Racism and the Anti-Nazi League was the logical outcome.

For a brief period between late 1978 and 1981, Two Tone attracted much attention. The Selecter, the Beat and the Specials had several chart hits, the latter's included 'Ghost Town,' which topped the charts for three weeks in July 1981.[25] There were a few television appearances in which ska provided the sound backdrop. BBC's *Play For Today* on 26 October 1982. Leslie Stewart's, *Three Minute Heroes*, was not well-received by the critics but brought a new audience into contact with the music.[26] There were also two major Two Tone tours in 1979 and 1980, though they gained a degree of notoriety as a result of violence at some gigs. The Two-Tone dream never fully materialised, particularly in the short run. Its popularity reflected an 'unprecedented degree of rapport that had built up between black and white youths,' but, without doubting the sincerity of Pauline Black, Ranking Roger and others, there was a naivety about their approach and a failure to appreciate

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changes in part of the anticipated audience. Their gigs were attended by well-intentioned white people and the musicians themselves genuinely believed they could bring together black and white youths, but the anticipated common ground was an illusion and the ska revival petered out in the early 1980s. [27] In the longer term, the Two-Tone bands remained on the road. There were changes in both personnel and repertoire, notably the rapping of the re-formed Beat's Ranking Junior, but the basic approach – music to dance to and lyrics to think about – continued and appealed not only to their fans from the 1970s but also to younger generations, some of whom had not been born at the time of the original tours.

Reggae

Ska's popularity in Jamaica was relatively short-lived. The Skatalites disbanded in 1965 and, fortuitously, the ska beat slowed during the summer heatwave in 1966. More important were new influences from American soul to Latin American dance rhythms.[28] With greater emphasis on the electric bass guitar and its clear rhythm, and with more socially and politically aware lyrics, rocksteady appeared in 1967. The following year Toots and the Maytals released 'Do the Reggay.'[29] Desmond Dekker, Jimmy Cliff and particularly the Wailers became the face of Jamaican music across the world. Without downplaying the appeal of music and lyrics, the dramatic growth of reggae owed much to entrepreneurial zeal, notably in the person of Chris Blackwell.

The popularity of reggae, especially among the young, second generation African Caribbean people, was considerable, but existed largely below the radar of the BBC and the pop charts. Independent record retailers distributed imports from Jamaica and independent labels developed in England. As with ska, the sound system was central, at house parties and in various clubs across the country.[30] In mid-April 1969, Desmond Dekker and the Aces reached number one with 'The Israelites' and followed this with another chart hit, 'It Mek.' In the summer months, Max Romeo's 'Wet Dream' fluctuated up and down the charts before reaching number 10 in mid-August, despite (or perhaps because of) a ban by the BBC, while the Pioneer's 'Long Shot Kick De Bucket' and

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Jimmy Cliff's 'Wonderful World, Beautiful People' were both chart hits from October through to December.[31] Reggae had arrived and so too had Trojan records.[32] Between 1968 and 1971 a series of pop reggae albums and singles were produced by the label, including Dave and Ansell Collins,'Double Barrel' and Bob and Marcia 'Young Gifted and Black.'

In the 1970s reggae became a world-wide phenomenon with Bob Marley as its poster-boy. Variously known as the Wailing Wailers or the Wailing Rudeboys, the Wailers were well-known in Jamaica and had progressed from ska, through rocksteady to reggae.[33] Changes in personnel led to a renaming as Bob Marley and the Wailers, but more importantly there was a change of style and tempo with a clear eye on commercial success. They were greatly helped by Chris Blackwell and Island Records.[34] The 1973 tour deliberately included several universities (Essex, Lancaster, Manchester and York) and polytechnics (Hatfield, Leicester and North Staffordshire) and one education college (Middleton St George) as well as an appearance on *The Old Grey Whistle Test* on BBC2, to broaden appeal. An elaborate marketing strategy was developed and refined. The early Wailers-as-rebels, associated with 'Catch a Fire' and 'Burnin'' became a more 'hip' image by the time of (the renamed) 'Natty Dread.'[35] The 1975 tour proved to be the breakthrough and was confirmed by the chart success of the single 'No Woman, No Cry.'[36] Although criticised in some quarters for making musical compromises, there can be little doubt that Marley brought reggae to the attention of a wider audience than ever before, including many who then went on to explore its roots.[37]

In all, there were seven tours and linked albums and singles, from *Catch a Fire* and *Burnin'* both 1973, to *Uprising*. 1980. Among the tracks released were 'I Shot the Sherriff' and 'Get Up, Stand Up,' (1973), ''No Woman No Cry' and 'Revolution,' (1974), 'Exodus,' 'Three Little Birds' and 'One Love/People Get Ready,' (1974), ''Is This Love?' (1978) and 'Redemption Song,' (1980). Marley's impact in terms of chart success was mixed. On the one hand, there were seven top ten records but his most successful singles, 'One Love' and 'Buffalo Soldier' were issued after his death; as was his only number one album, *Legend*. Nonetheless, the album *Exodus* enjoyed sustained

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success being in the charts for over a year, though ironically, Eric Clapton achieved a top ten hit with 'I Shot the Sherriff.' However, the impact of Marley and the Wailers cannot be measured simply in terms of chart successes. His message, which denounced oppression, encouraged resistance but called for unity, found a wide audience. His voice, both melodic and sincere, his passionate involvement in politics, and a series of well-honed publicity campaigns turned him into an important cult figure. The extent to which inner-city black youths in London, Birmingham or Manchester identified with the idea of a return to Africa is debatable, but his references to Babylon spoke to many black youths who saw themselves as being in internal exile in the land of their birth. He also appealed to alienated white working-class youth, offering a more inclusive vision than that found in roots reggae.

