

PAN, STILL ON THE MOVE: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF THE STEELPAN'S
UNCHARTED GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT IN NORTH AMERICA, AND
WHAT IMPACT THIS PUTS ON THE PAN MOVEMENT IN ITS PLACE OF ORIGIN,
THE CARIBBEAN

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the growth and development of the steelpan in its place of origin, Trinidad and the Caribbean, and its diffusion into North American cities in Canada and the USA. This topic is based on a personal interest in the progressive development of the steelpan including the concerns and the implications for the future of the people, places, and institutions that are affected. Steelpan development, in its simplest form, is very broad when considering the varied aspects of cultural, social, academic, and economic scenarios. This dissertation offers a comparative analysis of the various aspects of steelpan development, based on the information focusing on two specific areas: academic and community development. Certain areas have begun the industrialized manufacturing of the instrument. The study is restricted to some of the major cities in Canada and the USA which have been heavily involved in some aspect of steelpan development. The rationale behind the study is to observe and determine the pros and cons in areas of development and to provide information that may be shared and further assist in steelpan developmental strategies. Findings of the research are determined through the examination of related books on the steelpan culture, government documents, newspaper articles, interviews, participant observation, and my personal direct and continuous involvement with the pan culture for over fifty years. The methodology and theoretical approaches of auto-ethnography and cultural studies are the ways and means that are employed to achieve the necessary research goals.

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What makes someone return to school at sixty? Is it to complete and unfulfilled desire? Is it to prove that one is capable? Is it to achieve a goal for a purpose? I have been asked these questions many times. I never looked at age as a factor and have only seen the need to achieve for a purpose. The purpose is fulfilling a desire to further promote, develop and establish the best possibilities for the steelpan which is an instrument born out of repression and rebellion by the descendants of enslaved Africans in Trinidad. Significant contributions were also made by other races and ethnicities. This has been a major part of my life, livelihood, and a lifelong journey as far back as I can remember. I was first exposed to pan in my grandmother's backyard and must have been aware of the sounds at age of four or five. Living in the village close to my grandmother's home, we would often visit in the evening when the steel band would be practicing in the backyard. My acknowledgement goes all the way back to this little village of St. John. I begin by acknowledging the affirmation in my spiritual faith, which I have relied on to keep me focused and to stay on top of it all. I thank my Lord Allah for this understanding and meaningful faith. My mother (Iris Theroulde Wilson) is alive at 101 years as I write this today, and my brother Patrick is taking care of her. I can only again thank my Lord for having them here. She has literally carried me on her back when I was small. I am extremely grateful for my grandmother and the village of St. John where I grew up, my relatives and friends, the Flamingoes steelband, the elementary school in the village, and the high school situated further up on the mount. All were a part of my early grooming. Along this journey I have met many friends who have been inspirational, I thank them all.

My family, beginning with my wife Adiyah Margaret Apparicio, whom I first met in my own home when she visited. She unexpectedly came by with a friend when I was at home cleaning an alto pan in 1970. I never did let her go after that meeting. It was as if planned, but not by our hands. We were married within three years and migrated to Canada ten days later in 1973. The main luggage was the alto pan. After some fifty years of putting up with me along with six children, (Rachel, Walid, Ishmawiyl, Miriyam, Fatima, Zaynab), and eleven grand-children Rashid, Lailaah, Sadiqqa, Nayeem, Zahra, Zayne, Kareem, Amilah, Nafisa, Aara, and Akeem to date, I am extremely grateful, it would not be possible without her total support. My children and grand-children have all made many meaningful contributions that have led me to this point and I am grateful. Most of my life has been spent in Montreal, where my family and I have laid down roots in steelpan development. The family group “Salah & Family Steelpan Workshop” and the steelpan school “Salah’s Steelpan Academy” have been fixtures in Montreal. We acknowledge the many people of Montreal who have been supportive of our efforts.

Education, from my elementary school in the village in Trinidad (St. Benedict R.C.) to the high school on the mount (Abbey School). These provided the beginning and continuation of academia. When I migrated to Canada, my first music school was in Edmonton (Grant McEwan Community College). The second music school was McGill Conservatory of Music in Montreal. These provided my formative training in music. This was followed by Concordia University in Montreal (BFA in Music). I am grateful for Concordia University for accepting me with my steelpan, a historic first in Canadian universities. I must mention two notable professors who have been more than inspirational to me Andrew Homzy and Charles Ellison. Finally, I arrived at York University for the

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Chronology of the Steelpan

- 1930 – Advent of the bamboo drum, bamboo band, “tamboo bamboo.”
- 1937 – Advent of the “iron band”- rhythmic band.
- 1939 – 45 – Advent of the “steelband” melodic band as an underground development.
- 1945 – WWII ends. Steelbands debut on the streets of Port of Spain, Trinidad.
- 1946-50 – Development of the tonal quality of the pan and diffusion to Caribbean islands.
- 1949 – Pan arrives in New York, USA with Trinidadian Rudy King.
- 1950 – Formation of the first steelband association -Sydney Gallop is first president.
- 1951 – First steelband tour- Festival of Britain- Trinidad All Steel Percussion Orchestra
- 1955 – Pan in Canada. Montreal (Blesdell, Boldon, De Castro), Toronto (Sello Gomes)
- 1951-60 – Further development of chromatic instruments and better tonal quality.
- 1956 – Pete Seeger documentary film “Music from Oil Drums”- Kim Loy Wong
- 1962 – Independence from Britain. Trinidad & Tobago became a twin island nation.
- 1963 – Introduction of the panorama competition.
- 1963-70 – Numerous steelband tours around the world.
- 1967 – Montreal’s World Fair Expo’67. World forum for pan.
- 1970 – Black power Movement in Trinidad.
- 1971 – Pan Trinbago, new steelband organization replaces NATTS.
- 1972 – Iconic first pan composition by Ray Holman “Pan on the Move.”
- 1973 – Trinidadian Salah Wilson moves to Montreal with wife Adiyah and alto pan.
- 1976 – Pan introduced to Canadian schools in Toronto, as extra curricula activities.
- 1980’s – Trinidad, iconic panorama songs throughout the decade by prolific arrangers.
- 1980’s – Steelpan programs continued across USA/Canada in schools and communities.
- 1984 – First pan buskin on the streets and subways of Montreal, Canada (Salah Wilson).
- 1985 – Trinidadian Cliff Alexis - the first collegiate steelpan major program, at NIU.
- 1986 – Ontario Ministry of Education initiated accreditation to the existing pan programs.
- 1986 – Pan Trinbago incorporated by an Act of Parliament.
- 1986 – Salah Wilson introduced pan programs to two Caribbean communities in Montreal.
- 1989 – Toronto District School Board (TDSB) introduced annual weeklong Pan Fest.
- 1991-95. Salah Wilson introduced pan programs to the public schools of Montreal.
- 1991 – Trinidadian E. Mennette takes academic residence at University of West Virginia.
- 1992 – Prime Minister Manning declares pan national instrument of Trinidad & Tobago.
- 1992 – TDSB requests pan teachers from Trinidad. S. Cupid and others respond.
- 1995 – Toronto: Canada’s first panorama competition. Salah & Family steelband won.
- 1999 – E. Mennette receives *Endowment of the Arts Award* from President Clinton.
- 2004 – New construct of the panorama (categories and zones, funding) in Trinidad.
- 2005 – Trinidad officially puts pan in public schools with text book by S. Wilson.
- 2007 – Patent for Genesis pan (G-Pan) by B. Copeland in Trinidad.
- 2008 – S. Cupid introduces his electronic pan (E-pan) in Canada.
- 2008 – B. Copeland, Percussive Harmonic Instrument (PHI) electronic pan.
- 2010 – Panmen/panwomen of Toronto pursue higher education at York University.
- 2015 – Trinidad presents an international panorama competition and conference.
- 2018 – First woman elected as President of Pan Trinbago – Beverly Ramsay Moore.
- 2020 – Salah Wilson successfully defends his PhD dissertation on pan at York University.

Introduction

The concept of steelpan development includes: the basic history from inception to its formalization as a bona fide musical instrument; the innovative period of transformation from the “bamboo band” to the “iron band” to the “steel band;” the development from diatonic instruments to chromatic instruments; the search for the perfect tones and colors for each instrument from bass to soprano; the development of social acceptance by the communities where they exist and then on to the public in general. Diffusion of the instrument and culture was a crucial stage of development, first to other Caribbean islands and then to England and North America. Historic accounts of the steelpan’s journey form the main body of the narrative. With the growth of social acceptance the academic route became obvious and institutions reacted. They recognized and acknowledged the benefits and potential of steelpans in academia and initiated steelpan music programs into the public schools. This action resulted in an economic boost for the steelpan economy, which in turn, funneled more growth and spread of the “steelpan culture” in academia today. The narrative begins with the known and related history from various sources including newspaper articles (APPENDIX A38). This is interspersed with related information from recent interviews. The observation of how each area grew in their respective developments throughout the history is noted. Consideration is given to the pros and cons in the manufacture of the instrument; acceptance in ‘mainstream’ music; acceptance in academia; and its natural social and community construct. The information acknowledges strengths, weaknesses, and the general progress of steelpan development.

Recommendations and suggestions may result from the information gathered

Chapter 1. The inception and development of the steelpan in its place of origin.

1.1 Chronological historic account of cultural aspects of Trinidad post emancipation.

In the late 18th century, Trinidad along with many other islands in the Caribbean, were under the rule of European colonizers. Discovered by Christopher Columbus in 1498, Trinidad remained under the rule of the Spanish until the end of the 18th century. For the first three hundred years, Trinidad experienced a limited amount of activities of the enslaved African, in comparison to other islands. The Spanish relegated Trinidad to be a mere transfer point to the mainland of South America and looked upon the island simply as an ocean port of Spain. Today, the name Port of Spain remains as its capital city. The story of “El Dorado,” the legendary city of gold is expressed by Sue -Ann Gomes, author of the “Book of Trinidad.” This illustrates the magnitude of investment put into the concept of this imaginary city of gold (Gomes 1989).

So, it was that the Spaniards were convinced of the existence of untold wealth waiting to be tapped just higher up the Orinoco. This idea was even further concretized with Pizarro's and Cortes' discovery of Mexico and Peru and the enormous treasures found in those lands. The Spaniards wished to secure the newly found and untapped wealth of the Indies. Trinidad therefore became a very strategic position, it became the port of the Spaniards, the starting point for the journey up the Orinoco River. It would be these Spaniards who would lay the foundation for the development of Trinidad and Tobago for they brought their laws and government in the form of Trinidad's Illustrious Cabildo, however this would not happen for another several hundred years. Trinidad would be used merely as a stepping stone for the many heroic men who would die filled with the passion of conquering the splendid treasures of the golden city - El Dorado. (Gomes 1989)

The lack of population in Trinidad continued until Spain issued the “Royal Cedula of 1783” (Appendix A1) which invited “foreigners” (namely the French) to Trinidad to populate the island. Religion was the main submission for acceptance (Campbell 1992). Both Spain and France shared the same religious denomination, Roman Catholicism.

However, the British were at this time inserting themselves in the Caribbean as the dominant force. At this point, the island became heavily populated by the French, who were great planters of the land. They came from various Caribbean islands and brought their enslaved Africans and the mixed race of mulattoes, the “freemen.” The French also brought their language, culture, lifestyles, and the carnival season culminating in their “Mardi Gras” festival. However, by 1797, the British had overtaken Trinidad and forced the Spanish to surrender the island to them according to the “Articles of Capitulation for the Surrender of the Island of Trinidad” (Appendix A2). The British allowed all who did not wish to make their allegiance to the King of England to leave and a census of the population was taken. Europeans (British, Spanish, French) 2361, free colored (British, Spanish, French) 5275, enslaved Africans (British, Spanish, French) 20,464, Aboriginal (Carib, Arawak) 1154, Total population of Trinidad in 1797 was 29,254 (Appendix A3).

Trinidad at the turn of the 19th century featured three European languages plus the language of the aboriginals. The French, in the majority, added to the dynamics of a budding cosmopolitan nation. The last fifty years of this period saw the greater enslavement of the African, and Trinidad became more populated with new arrivals primarily from Western Africa. The British, now in charge of Trinidad, also controlled the West African countries of Nigeria and Sierra Leone. Many of the Africans who arrived in Trinidad during the latter part of the slave trade came from the Nigerian coast. They brought their Yoruba religion and culture and added to the growing make-up of Trinidad. According to both Dudley (2004, 15) and Stuempfle (1995, 39) they resisted the European slave traders as much as they could. Those Africans that were brought to Trinidad defiantly practiced their religion and culture, though disguised to conceal their intent.

Derivatives of these practices can be traced through “Orisha,” “Shango,” “Santeria,” “Obeah,” and “Voodoo” – with the traditions taking up different names throughout the various islands. Life on the plantations provided the concept of “Canne brulee” cane burning colloquially called *Canboulay*. This was an event where the enslaved Africans extinguished the fires of cane burning and harvested the crop. This exercise turned into an opportunity for the enslaved Africans of Trinidad to satisfy their work habits by employing drums, horns, singing, hand clapping and “kalinda” – a dance form expressing stick-fighting. The French, with their sense of aristocracy, celebrated their traditional carnival season continuously from the Christmas season until Ash-Wednesday. Their traditional aristocratic traditions featured elaborate masquerade balls designed for the upper class. Here the upper and middle classes, dressed up in costume, mimicked the lower class and the slaves. The principal character being the “negre jardin.” The lower class were forbidden to participate. This was the status quo of Trinidad just prior to the Emancipation Act of 1834. The African Slave Trade was abolished in 1807, but slavery would continue until 1834. There is an account by author John McNish Weiss, of enslaved African Americans who supported the British in the 1812 war against America (Weiss 2002). The British granted them freedom for their service and they chose to come to Trinidad, where they were given land and a refuge to live as “freemen” in the south of Trinidad. In 1816, a group of former enslaved African Americans and their families from the United States, arrived in Trinidad. They became the founders of The Company Villages in the south of Trinidad, a place now called Moruga. They were proud of being Americans and were known locally as *The Merikens* (Appendix A4). These families were isolated from the rest of the population as they were free people, such that a “taboo”

developed concerning them and the area they occupied. They brought their developing Baptist faith as their religion. Moruga is still known amongst circles as a “moaning ground”, a place of retreat for people of the Spiritual Shouter Baptist faith.

The Slavery Abolition Act of 1833 ended slavery in the British Empire on August 1, 1834. Tobago the sister island of Trinidad, has its own colorful history. It has changed ownership of the island some thirteen times, by the different European colonial powers that captured and colonized the island. It too, ended up under British rule and was politically and economically adjoined to Trinidad. The status quo remained until the twin island attained independence from Britain. Tobago is undoubtedly a part of Trinidad as the two islands became one nation Trinidad & Tobago. I will speak more of this Tobago connection as it relates to the steelpan. But, emancipation in Trinidad would not happen in 1834 as the British concocted an “apprentice scheme” that would have kept the Africans on the plantation for another eight years. However, in 1838 the African Trinidadians walked off the plantations and by so doing they abandoned the land and moved into the city and suburbs. History later shows that this move away from the plantations by the African Trinidadians, would result in their lack of ownership of most of the lands of Trinidad. Some settled on the outskirts of the capital city Port of Spain known as the East Dry River, housing the suburbs of Laventille and “John John”. After a decade of inactivity, the British opted to import a new form of labour from India. They brought Indians with a status of “indentured workers” and most were settled in Trinidad and British Guiana. May of 1845 saw the first arrival of the Indian population and this migration to Trinidad continued until 1917. A total of some 140,000 migrants from India brought their language, culture, religions (Hindu and Islam), and traditions and settled in

the various plantations that requested them. In the beginning there was little integration, eventually these workers became a major part of the make-up and cultural mosaic of Trinidad.

Many Spanish people from Venezuela were brought in as planters in the 19th and 20th centuries. They established cocoa plantations in various areas, most notably places like Lopinot, Paramin and Caura. Their descendants were known as “cocoa payols” and many still carry on with traditions of some form of the Spanish language and a famous music of Trinidad, celebrated at Christmas time, known as “parang” which stems from a music called parranda. Dr. Sylvia Moodie-Kablalsingh in *The Cocoa Payols of Trinidad: An Oral Report* gives an informative account of the Spanish-speaking “payol” community of Trinidad which was established in the 19th century (Moodie-Kablalsingh 1994).

From 1838, the need to celebrate emancipation was a driving force for the now free African Trinidadians. Their Canboulay traditions during the pre-emancipation period were re-enacted as a form of emancipation celebrations. The *J'ourvert* (day break) celebrations exposed parodies, satirical mimicking of the aristocrats and the system with role playing. The Mardi Gras of the French aristocrats and their ‘free’ French population were now invaded by the “lower class” and resulted in the upper class shying away from the Mardi Gras parade. This appropriation by the “lower class” eventually transformed the Canboulay and the Mardi Gras into one festival – the carnival celebration. This activity continued to follow the French traditions culminating in the pre-Lenten season leading to Ash-Wednesday.

From 1838 until 1871, the African skin drums were one of the main instruments in Trinidad. This tradition continued from the Canboulay period of pre-emancipation until

incidents leading up to the 1884 banning of the drum. I argue that the cause and desire to celebrate this “emancipation”, is the key to the motivation of further development, of some form of music to accommodate this festival. This included skin drums, singing, (chantwell and lavway) hand clapping, with stick fighting (kalinda), dances, and fire torches. As the Canboulay Festival merged into the “Mardi Gras” carnival, the upper class stopped participating and carnival was overtaken by the lower class. The English colonial government, rulers since 1797, saw a threat to their control and sought ways to terminate this Canboulay Festival. The British had always regarded the carnival and its celebrations as a risk or threat promoting instability and unrest. They sought ways to limit the event but were mindful of the cultural make-up of Trinidad. Carnival origins lay with the French colonizers who had propagated a mixed race of “French Creoles” which commanded the greater population. The riots of 1881 were combined with an incident known as the “Hosay Massacre” of 1883. “Hosay” in Trinidad is representative of a Muslim celebration entitled “Muharram.” This is observed only by the Shia sect of Muslims while Sunni majority do not acknowledge this as religious observance. Muslims from the Indian population were celebrating a religious observance playing their tassa and tabla drums and were shot down by the authorities. This led to the “Peace Preservation Ordinance of 1884” which effectively banned the drums (Grant 1999, 9). The banning of drums was a subsequent occurrence throughout some of the British colonies. But, there is also evidence of similar occurrences in some American colonies (Cowley 1996; Epstein 1977).

Likewise, Articles from the 1740 Slave Code of South Carolina, offers some confirmation.

It is absolutely necessary to the safety of this Province, that all due care be taken to restrain Negroes from using or keeping of drums, which may call together or give sign or notice to one another of their wicked designs and purposes. (Slave Code of South Carolina, Article 36, 1740).

The Canboulay festival was still allowed to continue but without skin drums. My argument focuses on the notion, that the desire, determination, and the verve of the populace to celebrate the “emancipation,” Canboulay, carnival is indeed the motive for the inventions of their musical instruments. In a sense it is a chosen form of resistance and rebellion against the system. I would also argue that this cultural phenomenon was the start of a national identity for Trinidadians. Notwithstanding, the ingenuity of the populace to respond by creating and inventing instruments to accommodate their needs.

Trinidadians were determined to produce music even without the right to play their drums. From 1884 until 1910, singing and handclapping became a common form of music making, along with some horns and strings ensembles. Around this time the chantwell became the calypsonian. (Liverpool 2001). A period known as “creolization” was in effect due to the strong influence of the descendants of the free French colored (creole) people (Stuempfle 1995, 44). Alliances were formed with the African descendants and those of the free French. The result was a total merging of those peoples to produce the carnival celebrations, and this has continued to exist to the present day, growing in business, influence, and innovation. This exercise was considered a shift in expanding the middle class and the beginning of some form of nationalism.

1.2 Fore-runners of the steelpan.

Around 1910, the advent of the “tamboo bamboo” bands came into being with the African descent Trinidadians as the principal adherents (Appendix 5). Bamboo, a locally grown plant abundant in Trinidad, has jointed stalks hollow on the inside that when cut to desired lengths, produces an array of sounds from the different joints. The ingenuity of the Trinidadians led to the forming of an “instrumental” family of these bamboo sprouts,

whereby a range of sounds from low to high pitches could be made. “Tamboo” is a colloquial spelling of the French word tambour which refers to a drum. The combining of the words tamboo bamboo literally spells “bamboo drum” and this was Trinidadians first response, resistance, and rebellion to the banning of the skin drum. The tamboo bamboo bands’ instrumentation was made up primarily of three types of the bamboo drum; the “boom”, lowest by nature and carries the bass; the foule in the middle responding to rhythms; and the “cutter” highest pitch and responds to more varied improvised rhythms. (Dudley 2008). The tamboo bamboo bands flourished as the principle form of music making for the celebrations until the mid1930’s. There was no recognized official banning of this instrument, but it was frowned upon by the upper and middle class of society. Nevertheless, this instrument ran its natural course until the mid to late 1930’s, where through an innovative process the tamboo bamboo bands evolved into the “iron bands.” Often time, the younger generation instinctively initiate change, in this case, they responded by adding metallic objects to the tamboo bamboo bands. These include hub caps, cans, brake drum, garbage cans. The louder sound of the metallic instruments provided a broader variety of tones whereby they eventually replaced the tamboo bamboo bands. There are numerous accounts of harassment by the police on the participants of these iron bands (Dudley 2008). It is from this era of the iron band that the steelpan would emerge (Appendix A5). The process was a rapid change of pace as the rhythmic iron bands began to evolve to melodic bands. The tamboo bamboo instruments are relegated to the role of primary fore-runners of the steel drum/steelpan as the iron bands era began with their domination of the carnival celebrations.

This was an exciting and progressive period, with changes in instrumentation and evolutions of musical instruments. One of the notable bands to experience rapid change was the Newtown Calvary Tamboo Bamboo Band. Around 1938 the movie *Alexander's Ragtime Band* was shown in Trinidad. This resulted in a name change for the New Town Calvary Tamboo Bamboo band to Alexander's Ragtime Band as they incorporated all types of metallic objects in their band. The 1939 carnival celebrations saw the explicit transformation to the iron band as Alexander's Ragtime Band took to the street with their all metallic instruments. They were led by Carton Forde, aka "Lord Humbugger." The sight and sound of this band on carnival day was a phase transition. Everyone was awestricken, Lord Humbugger led the way in his full regalia of top hat, gloves, scissors-tale coat, and a conductor's baton. This became the new norm for *musicking* (contraction of music making – see glossary on page 243) and Alexander's Ragtime Band has been acknowledged as being the first "steelband"/iron band to participate in the carnival celebrations of Trinidad (Goddard 1991). By the following year, the transformation was complete, with the emergence of new concepts of instruments. The "Iron Bands," the second fore-runner to the steelpan incorporated all manner of metallic objects, which ultimately became musical instruments. The only requirement was that an item produce a sound when struck with another object. An array of biscuit drums, cooking oil drums, garbage cans, pots and pans, bottle and spoon were the new instruments employed to produce sounds (Appendix A5).

1.3 Beginning of innovative period of the steelpan instrument's development.

This set the stage for the highly exuberant and innovative process of steelpan development that would lead to the eventual making of the steelpan instrument. It was a period of practical notes development on any tin can or metallic drum. The pace was rapid as word got around of who was doing what. But this process was about to be cut short with the emerging drumbeats of World War II. The carnival celebrations continued until a ban was placed on the event in 1941. However, at this period, the innovative process was already in motion. There were problems from the authorities, therefore the entire operation of steelpan development took a clandestine approach and went underground. These innovators were housed by the communities that harbored them and information was shared amongst the adherents. No one currently had any idea that this activity would result in the invention of the steelpan as we know today. But the underground innovations and development of this instrument continued through the war years, with often interruptions by the authorities. During that period, the innovators and adherents were undoubtedly from the lower class and as such were ostracized. They were looked down with disdain, and mistrust and considered the illiterates of society. This stigma would last for decades. But they were not deterred by the narrative and continued preparing for the end of the war. Here, they would have the opportunity to show their new inventions and play their “steel drums.” No one knew when the war would be over, so the underground movement continued unabated in preparation for that day. Up to this point, the narrative illustrates the general concept of a need and understanding by Trinidadians to develop some types of musical instruments to enhance their

celebrations. The era of 1937-1945 was a transformational period which saw the bamboo bands morph into the rhythmic and tonal iron bands with the introduction of metallic objects. From this tonal concept came notes on the metallic cans/drums/pans. They must have imagined getting the five notes of a bugle on these pans at that time. These heavy rhythmic groups competed amongst themselves but more importantly carried the day musically. They provided the music for the carnival celebrations. The goal and objective remained the same, the need to have the celebrations and the reason to produce the instruments to make the music for the celebrations. No one knew the outcome, nor understood the impact of their actions that would one day result in producing a world class instrument. It was also a highly competitive era and the competition itself would lead to strife and eventual confrontation. This in turn became fuel for more innovations and so this cycle of a unique but progressive development continued. In this play of characters and props, I have merely identified and characterized a general ambiance of development amongst the population of adherents and innovators. But this is also the era when legendary places and names of various characters and props would come into existence.

Looking at specific areas around the capital city, Port of Spain, and its suburbs, brings us to a section in the western end known as Newtown. Carlton “Lord Humbugger” Forde of the Alexander’s Ragtime Band was mentioned previously, but around 1937, a young eleven-year old Ellie Mannette was involved first in the Newtown Calvary Bamboo Band/Alexander’s Ragtime Band and in the “Oval Boys” and the legendary Invaders (Appendix A5). Victor “Totee” Wilson also of Alexander’s Ragtime

Band was said to have tuned a drum to chimes of the Queen's Royal College clock (Adams 2005). Many more legendary names and groups/bands would eventually be spawned from this area.

The competitive display of notes during the war years became possible after Victor "Totee" Wilson put four notes on his small pan, tuning it to the chimes of the Queen's Royal College clock. This was the moment the first steelband instrument was "invented." Wilson then called it his "ping pong" (Adams 2005, 22).

A counterpart to Ellie, a young man like himself, was Neville Jules from the other side of the city (Appendix A5). This area called Gonzales, a region of the East Dry River, would generate an array of names and bands that would be emblazoned in history books. Prince Batson, captain of "Hell Yard" which later changed to All Stars, and Hamilton "Big Head" Thomas an early tuner according to Prince Batson (Stuempfle 1995; 38). Batson also emphasized that the Orisha faith background of the people in that East Dry River neighborhood with its influential "Shango" drumming was also a contributing factor to early steelpan development. Carlton "Zigilee" Constantine founder of "Bar 20" also from the "Hell Yard Boys" era, witnessed and experienced the transformation from the bamboo to the metal bands (Dudley 2008). Notable mention to Rudolph "Fisheye" Olliverre, also of the Hell Yard/All Stars era. There are many more names of influential individuals and groups. Likewise, this area was also a spawning ground for many legendary groups and pan enthusiasts who emerged. Yet, another notable place is the area considered as the bands from "Behind the Bridge" a metaphorical term for a practical and physical place (Dudley 2008). This area and surroundings are referred to as "John John" and Laventille. Amongst the most notable names of people and groups to come from this area is Winston "Spree" Simon, also a witness and participant in the transformation from bamboo to metal bands (Appendix A5, A36). "Destination Tokyo" would be a pivotal

band, at that time. Desperadoes and Hilanders, with leaders like Rudolph Charles and Bertie Marshall would later emerge from this location (Appendix A5). They would later take their places in the colorful history of steelpan development from behind the bridge. This occurred in the capital city, Port of Spain, and its suburbs. Many more pockets of development, in and around the city, were crucial to this narrative and it must be mentioned that similar activities were likewise happening to some degree in other parts of the country. Port of Spain undoubtedly led the way in innovation and development, but Tunapuna and Arima in the east, and San Fernando in the south of the country, are touted to have made significant contributions. By 1940, the transformation to the iron bands was evident as an array of these types of rhythmic bands dominated the carnival season. Innovations were moving forward at a frenzied speed as the search for melodic notes continued amongst the tuners and innovators who experimented with all types and sizes of cans and drums. The “biscuit drum,” because of its size, shape, and sound served many purposes. This is best expressed by Shannon Dudley’s personal conversation in 1993 with the legendary “Zigilee,” on the transformation to metal.

Then come the biscuit drum. The biscuit drum when it come in, that’s the first who invade bamboo. When you hear that—more tone, easier to carry. So, it went on a little while, just about for a few weeks. So out go the boom (bamboo). All the rest hold on there for a little while till a guy come with two piece of stick and he start to rattle on the side of the biscuit drum there... So after a few days the cutter on this biscuit drum it have more volume than the old cutter, so out he went too. So this biscuit drum that is two set of damage what he done to the boom and to the cutter. Pan start to come in now. Then you find the guy, get a next, maybe a Vaseline drum, the same principle as the biscuit drum... So eventually now the bamboo—problem. ’Cause we was young and it had some older guys who like the bamboo. So what we used to do, they would be doing their thing in the yard and we would come right there with the steelband and we would blow them off. Because more volume and when we start to pile the pressure on they start to sit down and quit and all kind of names they call we. But eventually they gave in to the long run and all them they leave the bamboo and steelband pick up from there (Dudley 2008, 35).

The transformation was evident as the streets were filled with the sounds of the iron bands. Port of Spain had all its adherents from the main areas of development including smaller pockets, all converging on to the downtown core for the celebrations. However, the onslaught of World War II brought a halt to the parades and activities of such nature as war times measures were initiated. This meant a crack-down on the steelpan activities by the authorities. But this only pushed the movement further underground where innovations continued. Information was passed on by the adherents and the natural competitive nature of Trinidadians aided in spiking the developments. It was an age of experimentations with all types of cans and drums. There are many accounts of these types of activities happening simultaneously all over the city. Stuempfle states a quote from Leonard Morris an early panman who in describing the make-up of the band (Alexander's Ragtime Band) as "biscuit drums, old paint cans, old buckets, old bed posts, brassy parts from trucks, and old gramophone horns"(Stuempfle 1995, 36). A similar example from Dudley regarding the make-up of some bands at this time, is illustrated in a quote from Goddard's book.

For the Carnivals of 1935 to 1940 no mention is made in the print media, as far as I was able to ascertain, about any music supplied on Carnival days other than music supplied by string bands, bamboo and spoon bands and banjos. However, in 1937 both daily newspapers did mention that old pots, old pans, and tin pans were used to beat out crude rhythms" (Goddard 1991, 34-37).

It must be stated that up until 1940, the bands using the metallic instruments, were inadvertently rhythmic bands and not yet melodic bands (Goddard 2008, 39). These "iron bands" were beating pans and beating out rhythms. This was due to change, as the search for melodic notes were already in progress with results. The

movement though “underground” was nonetheless above ground with the spreading of “pan talk.” Small sized pans, which can be held in one hand and played with the other, were the first choice for making notes they were convex shaped at this time (Appendix A5). There are many narratives about this era expressed by many authors. The commonality was the desire of the pan people to continue to produce despite the odds. In the main areas identified for steelpan activities, the story goes as follows, one man came up with three notes on a pan as the word began to spread of inventions of pans with four notes. Meanwhile, in a different area another guy came up with five notes and so on. This increased pace of development continued with vivid imaginations and anticipation of the end of the war. By 1941 the Carnival parade was no longer officially allowed, but it did not prevent the continuous promotions and development of more notes for these pans. Trinidad culture ensures that nothing happens in a vacuum, the forming of these iron bands, leading to the steelbands, was also a process of emulation of the tamboo bamboo band. The concept of the bamboo’s boom, foule and cutter were replaced with the “du dup”, “kittle” and “ping pong” of the early steelband. The search for notes by the early pan tuners resulted in a frenzied rush of innovations to match the excitement.

As the word and talk of these new pan inventions in music began spreading to more areas, the interest generated, aided in the increase of these experiments and in the number of experimenters. A network of groups simultaneously began emerging from the areas and pockets of these pan-development communities (Appendix A5). These groups would all have the common participants of pan makers, pan players, and supporters. Zigilee was both a participant and a witness

and acknowledged that this type of activity was not limited to his area. Rather as the word and talk spread to more areas, the acceptance and wonderment only increased the workings of the experimenters and their musical experiments. Notwithstanding, that the community would always have a watchful eye on the government authorities. They were continuously trying to limit this type of activity coming from the perceived lower class of society. But nothing or no one would be able to stop these determined pioneers from carving out that part of their history. This is best captured in a conversation in 1993, with Dudley and the legendary Zigilee who was expressing his recollection of the era of pan development in 1941 and 1942 (Dudley 2008).

It start off with like, this guy have a pan with two notes, you make one with three notes, and then a next one come with four notes and make your one into rubbish, and then one come with five, and you know we keep on ...And that definitely was the competition at that time. I can remember when I make it seven. I go and hide and hide my pan beneath the old lady bed. Well, at least I was lucky because it make about two days before it was rubbish and then a guy came out with more. It had seven notes, so being it had seven notes, you didn't want to let anyone else see it, you just want to be the boss. Well it make at least two days. And then it come out because it was rubbish. Now when we was looking for notes, we just looking for notes different tones. We don't know what we looking for just something different when you hit the pan (sings a sequence of apparently random notes). And you buss on that (i.e. figure out a good pattern and jam on it) You don't know what the note was but you just had seven. So that's why I find in the old time days, we had to create. The pans we was making could not play the melodies about, you understand that's why we have to create we own.... It was hard to copy from hands. Because I have a pan with eight notes, you have a pan with eight notes, but we can't play one another thing, you know. [i.e., notes were not in the same key or arranged in the same pattern] (Dudley 2008, 48-49).

Likewise, other influences were prevalent, in retrospect, the playing of the tassa drums by the Indian population offered a concept of mobility with the drums, as the tassa was strapped around the neck and waist, allowing for playing with both hands. One can argue that having the concept of “pan round the neck” might well have

been an emulation of the tassa around the neck. The war also brought the Americans and their influences. Trinidad was still under the rule of the Great Britain and was part of the British Commonwealth. Great Britain seeded parts of Trinidad lands to America in order to set up military bases in areas of the British Commonwealth. The Americans set up facilities in Trinidad, amongst them was an inland air base on the eastern side of the island known as Wallerfield /Arima and a primary naval base, in an area west of the capital Port of Spain, called Chaguaramas. This place eventually plays an important part in the pan history of Trinidad. A corridor linking these two bases was also established, which is today called “The Churchill & Roosevelt Highway.” Historians have shown that the American presence at that time had a notable effect on many aspects of the Trinidad society beyond the economic boom that came with setting up of these bases in Trinidad. Employment for local Trinidadians brought American dollars into the economy and the social culture was also affected by the American service men and the lifestyle of sailors. Nightlife changed drastically as brothels, created to accommodate American service men, became a norm. These activities brought about pimps and prostitutes characterized in colloquial terms as ‘saga boys’ and ‘jamettes’. The word jamette is a colloquial term derived from the French word diametre and refers to people who metaphorically live on the border line (Steumpfle 1995, 21). The American presence in Trinidad during the World War II affected the Trinidadian culture in numerous ways. Emulation of the American presence showed up in the masquerading factions of the carnival celebrations. The playing of the “Sailor Mas” and masquerading factions of the carnival celebrations and its derivatives continues even to this

present day. Trinidad played a political part that effectively gave it a clandestine role as a major player in the war but this was largely unknown to the public. History would somehow repeat itself, since Trinidad's first inception as a European colony was to function as a transfer point. This was Trinidad's role with the Spanish colonizers in the pre-emancipation history. In World War II, the Americans through the British, were using Trinidad in various ways as a strategic location and transfer point to conduct numerous vital war interests. Brereton is cited and referenced by World War II history essays (UK Essays 2018).

Trinidad was the assembly point for the vital oil tankers; the government's political alliance with the United States did not directly put at the country at risk however the construction of the American bases had a remarkable socio-economic impact on the country. According to Brereton, Trinidad played the following significant roles during the war in assisting the United States; it was the convoy-assembly point transmitting tankers from the Caribbean oil ports across the Atlantic to North Africa and Europe, secondly the Gulf of Paria was used by US carriers and airplanes for their final exercises before going to the Pacific Battleground via the Panama Canal. Thirdly planes for the Eighth Army in North Africa were ferried through Trinidad and lastly vessels and civilian planes from South America had to stop at Trinidad for clearance to proceed to North America and European destinations. (UK Essays 2018).

From 1941-1945, this clandestine development of an instrument continued unabated, despite disapprovals from certain factions of society. The adherents and innovators pressed on with their verve and determinations, supported by the various communities that harbored them. Because of the on-going war and the government's proclamation of the banning of the street parade, alternative situations included staying confined to specific locations with subdued celebrations. However, the resistance by pan people to play their drum was evident as was the innovative push to make new instruments. This manifested in some adherents defiantly willing to take a chance and 'parade the street' on the designated carnival days (Slater 1986).

John Slater gives a personal account of a related situation which occurred during his time.

On Carnival Monday 1942, a band decided to take a chance and play their pans on the hills. The police came out in full force to arrest those who were breaking the law, in those days, whenever a Police raiding-party went on a mission only the most senior policeman carried a gun. Well, on this occasion they got a big surprise (Slater 1986, 13).

1.4 Recognition and acceptance of the steelpan and its adherents.

There are numerous accounts of similar incidents during the war years of pan people taking to the streets in sheer defiance of the authorities, also for their musical expressions. Trinidadians were on the cusp of the invention of a new musical instrument, a new drum, a steel drum, and no war was going to deter them from this engaging act of making musical drums. In addition, the intense competitive nature amongst the adherents with these new discoveries in music making, fueled the innovations and the resistance. Alliances were made amongst different factions in their respective areas. Yet, amongst all the rivalries, there was a camaraderie of the steelband people against the authorities and the class of society which looked down at them with disdain. Nevertheless, despite the clashes and threat of intervention by the authorities, at any given opportunity, the adherents would not hesitate to take to the streets to try out their new instruments. This act of course would ensure a response from the authorities. But, it also demonstrated how enthused the adherents were with bringing their culture to the forefront, despite the consequences that they would often encounter. That desire is still prevalent in all aspects of the Trinidadian culture, but more so when it comes to the steelpan. Stuempfle also explains related incidents.

Occasionally during the war years performances led to serious clashes with the police. For example, the Port of Spain Gazette reported that early Carnival Monday morning in 1942 four youths were caught “beating drums and bottles and carrying sticks and stones” and were imprisoned for twenty-one days. These youths were part of a band of around two hundred that paraded through town and, when approached by the police, “threw stones bottles and other missiles” (Stuempfle 1995).

For the rest of the war years, similar scenarios would repeatedly occur because of the defiance of this steelband community. This in turn was met with adequate responses by the authorities. But, the innovations continued, it is reported that in 1943, Winston “Spree” Simon invented an 8-note “tenor” pan (soprano range). By 1945, there would have been quite an array of innovative musical pans with actual notes. At this time, many groups banded together with the support of the communities that harbored them. The anticipation for the end of the war would have been high. Pan-tuners and adherents were preparing to exhibit their new innovations in music making. The question must have surfaced as to how the authorities would react to these new innovations. But, the answer would only come when the actual day arrives. Finally, the war ended as Germany surrendered to the Allied Forces on May 7, 1945 and VE day (Victory over Europe) was declared in the British Commonwealth. On Tuesday May 8, 1945 Trinidad was about to experience a new sound and musical instrument as everyone came out to celebrate the end of the World War II. In a descriptive sense there was sonic “pandemonium” which took a positive turn as the new “steelpans” produced some simple melodies which enabled the public to join in with choruses. It was a coalescing of the masses around this newly formed musical instrumentation. It is reported that authorities, who previously did not turn a blind-eye to these steelpan enthusiasts, gave a nod and a wink to the impressive sounds from these new “steelbands.” It was indeed a celebration, as masses of people got involved in some

joyful and jubilant manner. The steelband had arrived and there would be no turning back as innovators and adherents were well prepared to demonstrate their newly invented and acquired musical instruments. A new drum was now being produced by Trinidadians, made from the simplest and crudest of materials, literally “garbage cans” This was now the new form of musicking introduced to the population. The bands of enthusiasts and revelers paraded and danced on the streets on this auspicious occasion of the celebrating of the War’s end.

After five years and eight months of inhibition, the scene was set in 1945 when there were signs that the war in Europe was coming to an end. The population was promised a "jump up" to celebrate victory, and this came on Tuesday 8th May 1945. Carnival costumes put away, in some [cases] since 1940, were shaken out and men donned house-coats and dresses to join in the fun. Calypso [were] preferred to waltzes. Musicians played louder than ever. Continually for hours, on the streets of Port of Spain, there was trampling, yelling, dancing, and gesticulating. Citizens gave full vent to their feelings; singing all the songs they could remember. Really a glorious day. The steelbands were now out in full force and this was the first time that steelbands had come onto the streets (Maxine 1997).

1.5 The early post-war years and the beginning of pan rivalry

The enthusiasm of possibilities obviously grew after that day. What followed was somewhat predictable as the inevitable war with Japan came to an end that year. There was a continued rush of more innovative ideas and inventions of musical instruments. Likewise, the forming and preparations of groups around the communities that harbored these steelbands were evident. American culture, especially through movies, was very addictive to Trinidadians, and the imitation and emulation of characters and themes played a major role in everyday practical lives. The iron band’s moniker “Alexander’s Ragtime Band” was taken from the movie of the same name. Other important names of this American influence and war era

included the names of bands like “Casablanca,” “Cross of Loraine,” “Destination Tokyo,” “Red Army,” “Tripoli,” “Invaders,” and “Harlem Nightingales.” The tradition continued for a while with bands choosing names that carried some sway and swagger like “Desperadoes” and “Renegades.” This would change as the steelband evolved. When VJ Day (Victory over Japan) arrived on August 15, 1945 Trinidadians could not wait to bring their now advanced musical inventions to the foreground. Similar celebrations occurred and leading the charge of participants were the steelband groups. The steelband had arrived and was on the move. The success of the steelband groups for these two events (VE Day and VJ Day) in 1945, combined with the general acceptance by the public paved the way for more innovations and development. The rest of the decade was dominated by the advancement and recognition of the steelband.

Experiments with all types and sizes of drums, by this time were a major part of finding out what works. A breed of younger innovators was at the helm of steelband instruments making. Amongst them was the young Ellie Mannette who was already experimenting with 35 gallon drums. Ellie is reported to have changed the concept of convex shaped pans to the now concave shaped. This changed obviously provided more room for additional notes. But, Ellie was not alone, as pointed out previously, the three main areas of Port of Spain included Ellie’s domain in the West, the Newtown area. Then there was the East Dry River compound with Neville Jules of Prince Batson and their group, “Hell Yard” now “All Stars.” Finally, the group from behind the bridge, the Laventille and John John areas, with Spree Simon at the helm. Groups like “Destination Tokyo” later “Tokyo” and “Desperadoes” would emerge from this area. In 1946 Ellie

Mannette also experimented with 55-gallon oil drums. Ellie in his memoirs, recounts adventurous tales of himself and friends (“Oval Boys” turned to “Invaders”) as they “acquired” these 55-gallon oil drums from the American Naval Base at Chaguaramas. Yet there were many more innovative pockets, groups, and individuals, who were all engaged in various forms of steelband activities. Their concentrations were spread around the capital city of Port of Spain and the surrounding suburbs. However, steelband, calypso and mas’ were not restricted only to Port of Spain, rather it was now an island-wide phenomenon as every city and town participated in similar activities in their area. The capital city, with all its many pockets, led the avant-garde in steelpan innovations and development. In 1946, the Carnival celebrations, activities and parade were restored, and provided the outlet for the steelbands as they continued a journey of innovations and development. It became obvious that after the tacit approval by authorities the previous year, that the middle class and businesses would step forward. They began the organizing of more cultural events, including competitions for the calypso mas’ bands and steelbands. For the middle class it would be more of the familiar traditions that are relatable to them. This gave them not just an active part, but also a say. The businesses, are there to seize the opportunities, but also to provide the ways and means of creating activities through offerings of sponsorships. Meanwhile, they would obviously capitalize on advertising and marketing. Stuempfle gives an account of the two days of carnival festivities, of 1946 as reported in the Trinidad Guardian newspaper on March 6, 1946.

The parade this year was by far the largest ever held...[and included] steelbands which lacked no encouragement to supply a constant flow of music. The greatest rhythm makers of them all during the two days celebrations were the member of the “Red Army,” a band of happy-go lucky thumpers, who sporting their red merinos and white trousers, took along with them a painting of Stalin. Other Steel Bands, not to be outdone paraded in fine style and

afforded in rhythm, everything that was expected of them. (Stuempfle 1995, 54-55)

With this era, a new breed of developers and adherents began to emerge. From all over the country these activities began to take root, each having its own diverse pocket of its community support. It was not an isolated occurrence happening only in one part of the country. The practical reality was that imitation and emulation of what was happening in areas of more activities were being mirrored in other areas. Small towns and villages were prime targets for steelband start-up groups. Simultaneously the new bards continued the development of the calypso art form since its transformation from the chantwell to the calypsonian. They began using the newly formed steelbands as fodder for their narratives. Likewise, the steelbands were finding calypso melodies to play. This “cultural play” would continue and culminate on the carnival days. The masqueraders (mas’- players) formed another part of the cultural extravaganza as they came together to “play mas” on the carnival days. Recorded activities of events and developments were defining the era and times. Newspaper articles of 1946 spoke of Winston “Spree” Simon doing a solo performance for an elite audience including the Governor, Sir Bede Clifford. The songs he played included “I am a Warrior,” “Tie-Tongue Mopsy” by calypsonian Lord Kitchener, “Ave Maria” by Schubert and “God Save the King” national anthem. He was able to accomplish this on a 14-note “tenor-pan” he had made. However, other historians have pointed out that he had bought that pan from another pan man named Anthony “Pan” De La Bastide.

One such time for reviewing the “truth”, was when Mr. George Goddard blew the “truth” apart in a meeting held in Barataria, an article in the TNT Mirror of Friday February 27th, 1987, titled “Steelband Hoax” reports, “Spree Simon did not invent pan, but the fraud was unmasked on Tuesday when George Goddard currently on contract with the Trinidad and Tobago Government, blew the lid on it during a

meeting held earlier this week in Barataria. The pan that took Spree to glory, had actually been bought from a man named Andrew 'Pan' De La Bastide for a shilling (24 cents)." Goddard however was not alone in reviewing the "truth." 'Zigilee' Constantine, Slater, and 'Big Mac' who were also present at the meeting backed the story (Adams 2005, 12-13).

It must be noted that the competitive nature of Trinidadians expresses itself in all aspects of the primary culture of steelpan, mas', and calypso. The annual highlights and end products of these three major events, with their sub-categories, result in a national and nation-wide competitions. The next four years saw the rise of individual players. This was due to an increase of instruments with even more notes. The competitive nature of the steelband community led to early concepts of steelpan soloist competitions. However, the competitive nature also led to an era of gang violence entitled "Steelband Clash." This would be immortalized in calypso music from the bards. This period ran from that time until the 1960's leading to the independence from Great Britain. It became a scourge on the pan movement and affected all areas of development. This inhibited the social acceptance and recognition and also gave rise to the concept that pan people were involved with hooliganism. This stigma would remain for a long time. This type of behavior was unacceptable and encouraged reprisals from the police and other authorities.

Well the police was against pan. And anybody they see with a pan, they going to beat yuh and lock yuh up... We had to battle with them because you know, I definitely was from a spoor family. We had nothing. And the onliest thing we get was this little thing to play. And the police was against that. Boy and they woulda had to kill we because it was all we had. It was peaceful and quiet. As much as the pressure was, nobody used to thief and thing. But when these police come in and start to pile the pressure on, they turn everybody beast. Because we find that we shouldn't get locked for that at all. Just pan. (Dudley 2004, 56)

Due to the increased innovations and developments all over, new ideas of doing things began manifesting, Ellie Mannette claims to have put rubber on the sticks which is

disputed by Neville Jules who says that he was the first to do so. Soloist Ulric Springer is said to have played his tenor pan” with two sticks and was believed to be one of the first pan men to do so in 1946. That same year Carlton Roach won the first soloist competition which was sponsored by Renee Phillip of Belmont, Port of Spain. Neville Jules was also very innovative as a tuner, some of his work at that time concentrated on the background pans.

In 1947 Jules made a biscuit drum with four large low pitched notes tuned to the first, second, fourth and fifth steps of the scale (do re fa and sol). This pan which was called the “tune boom” to distinguish it from the non-pitched cuff booms gave a new harmonic definition to the low end of the steelband. . . . Jules also invented the “cuatro” pan, whose sound he conceived to imitate the strummed chords of a stringed cuatro and the cuatro was the model for the later strumming pan, such as the “guitar” pan. (Dudley 2008, 62)

However, along with all the innovations of new instruments, and the general recognition and acceptance by the public that the steelpan had arrived, the unfortunate rivalry amongst the pan community began growing. There were a lot of factors which contributed to this. The undeniable competitive nature of pan men and their supporters was a major factor, but, it was also a time of financial constraints. The war was over and the dismantling of the US military base was inevitable although that process lasted several years. The American influence and culture lingered on and would remain as permanent factor in the steelpan world. One feature, as previously mentioned, was the names of steelbands taken from American movies, westerns were popular, but, notably war movies were a big influence. The names of new bands would change in time accordingly with the different concepts and thoughts of the ever changing generations. Some examples include “Silver Stars,” “Starlift,” and “North Stars.” Here are a few recorded accounts of violence amongst the steelbands during the period immediately following the war from 1946-1950.

After the war, the drive increased in all spheres of development. With this came other problems, notably the defiant competitions between rival groups jockeying for more recognition and status. These rivalries became known as the “gang wars” and were immortalized in calypsos as “Steelbands Clash” by Lord Blakey, “The Road” by Lord Kitchener, “Royal Jail” by the Mighty Sparrow. There are yet many more calypso songs which depict the state of violence of that era. This stigmatized the violent perceptions of the entire steelpan movement by the upper and middle class. (Grant 1999, 23-30) (Adams 2005, 32-45). It also involved the police and subsequently law makers of the colonial legislators as stated in the Trinidad Guardian on April 15, 1947. However, despite the internal problems of gang war violence and steelband clashes on carnival days, the pan community began gaining support from respectable people in politics, businesses, and society. This very important change and development would ultimately have a positive effect on the fledgling movement. Support came from people like Albert Gomes, Chief Minister of Trinidad, who represented the pan against the Police Commissioner in 1946 as presented in the Sunday Guardian in January 1950 (Slater 1986, 46). Lawyer Lennox Pierre, Canon Farquhar and others were also some of the key supporters of pan at that time (Steumpfle 1995, 88).

It was a way of escape from the ugliness and brutality of their world, and nothing short of destroying them would destroy their desire for it. In the face of these stubborn facts, the attempt that was in fact made to suppress the steel bands must be regarded as perverse and tyrannical (Grant 1999, 27-28)

Albert Gomes, also a columnist, used his platform to address the issues of the day and, as one of the chief advocates for pan and an activist for pan culture, did not hesitate to call out the colonial legacy that existed.

The Englishman must face the fact that from now onwards the West Indian will be less and less willing to respect anything but his own. His interest in his native dances, his discovery of the wealth of his country's folklore, the recognition of the artistic merit of his calypso- all indicate that the Trinidadian is no longer willing to be merely an emulator of someone else. He is rapidly becoming culturally nationalistic. Both his outlook and his personality will be changed in time by the impact of these hitherto neglected influences. The West Indian whose deep-seated sense of inferiority permitted him to be transformed into a parody of the perfect Englishman is another anachronism that is bound to disappear. In a short term we will reach the stage where it will be more important for an organization like the British Council to send abroad the new and exciting art and culture of the West Indies than to direct their energies to bringing British art and culture here. (Stuempfle 1995, 81)

The brothels and prostitution remained after the Americans left and were immortalized in many calypsoes. "Rum & Coca Cola," plagiarized by the Andrews Sisters, spoke of Trinidad's subtle prostitution with American sailors (Appendix A13).

*If you ever go down Trinidad
They make you feel so very glad
Calypso sing and make up rhyme
Guarantee you one real good fine time
Drinkin' rum and Coca-Cola
Go down Point Cumana
Both mother and daughter
Workin' for the Yankee dollar*

Legendary calypsonian Slinger Francisco, sobriquet the 'Mighty Sparrow,' further extolled the lasting presence of the Americans and the effects in his song "Jean & Dinah." This is clearly illustrated in the following lyrics.

*Well the girls in town feeling bad
No more Yankees in Trinidad
They going to close down the base for good
Them girls have to make out how they could
Is now they park up in town
In for a penny, in for a pound
Yes, is competition for so
Trouble in town when the price drop low.*

*Jean and Dinah,
Rosita and Clementina,*

*Round the corner posin'
 Bet yuh life is something dey selling.
 If yuh ketch dem broken,
 You could get dem all for notting,
 Don't make a row!
 Because the Yankees gone
 And Sparrow take over now.*

The era of rivalry in pan, which began after the war, would unfortunately continue until the 1960's. Animosity and frustrations would be vented on those carnival days by members of bands. Most of the time it would be the supporters but, the 'panmen' would be blamed. Bands would clash in open warfare on the streets with bottles and stones used as projectiles. The unacceptable actions became a source of concern for public safety and the image of the carnival. These same activities of the steelband communities, had lasting negative effects, and added to the already low-esteem and stigma applied to the pan man and the steelband in general. Many other calypsoes would extol the era and times in political and social commentaries. In particular the plight and flight of the panman became a fodder topic for the calypsonians as some of the bards have lyrically expressed in the following. Carlton Joseph aka the 'Lord Blakey' with his song "Steelband Clash" expresses the direct confrontation of two legendary steelbands in 1950, Invaders and Tokyo. It also depicts the type of weapons used (e.g., bottles, baseball bats, cutlass) and the level of perceived violence.