It was a measure of the growing popularity of reggae that the BBC, belatedly and (with the exception of John Peel) reluctantly started to broadcast it, albeit more on local stations, such as Radio London (*Reggae Time*) and Radio Birmingham (*Reggae, Reggae*). Pirate stations, notably Capital Radio, especially David Rodigan's *Roots Rockers* show, London Weekend Radio, the People's Community Radio Link (Birmingham) and Dread Broadcasting Corporation, the first black-owned radio station, were more important in bringing reggae to a wider audience from the 1970s onwards.

While the growing popularity of reggae in general terms is beyond doubt, there were important internal tensions and divisions. Marley's commercialised reggae was rejected by those, for whom King Tubby, Big Youth, Burning Spear, Black Uhuru and the Gladiators were seen as more authentic. On the other hand, the increasingly macho roots reggae, and sporadic incidence of violence, alienated others who looked more to 'sweet' reggae and the soul scene, particularly in the person of Aretha Franklin. With James Brown and Stevie Wonder, she was linked with the civil rights movement in America and heightened awareness of the plight of the African diaspora.[38]

British reggae

The popularity of Jamaican-born ska and reggae musicians acted as a stimulus to British-born bands, though there was a persistent

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belief that, almost by definition, British reggae was inferior. The experience of racism, whether in the form of police harassment, educational exclusion or above-average unemployment, the sense of being in exile made Jamaican-imported reggae attractive in the first place and provided stimuli to the development of distinctive British forms of reggae.

Aswad, Misty in Roots and Matumbi all came from London, but there was considerable variation between them. The more commercialised, reggae light of the latter brought them an appearance on Top of the Pops and a minor hit, 'Point of View,' in October 1979. This contrasted with the Rastafarianism of Misty in Roots' 1979 album, *Live at the Counter Eurovision*, which included 'Ghetto of the City' and 'How Long, Jah.' Aswad were the most prolific and best known of the three, having first come to notice as the backing band on Burning Spear's *Live* album in 1977. In songs like 'Back to Africa' (1980), they echoed the Garveyite pan-Africanism of Burning Spear. 'Africa is her name/A place where we'll be free once again.' There was an imperative to 'Free ourselves from all persecution/Got to get free from this wicked Babylon.' Other songs, 'Three Babylon,' 'It's Not Our Wish (That We Should Fight)' and 'Sons of Criminals' were more focused on immediate problems but there was the same sense of suffering and alienation.[39]

Much the same could be said of the Birmingham-based Steel Pulse, who in the late-1970s and early-1980s released several hard-hitting singles and albums. There is anger in 'Ku Klux Klan,' where 'I come face to face with my foe/disguised in violence from head to toe.' There is contempt for the cowardice of the KKK but also a determination to act: 'do as they do/In this case hate thy neighbour.' 'Babylon' is the source of ruin where 'the hustlers of life have hooked and drained you from the man … you used to be' but the answer is to 'return Rastaman, where you came from/The land of your fathers.' In the unambiguously titled, 'Babylon Makes the Rules,' those in charge make 'my people suffer … my people are in a mess but nobody wants to know.' There is frustration, 'count the times we've been let down,' but also defiance. 'We must recapture our culture.' The most damning critique comes in 'Handsworth Revolution.' Deprivation, 'phoney laws' and

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hatred are all that Babylon brings. 'Cause there is still hunger/ Innocent convicted/Poor wage, hard labour/Only Babylon prosper and humble suffer.' But 'blessed with the power of Jah Creator/We will get stronger and we will conquer,' and the song ends 'Handsworth Revolution.' Finally, in 'Tribute to the Martyrs' the idea of being part of a wide-ranging historical struggle is made clear. As well as referencing Martin Luther King and Malcom X, Marcus [Garvey] and [Steve] Biko, the song also praises Toussaint L'Ouverture, the leader of the successful slave rising in Haiti that led to independence in 1804. Mention is also made of the Morant Bay rebellion of 1865, the brutal suppression of which left a lasting and powerful legacy in Jamaican popular culture.

The existence of a distinctive British reggae was even more apparent in the 1980s with the emergence of DJs associated with the Saxon sound system in Lewisham, London. Among the more successful were Tippa Irie, ('Complain Neighbour,' 'Police Officer,' 'Don't Like Police,' 'Hello Darling,) and Smiley Culture ('Cockney Translation,' and 'Roots Reality'). 'Cockney Translation' starts as if it were a dictionary:

> Say Cockney fire shooter. We bus' gun
> Cockney say tea leaf. We just say sticks man

but it progresses to something more

> Cockney say grass. We say outformer man …
> Cockney says Old Bill we say dutty Babylon …

Significantly, neither speak received English, both exist outside mainstream society, but, whereas Rasta culture was essentially exclusive, here was a black British identity that could be inclusive, at least with other sub-cultures. In that respect, there was a continuity of aspiration with the Two-Tone bands previously discussed.