*(Chorus 1)
 It was bachannal,
 In fifty carnival,
 Fight for so!
 With Invaders and Tokyo!
 Mih friend run and left, his, hat
 When dey hit him a baseball bat.
 Never me again,
 To jump with a steelband in Port of Spain.*

(Chorus 2)
*Invaders beatin' sweet
 Comin' up Park Street
 Tokyo!
 Coming down, beating very slow
 And friends when the two bands clash!
 Mama-yo, if yuh see cutlass!
 Never me again,
 To jump with a steelband in Port of Spain.*

(Chorus 3)
*Well the ting get hot
 If yuh see men get cut
 Lord Blakey!
 Run in a house by a lady
 Quite on top the lady bed
 They pelt a bottle and touch mih head
 Never me again,
 To jump with a steelband in Port of Spain.*

The 'Grandmaster' Aldwin Roberts aka 'Lord Kitchener' made numerous contributions depicting all angles of the steelband and its adherents, throughout his long and illustrious career. These are a few examples. Here, Kitchener is expressing his disapproval of the violence among the steelbands on carnival days.

The Road Made to Walk on Carnival Day

*I hear how they planning
 Boy, carnival coming
 They say they go beat people
 And they don't care about trouble
 But tell them for me
 Is a different year 1963, because
 The road made to walk on carnival day
 Constable Ah don't want to talk, but I got to say\
 Any steelband man!
 Only venture to break this band
 Is a long funeral
 To the General Hospital.*

This following relates the feelings within some families and their perceptions as regard the involvement of their family and the pan.

The Pan in Me

*Ah start to beat pan at the age of six
 Ah go tell you man, ah get plenty licks
 Me grandmother tell me, you such a disgrace
 Why you always beating pan all over the place
 Oh, it is true we are poor, but we have dignity
 Boy ah don't want this thing in me family.*

Here, the Mighty Sparrow express his perception that both calypsonians and panmen were being dishonored by the same public they catered to in a song.

Outcast

*Calypsonians really ketch hell for a long time
 To associate yourself with them was a big crime
 If your sister talk to a steelband man
 The family want to break she hand
 Put she out, lick out every teeth in she mouth
 Pass you outcast.*

It must be noted that the competitive nature of Trinidadians reveals itself in all aspects of its primary culture of steelpan, mas', and calypso. I have expressed the competitive nature of the steelpan community since its inception. This competition amongst its adherents in particular the pan tuners was an essential part of the driving force for innovative ideas. These ideas were developed intrinsically within the various communities, but, were ultimately shared and these actions and reactions were some of the vehicles for its growth and development. However, as the bands were formed and grew, so too was the competition amongst the bands. This unfortunately led to confrontations, gang violence, and territorial claims. Nevertheless, the steelpan community had to struggle and grow to overcome this scourge of violence within itself. It still had the other battles against the authorities and the middle and upper class, a defiant battle for acceptance. Perhaps, it was the music and the innovative discoveries about the pan that must have put some order in the system of the invention of this new instrument. They knew that they

were on to something of great importance and value. This increased the verve and determination to carry on and defend their art. But, competition did not begin with the steelpan, we can trace early competitions to the kalinda/stick fighting. The Chantwells, later calypsonians plied their art with a competitive nature amongst their peers with the use of “picong” and “extempo” on the spot compositions. The carnival masqueraders (mas’) also grew their bands and art through a competitive push amongst its adherents. However, the competitions and competitive nature of the people of the various cultural art forms were not restricted to their participants and adherents. Many businesses and interest groups saw the need to establish artistic competitions for all types of reasons. The social status of Trinidad was in constant flux with all the traits of cultural appropriations. There was a hierarchal establishment from the end of the 19th century established by the European Colonial powers and their descendants while the descendants of the French, who were known as the “French creole,” comprised of the majority of the middle class. The creole opted to resist the English Colonial power, by setting up competitions in alliance with the carnival makers of the time. The English ruling government tolerated the Mardi Gras carnival celebrations because of its history with the French, but always sought ways to limit its outreach. The French creole saw this as an assault on their heritage and sought out alliances with the African descent population who had taken over the carnival by sheer numbers. The August 1st, Emancipation Day event was celebrated with the “Canboulay” festival, by the African descent people. This had merged to coincide with the Mardi Gras carnival. The middle-class businesses saw the occasions and opportunities to set up competitions offering rewards, monetary and otherwise, while the same time applying

their rules and regulations. Dudley refers to this as some form of modernist reform initiated by the middle class.

Some of these complex motivations and effects are illustrated in a 1919 competition for calypso and masquerade bands sponsored by the Argos newspaper in Port of Spain. At the time, calypso had only recently become popular as places where middle class patrons could pay to hear carnival songs in a safe and responsible environment. (Dudley 2008, 207)

These are some of the areas and times where these competitions became an intrinsic part of the development. Allotment of prizes were introduced as necessary influences in promotions. Due to these events, a form of popular nationalism developed, as Trinidadians began to identify themselves and define their culture. This was initiated by the lower class, but quickly expanded to include the middle class which found ways to be a part of the development, while ensuring that they influenced the culture. Author Benjamin Anderson expresses this concept in his book on nationalism.

The arrival of nationalism in a distinctively modern sense was tied to the political baptism of the lower classes...Although sometimes hostile to democracy, nationalist movements have been invariable populist in outlook and sought to induct lower class into political life. In its most typical version, this assumed the shape of a restless middle-class and intellectual leadership trying to sit up and channel popular class energies into support for the new states. (Anderson 2006, 48)

By 1949, some seventy-five steelbands were in existence, and the formation of a Steelbands Association of Trinidad and Tobago was inevitable. The gang wars affecting different areas and the continued steelbands violence on carnival days were notoriously unpopular and unsafe for everyone. In addition, these violent actions were stigmatizing the steelband and pan man in a very negative way. It would aid in hindering the progress and acceptance of the art form that was being created. Something had to be done, and attempts were now in the preliminary stages of the pan men getting organized as a legitimate body.

It was obviously not an easy task and would not provide an overnight solution. The rivalry and competitive nature was also heavily embedded in the human psyche. Nevertheless, the pan men channeled their will and desire into the concept of an organization, aided by ardent supporters of the middle and intellectual class. In 1950 the Trinidad Steelbandsmen Association was founded, and Sydney Gollop was elected its first president.

The very first steelband meeting was held in Crusaders pan yard in the old prisoners' quarry, on St. Paul-Besson Streets area known as Behind-the-Bridge in 1850. That historic meeting was attended by the captains of most of the steelbands. There were well-wishers like Mr. Lennox Pierre (a lawyer), Mr. Caryle Kerr, Mr. Espinet (the representative of the Trinidad Guardian newspaper) and other dignitaries. That August meeting was chaired by Mr. Sydney Gallop and minutes were taken by Mr. Sonny Harewood. (Slater 1995, 72)

Growing pains, this is what the fledgling steelband movement was experiencing. It was now five years of steelband activities after the war, with an increased amount of innovations in pan. However, the violence, gang wars and 'band-clashes' collided with the status of the pan and the 'panman.' This resulted in a call for action and the pan movement responded. The stage was now being set for the next decade of steelpan development.

1.6 Chapter I Summary

Reflecting on Trinidad's creative spirit, what stands out as unique is the people and the make-up of the population. The cosmopolitan nature of Trinidad stems from its mixture of three European colonial powers, Spain, France, and England, along with the descendants of Africans and Indians. History has shown that the original inhabitants (Caribs and Arawaks) were overpowered by the Europeans who brought their cultures, languages, religions, traditions, and their human "commodities" of enslaved Africans and a mixed race of "freemen." These European cultures, traditions, and languages were interspersed amongst the mixed race and African descent peoples. Immigrants from India joined the

mix in the mid 1800's and more people of different races and cultures kept on coming to Trinidad. Venezuela contributed Spanish-speaking people in the 19th and 20th centuries. They were brought in as planters and established the cocoa plantations. Colloquially they were known as "cocoa payol" and maintained many aspects of their language and culture which is now part of the mosaic myriad of being a Trinidadian. Amongst the new migrants in the early 1900's were Syrians, Lebanese, and Portuguese people. Many more came after World War II and became a part of the fabric of Trinidad society. Using their abilities for trade, they began buying and selling dry goods, often time as door to door salesmen and now own many of the stores and businesses in the country. A great number of Chinese immigrants also migrated to Trinidad during the 1900's and established themselves in various forms of entrepreneurship including Chinese restaurants, stores, and laundromats and their descendants now make up a modest part of the Trinidad community. It is interesting that every race of people that migrated to Trinidad continues to maintain many aspects of their cultures and traditions. Yet, the "creolization" of everyone into the Trinidad culture was inevitable. Today an argument can also be made for the "indianization" of many aspects of the Trinidad society. Every race and ethnicity participate in all aspects of cultural activities of Trinidad and every culture from any race is celebrated by all. Race-mixing and culture mixing continues in all inhabitants. However, the overall make-up consists of a majority of two races the Indian descent and the African descent. Because of this type of population mix, cultural contribution by every race has played a part of steelpan development in Trinidad. The main thread, however, is the unrelenting pursuits of the African descent population to further the cause of the pan movement.

This chapter presents Trinidad and its unique cosmopolitan nature as a country appropriated from the original inhabitants the Caribs and Arawaks that morphed into a unique mix of races, cultures, religions, and ethnicities. The primary player is the African descent population emerging into some form of “freedom” after the enslavement colonial period. They began their struggle to establish and embrace their identity and destiny. The pursuits for a brand of nationalism as Trinidadian citizens were captured in the desire to celebrate their emancipation. This in turn led to the celebratory manner, taken in part, from their Canboulay rituals from the colonial period, and mixed with their “appropriation” of the Mardi Gras carnival. The banning of the drums virtually became the catalyst for innovative musicking as Trinidadians responded by defining themselves culturally through the art forms of calypso, mas’, and the steelpan. Each part of the culture feeding into each other and ultimately becoming a supporting player. The calypso produced by the calypsonians are taken by the steelbands and morphed into intricate arrangements that are reproduced as the “road marches/most played songs” for the masqueraders (mas’) on the carnival days. The concept of “playing mas” indicates a coming together of these elements of calypso, mas’, and pan on carnival days. Every race and ethnicity of Trinidad participates in all the cultural art forms. The continuous merging and fusions of these traditions and cultures further enhance the views of “creolization” and “indianization.” The late 1940’s saw more than seventy steelbands but the movement in a very precarious position of existence as gang warfare and violence continued during carnival season. Action from within was required to stop the self-inflicted wounds and the creation of an organization to attend to the needs and rights of all the steelbands was implemented as a step in the right direction for steelpan development in general.

Chapter 2. The diffusion of the culture to the Caribbean and North America.

2.1 First impact outside of Trinidad & Tobago

This chapter continues the narrative chronologically over the next decade with an emphasis on the natural spread of this new found culture, first to Caribbean neighbors, then to England, and North America. There are noted political influences as the instrument and culture take up more prominence in the social construct of Trinidad. This is due in part to the wonderment of the invention of this steelpan, and on the other hand the increasing competitive violence, demonstrated by the “panmen” especially on the carnival days. But the push forward would also incorporate many elements from the middle class establishment, including business and education, which in turn would render more fuel for innovations and growth.

Tobago, the first island to adopt the steelpan, is part and parcel of the country, Trinidad & Tobago. The spread of the steelpan to Tobago happened in the same way as that of a city or town of Trinidad. The main form of transport at that time between the islands was ferry-boat.

In 1943, a man came from Trinidad and we called him the Robust Man, because he had some cuts on his neck.... And he brought with him, a paint pan, those four-gallon paint can that it have four notes. He used to rent an apartment inside of the village and on evenings he would bring this down between his legs in front of the door and he would play different things....And I as a young guy, a schoolboy with others, we'll go and dance to his tunes and look at him and so forth. But I remember the Christmas night of 1943, we took to the streets with this man and we gather all sort of old iron and old pan, and all these things, and we beat tunes. We wasn't in unison, but we had the timing and the rhythm, and we beat all over the village in the night, man...until about midnight. That was the beginning of steelband in Les Coteaux and I can guarantee you, in Tobago, because this is 1943 December we talking about. (Johnson 2011, 82)

Since 1945, Antigua has shown interest in developing the steelpan. They picked up the information from Trinidad, returned to Antigua and began their chapter of steelpan

development. Buster Carty from the Point area is credited with bringing the first pan from Trinidad to Antigua, and also being the first innovator (Appendix A6). The early bands include “Hells Gate”, with arranger Alexander “Alec” Roberts, “Red Army”, with Charles McCarty and “Brute Force” with founder Earl Jones. Antigua was deemed to undergo similar trials and struggles in the process of steelpan development. But, like Trinidad, they had to also find a way to make it work. They have done so and continue to grow and develop in like manner.

“Red Army” was formed by Charles McCarty in the Grays Farm area. The band was sensational, and to date, has produced one of the best pan players ever, a gentleman by the name of Walton Herbert. Later the same year, “Brute Force,” hailing from the South Street (Pig Village) area, was formed by Earl Jones. The band received wide recognition at the time and over the years was able to boast of the skills and capabilities of Llewellyn Howell, known to many as “Welly” and the extraordinary pan enthusiast, Arthur “Bum” Jardine. These guys took Brute Force band to heights unimaginable in the steelband world. (Gordon ND)

Guyana was also an early adopter of the steelpan, the story goes that a Trinidadian steelband “Red Army” visited Guyana in 1947, and from thereon Guyana also got infected with the steelpan culture (Johnson ND). By 1953, Guyana can boast of having at least a half dozen of steelbands including, Quo Vadis, Invaders, Pagans, Chicago, Sun Valley, and Casablanca (Chin 2010). The struggles of steelpan development in Guyana was similar to that of Antigua (Appendix A6). However, both countries were determined to pursue their own course of growth and development. They were mindful of the struggles of pan but, continued to take cues from Trinidad. They represent the first two countries to adopt the steelpan as early as the mid to late 1940’s. Quite often pan-tuners, and arrangers would be invited from Trinidad to other Caribbean islands where sharing of the culture would occur (Appendix A6). As the Trinidad steelpan innovations came about throughout its development, they were quickly adopted by the other islands. Innovations in the various types of instruments, types of music, and types of events were often time emulated.

2.2 The significance of TASPO's visit to the Festival of Great Britain

The dawn of a new decade, the 1950's, revealed the dawn of new hopes and aspirations for the steelpan movement. Now, with a growing number of some seventy-five steelbands, a consensus amongst the pan men engineered a need for an organization. The chaotic situation with gang wars and violence on the carnival days was becoming intolerable. This impacted and stigmatized the fledgling steelband movement. The first steelband organization was established and Sydney Gallop became the first president. The interesting story of pan evolution, narrated by author Kim Johnson in his books, revealed a number of important aspects of the early stages of steelpan development (Johnson 2006, 110-11; Johnson 2011, 72-74). It exposed the determination and pride of the inventors and adherents of pan in Trinidad and revealed an already competitive nature of alleged appropriation. It demonstrated a new form of cultural nationalism in Trinidad's society while also unmasking the role of the colonial based government of the time. The story goes like this; word came to Trinidad that Antigua was preparing to send a steelband to England for the 1951 World's Fair in Great Britain. Trinidadians were infuriated, their new invention was about to be displayed at the seat of the colonial power and they were not the representors. The uproar was heard as far as England by Trinidadians who had previously migrated there. This was not acceptable and a general mobilization of people began. The migrant Trinidadians living in England and the general public of Trinidad collaborated. This became the hot talk and local Trinidadians began their preparations for a Trinidadian steelband to represent them at the festival of Britain. The newly formed Steelband Association under the leadership of Sydney Gallop, found the ideal opportunity to bring together all the heads of steelbands. The intent was to form a national steelband to

represent Trinidad and this concept could not have happened at a better time for cooperation. In the background were the internal problems the steelband movement was having, as regard the on-going violence. Trinidadians had no choice but to rise to the occasion, defend and present their new invention. The main item for this trip was the make-up of the steelband. The top pan tuners and players would undoubtedly be the main participants. An interesting development would occur with this project. Up to this point in steelpan development in Trinidad, most of the pans were of a diatonic nature. In the musical preparations, the steelband organization employed the services of a learned musician in Barbadian born Lieutenant Griffith. He subsequently informed the steelbands men that he would not be going to England with a group of steelpans that were not complete with the twelve chromatic tones. This forced the pan tuners to upgrade from diatonic to chromatic instruments from bass to soprano. Another milestone in steelpan development was now evident. The quality of talent from the chosen group of pan tuners and players left no doubt of the possibilities. If anything could be done with the steelband, then, this is the group that would be able to accomplish that feat. Full preparations were on the way and the list of people who were enthralled in assisting this project stepped forward. The result was an overwhelming fund-raising venture in Trinidad and an opportunity for ordinary Trinidadians and businesses to take pride in supporting the steelband movement in the up-coming trip to the Festival of Great Britain. This mobilization of the people with similar thoughts of success represents a form of cultural nationalism. This enthusiasm, combined with the migrant Trinidadians in England who supported the project, ensured that it materialized in the form of the ensemble, the instruments, the music, the funding, and the accommodation. Many enthusiasts supported

this national steelpan project representing Trinidad at the Festival of Britain but the government of Trinidad, still under colonial rule with limited local government, declined to offer any support.

Nevertheless, the Trinidad All Steel Percussion Orchestra (TASPO) arrived in England on a boat by way of Martinique, where they further organized and prepared themselves. Their debut and performances on this first steelpan tour are well documented (Johnson 2006, 110-11; Johnson 2011, 72-74) (Appendix A8).

the Trinidad All Steel Percussion Orchestra (TASPO) and included: Sterling Betancourt (*Crossfire*); Belgrave Bonaparte (*Southern Symphony*); Philmore Davidson (*City Syncopators*); Andrew De LaBastide (*Hill 60*); Orman Haynes (*Casablanca*); Elliott Mannedette (*Invaders*); Granville Sealey (*Tripoli*); Winston Simon (*Tokyo*); Dudley Smith (*Rising Sun*); Theophilus Stephens (*Free French*); and Anthony Williams (*North Stars*). The musical director was Lt. Joseph Nathaniel Griffith of the Police Band and the official tuners were Betancourt, Davidson, De LaBastide, and Mannedette. Granville Sealey dropped out of the band early and Carlton Roach (*Sun Valley*) was selected to replace him. TASPO sailed to England on the SS San Mateo on July 6, 1951. Roach never made it to England as he was let off the ship in Martinique after falling ill. TASPO toured Great Britain playing at dances and concerts in cities such as London, Newcastle, Leeds, and Manchester. The group returned to Trinidad on December 12, 1951, minus Betancourt who stayed in London to continue his pan career. (Emrit 2017)

Success reverberated all over with newspaper headlines, photos, and stories of these curious new instruments literally made from “garbage cans.” The steelpan had arrived in England, the seat of colonial power, in 1951. In just six years, since its inception in Trinidad, the pan experiments and innovations had grown exponentially from convex instruments held in one hand, to concave diatonic instruments, and finally to fully chromatic tuned instruments comprised of soprano, alto, tenor, bass “voices.” This was a markedly phase transition of steelpan development of the practical instruments. Social development of the steelpan was also quite evident, with the collaboration of all the

people, from both England and Trinidad. The “social” boost for the pan was profound. The resultant rhetoric in Trinidad argued that, if the steelpan could be accepted in England, then surely it should be accepted in its place of origin. It must be noted that at this stage and time, neither Antigua nor Guyana had any concept of chromatic instruments. The success of the TASPO trip to England paved the way for further acceptance of the steelpan in Trinidad. However, the relentless gang wars and violence within the pan community further hindered the acceptance and normalization into mainstream society. But, the pan continued to be on the move. A new phase of social contact with the steelpan was initiated in the early 1950’s when the educated “college boys” got involved. These were respectable people from the middle and upper class who participated by establishing their own steelpan groups. They were mostly students from the more affluent schools in Port of Spain (St. Mary’s College, QRC, and Fatima College). This gave great credibility to the steelpan movement as it gained more support and recognition from another cross section of the population. Kim Johnson in his book “If yuh Iron Good You is King” gives an account of this type of steelpan development. His chapter is labelled “The legend of the first white boy steelband” (Johnson 2006, 39-41).

In the early 1950’s, young, middle-class, college-educated, aspiring panmen avoided the hostile environment that had been created by existing steelbands and formed their own bands. Three such bands were Dixieland, Silver Stars, and Saigon. Dixieland was led by Curtis Pierre who was a student at St. Mary’s College and was able to attract some of his schoolmates. Silver Stars was led by Edgar “Junior” Pouchet who also attended St. Mary’s and was able to attract St. Mary’s as well as Queen’s Royal College students. Saigon, which later became Starlift, included students from Queen’s Royal, St. Mary’s, and Fatima Colleges. The three bands were all located in Port-of-Spain and, with the support of the members’ schoolmates, families, and friends, were very instrumental in gaining the steelband acceptance by the middle-class and upper echelons of Trinidad society. (Emrit 2017)

2.3 Continued innovation: chromatic pan; mobility; involvement of women

Growth and development is a process that produces different phases and some are accelerated more than others. The success of TASPO, and the increasing involvement of the middle class, business and education, channeled the inspiration of the innovators of the instruments. Their continued search for a better sounding instrument became evident and the competitive nature of the panmen and the community in general, provided enough fuel to engineer innovative works. The next decade would bring about the manifestations of these works, in the development of the instrument. A family of musical instruments, covering the basic ranges of bass, tenor, alto and soprano, was now necessary for a complete ensemble which the players refer to as steel orchestras. The main events of the carnival and the parades demanded additional innovations in mobility and the pan men sought the ways and means to make these new types of pans mobile. No longer were there only single pan bands as instruments now featured two, three, and four drums. Ingenuity came into play and the pan men came up with necessary innovations. Mobility of the steelpan became an important requirement as the steelband, being the most essential part of music making for the carnival parade, needed to move. As more drums were added, the concept of mobility and enabling bands to move became an interesting competitive challenge. One particular innovator was the legendary Anthony Williams who was also the leader, tuner, and arranger of North Stars (Appendix A5). Williams is reported to be the first to put wheels on the pans for mobility and also is credited with, among other things, placing of the soprano (lead) pan into the cycle of fifths (Pythagorean tuning), which he called the “spider web pan.” (Johnson 2011, 104).

Anthony Williams' concept of wheeled pans quickly spread to other bands. By 1959 a variety of contraptions were mounted on the bass and double seconds which were then pushed and pulled by little boys. As regards those pan-pushers Williams was also a visionary in the social sense insofar as whoever pushed or pulled the pans was included, as were those who painted them when money earned by the band was shared after Carnival. Wheels allowed on the road pans that were formerly limited to stage settings: 55-gallon oil drum bases, which could only be carried by very strong men, and all double pans. This of course allowed bands to play music on the road as complex as that played on stage. (Johnson 2011, 104)

It was also an era of increased innovations and experimentations in pan making. In this era Anthony Williams "spider web pan" was matched by Ellie Mannette who came up with the "double second" while Neville Jules came up with a "twin bass." Of course, there were many other pan tuners who were constantly making their contributions. Such was the frantic state of development of the instrument in the 1950's.

Another interesting contribution to the steelpan development at this time, was the involvement of women in pan. The stigma of being a "panman" was equivalent to being a hoodlum a "Bad John", so decent boys would not be encouraged to go near the pan environment. Such was the status at that time, so imagine the thought of girls or women going around the "pan yards." This was not acceptable by the social norms and standards of the day. Nevertheless, women would not be deterred from making their historic contribution to steelpan development. One of the most notable women of that day was an accomplished school and music teacher, Hazel Henley. Despite the stigma of the pan environment, Hazel was able to convince some of her teachers and friends to form an all-girls steelband (Appendix A9). This was indeed positive activism from the perspective of women. But, where would they have their rehearsals and practice sessions? The "pan yards" were not welcoming to women at that time. Hazel's mom stepped in with another form of activism, she allowed her daughter Hazel and her friends to use her home as a

“pan yard.” So, the group began rehearsing at their pan yard located at No. 79 Picton Street, Newtown, North Trinidad the 1951-1952 period. The group “Girl Pat Steel Orchestra” was named after a ship and their pans were made by the legendary Ellie Mannette. Girl Pat Steel Orchestra began performing in variety shows and it was a sight of wonderment for many as well as criticism from many. The stigma was overwhelming for girls and women to be involved in steelpan activities and they were greeted with scorn. According to former orchestra member Pat Maurice, if it was not for the parents of Hazel Henry supporting the endeavor, they would have abandoned the concept.

Some of us were schoolgirls and people would ask Hazel’s mother ‘How she could allow that in her house.’ “But,” said Pat, “she straightened them out replying “it’s my house and these children come from good families.” (Angela Pidduck, *Newsday ND*).

But the band stayed together and grew in solidarity such that they were able to make steelband tours to Guyana and Jamaica. They also teamed up with another legendary pioneer woman of the Arts, Berryl McBurnie who was the master mind behind the “Little Carib Theatre” and one who supported steelpan development in the Woodbrook, Newtown area. Among the merits of the band at that time in 1956 was a recording by the *Girl Pat Steel Orchestra* and featuring the songs “Castialianne” and “Juliana” (Appendix A9).

Trinidad’s close proximity to Venezuela allows for cultural exchange. Historically, Venezuelans who migrated to Trinidad and established the cocoa plantations were known as cocoa planters, colloquially as “cocoa payol.” They contributed culturally as their descendants continue to produce their music parranda, colloquially called “parang” which is mostly celebrated during the Christmas season. According to Glenroy Joseph (2018) the

'Castilianne' is a Trinidadian interpretation of the Venezuelan waltz which was popular in Trinidad, particularly in the nineteen fifties and sixties. In 1956, Emory Cook produced an album of Castilianne music called 'The Castilianne Maracas Waltz' which included two selections, "Castilianne" and "Juliana" by the Girl Pat Steel Orchestra. Another woman must be mentioned in this historic setting, her name Daisy James McClean. Her mother Alricia James had two sons "Sonny" and Fitzroy "Gaga" and eight daughters of which, Daisy was the second youngest. Hazel Henley's mom fully supported her daughter and friends in the pan playing venture but Alricia James would have none of that. Her two boys, who were involved in the steelpan at that time, were subject to physical punishment when they were caught playing pan. But punishment never deterred these young pan enthusiasts. "Once I gone I make up my mind to get licks when I come back" says Sonny. Imagine therefore if a girl were to get involved in the steelband movement at that time. But gradually, the acceptance began taking root. The story goes that one day Fitzroy brought home a pan, Daisy was just about six years old, she recalls, "It had two or three notes...to me it was like a toy." She practiced when her brother Fitzroy was not at home. Sonny the bigger brother was impressed with his little sister capabilities. One day without his mother's knowledge, Sonny took his little sister Daisy to the pan yard of Casablanca (Johnson 2006, 135). Legendary pan men, standing at the door with instruments included, Oscar Pile, Art De Couteau, Croppy, and Patsy Haynes. Daisy admits that it was actually the first time that she had seen a steelband. Daisy found herself subjected to physical punishment, "licks" just like her brothers, whenever she was caught playing pan or going to the pan yard. She continued playing pan and accepting the "licks" as a result. The younger members, Philmore "Boots" Davidson, Kenny and Kelvin Hart, moved away to

form another band City Syncopators and Daisy was also a part of that group. But her acceptance in pan playing came about at a very special occasion when she was called upon to play in a show in the presence of her parents. It was not a planned event for her to play pan, because she simply went with her parents. Daisy James Mclean explained the incident in her own words in Kim Johnson's 2011 book *Illustrated Story of Pan*.

When I was a teenager, I was in a little theatre group. Hilltoppers they were called. They had concerts in Quarry Street School. We went there two or three a week. I was trying to learn to dance. Somebody tell them, I could play pan and they say they having this concert in St. Ann's if I could play, I invited my mother and father. The night, Mr. Donaldson, the Minister of Education was to say a speech to open it. That was the first year that the PNM came out. Donaldson represented our area, which is why they ask him to give a speech. They had me in second half of program. Nearly nine and he eh reach. People start to make noise because they want the show to start. They come in the audience by my parents. They say, 'Daisy we want you to open the show.' They pressured me, 'Come na, only you could keep them quiet.' It had a man who played a guitar. They ask him to accompany me. We play 'Somewhere over the Rainbow.' I never see him before or after but he accompany me real nice. People would think we rehearse. When I done they clap they never see no girl playing pan. They gave me a standing ovation. They want more, I trembling, I frighten, I knew "Indian Love Call." The man accompany me again. He say, 'You start and I will follow you in the key' It went down good. Donaldson came on the stage and congratulated me, people shaking my hand. From that my mother and father didn't bother me. They feel proud. (Johnson 2011, 238)

However, a lot more of other developments were also happening. The steelpan organization was growing with more bands being formed. There were more engagements for bands including all types of competitions. But, the social status of development of the panman would have remained stagnant due to the on-going gang wars, if not for the increasing better musical instrument being continuously upgraded. This was the drive towards progress and the pan people embraced their responsibilities. The pan had reached a state of completion in terms of all the instruments being fully chromatic with a twelve pitch system. The push for better sounding instruments were the driving force in

innovation. The repertoire of steelbands started taking a more musical tone. Popular American songs would be an easy addition because it was played on the radio stations. Trinidadians would take these songs and put them in calypso rhythms. Classical music became a major part of the steelband repertoire. The two leading bands at that time were Invaders led by Ellie Mannette and All Stars led by Neville Jules. Why would steelbands at this early stage of development begin to play “classical music”? The assumption was that steelpan was seeking acceptance from the public. The concept of playing “classical” music was an attempt to show that the pan was capable of playing the music of the “masters.” The western ideologies identified European music as the most prominent of Western Art Music. Obviously with these new innovations happening in Trinidad, emulation would follow from the other islands who adopted the pan movement. But, the steelpan could no longer be confined to the Caribbean especially after visiting Europe via the festival of Britain. North America would be the obvious choice as Trinidad migrants were now looking towards the USA and Canada. More migration meant more spreading and diffusion of the steelpan culture. Trinidadians and the steelpan were on the move. The first wave of migrants would situate themselves in the capital cities of both the USA and Canada.

2.4 Pan in Canada

The steelpan arrived in Canada in the early 1950’s with the demographic migration of Trinidadians, who settled primarily in Montreal and Toronto and later Vancouver. There are many similarities with the manner in how the steelpan came into existence in these cities. A common similarity was Trinidadian students. Early information about steelpan

activities in Montreal circa 1955 exists in a written account on the internet, *The Vignettes of Pan History –The Montreal Story* by Bert Boldon (Appendix A10). This account gives an in depth analysis of the initial state of steelpan development in Montreal in the mid-1950's. Boldon, a Trinidadian, states that as early as 1955 there were steelpan activities at McGill University in Montreal. Two popular steelpan groups from Trinidad, the "Invaders" and "All Stars" visited Montreal. Boldon acknowledged that he had met a prolific pan player, Louis Bleasdell, another Trinidadian. He was also a pan tuner and had made some of the pans to form their first group called "Pan Jammers." Boldon insisted that Bleasdell indeed did have a steelpan as early as 1953 in Montreal. At McGill University, Boldon also noted that there were yet more steelpan activities with another group of Trinidadians of East Indian descent led by Wahab Ishmael. Another interesting Montreal story comes from a Trinidadian migrant Dave De Castro who also arrived in the mid 1950's and established a steelpan group "King Caribe and the Steel Bandits" and later "The Calypso Bandits" with Dave being "the Bandit." The fact that Dave was of Portuguese descent is an example of Trinidad's unique racial mix and cosmopolitan nature (Appendix A5).

In Trinidad, De Castro attended an affluent boarding school, Mt. St. Benedict's Abbey School which was a part of a large monastery staffed by priests who were mostly from Holland. Just after World War II the steelband was in its embryonic stage of development, with all the stigma attached to it. In the midst of this setting, Dave De Castro convinced the priests to allow him to form a steelband. This fact, missed by many pan historians, is a milestone in pan history, and was the first time a steelband became associated with a school. Dave attended the Abbey School from about the age of eight until he left at age

seventeen (circa 1944 to 1953). His steelband adventure at the Abbey School would have been in his last three years (Appendix A7) .He explains how it came about in his own words.

I was now a big boy and had plenty more privileges including smoking. I had the priest allow us to form a steelband. I got Jules the famous “All Stars Steel Band” in the city to make and tune the pans for us and we called ourselves “Mount Mariners Steel Band.” We played for concerts and played around the school on carnival Monday and Tuesday as we were not allowed to go into the city for carnival. (De Castro 2009, 9)

I attended the same Abbey School from 1963-1970 and in 2013 there was a school reunion of “Old Boys of Abbey School” in Ajax, Ontario, Canada. I was invited, was asked to bring my pans, and the celebrated Dave De Castro aka “The Bandit” was the guest of honor. I had the great pleasure of not only meeting up with “Bandit” but he had brought his cuatro and we were able to put down a musical jam while others joined in with singing, clapping, and yes “bottle and spoon.” It turned out to be a Trinidad style jam. Dave gave me one of his autobiography books entitled “Stories” and I gave him “Steelpan Playing with Theory” my text book (Appendix A26).

Dave De Castro, pan pioneer in Trinidad and Canada, accomplished many other things. The exploits of Dave “The Bandit” and his group are many (Appendix A11). They made their first album in 1955 as “King Caribe and the Steel Bandits” and performed all over the province of Quebec. They became quite popular and extended their touring gigs to Toronto and cities in the USA. Bandit explains in his book, that their music and their act was just the right music for the times.

We were very popular, calypso and folk music were in. Harry Belafonte had just released his first calypso album with *Day-O, Jamaican farewell, Yellow Bird*, etc and it was number one on the charts. (De Castro 2009, 22)

In 1969 in Toronto, Dave De Castro became the first crowned Calypso King after winning the first ever calypso contest in Canada (Appendix A11).

The first Calypso Competition was held in 1969 at the Maple Leaf Gardens. It was a Caribana-sponsored event. There were about 3000 people at the event, more than I have ever seen at any Calypso Competition in Toronto. There was a “Dimanche Gras” atmosphere at the Gardens. In the competition there were seven contestants. Each contestant sang one song. All the songs were original compositions. The music band was led by Sello Gomes. Contestant Number 5 was Dave De Castro with the sobriquet of “The Bandit.” He came out dressed up in a bandit costume, with a decorated Mexican hat and two cap guns smoking. He was totally inebriated, drunk like the fish he was going to play in the Caribana Parade the next day. He sang a song that he composed himself. It was titled “Caribana, The Big Fete.” The Bandit literally “mash up de place.” Even before the final two contestants performed, the large crowd was chanting in unison, “The Bandit win, the white fellow win.” After the last contestant performed, the judges took a long time to make their decision. The crowd was very restless, all the while chanting, “The Bandit win, the white boy win.” Finally, the judges confirmed what the crowd was chanting. The Bandit was crowned the first Calypso King in Toronto. He was crowned with a gold silk crown made out of cardboard. He was also awarded a prize of \$250. When I was leaving the Gardens I heard a guy say, “Ah never see nothing like dat in my life, a white fellow win Calypso King. (Borel 2011)

Meanwhile, in Toronto, a Trinidad migrant by the name Selwyn “Sello” Gomes is regarded as one of the primary pan pioneers of this era (Appendix A11). An exclusive interview by Joe Cullen gave a descriptive account of the exploits of “Sello” Gomes. This began from his native environment in Trinidad to his arrival and promotion of the steelpan and steelpan culture in Toronto (Cullen 2011). In Selwyn Gomes’ own words we can ascertain that by 1955, a steelband had performed in Toronto. “We also played at the Canadian National Exhibition (CNE) in 1955 under the name “Trinidad Ezzo Tropitones Steelband” (Cullen 2011). There is a plaque at the CNE depicting a steelpan with a date coinciding with what is mentioned by Selwyn Gomes. Like Montreal, at that time, in the early to mid-1950’s there may as well have been other individual Trinidad migrants with their single pan instruments.

I was in middle school in Belmont, Port-of-Spain, and I went to a friend's house and played a pan under his house. His house was on stilts and we would go under the house to play a steel drum that he had. It was an early one, I believe it was convex. The early pans were actually convex, with only a few notes on them. Just a few bumps on them, four or five notes at most. I started playing on what was called the *caustic bass* because it was made of pans used to transport caustic soda. It had a range of only four or five notes, from G (first line bass clef) to D (third line bass clef). The notes were only G, A, C, D and sometimes I had a set that had an E as well. They have changed a lot since then. I also played the double *tune boom* which eventually evolved into what we call the guitar pan or cello pans now. (Cullen 2011)

We also played at the Canadian National Exhibition (CNE) in 1955 under the name "The Esso Tropitones Steelband." We brought seven players on a ship used for transporting aluminum. I played double cello pans, and was the arranger, as you know. We also brought two dancers, one male and one female, and a white Emcee from Trinidad named Leonard "Bunny" Alton Dunn. He was a large man, very energetic and enthusiastic. A great Emcee. We played three weeks at the CNE and had one week of rehearsals before that. We learned a lot during that week of rehearsals. Co-ordinators from the CBC taught us a lot about doing a tight "program" that had a fast pace, with no major breaks between songs. (Cullen 2011)

However, we can effectively conclude that by the mid 1950's there was indeed a steelpan presence in both cities of Montreal and Toronto. After Selwyn Gomes' tour and performance at the CNE with his "Trinidad Esso Tropitones Steelband" group, he returned to Canada in 1957. He started his own group "Toronto Tropitones." The band comprised of Trinidad students who were attending the University of Toronto, St Michael's College. Selwyn Gomes expressed the numerous gigs that his band were able to perform at. Over the years, they included Ontario Place, the Brazilian Carnival Ball at Sutton Place, and later at the Convention Centre, the West Indian Federation Club, Mexican Club, every hotel in Toronto and the Royal York. He concluded that they were responsible for opening the Calypso Club on Yonge Street (Cullen 2011). Both Montreal and Toronto, have experienced similarities in their initial stages of steelpan development. Due to their close geographic proximity, they shared many cultural exchanges. Visiting groups from Trinidad often time connected and engaged in activities in both cities of Montreal and Toronto. Other cities in

Canada would also play a part in steelpan development, but at a much later date. In the 1950's the migration of Trinidadians to Canada was concentrated on the East Coast cities of Montreal and Toronto.

The third major city in Canada which is situated on the West Coast is Vancouver. As early as 1959, this city has also been exposed to steelpan activities. The gentleman responsible for this is another Trinidadian Wilson "Moon" Wong-Moon. In a similar situation, as a student at the University of British Columbia and by means of a national exhibition, the steelpan was introduced to Vancouver. In an interview, a relative of Moon, was able to express in detail, his knowledge and information of the steelpan experience. He sent me an email of a simplified version of the beginnings of steelpan development in Vancouver from 1958. The similarities of Trinidadians are quite common when they leave their homeland, they always express their culture, and oftentimes it is not only noticed but requested (Wong-Moon 2016).

Wilson 'Moon' Wong-Moon, from Port-Of-Spain, Trinidad, was studying at the University of British Columbia and was approached to see if he could get a group of pan players together for the Pacific National Exhibition in 1958 as a "novelty act." Air Canada sponsored the pans and flew them up from Trinidad for free. This was the first time a resident steel band was formed in British Columbia. (Wong-Moon 2016)

The follow-up email expressed the place, the time and the people who were then involved.

Wilson (Moon) Wong-Moon, from Port-Of-Spain, Trinidad, was studying at the University of British Columbia and was approached to see if he could get a group of pan players together for the Pacific National Exhibition in 1958 as a "novelty act." Air Canada sponsored the pans and flew them up from Trinidad for free. This was the first time a resident steel band was formed in British Columbia. The *original* band members were: Moon, Alan Jagdeo, Ernie Jagersar, George Jack, Ken Carrington, Joe Lathuillierie, Charles Patterson. Once the steel band was finished at the PNE they were allowed to keep the pans in Vancouver and so the band became the Moonlighters Steel Band and a fixture on the university scene until the members

graduated from UBC and went on to their respective careers. As these players left, new players were added to the roster and soon the Trinidadian and West Indian community embraced the Trini culture of steel band and along with a cricket team they formed the Cosmos Club. The Cosmos Club rented a basement in North Vancouver and every Saturday night held dances to help defray the cost of rental and to help the cricket club with equipment, etc. This was the place that, if you were from the West Indies, you were told to connect with folks from your island on a Saturday night. The Moonlighters also played for private functions not only in the Vancouver area but up and down the West Coast and on Vancouver Island. They were even invited to Seattle for a gig or two. During the 1980's more pan players were attracted to Vancouver and soon there were a few more steel bands forming, some from the old Moonlighters and others as the steel pan became popular here in Canada. The Moonlighters celebrated twenty-five years as a steel band in 1983 and continued playing for a few more years. Moon hung up his sticks in the 1980's as his health deteriorated and the Moonlighters Steel Band splintered off into a couple of bands that are still around today. The "old" Moonlighters still play for special functions when requested although most have been retired for some time or have passed away. (Wong-Moon 2016)

Vancouver, being the third largest city continued its steelpan development, similarly to the counterpart cities of Montreal and Toronto, making its contribution and setting standards. However, as the steelpan continued its diffusion across Canada, south of the border in the USA, a lot more steelpan activities were taking place.

2.5 Pan in the USA

In the 1950's, Trinidad was still under colonial rule of Great Britain, and as a citizen of the British Commonwealth, it was much easier to migrate to other Commonwealth countries. England and Canada were easy choices, but the USA, especially New York City was a favorite destination for Trinidadians. There is a well-known story of pan coming to America with famous folk singer, Pete Seeger who visited Trinidad in 1956. A documentary film was made, the first of its kind depicting the making of the steelpan.

In 1958 the film won the “Chris” award for excellence of Production, Information and Education; it was also nominated for the EFLA (Educational Film Library Association) award (Clifton 2011).

Seeger came in touch with a local “pan man” who was a pan tuner, arranger, and band leader of the Hilanders Steelband, his name Kim Loy Wong. This name might lead one to believe that this is a typical Chinese man. However, this is precisely the make-up of Trinidadians with its unique cosmopolitan nature since its inception, as the history previously revealed. Kim Loy Wong’s father was Chinese, his mother was African descent, and his wife was an East Indian. Seeger returned to the USA with the pans in 1956 and began introducing the steelpan to America. He saw in it an opportunity to get “ghetto kids off the street” and wrote a book about the steelpan entitled “The Steel Drums of Kim Loy Wong.” It is also reported that Pete Seeger was also responsible for influencing the US Navy to establish their own steelband group. The US Navy Steelband is one of the success stories of steelband development that has been a well-kept secret. The US Navy Steelband disbanded only in 1999 (Appendix A12). The story continues with Kim himself coming to America in 1959 and writing another chapter in steelpan development. In an interview with Kim Loy Wong, who was now residing in Houston Texas, Hollis Clifton of WACK Radio 90.1FM, with his program ‘Pan Diaspora’ expressed an in depth analysis of Kim Loy Wong’s exploits in the USA (Appendix A12). After the initial meeting with Pete Seeger, Folkways Records assisted in the migration of Kim to the USA. In 1959 Kim arrived in New York and immediately began doing what he did best, making steelpans and teaching whoever wanted to learn to play them.

On arrival in New York Wong wasted no time in starting over a dozen Steel Drum programs for delinquent/ghetto children ranging from 5 years old to late teens. These included the Henry Street Settlement, Educational Alliance on South Broadway, Leak & Watts in Yonkers, Dr. White Centre in Brooklyn, Graham School in Yonkers, and

Children's Village. W.I.T.I. Graham School and Children's Village are two of the schools that survived the Government cutbacks in the late 70s and may still be in successful operation to date (Clifton 2011).

Kim continued his exploits of spreading his steelpan culture to whoever was interested and connected with schools and people of interest. In Queens, New York he taught the likes of Jeff and Andy Narell, sons of social worker Russel Murray. Kim also met with Eleanor Roosevelt the wife of the USA President (Appendix A12).

However, in my research work, I wondered aloud, whether the steelpan was introduced to the USA before Pete Seeger's return in 1956. I followed the same logic, where in the very early times, it was due to the migration of Trinidadian with their pans to these different countries. The pattern of arrival in Tobago, Antigua, Guyana, England, Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver was established. In New York, as early as 1949, a Trinidadian migrant Rudy King introduced the steelpan to the USA (Appendix A12).

The year was 1949, and the music scene in America would never be the same. That is the year that Rudy King, aka 'Rock' and 'Rudolph Carter' – (to those who knew him as a young boy/man in his native Trinidad) came to America, bringing with him the knowledge of manufacturing and playing the instrument now known worldwide as the steelpan (King 2002).

Rudy continued spreading the steelpan culture by setting up small groups and teaching steelpan to all interested. In the 1960's he was instrumental in setting up the panorama competition behind the Brooklyn Museum, winning the first two consecutive competitions with his steelpan group of about twenty players. The band was called 'Tropicans' and today has evolved to 'Moods, Pan Groove,' Rudy credits his knowledge and training from the legendary Neville Jules of All Stars. He continued being an iconic figure for steelpan development in New York and was honored by City Lore, a non-profit organization. He was inducted into their Hall of Fame in 2001 for his introduction of the steelpan to

America in 1949 (King 2002). Similarly, with more migration came more Trinidadians, bringing not only more steelpan bands but, also steelpan technicians with more proficiency in playing and tuning. This was how they began spreading the culture of the steelpan in America. The Trinidad migrant communities have all adopted similar types of developments in their advancement and promotions of the steelpan culture.

During the 1950's, the steelpan continued its spread to other places. However, in the following decade, many events would aid the increase of migration of people and the spread of the culture. But, in the mid 1950's, another area of development was imminent, and this would definitely have a huge impact on the fledgling steelband movement in Trinidad. Politics, the movement towards the dismantling of the colonial political system. This had been an on-going occupation for the politicians and political thinking minds for decades (Appendix A14). The unprecedented fervor in this period is attributed in part to the presence of two brilliant minds, a historian, and a scientist, on opposite sides of the spectrum of politics, Dr. Eric Williams, and Dr. Rudranath Capildeo. They were both young graduates from Oxford University in England, but more importantly were determined to set a course for Trinidad and Tobago. Politics was the game and it was on. Williams set up the Peoples National Movement (PNM) and Capildeo set up the Democratic Labour Party (DLP). There were many other politicians, who were also deemed worthy of consideration but, the dynamics and what these two represented simply added to the concept of what was considered the make-up of Trinidad. These African and East Indian descendants represented the majority of the population and their views and contributions were unmatched. Rudranath Capildeo was a well know outstanding scholar of mathematics whose contributions were the foundations of scientific theories.

Capildeo was a considered an outstanding scholar whose ability to manipulate mathematical techniques enabled him to solve any problem. Relativity, vector algebra and mechanics engaged the mind of this scientist. The Flexure Problem in Elasticity (Ph.D. thesis), a topic with practical implication in aerodynamics, was one of several research works written by him. He also published a book on mathematics entitled “Vector Algebra and Mechanics: Theory, Problems and Solutions.” (National Institute of Higher Education, Research, Science and Technology 2017)

Williams, a scholarly historian, was responsible for a number of literary works, amongst them, the thought provoking “Capitalism and Slavery” (Williams 1944). The PNM won the election in 1956 on the push for more self-government leading to autonomy. Dr. Eric Williams became the first Premier to lead this new government. A very interesting history of the relationship between the steelpan movement, and Eric Williams with his PNM government will emerge. This will last much more than the twenty plus years, that Williams would continue to lead this government. However, Trinidad and Tobago was not alone in that type of thinking as regard the dismantling of the colonial system. The entire Caribbean region was moving toward that direction. This region also referred to as the West Indies, was already in the planning stages of setting up a federation of the Caribbean nations. This, according to many intellectual minds would have set the Caribbean on a different course. There were expectations of strength in unity in the concept of a “Federation of Caribbean Nations.” This would include having a common currency, security, defense, and common politics. However, the Caribbean islands were not able to put this concept together in any meaningful way, to satisfy every nation’s concerns. The result was an abandonment of the idea of the Federation of the Caribbean and the option of outright independence from Great Britain.

Meanwhile, the latter 1950’s signaled the push for better sounding musical instruments as more innovations by the growing amount of pan tuners became evident.

More groups and activities were now in existence, including steelpan competitions and unfortunately, more on-going violence of gang wars, amongst the various bands. The competitive nature of the adherents continued and due to the constant innovations by the pan tuners, new types and styles of steelpan instruments were produced. The extended ranges of instruments increased the ability to perform a wide musical repertoire. WAM's "Classical" music was a popular choice, because it was heard quite often on the limited radio stations. American popular music was a favorite choice due to the heavy influence of the United States on the Trinidadian psyche.

The increased range of the steelband allowed for the adaptation of classical music and popular American songs to the calypso beat. The Invaders and All Stars Steelbands were the leading pioneers in this movement. Interpretations by Invaders that became recording hits included "Liebestraume" (Franz Liszt), "Melody in F" (Anton Rubinstein), "Hawaiian Wedding Song," "Come Back to Sorrento," "With A Song in My Heart," and "Softly as A Morning Sunrise." Successful recordings by All Stars were "Intermezzo," "Barcarolle," and "Minuet in G." (Emrit 2017)

Perhaps, it was the continued struggle for acceptance as a bona-fide musical instrument. Trinidadians conceptualized that the playing of 'classical' music that was considered music of the 'masters,' would advance their recognition. Trinidadians competitive nature also pushed boundaries and soon there were steelpan competitions. Emrit (2017) offer s list of the Steelband Music Festival Winners in the 1950's.

STEELBAND MUSIC FESTIVAL WINNERS: 1950's

YEAR	WINNING STEELBAND	SELECTION
1952	Boys Town	You Are My Heart's Delight
1954	Southern All Stars	Anna (<i>Vato Roman & F. Giordano</i>)
	Katzenjammers	The Breeze and I (<i>Ernesto Lecuona</i>)
1958	No Competition	

<http://www.bestoftrinidad.com/steelband50s.html>

Around this time, a lot of new young faces would begin to make their mark in steelpan history. In a personal interview with Ray Holman (December 2018), Ray expressed his desire to get involved in the steelpan activities. He made a choice to go to Invaders pan yard where he encountered the legendary Ellie Mannette. Ellie became his mentor and literally took him under his wings. Ray explained how Ellie Mannette showed him the technique and importance of playing skillfully (Wilson 2018). At this time, Ray was also beginning his high school education as a student of one of the prestigious schools in the country Queens Royal College (QRC). Ray also encouraged some of his colleagues to get involved and the influx of college students into the steelpan arena at this time was significant and was one of the developments that aided in broader acceptance by the public. Another notable individual at this time is the legendary Emmanuel “Cobean Jack” Riley, pan tuner and pan player extraordinaire who was well known in the scheme of things for his uncanny ability to improvise on the steelpan. Improvisation was new to pan but not new in general as Trinidadians grew up with jazz music and American popular songs were played regularly on the airwaves. The numerous stories of Riley’s ability preceded him as he was that good.

One of the most renown panmen of this decade was Emmanuel Riley, of the Invaders Steelband. A soloist of extreme talents, Riley was not only an expert pan tuner, but also a master improviser on any instrument. He established a "jazzy" approach to playing that characterized the unique sound of the Invaders Steelband. His improvisations in the 1959 Invaders' recordings "Liebestraume" and "Melody in F" set a standard for pan soloists that has never been surpassed. The musical interpretations of Invaders were so well-received by the public that steelbands from the western (West) section of Port-of-Spain began to emulate their styling. Eventually, this jazzy interpretative style became synonymous with most of the popular steelbands from the West: Invaders; Starlift; Symphonettes; Crossfire; Silver Stars. Other panmen who made significant contributions to the furtherance of pan music during this decade were player Kelvin Hart and ambassadors Kelvin Dove and Kim Loy Wong (Emrit 2017)

The end of the 1950's decade saw the push for all forms of development of the country. The political jargon of dismantling colonialism was at the front. Race issues was a developing circumstance with the two leading races of African descent and East Indian descent vying for political prominence. The steelpan movement was growing as a cultural and political force with steelpan innovators and tuners pushing the boundaries of enhanced steelpan manufacture. The arrangers were exploring the limits of different genres of music now playable on the pans and steelbands were growing in size as pan players increased in numbers.

Chapter 3: Growth and development post-independence (1962) Trinidad & Tobago

3.1 Impetus for growth, independence, nationalism, youth involvement.

The 1960's was a defining decade of change. World awareness, equal rights protests, race riots and diversity and decolonization were some of the contributing factors to globalization and change. In the Caribbean, the push for the federation of nations came to a screeching halt. The two main players Jamaica and Trinidad & Tobago each opted out for distinctive reasons. The end result was an ultimate push for outright independence from Great Britain. This was the dawn of the decade and it started off with a bang. Independence was knocking at the doors of Caribbean islands. The last vestiges of colonialism was about to be broken for all out autonomy. Jamaica and Trinidad & Tobago were well on their way for total independence from Britain. The scheduled time was August 1962 for both nations. The euphoria and excitement of the time was equally matched by the need to produce and to be ready for the scheduled appointed time. However, the Caribbean was not isolated on this independence quest. Many African nations in the late fifties opted for outright independence from Britain. Colonialism was on the wane. In Trinidad, diversity became an important factor in steelpan development. Local whites, Chinese descents, college students, middle class blacks and East Indian descents saw the need to now get involve in the steelpan business, this is considered, an aspect of "creolization". This type of activity was a healthy dose of needed diversity for the still struggling steelpan movement. New bands like Dixieland and Silver Stars were groups that expressed this type of diversity. Ray Holman, who at age thirteen joined Invaders Steelband, now at sixteen and still attending QRC, was now an arranger in Invaders. Ray was able to encourage some of his classmates to join Invaders, as he continued to navigate

his way with schoolwork, being a pan player and now a pan arranger. His skill and talent placed him at the top of early steelpan competitions. His growing fame preceded him as he delivered the goods in steelpan playing and arranging. Ray will go on to do many amazing and original things in steelpan development. A bright young star signaled that the steelpan was indeed in good hands.