Lovers' Rock

Even at the height of roots reggae in England, a significant number of young black people either did not identify with

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it, or openly rejected it, looking for an alternative in 'sweet' reggae or soul. For many second-generation African Caribbean youths, Motown meant more than Marley. Janet Kay enjoyed reggae 'but didn't feel part of the Rastafari movement, of roots and back to Africa … I didn't feel it related to my life and my surroundings.'[40] Lovers' Rock, a fusion of soul and reggae, emerged in the mid-1970s with Louise Mark's 'Caught You in A Lie.' Its first major chart hit was Janet Kay's 'Silly Games,' in 1979, but it can be traced back to earlier romantic rocksteady and reggae singers. Despite its debt to Philadelphia and Kingston, there was a distinctive British flavour and it was very much the music of a British-born black generation.[41] Initially associated with south London, it found adherents across the country, notably in Birmingham, Bristol and Leeds; and, again, it was the sound systems in clubs and dance halls that guaranteed its popularity.

The disconnect with roots reggae, itself developing a harder edge, has been explained partly in class terms – a middle-class, suburban rejection of disreputable reggae culture and an inner-city, working-class move to hip-hop – and partly in gender terms, a rejection of hyper-masculine reggae for a more feminised form, Lovers' Rock. The dance hall was a heavily masculine venue, with the selecters' cry of 'Ladies a your time now!'[42] For some women there was 'Rasta-for-*him*, not Rasta-for-I.'[43] However, Lovers' Rock was more than a 'female sanctuary.' By capturing the extent to which emotional turmoil was an issue for black men as well as women, it appealed to and was performed by both men and women. Beshara, 'Men Cry Too/Man A Reason,' a chart hit in 1981, openly challenged the notion that 'true' men never cry. Further, in Lovers' Rock, the erotic and loving complemented the political rather than standing in contradistinction.[44] As well as providing an emotional outlet, it also offered, to both men and women, another alternative one to be found in the cities of America rather than Africa.[45] There was no contradiction between Lovers' Rock and politics. Brown Sugar's 1977 single, 'I'm in love with a Dreadlocks' combined the romantic ('so in love, so in love, so in love' and 'never felt this way before') with a less overtly aggressive political ('they say he shouldn't lock his hair/And talk about the clothes he wears').[46] More

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explicitly, Walford 'Poko' Tyson of Misty in Roots, made clear that singing about 'love and women' could be combined with 'progressive protest music.'[47] The dance hall, as ever, was a complex venue, but one in which rebellion, enjoyment, the opportunity to dance and the chance to meet a partner were all important.

The popularity of Lovers' Rock went largely unappreciated at the time.[48] It was overlooked, even dismissed, by fans of roots reggae, for whom their concern with suffering led to a narrow definition of 'authentic' black music, in which there was no room for 'frivolous' Motown-inspired music.[49] Yet Lovers' Rock was an important part of the culture of second-generation black Caribbean immigrants and 'probably expressed far more organically what it meant to be black and British than any amount of roots.'[50]

White reggae

In the early 1960s there were relatively few white musicians interested in and capable of playing ska or reggae. Georgie Fame was the oft-quoted, notable exception but there were other groups who enjoyed some standing. Coming from a soul background, the Huddersfield-based Inner Mind, with Ian Smith, performed at all the major reggae venues across the country and were sufficiently well thought of to appear alongside the Pioneers, Desmond Dekker, Derrick Morgan and the like in the late-1960s. Ultimately, they enjoyed short-lived success, losing out to the attractions of the sound systems, but as the audience for reggae diversified and expanded, and more white musicians became attracted to it, the number of white reggae bands grew as a hitherto largely ignored music moved into the mainstream. In commercial terms at least, the most successful were Madness and UB40, though, the Clash, the Ruts, and even Bad Manners all built up a following.

From their earliest days as the Bodysnatchers, later the North London Invaders, Madness's interest in and debt to rocksteady and reggae was clear. Their final name and the first single, 'The Prince,' were clear tributes to Prince Buster, while 'One Step Beyond' was a cover of one of his records. The only white group signed by the Two-Tone label, they had been the backing group on tour for the Specials, the Selecter and Toots

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and the Maytals. However, their commercial success owed more to dance-oriented, pop songs ('Baggy Trousers' and 'Our House') albeit with a ska beat.[51] Indeed, as their career developed, their music articulated a sense of white Englishness, more akin to the Kinks, as well as showing strong links with music hall. Their early career was also marred by a significant neo-Nazi presence at several their concerts.[52] The career of Bad Manners was not dissimilar. Their commercialised ska sound is clear in various tracks, including 'My Girl Lollipop,' a re-working of Millie's 1960s hit, and 'King Ska Fa' but, with the possible exception of 'Inner City Violence,' there is no social commentary. Increasingly the band depended on novelty numbers, such as 'Can Can' and 'Tequila' and they played for a white, and often right-wing, skinhead audience.