In 1961, he led a small band of QRC students (David "Splav" Waddell, Ian Jones, John "Monty" Williams, Ronald Emrit) in what was the first performance ever by a steelband at QRC. This performance was part of an evening of entertainment that, coincidentally, also showcased the acting and producing talents of another QRC student, Peter Minshall, who would go on to achieve worldwide fame as a masquerade designer/producer. Holman's musical talent was documented for the ages when his 1961 rendition of "I'll Take You Dreaming" from the 1955 American movie *The Court Jester* was recorded by the Invaders Steelband. This piece of music was labeled "Ray's Saga" (Emrit 2017).

There were many young men, with ambitions similar to those of Ray Holman, all over the island in the various pockets of steelpan activities (Appendix A14). A normal steelpan development program would often occur in villages. I can point to the village where I grew up, St. John Village, in St. Augustine, situated in the central north of the island. There have always been steelpan activities in this village and I literally grew up with a steelband in my back yard. A living story known to me is as follows: In 1957 a young Bob Theroulde, (my uncle), was ambitious enough to want to start a steelband with some of his friends and relatives. I was five years old at that time. This type of activity was not new to the village, as the village was home to an "iron band," the rhythmic (non-melodic) forerunner to the steelpan. I was told that my father and his friends were some of the main participants in this village "iron band." Music ran in my family as my grandfather, Charles Theroulde, was a violinist who also had his village band. His wife and my grandmother, Mena Theroulde, was the queen of a masquerade band for the annual carnival and their

home was oftentimes the central part of these cultural and musical activities in the village. This is the background of my family's history. It was not difficult to imagine my grandmother giving access or making it possible for my uncle to have a place, so that he can start this village steelband. This band established its own history such that it still exist to the present day and will surface in the narrative, the band was called Flamingoes.

From the political perspective, the two year period preceding the intended date for independence was imperative in establishing a national fervor. Politicians embarked on educating the public on the merits of independence, self-government, independent currency, plus lists of political jargon. But it was also a time of consciousness and awareness regarding heritage and culture and those things thought to be inherently Trinidadian. The new country of Trinidad & Tobago began to chart its own history as an independent nation. The date acclaimed for independence was August 31, 1962 as Jamaica scheduled their independence day for August 1, 1962. Preparations were in full effect in all possible areas for this auspicious event. Some concepts of nationalism permeated the air in a variety of forms; a new national flag; a national anthem; cultural, folk and independence songs; national colours; emblems and any and everything that would come to represent the new country. All of the cultural arts were now in focus and in particular the tri- cultural arts of 'Calypso, Mas' and Pan' were central. For the calypso adherents, a competition was drawn up to crown the winner as the Independence King. The steelbands responded by learning the National Anthem and some cultural songs.

3.2 Innovations of instruments, panorama, sponsorship, “dropping the bomb,” enhanced tonal qualities, and legends.

The search for a better sounding instrument led the steelpan community to continue with its innovative development of new types of pans and accessories. Anthony Williams was perfecting his ‘spider web’ pan. This instrument has the unique arrangement of being placed in the cycle of the so-called Pythagorean scale. It must be noted that the steelpan is the only instrument in music history that has the layout of notes arranged in this specific pattern of the cycle of fifth. Other tuners were also gaining prominence in pan making. The legendary Bertie Marshall was now inventing the “double tenor.” New inventions for the mobility of steelbands on the streets were an ongoing project and the looming independence was foremost in everyone’s mind. Nevertheless, gang violence, especially on the carnival days, was a stain that continued to hinder progress and full acceptance of the steelpan. The steelband organization, the National Association of Trinidad and Tobago Steelbandmen (NATTS), now led by George Goddard reacted. They envisioned a national steelpan competition for all the steelband groups in the country who wished to participate in this event. The rationale was that the panmen were fighting on the streets, instead, get them to fight a musical war in the Grand Savannah. This was the birth of the “panorama competition.” It was scheduled for the following year 1963. The anticipation in preparation for this event, pushed the levels of innovation, in terms of new steelpan instruments and the concept of mobility of the pans. Instruments were no longer played as ‘single pans’/‘pan around the neck’ since all instruments were now placed on racks with wheels for easy mobility. This created a spectacular scene and added to the excitement when Independence Day came on August 31, 1962 (Appendix A14). I

remember vividly the excitement and enthusiasm of the era. I was a ten year old in elementary school. The anticipated panorama competition the following year in 1963, lived up to its billing and was the talk of the town. The success of the event lifted the pan movement into another phase of recognition. But, the violence on the street still continued. Calypsonians were very descriptive in their social commentaries of these incidents and a solution still had to be found. The first and new Prime Minister Dr. Eric Williams envisioned and encouraged businesses to adopt a sponsorship concept of supporting the steelbands. There would be some sort of tax incentives for the businesses. The bigger, bands were the first to be sponsored by major companies. Among the early sponsors were companies like Coca Cola, Pan American Airlines, Catelli, Esso, BP, and Shell. Angostura, Carib Breweries. Sponsorship was a great opportunity for the bands to receive funding to purchase more pans and racks plus offer payment for arrangers, pan tuners, etc. The sponsors' names would prefix the various bands and many saw this as appropriation by the sponsors. The new names now had the following format. Shell Invaders, Pan Am North Stars, Esso Tripoli, Catelli All Stars, Witco Desperadoes, Coca Cola Silver Stars, BP Renegades. Angostura Starlift, Carib Tokyo, Guinness Cavaliers. These were just a few of the bands and their sponsors. Unfortunately, all of the bands did not get sponsorship and the smaller unknown bands were left struggling while the major bands received monetary benefits. Nevertheless, the sponsorship had an interesting reciprocal play. Being sponsored by major companies, with their logos well displayed on the banners and other forms of advertising, the bands were now subjected to expectations of "better behavior." Band leaders now had the responsibility to steer their members away from the violence, which had previously dominated their activities during the carnival season. The

sponsored bands, now enjoying a higher social status and monetary gains, were pressed to keep their membership in check and away from the violence. The combination of the panorama competition (the musical war) and the sponsorship of bands were the catalyst that began the curbing of the violence. Of course, it did not disappear overnight, but the incentives were in place for change to happen and gradually the violence subsided and was totally eliminated. This was a giant step forward in steelpan development.

Another policy, that the government initiated, was sending steelbands abroad as cultural ambassadors. This proved to be a great opportunity for bands and players to be able to perform internationally. It was also an important step for steelpan recognition abroad. Pan was certainly on the move. Steelbands were rewarded with international tours for their successes in the various competitions. Many bands went to North America, but some also went to Europe and even Africa. This was a time of showcasing and advertising the culture of Trinidad and Tobago. More events for steelbands were also further developed at that time. One of these, the “bomb competition” took place on the carnival days. Usually this occurred on the daybreak of the first day of carnival. Timely called “Jour Ourvert”, a French word from Trinidad’s cosmopolitan past colloquially spelt “J’ourvert”, literally means daybreak. This was not originally a competition, quite simply, it was just a part of steelpan development. In the 1940’s, 50’s, and 60’s Trinidadians were always exposed to jazz and popular American music. The influence on the radio was heavy, especially, since the US had a naval base and military presence in Trinidad. However, because of Trinidad’s colonial past, Western Art Music was also a favorite on the radio stations. It was not uncommon to hear baroque, classical, or romantic music, be it Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert or many other artists and genres. However, in

Trinidad all of this type music was simply referred to as “classics” and playing the classics as mentioned was considered as playing the music of the masters. There was the concept of recognition, acknowledgement and perhaps the idea of playing “the classics” gave some sort of prestige to the instrument and the players. However, arrangers were experimenting with all types of music and transforming all genres into a calypso feel. This was necessary to keep in line with the mobility of the carnival parade. Bands would have their particular ‘secret song’ which they would play at those specific times, usually ‘J’ouvert morning’. Stories exist of how bands would secretly practice their music. This was in order to get the edge of surprise over other rival bands. All types of “classical music” were now offered for public consumption. Neville Jules and All Stars were among the top bands in this area. The concept of “dropping the bomb” was the expression commonly used when the bands would meet usually on ‘J’ouvert morning’, the breaking of dawn of the carnival.

And it went on like that for a couple of years, and then I decided well, you know what, I am going to learn something, play something that they don’t hear, even the public wouldn’t hear. And we started rehearsing secretly at night....The first tune was a tune named “Shokian.” That was one of the first tunes that we did with that. And from there on it went on like that. And I guess it catch on because all the other bands, you know, because at that time too, we started to get popular. And the Bomb tune that we playing, the other bands start to see if they can outdo us also. But at that time the name wasn’t Bomb, you know, because it was just we playing any song that we would like to play in the calypso flavor. But...the supporters of different steelbands would meet at times in the street and they would argue who was the better band and what not. One of our players told a guy “Wait until j’ouvert morning when we drop the bomb.” So there is where the Bomb talks comes into being. (Dudley 2008, 114-115)

This exercise continued for quite a number of years, until the “Classics” became a point of contention. There were other forms of steelpan music competitions. Notably a major event where the main form of music to be played was Western Art Music, be it from the baroque, classical or romantic eras. This competition was known as the Steelpan Music

Festival ideally set to run concurrently every two years. Foreign adjudicators were invited to participate. The concept of this type of event was undoubtedly to express the versatility of this new family of musical instruments. The continual search for recognition and acceptance of the steelpan as a bona fide musical instrument in the early 1960's, was also an impetus to improve the quality of the sound. The transition from diatonic to chromatic instruments occurred in the early 1950's, but, the quality of the tone and color of the pans was a subject to be considered. This was made clear to the steelpan fraternity by a foreign adjudicator Northcote, at one of the "Classical" steelpan festival. Northcote expressed his wonderment of the steelpan at this stage to play this type of Western Art Music, however, he critically pointed out the lack of a clear tonal color emanating from these instruments (Johnson 2011). This criticism pushed the tuners and innovators to introduce instruments with octaves which undoubtedly gave clarity to the fundamental tone. A colloquial term suggested that the pan was now "ringing." The result, clearer sounding instrument, produced another step forward in steelpan development.

This success apart from the full cooperation of the band was mainly due to criticism made by the adjudicators in previous festivals. I sometimes consider the comments more important than the festival itself. I always listen attentively to what they had to say and here I tried to interpret and present the music in the best form. I must also give justice to the composers. This effort was observed by Dr. Northcote when he wrote this about 'Voices of spring': 'Your remarkable precision and close harmony are allied to a musical clarity and in real orchestral purpose.'(Johnson 2011, 11)

The pan was undoubtedly on the move as more innovations from pan tuners, put the highlight on better sounding instruments. But it also opened the doors for more interesting and popular music, paving a new way for young and upcoming arrangers. Ray Holman was one of the young energetic and innovative steelpan arrangers. He began his debut with the legendary Invaders steelband, but youth and ambition were motivating factors for his

next project. It was only a matter of time before he moved away from Invaders. Ray admits that he had a lot of respect and admiration for Ellie Mannette. But, he also spoke at great length about the legendary Emmanuel “Cobbeau Jack” Riley, the most versatile player and steelpan improviser of the time. However, as history would have it, the younger generation oftentimes initiate the changes. Ray Holman was set to play a pivotal role at this junction of development. He, along with his QRC classmates, moved over to become the full arranger of another young band in the area, the Starlift Steel Orchestra.

In 1963, Ray Holman moved over to the Starlift Steelband and led his schoolmates back to QRC for a performance of his arrangement of "I Feel Pretty" from the musical, *West Side Story*. Holman's mastery of the tenor-pan would later gain him First Place in the Soloist competition in the 1964 Steelband Music Festival (Emrit 2017)

3.3 Steelbands international tours as ambassadors, Montreal Expo '67

Once Trinidad & Tobago became an independent country cultural ambassadors were a talking point and the steelpan fraternity got the nod as one of the primary cultural ambassadors. Steelbands began many world tours as cultural ambassadors and the bands emerging as champions, in the panorama competition and the Steelband Music Festival competitions, were rewarded with international touring trips. This of course would not only boost the image of the new independent nation, but it became a major stepping stone of recognition and acceptance of the steelband movement at home and abroad.

Independence in the 1960's brought hope, aspirations and a heightened sense of nationalism. This feeling permeated the air as all forms of culture including that of the East Indian community came to the forefront. In 1963, I was eleven years old and began my high school years higher up the village on the mountain at Mt. St. Benedict, Abbey School run by the monks of the Benedictine order. I was unaware that this school had a

significant piece of steelband history dating to early 1950's when Dave De Castro established the first steelband in a public school. In addition, the steelband in the village at my grandmother's backyard moved higher up in the village next door to my mom's home. So, it was now literally in my own home although I, and some of my cousins of same age, were not allowed in the "pan yard." This was the norm at that time, young boys were just not allowed. Girls in the pan yard were not given serious thought at that time, despite the historic account of Girl Pat Steelband and others. However, a couple of cousins and I would sneak in when the 'big fellas' were not around. I was not officially allowed to join the band until 1968 when I was sixteen years old. This contrasts with the present time as my six children began as early as six years old and my grandson, who began at age four, is now a professional steelpan soloist at age 21.

The pan was on the move internationally and a major event in Montreal, Canada would further highlight the steelpan, and by extension the culture of Trinidad & Tobago. Montreal was about to stage its World Fair entitled "Expo' 67." An ideal opportunity for a young nation to find a place on the world's stage and express its cultural heritage. Such was the nature of this festival, an exposition of science and culture of the world's nations. Trinidad's major tri-cultural arts of "Calypso, Mas' and Pan" would be on display, notwithstanding, the other cultures especially from the East Indian community. According to author Kim Johnson, the concept of a national steelband took prominence when Eric Williams heard a steelband play the national anthem abroad (Johnson 2011, 14). The National Steelband's first tour was to Jamaica, followed by a trip to the USA to accept an invitation from the Royal Rearmament Association's international youth conference. West

Indies cricketer Conrad Hunte was the person in charge and the players complained of the lack of remuneration.

In 1963, the idea of forming a national steelband was floated. Eric Williams on a trip abroad heard a steelband play the national anthem. Back home, he told the Association to form a national steelband. It must comprise the best from each steelband—not even second best was good enough. (Johnson 2011, 147)

Yet two more trips abroad 1965 and 1967, would be designated to this concept of a national steelband. The legendary Desperadoes in 1966 was sent to Dakar, Senegal in Africa for the Festival of Negro Arts. (Johnson 2011, 147-149).

Since the early 1960's steelbands have been touring the world and whenever the bands go abroad, not all of the players would return. Many saw the tours as chances to migrate from Trinidad and seized the opportunities when they occurred. With this in mind, the government, the main sponsor for this Trinidad & Tobago contingent to the Montreal Expo '67 World's Fair was very skeptical of the "pan men." They were concerned that some may abandon their responsibilities and opt for migration. The steelband fraternity was leaving a record of this type of migration activities, so the government sought a way to combat this. They decided to send a steelband group comprising of the National Defense Force. Band members would comprise of players from the army, the coast guard, and the police. The government in so doing by-passed NATTS the steelband organization. Obviously, the pan fraternity was not pleased and protested this action. But, the government maintained their position and so the National Defense Force steelband group began the tour with the rest of the Trinidad & Tobago contingent (Appendix A17). This group became the resident band and by all account the tour was deemed totally successful. So successful was the Trinidad & Tobago contingent, with the steelband being the highlight that it was the talk of the town. A new instrument for the century, the steelpan

had arrived. The Defense Force Band would stay the entire length of the festival and beyond. After the festival, many of them returned to Montreal. They had established relations with some people from Montreal. They formed their own group and call themselves Trinidad Playboys Steelband. They still partly function to this day led by original member Winston “Skippy” Maingot (Appendix A17).

But, back in Trinidad, the murmurs of NATTS and the pan men grew louder as the pan fraternity called foul, the actions of the government. They complained that they were not well represented. The best pan players who should be representing the steelpan and by extension Trinidad, were still at home. The government responded from the pressure and allowed for another steelband to participate (Appendix A17). A new national steelband was formed this time by NATTS. Indeed the best of players from various steelbands were selected for this trip. George “Sonny” Goddard was the then president of the steelband organization. He, along with the renowned director of the Police Band and steelband arranger Anthony Prospect, made the trip to Montreal. (Johnson 2011, 197). This group was also very successful as they participated at the World’s Fair Expo ’67. Two prominent steelbands from Trinidad were now in one city of Canada, and they were creating waves and having tremendous positive revues. The continued successful run of the Trinidad steelbands at the Montreal Fair was becoming more than just a great talk. The world was having a good look at Trinidad and this new and amazing instrument. At this time, another steelband from Trinidad was embarking on their personal world tour, and Montreal Canada was also a part of their destination. The steelband Tripoli was iconic, sponsored by Esso, and came from the western part of the city a placed called St. James. They had been around since prior to World War II, under their original name of “Grow More Food”

and led by their first captain Joe Crick. When Lloyd Butcher joined the band, the name had changed to copy a movie title *The Shores of Tripoli* but was later shortened to simply Tripoli. They were very prominent throughout the fifties and sixties and also aided with steelpan innovations (Johnson 2006).

And yet Tripoli made its fair share of innovations too introducing as early as 1956 the first amplified pans on the road, the invention of Herbert Samson, a man who designed a walkie-talkie so the movement of the front of the band could be controlled from wherever the captain happened to be. The same Herbert constructed it from two big speakers and a radio system. That year they won Best Beating Band on the road with Sparrow's Jean and Dinah. (Johnson 2006, 119)

3.4 Historic steelband tour, 1st Grammy Award nomination, inception of "harmonic tuning"

The stage was now set with the new leadership of the band coming in the person of the legendary Hugh Borde. Esso Imperial Oil was still the sponsor. They arrived in Montreal and created their own waves (Appendix A17). Amongst the players on this tour were the two Headley brothers, Harold and Kenrick. Harold had previously won a national steelpan soloist competition in 1966 and was a prominent name in that area. Kenrick, the elder brother, was the principal arranger of the band at that time and he was also one of the arrangers of the village band Flamingoes, that I grew up with. He was my mentor and was married to my cousin. This Tripoli Steelband group at the Montreal World's Fair was exceptional and caught the eyes, ears, and imagination of famous pianist Liberace. He subsequently took them on an extended tour of the USA, covering many cities and many shows including Hollywood Bowl, Carnegie Hall, Radio City Music Hall, Ed Sullivan, Mike Douglas, and David Frost Show. The band was also nominated for a Grammy Award in 1972 (Appendix A17). The only band to ever achieve that claim. Author Adams (2005) offers a descriptive look at Tripoli Steelband in the 1960's.

In 1965, Tripoli won the Independence Festival. They were selected to play for Queen Elizabeth II when she visited Trinidad. In 1966 soloist Harold Headley represented Tripoli and won the soloist competition. This band had two top class arrangers Junior Pouchet and Tommy Crichlow. Before Fr. Sewell joined the band. Tripoli made several overseas tours. In 1960 at Queen's Hall with Fr. Sewell, they give a top-class performance, as they also did at the Holy Trinity Cathedral. This band went to Expo '67 and was a big hit. It was Hugh Borde who brought the band to international limelight by negotiating a contract for the band with the manager of the famous pianist Liberace. Tripoli toured with Liberace in 1968 and 1969, fulfilling engagements at Radio City, Carnegie Hall, Las Vegas Hilton, the Hollywood Bowl, and recording with the Los Angeles Philharmonic Orchestra. According to Borde, Tripoli steelband was honored with a Grammy Award nomination. The only steelband so honoured and was also the recipient of Motown Record's highest award. Whenever people like Clyde Innis, Lloyd Butcher, and other old members meet, the talk is of Tripoli (Adams 2005, 88).

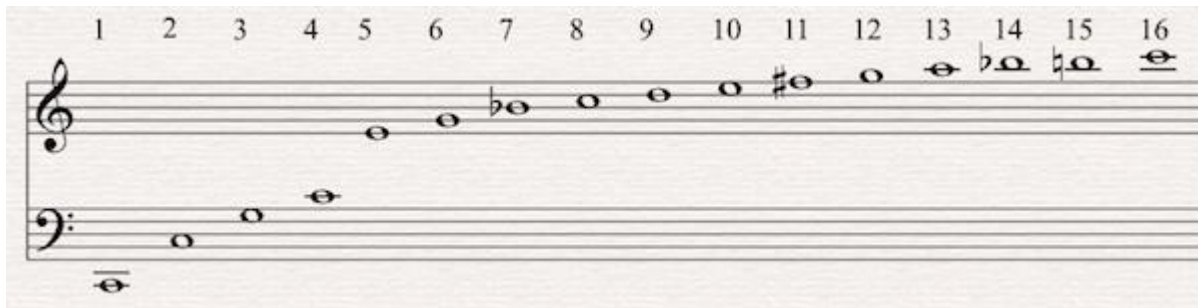
The success of the Trinidad steelband groups at the Montreal World's Fair reverberated around the world. But, in Montreal where local Trinidadians were active, it was a huge push and boost for recognition of their own local steelpan development. They were now emboldened with this great thrust in steelpan activities in the city. Meanwhile, Toronto was now embarking on their own experiment of bringing the Trinidad culture to the forefront. They organized their first "Trinidad style" carnival parade, with costumes, music, and the "playing mas" concept. This was the beginning of the "Caribbean Caribana" festival in 1967 (Appendix A17). This festival will go on to be the biggest revenue earning festival for decades. At times attracting up to 1 million people in the city of Toronto for this event. The estimated gross revenue comes in upwards of 450 million for the weekend activities. The steelbands were very prominent in the Caribana parade as they were one of the principal music makers for the event. Many new areas of steelpan development would emerge from this Caribana parade experiment in Toronto. The decade also highlighted the prominence of renowned pan tuners. Allan Gervais, Wallace Austin, Lincoln Noel, Rudolph Charles, and Birch Kellman (Appendix A36). These are some of

the known names. The search for a better tonal quality led the pan tuners to more experimentation. The first clarity of the tone came with the introduction of the octave to the note, this opened up the instrument to an automatic brightness. In the common term of the pan man the brightness was interpreted positively as the “pan ringing.” Two people are credited with this novel experiment. Tony Williams and Allan Gervais.

This was first discovered by Anthony Williams, who noticed that when he had accidentally inserted an octave into a note it sounded brighter. The knowledge prompted him to design his “cycle of Fifths” spider-web tenor pan. Other tuners also stumbled on it. Allan Gervais would stick plasters on some notes to dampen them when they stood out by being brighter than others. (Johnson 2011, 162)

New concepts of steelpan, extending the range of the instruments and more ideas for steelpan mobility was an ongoing exercise. This era of steelpan development saw the continued search for a better sounding instrument and Bertie Marshall is credited with adding more tonal color with the introduction of “harmonics.” This is basically the tuning of the instrument in a manner where the overtone series is acknowledged, respected, and manifested. Here is a simple explanation for this concept. When one plays a note on the piano, the fundamental notes stands out, it is the most audible. However, with closer and more intense listening, other sounds can also be heard under the fundamental most audible sound. The second most audible sound is the octave of the fundamental. The third most audible sound is a fifth from the second most audible. In the music jargon, for instance if that note that is played on the piano is C2, then that is the first and fundamental note that is heard. This will be followed by the octave C3, then the following note a fifth up from the C3 will be a G3. In continuing the overtone series, the next note a perfect 4th, in that order will be C4, followed by E4 a major 3rd, from the C4. Each note above the fundamental is also referred to as a partial. The series continues past the notes outlined, but of course the limitation of the human ear is a factor that prevents hearing all of these

notes inside that presumed one note. The following is an illustration of the overtone (harmonic) series on C with the partials numbered 1 – 16.



These overtones and harmonics were some of the infatuations that Bertie Marshall was grossly involved with his pan-tuning development. It bothered him that the steelpan sound was lacking these overtones. There was a breakthrough with the discovering of the octave as Tony Williams recalled as this made the pan brighter with the expression “ringing out.” But, Bertie got his inspirations and motivations from playing and listening to a harmonica. He heard many things in that harmonica which pushed and challenged his ability to produce a similar sound by emulation. Having the octave, the 2nd partial, and the 4th partial in the harmonic series highlighted, gave the pan a unique color or resonance that one hears in a well-tuned piano note. Author Kim Johnson covers an interview with Bertie Marshall of Hilanders, where Marshall explains in detail how he manifested this concept of exploiting the overtone series in his tuning.

I used to live in John and that’s where I first hear pan. I know tuning had to do with fire. I nearly burn a house with that. I light the fire under the house. Get an old pan and try to tune it over. The fire get uncontrollable. I nearly burn down the house. What make me interested in tuning is when I hear Invaders and All Stars have the sweetest pan, I used to say: ‘Them pans outa tune.’ They say: ‘Don’t talk too loud—They go bus your face.’... I used to play harmonica and I hear the harmonics. I couldn’t take pan in them days, it was a noisy instrument. Hearing the notes I always condemn it. They used to call me Dr. No. I don’t like iron in band. When I pass they say: ‘Look the pan man who don’t like iron in band.’ My compere used to say: ‘how you eh like iron?’ I say: ‘It noisy it humbug the music.’... I hear everybody talking about Invaders and All Stars. I tell a fella, ‘See? I blow my mouth organ and it sounding discordant.’ So I decide to experiment on pan with

harmonics. People used to say it sound like a crapaud: pe-young-eee. Then I start to put F# as the fifth. When I first put the octave it startle me. It wasn't so easy. Other fellas had to come and tell me, 'That's what you looking for?' But they say it have too much ring. But I is a old Hitler fella: if you say that eh working I still going ahead... By playing the harmonica, what rich in harmonics, I realize when I put the harmonics I getting a better note. It obvious, so you go ahead, you realize you on a right track. When I put the third- in a C I put a G on the side- a fifth, an octave and an E appearing but you cyah hear it, But I realize I on a right track. When a note start to appear. I realize I on the right track when the third appear. And the note sounding more close to the harmonica (Johnson 2011, 162).