More serious in their commitment to reggae were UB40. From the mixed community of Balsall Heath, Birmingham, group members had grown up with various musical forms including reggae. Their chosen name made clear the harsh economic conditions that beset them. The band had a dual purpose: to play reggae and to get off the dole. Their first album, *Signing Off,* demonstrated their success on both counts. It was based on an accessible but reggae-based musical style combined with songs that addressed current issues. Their debt to reggae was clearly seen in their 1983 album, *Labour of Love*, with its covers of Eric Donaldson's 'Cherry Oh Baby,' the Melodians' 'Sweet Sensation' and Jimmy Cliff's 'Many Rivers to Cross;' though the most successful track was 'Red, Red Wine,' based on Tony Tribe's reggae version of the Neil Diamond song. *Signing Off*' with its distinctive cover, featuring Unemployment Benefit Attendance Card, UB40, addressed several major social and political issues.[53] 'Little by little' condemned income inequality. 'Poor boy sleeps on straw/The rich boy sleeps in bed' but worse, 'the fat boy fills his belly/My poor boy's a dead.'[54] 'Burden of Shame' was equalling scathing. It condemned of British imperialism, not least the neglect of 'the cries of an African son' but made clear that, while 'there's a soldier's hand on the trigger … it's we who are holding the gun.'[55] The most outspoken, and directly political, critique was reserved for Margaret Thatcher in 'Madam Medusa,' with its references to 'tombs of ignorance, of hate and greed and lies'

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and 'the evil tree of knowledge.' The innocent are scourged and there is 'silent suffering … through the land,' while 'in her bloody footsteps, speculators prance.' This was music to dance to and lyrics to ponder.

Also, more serious in their relationship to reggae were the Clash with covers of popular roots songs such as Junior Murvin's 'Police and Thieves' and Willie Williams' 'Armaggideon Time.' The lyrics of several of their songs reflected a shared experience of limited opportunities ('Career Opportunities'), the threat of extremism ('English Civil War') and a more general sense of frustration, notably in 'White Riot.' The song, which grew out of Joe Strummer's experience of the 1976 Notting Hill riot was condemned for its incitement to violence: 'White riot, I want to riot.' Although black and white share common problems, the former 'don't mind throwing a brick,' while the latter 'go to school where they teach you how to be thick.' More importantly, and foreshadowing latter divisions, 'white riot' was a cry by the white dispossessed for 'a riot of our own.' Although the Clash were prominent in the Rock Against Racism campaign, they were unable to reconcile punk's contradictory stance on race. The Ruts, from south London, were another heavily committed, reggae-influenced punk band. They also played on several occasions as part of the Rock Against Racism campaign, not least as part of the Misty In Roots Unite collective in Southall. 'Babylon' was burning 'with anxiety … positively smouldering with ignorance and hate.'[56] Southall, which had a significant south Asian population (and a small African Caribbean one) was the scene of particularly ugly scenes on 23 April 1979. Racially motivated violence had been on the increase since 1976, when Gurdip Singh Chaggar was stabbed to death by white youths outside a public house. A forthcoming election, the provocative presence of the National Front, and widespread protest, resulted in vicious conflict between demonstrators and the Metropolitan police's Special Patrol Group, which resulted in the death of Blair Peach and the clubbing of several leading protesters. The events of that day had a profound impact on opinion and raised serious questions about policing in London.[57] The Ruts' protest, 'Jah Wah' referenced the assault on Clarence Baker, the Anti-Nazi League leader, 'the blood and the madness … [and] the blood on the streets that day.' 'Jah War,' with its explicit reference

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to the police, 'hot heads came in uniform/thunder and lightning in a violent form,' was too much for the BBC, which banned the song.[58]

Second only to Bob Marley for reggae record sales in the 1970s, ignored, when not banned, by the BBC, despite his popularity, and castigated by the musical press, was Alex Hughes, better known as Judge Dread. His career shows, yet again, the importance of fusion between different musical genres. His approach, which appalled purists and the BBC alike, but which attracted a considerable working-class and punk following, showed that having a popular formula can make familiar music, which might otherwise have remained alien and unappreciated, and thereby encourage further exploration. Having lived with an African Caribbean family in Brixton, he acquired a love for and knowledge of ska and reggae. Hughes took his name from a Prince Buster track, in a career that spanned over a quarter of a century. During this time he had a series of successful records, combining ska and reggae rhythms with 'adult' nursery rhymes, parodies of pop hits and music hall songs. His first record, released by Trojan records, was inspired by Prince Buster's less-than-decorous 'Big Five.' In Hughes' 'Big Six,' bluebeat meets a distinctly blue boy, a formula he repeated on 'Big Seven.' 'Big Six' was a hit in Jamaica, but when he appeared in Kingston, like Charley Pride's first appearance at the Grand Ol' Oprey, his skin colour silenced the crowd. His diversity is easily seen. Alongside a version of 'Rudy A Message to You,'[59] he covered Mike Sarne's 'Come Outside' and Doris Day's 'Move Over Darling' in a manner reminiscent of Marie Lloyd's (alleged) version of 'Come into the Garden Maud.' 'Grandad's Flannelette Nightshirt' was from the George Formby songbook and 'Y Viva Suspenders' was Max Miller to a cod-Spanish tune. For all that, he had more reggae hits in Britain than Bob Marley.[60]

Reggae-lite and reggae-as-resource

As with rhythm and blues, reggae's impact was felt more widely in mainstream pop music. Marmalade had had a number one hit with the quasi-Caribbean 'Ob-Le-Di Ob-La-Da,' but even more cynical was Jonathan King, promoting the Piglets 'cod-Caribbean knees up,' 'Johnny Reggae,' which owed as much