This new sound was now sought out by all the bands as the term "sweet pan" became synonymous with the new sounding pan tuned with this "harmonics" concept. Obviously, most of the pan tuners who understood this innovation, began upgrading their skills to "tune the pan with harmonics." Indeed, this was another important step in steelpan development. Bertie Marshall also dabbled in electronics as another experimental step in steelpan innovation. It may have been that same push and desire for more with the pan, and his dare to jump out of the box and beyond. It was again a form of ingenuity to want to get more with less, the concept of amplification of the pans. In my youth days, growing up in Trinidad, I recall the sight and sound of Hilanders on carnival days. They came down the streets of Port of Spain, with their amplified lead pans on the main float and speakers attached. The sound was distinctly heard from afar. It was a brave attempt for the concept of amplification at that time, because of the practical low quality of the electronic equipment. Often time in local parlance the sound of the band was referred to as 'Chinee music'. Due to the low quality of sound even by the standards of that time, nevertheless, it was indeed a bold challenge to the status quo. It also highlighted Bertie's inherent ambition for creativity, but, this ambition was often met with awe and admiration from some and plain disrespect and envy from others. Unfortunately, it was still that time of the unwanted pan man's violence on the streets that Hilanders equipment were

destroyed in the mayhem. That may have signaled the end of that experiment. One wonders if this experiment was not met with such aggression, what might have been the outcome in modern times with the much better electronic equipment of today. As previously mentioned Tripoli steelband, in the very earlier times, also did some experimentation with electronics. For the most part this idea of amplification has been abandoned in the Trinidad psyche. Steelbands were still making tours internationally and the panorama competition concept was growing and became a vehicle for more experiments (Emrit 2017).

During the first seven years of Panorama competition in this decade, Lord Kitchener's calypsoes were the most popular with arrangers and were the choice of four Panorama winners in 1964, 1967, 1968, and 1969. In addition to the five winning steelbands listed below (North Stars, Cavaliers, Desperadoes, Harmonites, and Starlift), only five other steelbands finished among the top three during the seven years of Panorama competition in this decade: Dixieland; Hilanders; Sundowners; Tripoli; and West Side Symphony. (Emrit 2017)

3.5 Growth of the panorama, tuners, arrangers, bands, carnival fetes, parades, and recordings

Bertie Marshall would later move to Desperadoes where he was able to set the band on a memorable historic sound of the finest tuned pans in the land. Bertie explained that with Rudolph Charles at the helm he would definitely be able to continue further with his relentless pursuits of experiments. Rudolph Charles turned that pan tuning operation in Desperadoes into an unmatched era of experiments, innovations, and high quality pans. The group included Bertie Marshall, Lincoln Noel, Wallace Austin, and Rudolph Charles. This was a level of steelpan development that set the stage for many other practical steelpan advancements including many types of pans and accessories. This experiment with Desperadoes was a hall mark in steelpan development. The type of instruments that

came from this included, the quadrophonic pan, the 9-bass concept, the 12-bass concept and other experiments of the harmony pan, and the rocket pans. The chrome plating of the instruments was an innovation from Rudolph Charles, aided in defining the pan as a complete and well finished instrument. Another example of development is taking a look at the music and hence the arrangers. At this time in the sixties, there were already competitions where many of the bands were active participants. There was the Steelpan Music Festival where Western Art Music (WAM) "Classics" was the principle genre. There was the unofficial "Bomb" competition and the best beating steel band for the carnival parade. Finally came the onset of the panorama competitions beginning from 1963. Most of the participating bands and their arrangers were: Anthony Williams with North Stars; Curtis Pierre with Dixieland; Bobby Mohamed with Cavaliers; Beverly Griffith with Desperadoes; Ray Holman with Starlift; Tommy Crichlow with Tripoli; Bertie Marshall with Hilanders; Earl Rodney with Clive Bradley making his debut with Desperadoes in 1968 with Sparrow's "Mr. Walker" and won the panorama with Lord Kitchener's "Margi" in 1970 (Appendix A14). Apart from the "classics" and panorama calypso songs, a favorite repertoire on steelpan was American popular music and Ray Holman was very dominant in this area. He arranged "I Feel Pretty" from the famous musical *West Side Story* and this became an iconic song. In the 1960's, steelbands in Trinidad also played a major role in the carnival parade as masqueraders and the concept of 'playing mas' was professionally executed by many bands. A steelband won the coveted best band for the 1965 carnival season with the title "Band of the Year." Silver Stars, the only steelband to ever win this title, did so with a portrayal of Gulliver's Travel

that was a spectacular display of art, music, and culture. Russell Charter was responsible for the creative presentation of this portrayal.

We got the ovation going through there. I can hear it now. Then when we slid out of there it was unanimous we did well. Again, with nice music going down. Then people came and said, George Bailey looking for you. I wonder what I do this man. He caught up with me and he speaks very quietly. He say. All you looking good, all you could win, but everybody telling us we look good. When we see the paper. Russell Charter lead Silver Stars to the biggest upset in carnival history. (Johnson 2011, 134)

For the most part, steelbands always opted to play the simple “sailor mas” even to this present-day. Top bands like All Stars and Invaders maintain the masquerade as sailor bands. Steelband music was the dominant force throughout the 1960’s and were prominent for the parades from “j’ouvert morning” throughout carnival Monday, Tuesday, and the “last lap” at the end of carnival on Tuesday night. A new phenomenon for the carnival season was the number of dances and “fetes” in which steelbands were given the opportunity to participate. In the sixties leading to the seventies, steelbands were a normal part of the party line in all of the fetes and dances. On any given time in the season, it was quite normal for steelband groups to have some gigs in more than one location at the same time. Bands would be required to split their group in two teams, and sometimes three, in order to participate in the many events that were available for the steelbands. This was a healthy time for steelband music and the steelbands stepped up by learning a large repertoire for the season. They needed music to play in the fetes and dances, for the road, and the street parade. They also had to learn their “bomb” tune, and of course the panorama song. This is such a contrast to the present day where the majority of bands learn only the panorama song and bands no longer get gigs in the fetes and dances. In Trinidad the period of the late sixties leading into the seventies was considered a golden

era. Improved instruments, bands, arrangers, and players, plus sponsorship aided and influenced the direction of the entire movement. Pan-tuners were able to experiment and innovate and bands grew in size and numbers, with more elaborate designs for their racks to enable easier mobility for the panorama competition and for the street parade. The arrangers produced and delivered a higher quality of musical material and players became more proficient as they began moving around to other bands. The panorama competition became the most demanding event for the entire steelband movement. However, there was an unforeseen danger with the panorama competition becoming the most dominant force in steelpan development.

Defining and re-defining the panorama competition is an important exercise as regard the effect that it placed on the general steelband movement. In the beginning of its inception in 1963, it represented many things. It was an opportunity for the pan movement to present a formal event designed for the steelbands. It was also an idea of getting the steelbands to compete in a central location in a musical event. The concept was to provide an outlet for musical expression at the same time to curb the violence of steelbands clash and gang wars. The government gradually began investing more money into the panorama concept. This together with the sponsorship program from large corporations aided in pushing the development of the idea. For the steelbands it was the main event to strive towards. The ability to bring your band to the panorama competition was a dream and challenge for all who wanted to participate. It was the de facto main event for any steelband group. Every band wanted to get to the “bull track,” “the drag,” the “big yard,” the “Grand Savannah.” These were terms used for the panorama event held at the Queen’s

Park Savannah in Port of Spain. This is expressed by many individuals and bands. In Stuempfle's account in his book Melville Bryan recalls the following:

It was important, very important...If you were a steelband at all, you had to go in. When you went, you were a steelband. And you gained a popularity there, Your standard was judged at the panorama shows.... The dream was--- every steelbandsman wanted to go to the Big Yard (the Queen's Park Savannah). This was the measure of his skill, his ability. (Stuempfle 1995, 159-160)

The emphasis of the importance of this event was captured by many authors. This in itself added to the deep significance of what the panorama meant to all participants. It engaged not only the participants, but the entire country to some degree. From 1963, it became the most talked about show regarding the steelbands. This continues to the present day. I recall my personal experience of my first panorama competition with my village band in 1971. The excitement and anticipation of being a part of it was euphoric. This is a view from Kendall Lewis as stated by Stuempfle.

Even from the beginning, Panorama was the steelbands' time to gallery (show off). Because the whole focus was on steelband. So, even at the beginning it was popular. But commercially it wasn't that popular. In other words not much business had got involved in it.... It started to grow. Because it started to grow in 1963, just one year after independence, when the country really started to grow as an independent country. And things started to open up in Trinidad. So panorama grew with the nation, then, every year the nation is one year. Panorama would be one year too. (Stuempfle 1995, 160)

Author Cy Grant expresses his reaction to first witnessing of a panorama setting in Trinidad. He explains this phenomenon with a description of his first experience. The scenario in a pan yard is presented in a frenzied attempt to express the feelings and emotions he felt at that live performance. This was only a rehearsal session in preparation for the main event yet this was his reaction.

One hundred and twenty pannists beating steel is an awesome sight and the sound is enormous. It grabs hold of your senses, battering you, but at the same time liberating you. It is different from any other form of music making I have ever experienced in the sheer volume of sound. The dexterity and virtuosity of the players, their intense concentration and involvement. It is as if a giant sorcerer's apprentice were hovering over the pan yards conjuring up some other worldly symphonic brew of clashing sounds, strident chromatic scales interspersed with frenetic interlocking polyrhythms. (Grant 1999, 59)

There are many ideas and concepts about the panorama competition and its system of construct. It is mentioned in books, and there are now numerous theses and dissertations concerning the construct of the panorama song and what it takes to put it together. Dudley gives his view:

Panorama is a holistic experience that includes drama, movement, display, intertextual references. And audience reactions. Sound is central to this experience, but it is not enough by itself to guarantee a transcendent performance; especially since the Panorama stage, raised an open on all sides is not the best acoustic environment for the steelband. Indeed many people feel that they can better appreciate the music listening in the pan yard or at the track, where they stand close to or even inside the band and where the time is sometimes run at a slower tempo that favors the intricacies of the background and inside parts. Many of the beautiful details that steelband arrangers put into their music are best appreciated in this most intimate and relaxed environment; but arrangers also know that ultimately they succeed or fail on the Panorama stage, where different modes of listening and participation prevail. To be successful a Panorama arrangement must give play to the kinds of expressivity and participation that link performers and audience in a festive collectivity. I analyze these festive performance modes here in relation to the overlapping aesthetics of *drama, rivalry, song interpretation and excitement*. (Dudley 2008, 181)

The musical arrangement and construct of the panorama competition has evolved from its initial inception. Steelpan arrangers realized that the panorama competition demanded a higher standard of music. This was different from the music that steelbands played in fetes and on the streets for the parades. In the early stages there was a limited amount of theoretical music that was known by arrangers. Therefore, bands incorporated

assistance from known musicians in other fields and genres. Imitation, emulation, “lifting and stealing” are well known characteristics in the musical jargon that musicians knowingly and un-knowingly participate in. Like in jazz music, taking and learning from other musicians was a natural part of growth and development. Anthony Williams of North Stars was the first to comprehend this need for a higher musical arrangement of the chosen song to perform. He thereby started utilizing musical tools and began the construct of what a panorama arrangement should be. At this stage, Williams was way ahead of the pack and he was rewarded with back to back victories. He won the first two panorama competitions and established a format for this event that was now copied emulated and then improvised on.

It was Anthony Williams of North Stars who led the way by creating more complex introductions for calypsos, by utilizing key modulations, and by experimenting with arpeggios. North Stars won the first panorama with an arrangement of a calypso by Sparrow (“Dan Is The Man In The Van”) and the second with a Kitchener Calypso (“Mama Did Is Mas”). Then Holman and Beverly Griffith of Desperadoes developed the use of theme and variation structures for calypsos, while Bobby Mohamed of Cavaliers worked with hard-driving rhythms in the bass section and Earl Rodney of Harmonites incorporated Latin Rhythms. Among the Panorama masterpieces of the 1960’s were Mohamed’s arrangement of “Melody Mas,” Griffith’s rendition of “Obeah Wedding” (‘Melda’), Rodney’s version of Kitchener’s “The Wrecker” and Holman’s arrangement of Kitchener’s “The Bull.” (Stuempfle 1995, 160-161)

As the panorama competition began growing in popularity and musical construct, so too, were the bands growing in numbers surpassing 100 players. This was observed by sponsors who saw business opportunities from the large crowds that began supporting the event. The sponsors invested more into the bands as they saw beneficial returns from advertising and publicity. This was good for the bands that acquired sponsorship, they benefitted and grew. The bands that acquired no sponsorship were at an obvious disadvantage to grow and develop. For the sponsored bands they quickly developed their

product in appearance, tone, and quality of music. They wanted to impress their sponsors. The best way was to have your band get to the top spots of the competition. Bands improved their appearance with decorated racks and attire. Pan tuners were paid retainer fees to maintain and upgrade the instruments. Arrangers became sought after bards when they could deliver the best results for the competition. Stuempfle describes this situation of the impact of sponsorship on the Panorama as expressed by Selwyn Tarradath.

The Panorama show has become a monster which threatens to devour the entire steelband movement from which it was conceived. The popularity of the Panorama competition encouraged the steelband sponsors to use it as one of their main vehicles for promotion and advertising. Most of the annual budget was directed in this area to the neglect of others. The better the band did in the competition the more mileage for the sponsors, so no effort was spared to obtain good results. Tuners and arrangers were paid retainers' fees and as each band strived to keep an edge, the price of instruments sky-rocketed as did arrangers' fee. (Stuempfle 1995, 161)

As the decade of the sixties were ending, the aspirations for the pan movement in Trinidad were high. The steelpan movement was entering an era of certainty and growth. Many refer to this time as the golden age of pan. The steelbands were dominating the fetes and parties, the steelbands were dominating the street parades. The "Bomb" competition was still effectively strong and the panorama competition was growing in size and value. The tonal quality of the pans were improving and the music was literally now reaching and attracting more people. An important development at this time was also the recordings of steelband music. Many bands were pushing to have a recorded album. This was a significant step in musicality, as bands started producing more and more albums. With this new form of promotions, it became a natural occurrence to have bands display their albums wherever they performed. Needless to say, that this brought in extra revenue for

the bands. But, it also galvanized a certain sense of pride that a steelband would now have its albums for sale on display. This was a step -up for the steelband movement and for the bands who were able to capitalize on this area of steelpan development. The names of steelbands were always a point of some interest. In the original days they were often time copied from the American culture of movies. However, this changed as the types of personnel who entered the pan movement also changed. Some bands chose to add an interesting prefix to their names, perhaps it was meant to “tame” the overt nature of the band or simply add a feel. The term “Gay” was added to groups like Desperadoes. “Gay Desperadoes” was now the name with the appropriated sponsors name ever present displaying the entire moniker as “WITCO Gay Desperadoes.” Other bands include “Gay Crescendos,” “Gay Flamingoes,” “Gay Hoytonians,” to name a few. Eventually this became problematic as the word “gay” was appropriated by the “gay community.” Bands no longer wanted to be identified with this moniker and uneventfully, simply dropped the prefix “Gay.” This was no longer an acceptable norm as it reflected a change in attitude, language, and perceptions and the steelband movement adjusted to this situation.

In the late sixties, there was also an emergence of qualified younger players, Othelo Mollineau was among them, and he would move on to become a prolific jazz musician who eventually played along with top names like Jaco Pastorius. A young Robert Greenidge and Len “Boogsie” Sharpe were about to begin making waves with their high class level of steelpan playing. Notwithstanding, their budding arranging abilities about to come into play. The involvement of everyone with steelband activities in Trinidad and Tobago, was a gradual process of acceptance. The pan yards were still at this time not readily open and available to everyone. Some “taboo” against decent boys and

girls getting involved with steelpan activities were still lingering around. I can draw an example from my personal case, where I grew up in a village full of steelband activities, literally in my grandmother's backyard. Later the village band, Flamingoes moved higher up in the village, directly at the side of my mother's home. But, I was only allowed to be officially in the band from age sixteen. However, some cousins and I would sneak in the pan yard a couple years prior to me joining the band. This would occur at the times when the bigger guys were not around. In 1968 I recall two of the first songs that I learnt were "Carnival in 68" arranged by Tyrone Noriega, and "Pops Medley" a partial composition from Kenrick Headley. I was attending the affluent high school "Abbey School" of Mount St. Benedict previously mentioned. The school was run by priests of the Benedictine order, with the most of them coming from Holland at that time. I recall recording on an album with Flamingoes that very year. However, my uncle Bob Theroulde advised that my picture not be on the album cover as he imagined a negative result if the priests saw the album picture with me in the group. This was unbelievable ignorance of the time in all aspects, even from me as a young man accepting that as a norm. But this actually happened around that time. Nevertheless, for the following albums in the next three years, I was uninhibited with full participation. Incidentally, there were no girls in the band which puts into perspective, the concept that decent boys and girls were not yet, a fully acceptable norm in steelpan development at this time. My years as a player with Flamingoes were from 1968 until 1973 when I migrated to Canada (Appendix A18). In those five years of involvement with steelpan activities in Trinidad, I rose to the level of section leader of the alto section (double seconds). When I looked around in the band, I was flanked by at least fifteen very close relatives (brothers and cousins) such was the

nature of the village band (Appendix A18). This was the same band that my uncle initiated in the 1957/1958 carnival season. I experienced learning from three arrangers who were part of the band, Tyrone Noriega, Kenrick Headley and William "Bendix" Cumberbatch. The principal pan tuner was Wallace Austin (Appendix A36). Leo Coker also made a great contribution in pan tuning to the band in this era. Flamingoes at that time was considered one of the best dance bands, as they were a major part of fetes and parties. Notwithstanding, they were one of the best recording bands. However, the band Flamingoes, at this stage, in 1968, 1969 and 1970 was not yet a "road band" only a "stage side." This also meant that the band never took part in the famous panorama competition. The desire to participate in the panorama competition and play in the J'ouvert and on the road was relentless, especially for younger players. Every carnival season became a point of contention for the youth of the band who wanted full participation. 1970 was a boiling point of desires. Carnival Sunday night was the biggest fete, and this fete continued on to the J'ouvert parade which began after the fete at 4 AM on the carnival Monday morning. It was a disappointing 1970 Carnival Sunday night at the annual Guardian Fete on Wrightson Road when the band was not able to "go on the road for J'ouvert." The band had no racks to participate in the parade. The resolve was that the band vowed to participate the following year 1971. From the "Ash Wednesday," the day after the carnival season of 1970, the entire village and band began preparations, for the eventual full participation in the carnival season of 1971. The band found a great vehicle to make this possible, sponsorship. The leadership at this time was Carlos Rose as leader, Amin Mohamed as manager, and my uncle Bob Theroulde as the secretary. The arrangers at the time were Tyrone Noriega and Bendix Cumberbatch since Kenrick Headley was on the

famous tour with Tripoli and Liberace. These were the main men behind the move that saw Flamingoes able to secure the sponsorship of Lever Brothers. Most of the bands during this period were finding some form of sponsorship and everyone was looking for big names and big brand sponsorship which was all good for steelpan development. The sixties decade ended up in a very positive mode, with new innovations in pan, bringing the instrument to near perfection. The music from arrangers were raising the bars of professionalism. The sponsorship program of steelbands were putting steelbands in a much better light in their developing as they were now able to attain some autonomy with the financial assistance. The government was now offering more assistance to the steelband movement and social acceptance was now at a zenith. The steelbands were now a prominent entity for fetes, dances, and any type of social engagement. The violence which plagued the steelband movement, was almost non-existent. It was a good way to end that decade of change.

3.6 Review of the sixties, the effects, calypsonians and the "road march"

The 1960's were the decade of worldwide protests, race riots and demonstrations. Everyone was demanding that their voices be heard. America was filled with its civil rights coming to a head. Leaders like Martin Luther King and Malcolm X were making waves with their different styles of protests. Montreal, Canada was subjected to a race related protest movement that would eventually engulf many Caribbean nations, Trinidad being one of them. The dissatisfactions of students at the Sir George Williams University in Montreal resulted in a protest. Their concerns were the alleged prejudiced grading of students of the black and Caribbean communities. This protest resulted in a sit-in and occupying of the computer science centre at the university. The students were accused of

many things including damage of property. The Canadian government sought compensation from the host countries of the students involved. Universities in the Caribbean stood in solidarity with the students at Sir George Williams University in Montreal. The students at the University of the West Indies (UWI) campus in St. Augustine, Trinidad responded by staging a protest in Trinidad. They blocked the entrance of a Canadian delegation to the UWI. From this protest a movement would be spawned and would set the path for related protest activities. The National Joint Action Committee (NJAC), a political, social entity came into existence. The leader was a university student named Geddes Granger and, in a short space of time, this organization became a force that challenged the government and the status quo of Trinidad. At the end of the decade, the Black Power Movement, a full protest movement was enacted and operational and Trinidad's social construct was challenged for the first time. The old norms of colonialism which affected everyday lives and were taken for granted were now exposed. It revealed that African descent people were deprived and prejudiced against in certain jobs. A simple job as a bank teller was disproportionately set against the African descent people. Prejudices were found to exist in many areas of the social construct. The Black Power Movement sought to champion these and similar causes thus becoming the enemy of the government. This would ultimately have an impact on the steelband movement. The Prime Minister, Dr. Eric Williams, could not afford for this protest to turn into a revolution. A strong political arm was used in attempting to crush the movement.

Eric Williams, a wily politician, who had previously used the steelband movement to advance his political ambitions was also in the forefront in assisting the movement with sponsorship. The area known as Laventille with its predominantly African descent

population, was sometimes used as a prize or a pawn in the political game. Williams sought to engage the pan movement again. The National Association of Trinidad and Tobago Steelbandmen (NATTS) was founded in 1963 with George Goddard as leader. This came into being after a suggestion from Eric Williams, that the pan men get better organized. However, George Goddard appeared more sympathetic to Geddes Granger the head of NJAC party and the Black Power Movement. These opposite views between the Prime Minister of Trinidad & Tobago and the president of NATTS were the challenges the country and the steelband movement were facing at the end of this decade. Decidedly, Williams removed Goddard from his government appointed post and set the stage for a battle with the steelband movement. Rudolph Charles, Desperadoes steelband, and Laventille had some type of affiliation with the Eric Williams government. This came into play as he, Williams tried to incorporate Desperadoes and Laventille into this power play of influence. However, the pan movement was more supportive of the Black Power Movement by sheer numbers of its membership and was not going to allow itself to be bogged down with politics.

New inventions and innovations in many areas were still on-going operations. In 1969, Ray Holman, still with his youthful and modern approach to arranging music for the pans, changed the style of strumming to a “three note jazzy strum” and also emphasized playing more popular music that the entire generation could easily identify. It was also the coming of age of some prolific pan tuners including the likes of Wallace Austin, Allan Gervais, Lincoln Noel, Rudolph Charles, and Bertie Marshall. The 1963 panorama competition became the main event for steelbands and provided the great opportunity for growth. This was manifested in a number of developments, including the innovations in

pan making, the styles of music arrangements, the mobility of the bands, the national and international recognition of the steelpan, and in the structure of the steelband movement itself. The panorama competition was also very helpful to the calypsonians as an obvious outlet for calypsonians to have steelbands play their music (Emrit 2017). Steelbands were at a very high peak at this time and were the dominating force during the carnival season. Another factor at this point was that there were no “D.J.’s” with loud amplified music to blasts the oppositions into oblivion. Of course the principal players in the calypso field at this time were the two twin towers of calypso greats. Their dominance is recorded in the persona of their sobriquets “Mighty Sparrow” and “Lord Kitchener.”

During the first seven years of Panorama competition in this decade, Lord Kitchener's calypsoes were the most popular with arrangers and were the choice of four Panorama winners in 1964, 1967, 1968, and 1969. In addition to the five winning steelbands listed below (North Stars, Cavaliers, Desperadoes, Harmonites, and Starlift), only five other steelbands finished among the top three during the seven years of Panorama competition in this decade: Dixieland; Hilanders; Sundowners; Tripoli; and West Side Symphony (Emrit 2017).

The pan was also dominating the road and thereby responsible for playing the “Road March.” This was another competition on carnival days where the most played song on the road, would be considered the “Road March.” There was a prize for this coveted title and this provided an obvious relationship with calypsonians and the pan movement. The calypsonians sought the assistance of bands to have their songs played. The end of the tumultuous sixties saw the government and the pan movement no longer at loggerheads. The Black Power movement would dominate the next decade but the pan movement continued with innovations and hope for the future.

Chapter 4: Summation of Social Musical History

4.1 The unfolding of the history, post emancipation, celebrations, banning of the drum, forerunners to the steel drum, innovations in development, some acceptance

This summary confirms that the statement “pan, still on the move” holds true, as the highlights of a chronological account of steelpan development continue to chart a quest for more answers and solutions. The various aspects of pan growth and development are mentioned as they appear since its inception and they form the pillars of the narrative. The references of these aspects include the innovation in the manufacture of the instrument; the players and bands; the music; the social acceptance; politics foe or ally; economics; education; and the effect of diffusion. Also included are the two streams of development as represented by pan in the community and in the academy. These areas have become more prominent as steelpan spreads around the globe. I will highlight the areas chronologically through-out the decades while outlining the pros and cons of steelpan development as they occurred.

Why was it necessary to have pan music and musical instruments? The simple answer is “for celebrations.” This goes back to emancipation when skin drums were still allowed in Trinidad (1834-1838) and were a major part of the celebrations. It was also a re-enactment of an event during the colonial period of enslavement of the African and their descendants. The re-enactment was called “Canboulay” (canne-brulee). The emancipation celebrations and the Mardi Gras carnival celebrations were now merged. The skin drum was still a major player up to the 1880’s when it was banned by the colonial government of the day. Other forms of musicking continued for the celebrations, but the absence of the rhythmic skin drums was telling. I argue that it may have been the major factor or catalyst for the search and beginnings of some other “drum.” The search

was of a rebellious nature to replace that missing rhythmic drum. This led to the first fore-runner of the steelpan, the tamboo bamboo bands and their era. In this period of development, the innovators were challenging the government with a form of psychological warfare as they pushed the boundaries of what constitutes a drum. The raw material of the bamboo plant was a natural part of the local landscape and the concept of the “bamboo drum” evolved. Tambour, the French word for drum, helped generate the colloquial phrase “tamboo bamboo.” But the innovators and collective minds were already in the developmental mode as the rhythmic tamboo bamboo bands evolved to enhanced sounds produced by metallic objects which were also a part of the landscape. What followed was a collective natural encounter with the second fore-runner to the steelpan, the “iron band.” This was made available from any metallic object that produced a sound. As in most cases, the younger generation were usually the movers and shakers. They were the ones to force the change-over from the tamboo bamboo bands to the iron bands. What was noticeable about this period was the rapid pace of development from the rhythmic iron bands to the first musical “steel band.” If one considers the beginning of World War II as 1939 to the VE Day and VJ Day celebrations of 1945 this makes up only a six-year period. However, this era witnessed a major transition. This came from the rhythm bands of “dustbins and garbage cans”, to the musical steelpan “ping pongs” and accompanying instruments. Up until this time, the physical instrument was in its embryonic innovative state of development. The social status was in a rut, as the adherents were looked down upon by society as outcasts. But, the first acknowledgement of acceptance came with a smile, a nod, a wink, and a “pass.” This was acknowledged by the authorities, when the first “steelbands” came out to celebrate the end of the war in 1945. The first positive

development and acceptance of the “pan” and the “pan man” occurred. This served the purpose as there was a need to celebrate something, in this case, the end of the war.

The next phase would begin from this point, with some positivity. There was now a degree of acceptance of its adherents and the new instruments that formed the steelband. But, this acceptance was limited to specific times, notably the carnival season, where these types of activities would be tolerated and accepted. Nevertheless, the innovators of pan never stopped to consider acknowledgements, they simply continued with their innovations. The musical journey began with a convex single pan, with four or five notes. This was held with one hand and played with a stick with the other. The bugle was a popular instrument at that time and there may have been some imitation and emulation of sounds. This evolved to a concave diatonic pan, held with a strap around the neck, playable with two hands. This development of “pan round the neck” as some historians have pointed out, may well have been an adaptation of the local tassa drummers of the “East Indian Communities” who celebrate “Hosay” in Trinidad. They always carried their tassa drums strapped around them giving the ability of using both their hands to play the drums (Appendix A13). However, the concept for the beginnings of this development, was based on mobility. The need to be mobile for the parades was essential. As the inventions of more accompanying instruments became a major part of the development, another system of mobility had to be developed. The pans were now bigger and are now of combined drums of two and three and more. Pan around the neck was no longer a feasible option because of its impracticality. Another major boost for the steelpan development came as early as six years after the World War II. This development affected the concept of the instrument. However, it also affected all that would be affiliated with the

instrument, the individuals, the bands, the movement, the people, and the government. It also symbolized the diffusion and the beginnings of the spread of the steelpan culture.

4.2 Effects of the first steelpan tour to England 1951, the struggle of the panman's innovative development against self-violence and public acceptance

In 1951, the successful tour of the professional Trinidad steelband TASPO to the Festival of Britain in England, achieved the unthinkable of pan at that time. The steelband with its remarkable performance exhibited by TASPO, easily gained acceptance in England, the seat of colonial power. This acceptance was still denied in its place of origin but, the event raised the social consciousness concerning the stigma of the pan and its adherents. "If the pan could be accepted in England, why not in Trinidad where it was invented?" This event obviously forced Trinidadians to take another look at their new invention, the steelpan and the "simple illiterate" people who invented it. But much more was achieved beyond some sort of social justice for adherents. The transition and change from diatonic to chromatic instruments produced a complete family of twelve-tone instruments, tuned in equal temperament, and rendering the major 'voice ranges' of soprano, alto, tenor, and bass (SATB). This was the greatest achievement of the pan collective at that time. The ability of the pan community, all the leaders and tuners to come together, under a national movement was essential. The first steelband organization formed a national group and provided the adequate instruments by inventing them. They then skillfully produced the music on those instruments for a successful international tour, which was a major step in steelpan development. The noted government participation or contribution in support of this venture was zero as Trinidad, a colony of Great Britain, still

had a colonial government in power. Pan development proved an exercise in cultural nationalism as masses of the people were responsible for supporting and promoting this endeavor. The next phase throughout the decade of the fifties was based on further development of the instruments, the steelbands and the music. Contrasting the progressive push in innovation was the social fall back of the stigma of the pan man's violence, the gang wars, and the ever notorious "Steelbands Clashes." Nevertheless, providing acceptable music, was ever the quest of the participating adherents and this came in the form of playing all types of recognizable music, popular and classical. From the onset, the steelpan would not allow itself to be boxed-in with one genre of music. The "Bomb" competition mimicked playing of "classical" music in calypso feel but there were also steelband festivals which highlighted the playing of European classical music. The criticism of foreign adjudicators regarding tonal quality, or lack of clear tonality, forced the pan tuners to re-focus and they concentrated on developing better sounding instruments. The concentration on isolation of the individual notes and clearer octaves created a cleaner ringing sound for the instrument. But, recognition and acceptance would come in incremental steps as the years turned to decades. Meanwhile the steelpan continued spreading to other Caribbean islands and arriving in Canada (Montreal and Toronto) in the early to mid-fifties and earlier in New York in the USA. The patterns of diffusion are all quite similar. Trinidadians migrate with their instruments to these places. They then put together group and begin a process of community steelpan development. Canadian pioneers include Trinidadians Bert Boldon of Montreal, Selwyn Gomes of Toronto, and Wilson Moon of Vancouver. In USA, pioneers include Trinidadians Rudy King of New York, and Kim Loy Wong. American Pete Seeger (Appendix A12) is also

considered as a pioneer in this vein and later on American Murray Narell (Appendix A15) as well as Ellie Mannette (Appendix A16) who also did pioneering works in the USA.

4.3 Independence, panorama, pan innovations, steelband tours, significance of pan at the Montreal Expo '67 World's Fair

Trinidad and Tobago's independence from England in 1962 was another major turning point, as culture became an important focus for the new-found government and country. "The pan," like other forms of cultural expression, was a prime recipient of needed cultural upgrades. One progressive state of steelpan development came about with the initiation of a new steelband organization The National Association of Trinidad and Tobago Steelbandmen (NATTS). This organization was the principal player in establishing the national steelband "panorama competition" in 1963. The panorama competition would prove to be the catalyst, for all things that are related to the steelpan, for decades to come. The panorama competition amongst other things, propelled greater innovations of the instruments. This included, the tonal clarity of the steelpan instruments, and new types of pans which extended the ranges of the instruments. Mobility, to accommodate playing on the street parades and the panorama competitions, proved to be a consistent factor for innovative development. Along with this, came the monumental arrangements of panorama songs that will go down in the annals of "panorama classics." All along these developments of the instruments rose prominent pan tuners who became legendary in their field. There are many, but I mention a few only because of the type of changes that they brought or what they represented during the formative period of pan. Anthony Williams, Ellie Mannette, Neville Jules, Allan Gervais, Bertie Marshall, and Rudolph Charles. Today a new breed of local pan tuners are led by the likes of Desmond

“Mappo” Richardson, not to mention that Birch Kellman is still a major player. Likewise, notable panorama arrangers of which there are many but a few to mention would include, Clive Bradley, Jit Samaroo, Ray Holman, Len “Boogsie” Sharpe, Leon “Smooth” Edwards. Today also there are a new breed of younger arrangers led by Duvone Stewart and they are also making their mark.

The 1960's era, was the beginning of diversity, and greater migration to North America due to changes of immigration laws. After independence in 1962, Trinidad steelbands took up the role of ambassadors, as steelband tours around the world became a regular phenomenon. North America was the most visited continent by steelband groups from Trinidad and Tobago. As the steelpan began its spread across the cities of USA and Canada in the 1960's, two areas of steelpan development became apparent. The Trinidad and Tobago migrants introduced their stream into their communities, and for the most part carried on with the inherent traditions of how it was done in Trinidad. The community type steelpan groups with different variations of sizes and purposes, (“gigging” group vs gospel and church-based groups) catered to entertainment events in the communities. The carnival and panorama type groups, much larger by size catered for the events that fall around the carnival season. These include parades, concerts, shows and the panorama competition. The other area of steelpan development that was responsible for growth was education. This is in reference to the steelpans in the public and private schools. This type of development was initiated with an early concept, by some of the first group of people who physically and practically brought the steelpan to North America. Including Trinidadian Rudy King and the likes of American Pete Seeger in the 1950's. Seeger saw the steelpan group as a way and means to assist with keeping kids off the streets. His

involvement with Trinidadian Kim Loy Wong made it possible. Kim Loy Wong after migrating to the USA promoted steelbands in schools. Other Americans like Murray Narrell father of Andy and Jeff Narell were also instrumental in establishing the steelpan culture into American culture (Appendix A15). The emphasis was working with deprived kids. In the 1960's he engaged Trinidadian Ellie Mannette who was behind the push to make it possible. By 1990, Ellie Mannette would continue working in universities, notably West Virginia where he established a steelpan tuning program and would be recognized and honored by the American government (Appendix A16). The sixties saw some major transformation of recognition and acknowledgement of the steelpan in North America. The Toronto "Caribana" carnival established in 1967 where the steelbands played a prominent role has been Canada's largest weekend festival since its inception. The Montreal Expo'67 World's Fair in Canada served as a forum and world stage for marketing and promoting the steelband. The three steelband "ambassadors" groups that participated were well received. One of the groups, went on a tour of many cities and major music halls of the USA for some three years with the famous pianist Liberace. They were also, and still are the only steelband group to have ever been nominated for a Grammy Award which was in 1972 (Appendix A19).

4.4 Increased migration, Canadian schools, golden age of pan in Trinidad, innovative developments, recognitions, promotions, sponsorships

The greater migration of Caribbean people to North America in the 1970's brought a great flux of steelpan and steelpan enthusiasts to the forefront. Many local people started getting more involved in steelpan activities. In Toronto, the municipal government, the school board, and the steelpan community got together and introduced steelpan programs to the public schools. This happened in 1976 and signaled an historic move for steelpan development in Canada. Whatever was happening in Canada as far as the steelpan activities, a much bigger amount was happening in the USA. The seventies growth with greater migration was also aided and abetted by first and second generations of Caribbean peoples in North America. Meanwhile, in Trinidad, pan and politics were on a collision course with the onset of the Black Power Movement in 1970. The PNM government sought to use the steelband movement to help curb the black power movement, which was met with some resistance. Steelbands were enjoying maximum exposure as they were being employed in all of the carnival "fetes" dances and shows. Steelband groups were also doing lots of recordings and the tours to different countries were happening quite frequently for some bands. Notably, new innovations in pan tuning were coming to the forefront. The search for a better sounding instrument led pan tuner Bertie Marshall to delve in to the concept of harmonics. This is basically getting the pans to be tuned in line with the Harmonic (Overtone) Series. Bertie claimed that he discovered this "sound" while he was blowing his harmonica. He wondered about the different sounds he heard, it was the harmonics that he was now beginning to identify. He began hearing other notes besides the fundamental and the octave. He heard the fifth which is the third partial and began adjusting his tuning. Eventually his persistent work came to fruition and today all

steelpan tuning follows this format tuning with the harmonics concept. Allan Gervais was known to have gotten into this type of pan tuning before his untimely passing. However, Bertie Marshall is the one credited for introducing the harmonic tuning concept. This is a milestone in steelpan development in Trinidad's history. Rudolph Charles was the acknowledged innovative pan tuner and was responsible for introducing a range of new basses including the "nine bass" and "twelve bass" using nine and twelve drums. Other innovations include the "quadrophonic pan," the "rocket pan," and the "harmony pan." He was also instrumental in getting the pans chrome-plated which is now a standard in pan making. In the seventies, many would argue that this was the "golden age" of pan. Pan ruled the streets for the carnival parades. Pan ruled the way for the carnival fetes and shows. Bands had two and three events per night, during that period. I recall playing with Flamingoes and having the band split in three and four sections on some of the carnival weekends. However, all golden ages come to an end and the pan's golden age was no different.

4.5 In Trinidad, the decline of the steelpan in fetes, Act of Parliament, iconic songs, steelpans in accredited programs in Canadian schools

By the 1980's, pan had already begun losing its influence on the carnival scene. The onset of DJ music was the defining blow that totally devastated the steelbands dominance for the parades. The acoustic instruments even a 100-member steel band was no match for a truck filled with large speaker boxes. The steelbands were taking up too much room in the fetes and dances. They were also no match for the level of decibels from the contemporary bands. These were the bands which backed-up the calypsonians and

soca artistes. In addition, the DJ's also began dominating the fetes as they were able to deliver all of the current popular songs for the season. Trinidad and the pan movement was now on a course with history and the current changes with steelbands status for the carnival season. The result left the steelband movement with only their "Holy Grail" of the panorama competition. But, the effect of only the panorama competition would leave a devastating void in steelpan development in Trinidad and Tobago. This would continue on for the next decades. Without playing in the fetes and dances and no longer dominating the streets for the carnival parades, the repertoire of steelband groups became notoriously lacking any content. Unfortunately, some bands were reduced to learning one song, the panorama song. When this group did not qualify for the second round, they just dropped out of the scene until the following year. This scenario was an obvious set back in steelpan development and had to be addressed. The pan movement under new leadership of Arnim Smith reacted. They moved forward with a past concept of re-introducing the "steelband music festival" on a biennial basis. The steelband music festival is the concept of playing Western Art Music, referred to as "Classics." These and other measures were an attempt to compensate for the lack of opportunities for the steelbands and steelpan players in the 1980's. Perhaps, it is just the balance of nature, because as the steelbands lost prominence in the eighties and was relegated to the panorama competition, the eighties also produced some of the most iconic arrangements of panorama songs. *Woman on the Bass*, in 1980, by Leon "Smooth" Edwards and Trinidad All Stars. Fans and non-fans would argue that this was one of the best. *Party Tonight* in 1982 with Clive Bradley and Desperadoes, fans and non-fans alike thought that this song should have won the day. *Rebecca* in 1973 with Clive Bradley and Desperadoes, fans and non-fans would also argue that this was also one

of the best, or in the very top best songs ever in panorama history. The list continues throughout the decade. “Pan Night and Day” and iconic calypso by the grandmaster Aldwin Roberts the Lord Kitchener. This song won the first place with a tie by Renegades (arranger Jit Samaroo) and Desperadoes (arrangers Beverly Griffith and Robert Greenidge). “This Feeling Nice” in 1987 with Len “Boogsie” Sharpe and the Phase II Pan Groove, followed a repeated victory for Boogsie in 1988 with his composition and arrangement of “Woman is Boss.” These were some of the most rated and talked about songs for the decade and beyond. From the political angle in Trinidad and Tobago, the government of the day introduced a bill to declare a change of status for the steelband organization. “Pan Trinbago” was now incorporated by an Act of Parliament in 1986. But, what did that mean? Some saw it as a means of more recognition for the pan, some saw it as a means for more funding. Yet, others decried it as the usurping of some rights and that this act would de facto make Pan Trinbago an “arm of the government.” The uncertain future for pan in its place of origin was evident in the eighties as it grappled with the changes of time.

In Canada, in the eighties, the pan made “a big move” in education. Pan had been introduced in the Toronto public schools during the mid-seventies as extra curricula activities. Created to accommodate the growing migrant population from the Caribbean, pan became not only acceptable but very inclusive of all peoples. In 1986, the Ontario provincial government approved accreditation of the pan programs in the public-school system. This was undoubtedly another milestone in steelpan history. The contrast at this time, Trinidad only supported pan in some public schools and merely as extra curricula activities. In many other Canadian cities, Montreal for instance, new cultural activities

began which involved steelbands. The “Carifete” similar to Toronto’s “Caribana” was introduced and these Trinidad-style carnival celebrations included a parade. In Canada, the individual pan players took a prominent role in developing their personal musical skills with the result that a new brand of soloist emerged. Pan activities combined street and subway busking with pursuing higher education in music literacy and accepting solo gigs. Teaching steelpan programs in public schools became a steady source of employment for many and this type of activity was mirrored across many cities in the USA. Other forms of employment for individual panists included playing with contemporary bands which exposed the pan to different genres of music. The individual pan player in North America had taken a different approach to steelpan activities. This approach squarely established the individual as a musician rather than a “panman” (appendix A39). The pan musician in North America had educated himself/herself as an individual, becoming musically literate and engaged in marketing and promoting of self. In Trinidad, this concept was not propagated as the system involved a group setting (a steelband concept). The individual panist was suppressed for the group activity concept. This of course hindered individual growth, but such was the nature of a steelband group growing out of a village, a community, a group, or a band. Two different approaches to steelpan development resulted which grew from the natural progress of the steelpan in these two areas, the Caribbean and North America.

4.6 Growth and development in Canadian cities in the nineties

In the nineties, trends continued to further growth for the individual panist in North America. In Toronto Canada, the pan programs in the public schools were growing at such

a rapid pace that there were not enough qualified teachers to support the growth. A request was sent to Trinidad to import steelpan teachers. Salmon Cupid was one of the individuals from Trinidad who reacted and came to Toronto to teach pan in the schools. He remained in Canada and is now a prominent teacher and promoter of pan. He would later go on to innovate his electronic pan (E-pan), a synthesizer, shaped in the form of a steelpan. More steelpan development in Canada occurred when I introduced steelpan programs in the public schools of Montreal in 1991. These programs continue to this present day but their limitations are due to several factors that are beyond the control of the pan program administrators. Politics and the ever-continuing linguistic battles of French and English affect all areas of development. The pan program is one of the constricted programs because of its English background in a French dominated system. In contrast to the situation in Toronto, the school board in Montreal never fully got involved in the initiation of the pan programs in the schools. It was an initiative by the individual schools which opted to have the program in their respective schools. As a result there was never a budget for steelpans from the school board. It was up to the individual schools to establish and find their budget. This, in my opinion, limited the program since its inception. After some twenty eight years there is still no defined budget. Pan has however, become a fixture in the public schools and continues to the point that the school board often engages the steelpan groups for their events. This situation is not entirely tenable because it limits the growth of the program in the schools although as mentioned, the program continues. Other successful promotions of steelpan events in this decade included two annual steelpan festivals in Montreal. A summer "Pan Jamboree" and a winter "Classics to Calypso" served the Montreal public with a smorgasbord of steelpan activities. Meanwhile in

Toronto, the Caribana event was growing attracting up to a million people for the Caribana weekend. The pan was prominent in the parade, but a new event was about to emerge. In 1995, Cecil “Mugs” Clarke with his “Pan Trinbago Canada Inc.” organization, established Canada’s first ever panorama competition in Toronto. The event was won by “Salah & Family Steelpan Workshop.” Clarke’s organization continues to the present day, offering a different taste of Trinidad’s culture in steelpan development. The pan program in the public schools of Toronto initiated a week-long event that would bring the schools together. The Pan Fest was established and continues to the present day. The nineties also saw more of the development of the individual pan musician. I am one of the examples of a pan man taking up the opportunity to go to school and obtain a university music degree using the pan as the principal instrument. I completed my first degree at Concordia University in Montreal (1992-1995). My bachelor’s degree was in Jazz Specialization and it was the first time that the pan was used as a principal instrument to obtain a music degree in Canada. The steelpan program was also spreading to other major cities across the provinces of Canada. Steelpan busking on the streets and subways of Toronto became normal in the scheme of things, as well as the growth of small pockets of steelpan activities. Church groups, and smaller steelpan groups, trios, quartets etc. were in demand. In Montreal, my family group (Salah & Family Steelpan Workshop), performed at the Olympic stadium for a baseball game playing both Canadian and American anthems and entertained during the half time. This was followed by a five-day event at the Montreal International Jazz Festival in 1997. Steelpan visibility was becoming more prominent across the spectrum of Canadian lifestyles in the major cities. As always, whatever was going on in Canada with the steelpan was magnified in the USA.

In Trinidad, however, the stagnation of having only the panorama competition as the main event, was taking its toll on steelpan development. Up to this time there was only one category for the steelband groups participating in the annual panorama competition. With more than a hundred bands participating annually, the results were always the same and predictable. The big prominent bands were still occupying the top ten spots. This was a dilemma for any upcoming bands, it was impossible to break the deadlock that the big bands had on the competition. A solution had to be formed, but the situation would continue throughout the nineties, disenfranchising the majority of steelband groups. Attempts were made however, by non-profit organizations such as the “Pan in the schools” committee. This was in order to foster better pan programs in the schools. Trinidadians were beginning to look at the rest of the world and what was happening with the steelpan. Pan programs were legitimately introduced in Canadian and American schools. This increased the impetus to seriously address the similar situation of official pan programs in the public schools of Trinidad and Tobago. The country of origin was lagging behind in this form of steelpan development and something had to be done. But would the government act? That question would be addressed in the next decade. However, the nineties decade continued where the previous ended, with the panorama competition as the main event. New records were made in that decade. Jit Samaroo with Renegades won the competition five times including a triple consecutive victory in 1990, 1993, 1995, 1996, and 1997. This was the first band and arranger to accomplish this feat. New bands would also emerge as victors. Exodus won in 1992 with Savannah Party arranged by Pelham Goddard. Nutones won with David Rudder’s iconic “*High Mas*” in 1998, arranged by Clive Bradley. But one of the most controversial decision ever was for

the song that did not win the competition in 1990, *Pan by Storm* composed and arranged by Ken Philmore and the Fonclaire Steelband.

4.7 The millennium, electronic pans, upgrades to pan developments in Canadian cities, accelerated USA involvement, academic upgrades in Trinidad

In the new millennium, changes became key elements for diversity and growth. All things being said, the world has been transformed due to the rapid pace of technology. How has the steelpan movement kept up with this development? In one aspect we have seen the concept of electronic pans, Salmon Cupid's E-pan, and the Percussive Harmonic Instrument (PHI) from the University of the West Indies (UWI) Trinidad. As regard the many other aspects of steelpan development, the narrative shows in Canada, that there was a push to upgrade more of the existing cultural steelpan developments. The Caribbean communities in both Montreal and Toronto increased the production and innovation in developing the panorama competition concept. In Toronto, it had already begun in 1995, under the auspices of Cecil "Muggs" Clarke's organization, Pan Trinbago Canada Inc. The idea that this was a "personal" organization affected some of the bands from participating. A new organization was established under the name Ontario Steelpan Association (OSA), community based with a constitution. The model would resemble the organization Pan Trinbago in Trinidad as far as Canadian laws would allow. The first panorama by OSA began in 2004 and continues annually. In Montreal, the Pan Jamboree had been going on for a decade in the Caribbean community of Cote Des Neiges and presented by Pan Quebec a similar modeled steelpan organization. This organization and model was transformed to a new organization with a totally different concept. The "Montreal International Steelpan Festival." The model would be similar to the Montreal

International Jazz Festival, except that the steelpan event would include an international panorama competition. The event would also move out of the Caribbean community and into the heart of downtown Montreal. These two events in Toronto and Montreal continued growing and expanding for the first millennium decade. The development in academia, however, began experiencing stagnation in growth and key factors were being noticed and talked about. One of those being the lack of steelpan programs in Toronto's high schools as compared to the elementary schools. In Montreal, the problem still involves politics and language, as the School Boards are yet to officially embrace and engage the pan programs in a meaningful way. The steelpan programs exist only in the diminishing English sector. However, after more than twenty-five years since its inception it continues on.

In the new millennium, there is a strong effort for change in Trinidad, from both the academic as well as the cultural aspects of steelpan development. In 2005 the Ministry of Education introduced a concept to have steelpan programs in all schools of Trinidad and Tobago which was an evolutionary milestone for the steelpan in its historic development. A supply of pans to all the schools; qualified teachers to provide the necessary tutoring; a supply of steelpan textbooks and accessories were some of the basic necessities required. Trinidad is the land of steelpan and pan tuners, so there should have been no problem to acquire the instruments. Trinidad and Tobago has the most amount of pan players in the world per capita, so teachers should not be a problem. The government acquired my steelpan text book "Steelpan Playing with Theory" by Salah A. Wilson as one of the required text books. However, good intentions do not compensate for bad management, and the steelpan program in the public schools ran into problems. The

principal problem being the delivery of pans to the schools and accountability by those in charge. I had a vested interest in the success of the program. As a Trinidadian, an activist, and being aware of pans already established in Canadian schools, I was eager to see this activity come to fruition in a meaningful way in Trinidad schools. Notwithstanding that they were using my text book, I was very disappointed to know that there was not at that time a verifiable syllabus and a true concept to establish the programs in the school's general curriculum. My other point of concern was that there was no quality control. The pan tuners were given a task to make a certain number of instruments per school. But, there were no quality control points to establish and verify the quality and style of the pans. There should have been a specific room where the pans would be verified by experts before being allowed in the schools. The biggest problem however came about when the government was changed. The new government had a different plan and did not wish to continue the same route as the previous. The end result was a setback for the pan program at the end of the first decade in the new millennium.

The other aspect of steelpan development in Trinidad and Tobago was the focus on the panorama competition. A new management of Pan Trinbago under Patrick Arnold was determined to up lift the status of the organization and infuse new ideas and ways and means. A new concept of the panorama competition would come into effect in 2004. There would be categories and zones, the categories would include Large Bands (120 players), Medium Bands (80 players) and Small Bands (60 players). Zones would be referred to as East, South, North and Tobago. Single pan bands (formerly "Pan round the neck") were also given considerations. This action meant more funding and bigger distributions of the funds and an initiative to support each pan player with a stipend was

also introduced. The panorama competition continued to produce iconic music during the decade. Clive Bradley with Desperadoes began the millennium playing “Picture on My Wall” with a victory. This tied him with Jit Samaroo of having three consecutive victories. The rest of the decade was filled with two victories by Trinidad All Stars, three victories each by Exodus and Phase II and one by Edwin Pouchet’s Silver Stars. In the development from the University of the West Indies (UWI) came the Genesis Pan (the G-pan) the brainchild of Brian Copeland. The Percussive Harmonic Instrument (PHI) was also a part of these new innovative development in steelpan.

4.8 Trinidad, leadership in Pan Trinbago, more literacy, first female president elected, upgraded developments in Canada

In the decade post 2010, a summary of steelpan development in the aforementioned areas of this narrative is considered. In Trinidad, a new management in Pan Trinbago puts Keith Diaz at the helm. Controversial from the onset, but determined to set his mark, Diaz began his reign. An attempt to add more steelpan activities was a quest for Diaz by re introducing pan festivals such as “Pan Down Memory Lane,” “Pan in the Countryside,” and an international panorama and conference in 2015. No other ideas for steelpan development in Trinidad was introduced under Diaz’s tenure. The public-school system under the new government did not improve or enhance the existing pan programs in the schools. They attempted to introduce some multicultural concept of a mixture of “cultural instruments” in a school program. Needless to say, that it was not effective, and the situation remained the same until a return to the former government which changed after five years. The new government wanted to continue with its initial steelpan programs for the schools. However, things have changed since they were last in power. For one

thing the economy is no longer what it was in the very early 2000's. Trinidad & Tobago's main product is oil production and the oil prices have plummeted. This affected the economy and the ability to re-invest in the pan program for the public schools. It is hopeful that they will succeed this time. The mandate for the present government is almost up and the elections can have a different outcome. However, the reality of steelpan programs in the public schools of Trinidad and Tobago is yet to be defined. There is still no general accreditation for the programs in elementary or secondary schools. This is a setback from the initiatives of 2005. However, they have now begun to introduce the pan in some music programs. But pan programs in the public schools continue with the status of extra-curricular activities. Emphasis is also centered on the annual Junior Panorama Competition where all schools participate. However, there are many other progressive gains that augurs well for steelpan development in its place of origin. There is a demographic shift in the population of players today. Female players have increased to even proportions to that of their male counterparts in many bands. But more importantly, there has been a sweeping increase in music literacy within the last two decades. Individuals have begun to challenge themselves. My steelpan textbook and others may have helped. A lot of younger people began attending the universities in Trinidad & Tobago to obtain music degrees. The universities UWI and UTT have been offering steelpan programs leading to music degrees and music diplomas. There has been a great push, over the last two decades to offer some form of training and courses in the different aspects of steelpan manufacture. My friend Jimi Phillip has been foremost in leading this charge, offering his pan workshop as a training ground for students. Michael Cooper and his steelpan manufacturing company "Panland" is still one of the major businesses in this

area. There are also other pockets of manufacturers and distributors including “Gills Pan Shop” in Curepe and a new pan store in Arouca. In 2018, there was a Pan Trinbago general election. For the first time, Pan Trinbago has elected a woman to run the organization. Beverly Ramsey Moore from Tobago is the newly elected President of Pan Trinbago. This is a historic achievement that fits with the times to have a first female president (Appendix A20). Many steelband groups are taking their own initiatives of developing their pan yards. Some bands have introduced different forms of entrepreneurship on their compound. They have invested in their own businesses or have leased part of the compound to other businesses and collect a rent as a landlord. The education and training from elementary school have also allowed for individual growth and development. There are a younger breed of arrangers, soloists and tuners that are now emerging and taking their rightful places. This, in my opinion is where the steelpan will continue to chart its own course. These younger people are also paying attention to steelpan activities in its place of origin and the global village in general. I have interviewed many of them and they are aware of where the steelpan is heading and the impact of steelpan development abroad.