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to music hall as to ska or reggae.[61] Also avowedly commercial was Musical Youth's 'Pass the Dutchie.' It sanitised the lyrics, as the 'kouchie' (ganga pipe) in the Mighty Diamonds' version became the 'dutchie' (cooking pot), it made more commercial the tune, and introduced a packaged group of cute kids.[62] For other artists, reggae influences were incorporated into a more distinctive sound. The Police, for example, claimed, somewhat pretentiously, to have 'reggae influences in [our] vocabulary [... which] became synthesized into our infrastructure until it was utterly part of our sound and you couldn't really call it reggae any more.[63] Their 'substantially refined' white reggae, is discernible not only in 'Roxanne' and 'Walking on the Moon' and (less obviously) 'Message in a Bottle.' Despite a two album tribute, *Reggatta Mondatta: A Reggae Tribute to the Police*,' there remains much force in Gilroy's tart observation that the Police 'inverted the preconceptions of Rasta … served, within pop culture at least, to detach reggae from its historic association with the Africans of the Caribbean and their British descendants.'[64] Alternatively, ska and reggae could be viewed as contributing to a wider range of musical resources to be drawn upon, to a greater or lesser extent as artists saw fit. Elvis Costello, for example, was happy to incorporate reggae but as one of a number of genres upon which he drew. 'Watching the Detectives,' on his highly acclaimed debut album 'My Aim Is True,' utilises a reggae beat but there are few hints of reggae on other tracks.[65]

Some concluding observations

British society changed significantly in the post-war, post-imperial decades. Although white Britons consistently exaggerated the number of immigrants from the Caribbean (and south Asia), new commonwealth immigrants constituted a significant minority in society, not least because like the Irish in the nineteenth century, they were concentrated in particular districts of certain towns and cities. The music, in all its variety, that came with them was one part of the complex interactions, within and between generations, that characterised these years. Music was both reactive and proactive. It provided an opportunity to express both hopes and fears, a way to make sense of the world and create a sense of identity, both collectively

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and individually. Further, this process of change took place in a dynamic, evolving environment, which saw greater awareness and interaction in all spheres of life, and which gave rise to new perceptions and attitudes. The once exotic, marginalised, even ridiculed, became more widely accepted and valued as it was afforded a place in the mainstream. In terms of popular music, African Caribbean influences had a profound effect. For much of the 1950s and 1960s, only the occasional novelty calypso or ska song was heard outside immigrant communities. A decade later, reggae had acquired a national (and international) audience and was being played by an ever-widening number of British bands; but ska and reggae meant different things to different communities and different generations.

All migrant communities have coping strategies, many of which involve the preservation of cultural activities linked to home. Unsurprisingly, music and dance play an important role. The first post-war generation came from various islands, each with its own traditions. Although more people came from Jamaica than any other island, it was the carnival and calypso associated with Trinidad and Tobago and the Bahamas that predominated. Calypso opened up commercial opportunities without losing its ability to criticise. Its impact was curtailed partly by its association with comedy but more importantly by the growing influence of Jamaica and its music in the African Caribbean communities in England in the 1960s. Despite this, calypso had shown that an imported musical style could have an impact on the domestic music scene.

Through imported records and visiting performers ska and reggae provided an important link with family in Jamaica as well as its social and political developments. The former was soon eclipsed, first by rocksteady and then reggae. A new generation might condemn ska as 'old man's music' but for the old men it retained its importance as a means of preserving an identity in a hostile environment. However, for a generation, particularly of young black men, less willing than their parents to tolerate the frustrations and injustices of a racist society, reggae, with its close links with Rastafarianism, offered a better way of understanding and reacting against the society in which they had grown up. Although Jamaican reggae was commonly seen as superior, more authentic, black British bands gave

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reggae a distinctive turn that related to Tottenham as much as Trenchtown. However, the black audience for reggae had its limits. Its pan-African vision, the macho tone and incidents of violence alienated not only the aspiringly respectable suburbanites but also inner-city young men and women who found the soul scene more attractive. As Rastafarian influences declined in the late 1970s, the new reggae of Smiley Culture offered a new vision of being black British.

Commercial considerations also played an important part in the evolution of African Caribbean music. In contrast to America, black British communities were relatively small and dispersed. There was, irrespective of any other considerations, a pressure to develop a wider market by appealing to white audiences, which was discernible from the days of Melodisc records in the 1950s, but which became more powerful in subsequent decades. Ska and reggae had attracted a white, Mod following from the early 1960s, when Georgie Fame had been playing at the Flamingo and Roaring Twenties clubs. By the mid-1960s, fans of 'this new sound' were confident that 'bluebeat [ska] is here to stay,' even if they over-egged their argument with the claim that 'the Beatles have been well and truly squashed,'[66] The fragmentation of the mod movement in the late 1960s and the emergence of the skinhead and later punk subcultures saw a continuing, but complicated relationship with reggae and Rude Boy culture. Shared experiences at school and in out-of-school leisure, and a shared sense of exclusion from mainstream, white, middle-class society, led to common musical interests.[67] Groups like the Viceroys ('Work It') and the Versatiles ('Children Get Ready') attracted skinhead followers.[68] Symarip's 'Skinhead Moonstomp' unambiguously had a target audience.[69] The ska revival was predicated on the belief that there was common ground between black and white youths, especially in the inner cities. In terms of broadening appeal to a new white audience, Two Tone succeeded: in bringing together black and white, less so. In part this was due to the growing interest in reggae, in part to the diverse and contradictory elements in punk. Madness, even more so Bad Manners, attracted National Front and British Movement sympathisers, while certain punk groups were openly white-supremacist.[70]

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Hard-headed economics, albeit combined with artistic and political intent, was also behind the reformulation and rebranding of raggae. Bob Marley and the Wailers took it in a different direction and to an international audience. Similarly, UB40 developed a highly successful form of reggae that grew out of their experiences and brought both the music and the message to a considerably wider audience.This led to resentment in some quarters. 'Reggae music invent by the Jamaicans/ UB40 tek it and make the most million,' according to Macka B.[71] Others, were even more cynical, in their appropriation and exploitation of reggae, but it would be misleading to talk simply in these terms. For some groups there was a conscious wish that went beyond simply commercial considerations to bring ska and reggae to a wider audience. Further, there is an important thread, linking most of the ska/ska-revival and reggae bands, that explains their considerable popularity. Theirs was music to enjoy, music to dance to, but music also combined with thought-provoking lyrics that expressed a range of emotions and offered hope for a better future.

Endnotes

1 L Bradley, *Sounds Like London,:100 Years of Black Music in the Capital*, London, Serpent's Tail, pp.213-5, William 'Lez' Henry, 'Reggae, Rasta and the Role of the Deejay in the Black British Experience, *Contemporary British History*, 26(30, 2012, pp.355-73, P Gilroy, *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack*, London, Routledge, 1992, esp. pp. 216-7, 252-5 and 261-5, and P Ward, 'Sound System Culture: Place, Space and identity in the United Kingdom, 1960-1989,' *Historia Contemporánea*, 57, 2018, pp.359-76

2 S Dudley, *Carnival Music in Trinidad*, Oxford University Press, 2004, especially chapter one. A similar carnival/calypso tradition was also found in the Bahamas.

3 See for example the Mighty Sparrow's 'Jean and Dinah,' aka 'Yankees Gone,' which exceptionally won both the Road March and the Calypso King competitions, and Lord Invader, 'Rum and Coca Cola,' (not the bowdlerised version by the Andrews Sisters).

4 The Percussion Orchestra repertoire included Brahms's 'Cradle Song,' The Tennessee Waltz' and 'Put Another Nickle in (the Nickelodeon)'

5 L Bradley, *Sounds Like London*, p.50. 'Don't Touch Me Nylons' https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LBuI_7OGqhI

6 'If You're Not White, You're Black' https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=566gtlESMxs

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7 'Black Power' https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KtFwJtWUR1w This contrasts with the sadness in 'If You're Not White' where he observes 'you hate the name of Africa/the land of your great grandfather/the home where you really belong.' 'Teddy Boy Calypso' can be heard at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Dda8NBHpEaM
8 See also Bradley, *Sounds Like London*, chapter 2 'Are They Going to Play Music on Dustbins: How London learned to love the steel pan.'
9 Belafonte was a talented musician, producing a wide range of material including chain gang songs ('Swing Dat Hammer' 1960) and 'Many Moods of Belafonte,' in which he collaborated with Hugh Masekala and Miriam Makeba. He also had a distinguished career as a civil rights campaigner.
10 This pairing is unfair on Percival who was an able calypso singer, regularly performing on 'That Was the Week That Was,' and well regarded by Trinidadian calypso singers.
11 Duke of Iron https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mMyNcMG7Ryk cf Johnny Duncan https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W_4thzXTrrw
12 The early history of the Notting Hill carnival is disputed. There were street parties in the mid-1960s, with a jump-up street parade turning into a parade in 1966, but it is claimed that the first true street parade took place in 1973, while in 1976 its character became more Jamaican with the first appearance of sound systems.
13 'Negro Know Thyself' https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5afZZffWpYo
14 J Heathcote, 'Urban Spaces and Working-Class Expressions across the Black Atlantic: Tracing the Routes of Ska,' *Radical History Review*, 87, 2003. Soul Jazz records, *Studio One Jump Up: The Birth of a Sound* contains the sound of Jamaican R & B and early ska, including artists such as Clue J and the Blues Blasters, Derrick Morgan and the Maytals.
15 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gxhkE6Qj7NA
16 Heathcote, 'Urban Spaces and Working-Class Expressions' and Ward, 'Sound System Culture'
17 L. Bradley, *This is Reggae: The Story of Jamaica's Music*, New York, Grove Press, pp.115-6
18 'My Boy Lollipop' https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dwrHCa9t0dM
19 'My Boy Lollipop' was the fourth highest single in Jamaica in 1964, outselling (at number 5) Prince Buster's 'Wash, Wash.' J Stratton, Chris Blackwell and "My Boy Lollipop": Ska, race and British Popular Music,' *Journal of Popular Music Studies, 22(4), 2010, pp.436-65*
20 The Beatles' 'Ob-La-Di Ob-La-Da,' Paul's 'granny shit,' according to John Lennon, was not their greatest track. J Stratton, '" Ob-La-Di Ob-La-Da": Paul McCartney, Diaspora and the Politics of Identity,' *Journal for Cultural Research*, 18(1), 2014, pp.1-24. Stratton argues the song is more complex, particularly in terms of musical influences which embrace ska and music hall.
21 Linval Golding of The Specials, *Black Music*, February 1980 cited in S Jones, *Black Culture, White Youth: The Reggae Tradition from JA to UK*, Bassline Books, 2016, p.105.
22 *Coventry Evening Telegraph,* 3 November 1979 and *New Musical Express*, 23 February 1980 cited in Jones, *Black Culture, White Youth*, p.106
23 *Black Music*, October 1982 cited in Jones, *Black Culture, White Youth*, p.107

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24 See for example, the comment in *Stage* (11 June 1981) on the Beat. 'Lyrically, [their] material deals with such issues as unemployment and persecution.'

25 'Ghost Town' was displaced at the top of the charts by Shakin' Stevens' 'Green Door.' The Selecter eight hits included 'On My Radio,' Three Minute Hero' and 'Missing Words.;' The Beat, ''Tears of a Clown,' Mirror in the Bathroom,' 'Too Nice to Talk To' and 'Hands Off She's Mine.' On 17 November 1979, The Selecter and The Specials were in the top ten, alongside Dr Hook, Abba and Sad Café.

26 *Play For Today* was screened after the 9 p.m. news. On 26 October 1982 viewers enjoyed the pre-watershed delights of 'The Last of the Summer Wine' and 'Terry and June.'

27 Stratton takes a harsher line, dismissing Two Tone as 'a nostalgic white reaction against the demands for equality being made by the second-generation Black British.' J Stratton, *When Music Migrates: Crossing British and European Racial Faultlines, 1945-2010*, London, Routledge, 2019, p.125 See also his 'Skin deep: ska and reggae on the racial faultline in Britain, 1968-1981,' *Popular Music History*, 5(20, 2010, pp.191-215) His reference to 'a white yearning for time past with little conflict' ('Skin deep' p.208) misrepresents the attitudes and aspirations of many who attended those gigs and supported Two Tone at that time, though this critique is based on personal recollection and anecdotal evidence.

28 R Steffens, 'Rock Steady' Groves Music Online, https://doi-org.libaccess.hud.ac.uk/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.23629 and S Davies, 'Reggae,' Grove Music Online, https://doi-org.libaccess.hud.ac.uk/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.23065

29 Toots and the Maytals, 'Do the Reggay' https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cwTcoHapkGY

30 See for example, Ward, 'Sound System Culture' for details of Huddersfield, West Yorkshire.

31 'Israelites' https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HA1ZRIQuHy4 'It Mek' https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5JXwN1HrnFY 'Wet Dream' https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C79spWeuakU 'Long Shot Kick De Bucket ' https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zA78G52P3QY 'Wonderful World, Beautiful People' https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dckyG-fXSdw Dandy 'Reggae in Your Jeggae' also released in 1969 was less (commercially) successful.

32 For Trojan records see M de Koningh & Laurence Cane-Honeysett, *Young, Gifted and Black*, London, Omnibus Press, 2018

33 Their first album, the Wailing Wailers, included 'Simmer Down,' 'Rude Boy' and 'One Love' but also 'What's New Pussycat.'

34 This was part of a broader strategy to sell reggae to a white audience, including films, such as *The Harder They Come*, the soundtrack of which featured Jimmy Cliff, Desmond Dekker, Toots and the Maytals, the Melodians and the Slickers, and later *Countryman*, which was dedicated to Bob Marley and the Wailers.

35 The original title was Knotty Dread with its sense of Rasta militancy

36 For further details see Jones, *Black Culture, White Youth*, especially pp.67-73.

37 See for example in M Alleyne, 'White Reggae: Cultural Dilution in the Record Industry,' *Popular Music and Society*, 24(1), 2000, pp.15-30

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38 There were various musical links including Marley's cover of the civil rights anthem, 'People Get Ready' and various recordings of 'Young, Gifted and Black.'

39 See for example 'Sons of Criminals.' 'So foreign true, this poverty/ Oh I, and I did feel the pain/For some many years, just blood sweat and tears.' Or 'Three Babylon' with its line 'three Babylon try to make I and I run/they come to have fun with their long truncheons.'

40 Bradley, *Sounds Like London*, p.219

41 L A Palmer, 'Men Cry Too: Black Masculinities and the Feminisation of Lovers Rock in the UK,' in J Stratton & N Zuberi, eds., *Black Popular Music in Britain since 1945,* refers to it as a product of 'transatlantic cultural networks where Philly soul met Jamaican rub-a-dub with a dose of British pop.' at p.120. See also. Bradley, *This is Reggae*, who describes Lovers' Rock as 'a genuinely black British musical style,' p.440 and Bradley, *Sounds Like London*, chapter 6.

42 Palmer, 'Men Cry Too,' p.115 fn.1. For a statement of Lovers' Rock and the female voice, see D Hebdige, *Cut 'n' Mix: culture, identity and Caribbean music*, London, Routledge, 1987, p.135.See also Jones, *Black Culture, White Youth* pp.55-7

43 Bradley, *Sounds Like London*, p.228

44 L A Palmer, ''LADIES A YOUR TIME NOW! Erotic politics, lovers' rock and resistance in the UK,' *African and Black Diaspora*, 4(2), 2011, pp.177-92

45 Hebdige, *Cut 'n' Mix*, specifically referring to black British girls stresses the importance of Aretha Franklin and Diana Ross as role models.

46 'I'm in love with a Dreadlocks' https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=K8fP-fmsDfw See also Horace Andy & Tappa Zukie, 'Natty Dread a Weh She Wants' https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f324Xs0C3hA Gregory Isaacs 'Dreadlocks Love Affair.' https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L4XRPg6MxSI

47 Cited in Palmer, 'Ladies A Your Time,' p.189

48 Young black women bought records but not in the shops that contributed to the compilation of the hit parade.

49 It was a view largely accepted by the music media, some sociologists and social historians (the present writer included) who, at the time, interpreted 'the black experience' in terms of 'educational deprivation, poverty, unemployment and antisocial behaviour.' The phrase was used by the British Film Institute, describing two British-made films by black directors, *Pressure* (1975) and *Burning An Illusion* (1981) and cited in Bradley, *Sounds Like London*, p.242.

50 Bradley, *This is Reggae*, p.441. He also delivers a nice sideswipe to the 'mainstream media, who were now skanking as if their lives depended on it, [which] chose to rubbish it as not be authentic (i.e. black) enough.' Since writing the first draft of this book, Steve McQueen's *Small Axe* has appeared on BBC TV. The importance of Lovers' Rock is strikingly presented in the second film.

51 Gilroy is more scathing accusing Madness of hijacking ska and declaring it white. *Ain't No Black*, p.226

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52 Again, Gilroy is scathing seeing these London-based white reggae bands attracting 'young racists' with their 'patriotic nationalism.' *Ain't No Black*, p.226. For a more nuanced view see M Worley, 'Oi! Oi1 Oi!: Class, Locality and British Punk,' *Twenty Century British History*, 24(4), 2013, pp.606-36
53 The album also included four instrumental tracks, including 'Signing Off' and 'Reefer Madness.' There is also a version of the well-known 'Strange Fruit.'
54 Their first single 'Food For Thought' drew attention to famine in Africa.
55 There is a belief in change, 'stone by stone/Rich man's mountain comes tumbling down.' which contrasts with the more pessimistic tone of their hit single, also include on the album, 'King,' which refers to 'your people now' as 'chained and pacified.'
56 'Babylon Burning' https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zCkNu9OxThc
57 Generally, see, E Cashmore & E McLaughlin, *Out of Order? Policing Black People*, London, Routledge, 1991; specifically, National Council for Civil Liberties, *Southall 23 April 1979: The Report of the Unofficial Committee of Enquiry* (1980) and *The Death of Blair Peach: The Supplementary Report of the Unofficial Committee of Enquiry* (1980).
58 'Jah War' https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=01zIS6oYqec
59 'Rudy (A Message to You)' https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=neUol8ObS7U
60 J Stratton, 'Judge Dread: Music Hall Traditionalist or Postcolonial Hybrid?' *Contemporary British History*, 28 (1), 2014, pp.81-102
61 'Ob-La-Di Ob-La-Da https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Lu2mEkhcrQA For a more general discussion of the song see Stratton, ''Ob-La-Di Ob-La-Da': Paul McCartney, Diaspora and the Politics of Identity.' 'Johnny Reggae' https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4wShL3lIkro The phrase is Paul Du Noyer's, cited in J Stratton, 'The Travels of Johnny Reggae: From Jonathan King to Prince Far-I; From Skinhead to Rasta,' *Communication and Critical Cultural Studies*, 9(1), 2012, pp.67-86 at p.68
62 Mighty Diamonds 'Pass the Koutchie' https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kpPQSsi9sw8 and Musical Youth 'Pass the Dutchie' https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dFtLONl4cNc
63 Sting interview cited in M Alleyne, 'White Reggae: Cultural Dilution in the Record Industry,' *Popular Music and Society*, 24(1), 2000, pp.15-30 at p.25
64 Gilroy, *Ain't No Black,* p.227
65 There are hints in 'Less Than Zero' and 'Sneaky Feelings' but not in tracks such as 'Alison,' Red Shoes' and 'No Dancing.' For his, and others, involvement with soul, see A Marks, 'Young, Gifted and Black: Afro-American and Afro-Caribbean Music in Britain 1963-88,' in P Oliver, ed., *Black Music in Britain*, Milton Keynes, Open University Press, 1990, pp.102-117, esp. pp.112-3. Marks, like Gilroy, sees this as distracting from real reggae.
66 C Hamblett and J Deverson, *Generation X*, London, Tandem Books, 1964 cited in Gilroy, *Ain't No Black*, pp.221-2
67 Acknowledged, for various reasons, by Bob Marley and his backers. See his 'Punky Reggae Party.'
68 'Work It' https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wuCvd6zLf1I and 'Children Get Ready' https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qrs5EfdvOW8

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69 'Skinhead Moonstomp' https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PWvRr8XxDhU
70 See for example 4-Skins 'Master Race,' The Exploited 'Class War' and Criminal Class 'Blood on the Streets' and 'Fighting the System' but see Worley' Oi! Oi! Oi!' for a nuanced analysis of punk. Others explicitly rejected this, notably the Business with 'Oi Against Racism and Political Extremism but Still Against the System.'
71 Born in Wolverhampton of Jamaican parents, Macka B was greatly influenced by Jamaican toasters, such as Big Youth and Prince Far-I. The quotation is included in J Mullen, 'UK Popular Music and Society in the 1970s,' *French Journal of British Studies,* xxii, 2017, pp.1-14 at p.7

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