In Canada, we have a continuation of steelpan development in its incremental steps. The spread of the pan continues beyond the two major cities of Toronto and Montreal, which have been the focus of this study. Montreal still continues to lag behind Toronto in steelpan development and this is due to the system that exist in the province of Quebec. The emphasis in their agenda is clearly political, linguistic, and nationalist. Many other cities of Canada are now introducing pan programs to all levels of public institutions of learning. The roots that were laid within the public-school system since the 1970’s have

borne fruits with the first and second generations who are now teachers, arrangers and steelpan soloists. They fuel more growth with introduction of additional steelpan activities. Social media has had a great impact on steelpan development in Canada and it continues to funnel promotions and growth nationally. Within the last decade, there has also been a trend in the pursuance of higher education. I left Montreal in 2012 to pick up residence at York University in Toronto. I began my master's program in ethnomusicology and continue with my doctorate in musicology/ethnomusicology. The emphasis and research study is steelpan development. I have since encouraged senior citizens as myself to pursue higher education, of which many have taken up the challenge including pan tuners, pan teachers and pan arrangers. This also augurs well for steelpan development and serves as models for the communities.

4.9 Another look at steelpan activities in the USA, overview of interviews

I end this summary with an overview of the interviews which reveal the different aspects of steelpan development as seen through the eyes of this cross section of individuals. But, first here is a look at some of the contrasting steelpan development in the USA. As previously stated, whatever happens in Canada as regard the steelpan is magnified many times in the USA. Their agenda has always been two-fold, where public education in academia has been a major focus and this has been largely promoted by people of non-Caribbean stock. Beginning with legendary folk singer Pete Seeger in the 1950's. The phenomenal growth was expressed by a researcher Yancey Benjamin in his thesis "Now that the instrument has become prominent in countries all over the world the question becomes how this did happen? How did an instrument created by the poor and

repressed people of the small island of Trinidad become a standard in music education programs across the globe? How was this able to happen in only half a centuries' time? Why have music educators deemed it worthy of their curriculum and why do students deem it worthy of their time? Are their significant educational benefits or is it simply an enjoyable ensemble? Currently in the United States there are over 120 steelpan ensembles within collegiate programs alone. When counting all bands, including primary schools and community groups, the estimated number is closer to 1,000. The ensemble has also spread across the globe and can be found in large numbers in Canada, France, Australia, and Japan.” (Binyamin Yancey 2009). The parallel to this development, is the Caribbean people’s input from arriving with their steelpan instruments, to setting up cultural programs in the communities where they chose to reside. They have continued to promote their cultural approach to steelpan development in particular, the panorama competition. This event has now spread to many cities in the USA. Most notably is the annual Brooklyn, New York Panorama competition. This coincides with the annual Labour Day Caribbean carnival parade. Other major cities include Miami and Boston. Many of the younger people of 3rd, and 4th, generation from Caribbean stock, have developed themselves musically by attending universities and have now become prolific arrangers and steelpan soloists. So, the pan continues to be on the move in all areas and by all peoples who have embraced this instrument.

There are now many local pan tuners in the USA who are not of Caribbean stock. Ellie Mannette has been recognized, acknowledged, and awarded by the government of the USA for being the teacher of many Americans, while he worked at the University of West Virginia. He had set up Mannette’s Drums, a company which continues producing

pans and training more people even after his passing. Northern Illinois University has also been instrumental in providing a steelpan manufacturing program under the leadership of another Trinidadian Cliff Alexis. Pan Yard Inc., a major pan manufacturing company in the USA began their enterprise with Trinidadian pan tuner Roland Harragin. But today, there are many other Americans who have developed the skill of pan manufacture and have made it their profession and career, Carl Chase of Maine is one of these people who is an official pan tuner. Allan Coyle has also set up his steelpan manufacturing enterprise. These mentioned individuals and American companies are now part of the steelpan landscape of America. I have only identified a few but there are many more scattered across the country. There are other organizations that seek to pursue steelpan development from an intellectual and academic platform, NSBBE is one such organizations. Their concerns as steelpan educators is to provide an intellectual platform to drive issues of education and research in steelpan development. The USA is definitely very progressive in pushing the buttons of growth for the steelpan programs in academia as well as the steelpan manufacturing industry. America's advantage is of course in its ability to provide the economy, for technological research and development. The USA and Canada have learned a lot from Trinidad & Tobago as regard steelpan development, but soon they may be able to offer alternatives in steelpan development even to Trinidad & Tobago. The impact of the steelpan activities in the USA and Canada is not yet affecting steelpan development in Trinidad and the Caribbean in any meaningful way. However, because of the enormous wealth of the USA combine with their new-found love of steelpan activities that continues to spread in academia. These are some of the factors that will eventually

generate concerns and inquiries of information as steelpan development continues to grow globally.

4.10 Overview of interviews

The interviews with the Trinidadians in Trinidad show a commonality as they recognize and acknowledge the differences in the state of steelpan development in Trinidad and the Caribbean in comparison with North America (Appendix B 1-16). They expressed different concerns as to the progress or lack thereof. I asked the question concerning the government's involvement. Akinola Sennon sees the present situation as a result of a cause and effect situation. It began from the end of the colonial period to the self-governance of the population. He extorts his concept that "we went and just sit on the throne" instead of re-constructing the throne in our own values. He calls for a deconstruction of the throne (Appendix B3: Sennon 343). Aquil Arrindel of the same younger generation as Akinola has his own view. Although not disagreeing with the previous concept, he expresses that he sees it as more of a surface and practical approach. He agrees that government is not doing enough but, he argues, the bands and individuals should take the initiative to develop community programs and enterprises and then make meaningful proposals and partnership agreements with the government in realizing various projects (Appendix B3: Sennon 343). Keith Byer of an older generation acknowledges both views have merit and laments the fact that although there is some effort and assistance from the government, the challenges and time that it takes to become a reality is disappointing and discouraging (Appendix B3: Byer 343). All conclude that the government still does not recognize and understand the potential for the steelpan to assist in developing the economy, neither the education nor the social well-being of the

population. But, is lack of understanding and recognition of the pan only with the government? I presented a metaphorical question to Professor Copeland as regard the awareness of the people toward the pan and its inherent potentials. Part of his response included “Because what we have shown is that we don’t have the network and framework for properly exploiting the innovations in the country. In fact, that is the mark of a third world nation” (Appendix B10: Copeland 360). Ray Holman identifies himself as one who does not fall into that category, and why he rebelled against the system. By way of his artistry, self-conscious thoughts and approaches is how he explains his position.

Well...I took to my way of thinking, don’t know if it was right. I used to look and see...I always...I’m an observer, you know They had us shackled...that is the expectations, pan had to wait on the calypso...So, I say No! that has to change. So, I saw myself, How old was I at that time?...72...28 years old . So, I saw myself as a liberator, as a revolutionary, not for the sake of that but to help the current situation...write your own music.. you have an instrument there, and you all not doing anything there, only arranging it...arranging is nice but you got to something original...So, that you hear...that is Starlift, you know that is Starlift playing...So, that is what, I did...and not without controversy...Salah, my mind is not like many of these people here...they see right here, I see beyond there...So, Trinidad is not only black people, so why is it that you shouldn’t play some Indian music (Appendix B6: Holman 352).

An honest question to be asked of Trinidadians is exactly how much support is there for the steelpan? However, there is evidence that the government in the past had acted forcefully and decisively in support of giving credibility to the pan. This is exemplified in the interview with Keith Simpson (Appendix B4: Simpson 347). It also involved Dr. Eric Williams the then Prime Minister and leader of the PNM government. The government used its influence to encourage companies to sponsor the steelbands. Notwithstanding the government of the day gives an annual subvention of some 30 plus millions of dollars to the steelpan organization Pan Trinbago. The pan yard today is increasingly becoming potential hubs for economic activities. Many bands are now

engaging in some type of additional businesses. Sale of foods and drinks are always necessary and profitable enterprises. Pan building, mechanics and even space rentals are now part of the landscapes of the pan yards.

Others have views that the steelpan development should be concentrated in youth empowerment. Denise Hernandez states that by empowering the youths to be responsible for organizing and managing their Junior Panorama Competition is an investment in the future of pan. It is also an investment in the culture but more so an investment in themselves. She also emphasized that their well-being in development should not only be restricted to becoming good pan players, arrangers, composers, and pan tuners. The steelpan movement also needs lawyers, accountants, managers, promoters, and engineers. Many steelbands have a youth steelpan program where they participate in the annual junior panorama competition along with the school bands (Appendix B7: Hernandez 354). Columnist Martin Daly speaks of a social integration that has much potential for economic benefits and internal growth for the steelpan. He was referring to the junior panorama competition which involves the many participating schools in the country. He points out that no other event allows for the many affluent families to take their kids and friends to the pan yards or schools. This is in order to listen to their children participate in the preparation for the junior panorama competition. He also adds that many of these people are not only wealthy, but that they know and have wealthy corporations and friends. There are opportunities for economic partnering, but they are not being tapped into. When the children graduate and move on, so too do the parents and the opportunities (Appendix B8: Daly 356). Gerard Clarke confirmed that he completely tuned-up an entire band for the junior panorama competition and a concerned parent volunteered to pay the bill for his

services rendered to the school band (Appendix B8: Clarke 356). Martin Daly also mentions that the social integration is quite evident, when the preliminary round of the general panorama competition is held in the pan yards. The cross section of people that descend to these pan yards to see and support the groups in their own environment, also provides a great opportunity for various types of businesses and social integration (Appendix B8: Daly 356). Marcus Ash, young member newly elected to the position of Education Officer in Pan Trinbago, waded into the discussion to connect the dots with the pan education in the schools and communities (Appendix B2: Ash 342).

For many years Jimi Phillip has been using his pan-tuning place of business in Chaguanas, to teach and train people to become pan builders and pan tuners. Individually and collectively many students and teachers alike have benefitted. Jimi and his facilities have also been involved in steelpan experiments with other agencies including the University of the West Indies (UWI). There are now many more pockets of steelpan building activities occurring throughout the island. This is good as many of the legendary and good pan tuners have passed on within the last decade. Nestor Sullivan is also a renowned steelpan lecturer who travels abroad to participate in these steelpan symposiums (Appendix B5: Phillip 348). He is well aware of the progress or lack thereof of steelpan development as he naturally compares what is going on abroad to what is happening in the Caribbean and this is part of his argument.

I'm taking a country as an example, the United States their approach to developing human capital, teaching people a course of study and practice to become master pan tuners. A course also designed by Trinidadian Ellie Mannette. We have nothing like that in our country...and they are producing people who are... Yes, West Virginia University, and since 1991. So, from 1997, you have people graduating as tuners, so they're going into the industry of the United States. You have more than a thousand educational institutions with steelpan instruments each of these have ten tenor pans,

that is ten thousand tenors...and we're not talking about the other pans. (Appendix B5: Phillip 348)

However, even though Nestor Sullivan is troubled by what he sees transpiring in the USA, he also acknowledges the great potential of looking elsewhere as he further explains.

Exactly, we have no Trinidad, no West Indian, no Caribbean person involved in that...One of the most important things for me...what is needed...we have to find a way to put the best educational things in place, to take people, young people who coming into the pan movement and who attending school to become the professional and highly trained pan tuners...then we have...because if we look at the global industry, let us look at Africa as an example. Out of fifty-five states, steelpan can be found in four. Fifty-one, no pan, if we get, let's say ten countries in Africa and each of them want pans for ten schools...so that's a way of looking at it. (Appendix B9: Sullivan 359)

According to this narrative from Nestor Sullivan, it is indeed an affirmation that steelpan development in North America is beginning to impact steelpan development in the Caribbean. It is not yet seen and felt in any significant way. But, as the steelpan activities increase, scholars, lecturers like Nestor and concerned people with or without invested interest are also paying attention to what is going on in these places. What is also of great importance is the speed of which evolution and innovation in steelpan is happening. The last decade has revealed an enormous rise in steelpan activities in areas of education, manufacture, performances, and marketing. The next decade is expected to have increase growth because of the activities of the present decade (Appendix B9: Sullivan 359). Merlin Gill with vested interest in steelpan activities globally, weighs in on the narrative. His company Gill's Pan Shop is one of the few steelpan exporters in Trinidad. He expressed that for the last two decades, he has been the principal supplier to a major pan manufacturing and distributing company in the USA, Pan Yard Inc. of Ohio. He also boasted of his company's influence when he attended a symposium in Virginia

beach USA. Out of thirty-five bands present, twenty-eight bands were supplied with pans by Gill's Pan Shop. He also claims to hold the record of supplying the most pans to America. Today, Merlin Gill and his export business is facing an unexpected impact (Appendix B11: Gill 361). The Donald Trump presidency is now affecting steelpan development in Trinidad according to Merlin Gill who emphatically stated:

It gone, since Trump come in, let me tell you what he has done. Trump has stopped the schools from buying direct...like how a school coulda send an order, a purchase order from the federal government, right... what he has done is screw up everything, all the different states have different laws, right... we used to get we direct orders and the schools used to pay direct.... Now the same people who dealing with pan, they have to give the order to them (Appendix B11: Gill 361).

It is obvious from this account, that there is an impact in trade of steelpan from Trinidad to the USA. However, there is evidence throughout this narrative of areas and aspects of steelpan development in both North America and the Caribbean. These include education, manufacture performance and marketing. In the beginning, it was obvious that most of the development came from Trinidad its place of origin. However, over the decades, due to migration, demographics and technology, many other places including North America are now foremost developers in the steelpan industry. There is evidence, from a basic comparative exercise that shows areas of advancement that are ahead of Trinidad. Education for example, is one aspect that identifies this situation. In Toronto, Canada, the steelpan was introduced to the public-school system in the mid-seventies. Programs were established as extra-curricular activities in elementary and high schools. The municipal government, the school boards and the steelpan community were responsible. By the mid-eighties, the Ontario provincial government got involved and the steelpan programs were incorporated into the curriculum as a choice of accredited programs or extra curricula activities. In the USA, this situation is magnified several times. A great impact is also

coming from the universities as they offer master's programs in composition and performance with steelpan as principal instruments. There is also an increasing number of theses, dissertations, and books of which the vast majority of authors and writers are from North America. Major universities have also embarked upon the manufacturing aspects of steelpan development. Notably the University of West Virginia, of which Trinidadian legendary pan-tuner, Ellie Mannette was the founder of the program in 1991. Similarly, Northern Illinois University (NIU), Trinidadian pan-tuner Cliff Alexis was responsible for establishing the pan tuning program, as well as other aspects of steelpan development. They both received honors and awards and recognition for their contributions. In addition to the universities there are now numerous steelpan-making facilities in the USA.

Increasingly also, are the many prolific steelpan players and pan musicians that are being developed. Many of the top players of Trinidadian background have made North America their musical base and are featured on many albums with top artistes. I must consider Othello Mollineau who has done some wonderful work with many artistes, most notably with Jaco Pastorius. Robert Greenidge also on many albums with famous musicians. He has also been a featured performer with Jimmy Buffet over the years. Liam Teague who is an associated professor at NIU is also a top performer and recording artist. Lennox "Boogsie" Sharpe though travels abroad is generally based in Trinidad. Duvone Stewart is also based in Trinidad but travels abroad, a lot in Europe. Many others like Rudy "Two Left": Smith, though based in Europe frequently visits Canada and the USA. These are only a few of the better-known steelpan soloists, there are a lot more. There are also many North American players. American Andy Narell has been foremost in steelpan promotions with numerous albums. He has been inducted into PASIC as the first pannist

(steel drummer). But there are also many unsung heroes, notwithstanding a talented pool of younger pan musicians, the majority are now university educated. Canada also has its fair proportionate share of steelpan soloists. There is also a trend for musicians today, in taking up the steelpan as a second or third instrument. The trajectory of steelpan development in North America is positively upward.

In the Caribbean, many of the islands are now beginning to introduce programs to their public schools. The community settings of steelbands in pan yards, carnival parades and panorama competitions have all been emulated from Trinidad and Tobago. The islands are lacking in many areas of steelpan development. Most notably in training and preparing pan tuners for manufacturing, repairing, and maintaining the steelpan instruments. Trinidad is still the main supplier of pan tuners to the other Caribbean islands, this was reported by Nestor Sullivan in a recent interview. There are opportunities for Trinidad and Tobago and the other Caribbean islands together known as the CARICOM Nations to establish steelpan programs on the education platform. These steelpan programs could then be incorporated in the established general Caribbean academic exams for all Caribbean nations. Trinidad and Tobago is still being looked upon as the leader and innovator in steelpan development in the Caribbean. In Trinidad, a greater effort has been placed on education over the last two decades. Official school programs were initiated in 2005 with the intention of having a steelpan program in every public school. Steelpan text books have been made available to accommodate this initiative. Many individuals have pursued higher education in music literacy and the universities UWI and UTT have seen an uptick in steelpan activities and graduates in these activities. Quite a lot of the younger generation are not only becoming musically

literate, but they are also composing, arranging, and improvising. This trend is producing steelpan soloists, both male and female. Pan yards are now transforming into centers of various enterprises. There are also many pockets of pan making activities springing up in communities across the country. The panorama competition is being considered for professional global Pay Per View marketing. Open conversations and proposals are being introduced, including year -round music programs in the pan yards as learning centers. An exclusive government ministry exclusively for the steelpan is now an active topic on social media. From the interviews, it is obvious that an awareness and awakening is evident with the younger generation of pan enthusiasts in Trinidad and Tobago. Social media has brought to the forefront a wealth of information of what is happening in the steelpan world globally. This has established a strong impetus for realizing and acknowledging the possibilities and potentials for steelpan development. This concludes why the impact of steelpan development in North America is having a reverberatory effect on the Caribbean, but it all augurs well for steelpan development in general.

Chapter 5. Growth and aspirations of steelpan in North America, compared with the Caribbean

5.1 North America - community and academic development plus manufacture Trinidad - new input in manufacture from the UWI, more pans in schools

In the 2000's, a new millennium and new decade, the on-going journey of steelpan development continued unabated. Looking at our principal places of focus, the Caribbean and North America, we can ascertain that after some fifty years of steelpan, it is definitely not fading away into oblivion, neither is it simply a passing faze. On the other hand, there are questions concerning the steelpan that becomes more relevant with time. Are there steelpan representations at the level of the Grammy and Juno Awards? Is steelpan represented in any popular recorded music? These two questions can viewed as two areas or points of aspirations for the pan movement. It seems apparent that steelpan development will continue in its present formats as previously outlined. In Canada and the USA, the Caribbean descent communities continue to spread the instrument by way of its cultural perspectives. Many cities of North America have made the panorama competition a principal focus and these competitions, have themselves raised the visibility of steelpan events in the cities and have also "created" many pan players over the years. The communities have also kept up with initiating concerts and festivals and of course other festive events, weddings, parties, and public cultural events. Steelpan church groups and gospel music continue to be a part of the musical growth on the steelpan landscape. The other principal area of development in North America is academia – the school system from elementary to the university level. Other new major developments include the manufacture of the instruments, as home-made American steelpan manufacturing companies become a reality. This will be highlighted in this chapter as we survey the

scope of growth in this area both in Canada and the USA. Another area of growth is the rise of summer steelpan camps and steelpan events promoted by the growing non-Caribbean adherents of steelpan. The continual rise of prolific steelpan players adds to a kaleidoscope of steelpan activities in many genres of music. In Canada, our primary areas of focus are Montreal and Toronto, while we look at a general view of specifics in the USA as they relate to the topic.

In relation to Trinidad and the rest of the Caribbean, the study will continue to research some sort of comparative analysis, in looking at the different ways and means of steelpan development. This comes of age as the pan movement struggles to come up to the new century. Trinidad's main emphasis over the last two decades has been concentrated towards the annual panorama competition. However, there were other areas of development that have been an on-going point of research, in particular, the steelpan activities centered around the University of the West Indies. Clem Imbert, professor in the engineering department has been instrumental in pushing for an academic perspective on steelpan manufacture. His involvement with the Carrirri project has been documented (Appendix A23). But, in this new millennium, other players and further developmental projects will emerge from the UWI. In particular, Professor Ken Copeland will come into focus with new inventions and concepts of steelpan innovations. This was all under the auspices of the UWI. Also in this decade, there will be another push by the government to integrate the steelpan programs into the public schools' curriculum of Trinidad and Tobago. There is a growth of new arrangers and more musicality, including steelpan textbooks, as musical literacy began to become more in demand.

5.2 Iconic panorama music continues, a push for a steelpan music festival with international input, new leadership, changes in the Panorama

The new millennium begins with iconic pan music in Trinidad. Desperadoes won with an irresistible arrangement by Clive Bradley, from Oba Synette's song "Picture on My Wall." They won the panorama competition in 2000 and became the first band to hold ten panorama titles. In addition, this victory by Bradley tied him with Jit Samaroo for having three consecutive victories. Bradley won with Newtones playing David Rudder's "High Mas" in 1998. This was followed by his victory with Desperadoes in 1999 playing Oba Synette's "In My House." From 2000 to 2004, the same format of the panorama continued as everyone knew it. There was only one category. The results were predictable, "the big bands" were always at the final dozen of participants. It was a meticulous, calculated, and progressive approach, to be able to climb into that final class of participants. Exodus was one of those bands that gradually rose in the last decade, to become "one of the big bands." They had won the contest only one time in 1992. But were consistently in the top three for the rest of the decade, except one time. They placed second in 2000 with an original composition "The Band Plays On," by Pelham Goddard the band's arranger. This song was in memory of the passing of the founder and manager of the band Amin Mohamed. Exodus won in 2001 with "A Happy Song," placed third in 2002 and won in 2003 with "Pandora" by DeFosto. I performed with Exodus for these panorama outings. The biennial Steelpan Music Festival was about to be given a facelift.

On October 20, 2000, Skiffle Bunch won the inaugural World Steelband Music Festival that was held in Port-of-Spain and included four foreign bands. The remaining results were: (2) Northern Illinois University, USA ("Wood and Steel" by Richard Chapell, "Pan 2000" by Clifford Alexis); (3) Exodus ("Capriccio Italian" by Tchaikovsky, "Steelband Times" by Andre Tanker); (4) Ebony, England ("Morning Noon and Night in Vienna," "Celebrating with Steel"); 5) Invaders (Carnival

Overture" by Dvorak, "Toco Band" by Lord Kitchener); (6) Panch 2000, Switzerland ("Dichter und Bayer," "Mind Yuh Business"); (7) Defence Force ("Symphony No. 4 in F Minor" by Tchaikovsky, "Penny, Queen of the Universe"); and (8) Steel Pan Lovers, Sweden ("Finlandia," "Pan in A Minor" by Lord Kitchener). In attendance was 74-year old Elliott Mannette who returned from the USA for the first time since leaving Trinidad in 1967. Mannette came home to accept an honorary doctorate from the University of the West Indies (UWI) at St. Augustine on October 28, 2000. (Emrit 2017)

The management in 2000 had decided to increase some developments with a proposal of a major event which included inviting bands from around the world to participate. Len "Boogie" Sharpe renowned player and arranger was given honors for his winning composition of "In the Rain Forest." Well noted was his intensive and remarkable improvisation on the theme. (Appendix A28). Author, Ronald Emrit followed up on the prospect of a continuation of this type of international festival. He expressed "In 2002, Exodus won the World Steelband Music Festival followed respectively by Skiffle Bunch playing "Ocean Rhapsody" (Lennox Sharpe), and England's Ebony playing "An American in Paris" (George Gershwin)" (Emrit 2017). However, as interesting as this type of steelpan event may have been, the costs were simply too exorbitant for the participants. The next attempt at this type of festival occurred in New York and was an attempt at promoting the event in a different country. The year was 2005 and a number of groups from Trinidad and Tobago participated, included a group from Grenada, one from New York and another from Canada (Emrit 2017). None of the other former European groups nor NIU were participants that time. This type of event serves well to promote the steelpan in general, however, the marketing of this product and type of event has to be well calculated and measured. It has not continued since that last time, but one can always expect a revival somewhere and sometime in the future.

On June 19, 2005, the finals were held at the Madison Square Garden Paramount Theatre in New York, New York. Exodus won for the second time followed respectively by Skiffle Bunch (Trinidad & Tobago) playing "Echoes of War" (*Lennox Sharpe*), and Trinidad & Tobago Defence Force playing "Symphony No. 4 in F Minor" (*Tchaikovsky*). Other finalists were Sound Specialists (Trinidad & Tobago), New Dimension (Grenada), CASYM (New York, USA), and Pan Masters (Canada). (Emrit 2017)

However, profound structural changes were coming to the panorama competition.

In 1998, Patrick Arnold became the president of Pan Trinbago when he assumed leadership from Owen Serrette. Arnold was determined to address a long standing panorama competition conflict. A complaint, from more than a hundred plus bands, noted that these bands never get a chance to be at the finals because of the dominance of the "big bands." To address this situation, a new concept of the panorama competition would come into effect from 2004 with the introduction of categories and zones to include small, medium, and large bands. Another category also added was the nostalgic "pan round the neck" now referred to as single pan bands. The zones were arranged as North, South, East and Tobago. A new chapter in the panorama competition in Trinidad and Tobago was about to begin in 2004. The first competition in this new era of categories and zones gave way to numerous victories in all categories. This transformational change provided needed money to bands and also gave national recognition to the champion bands in each category. By any measure, this has proven to be a constructive move for the pan organization. Notwithstanding, the opportunities and benefits for the bands and general membership. For the first time, the ordinary pan player received a stipend directly from the pan organization though sponsored by the government. These were some of the changes made by the administration of Patrick Arnold at Pan Trinbago. This meant that there were more competitions, apart from the major event now in three categories. There

was also an event for each zone, adding to the prizes for the participants. This was a welcomed change for the pan movement. Prior to this, the majority of players received the least benefits. A large slice went to the pan tuners and another large slice to the arranger. But the main players received only “crumbs.” These additional opportunities for bands to earn more funds were excellent motivational positions for the pan movement. The first part in this new millennium saw these changes and a lot more of activities were expected. A do-over of the pan program in the public school system and new innovations in steelpan development would come from the University of the West Indies.

5.3 USA's academic response and the unreserved community response to steelpan development, patenting uproar

Simultaneously, a lot of related steelpan activities were happening in North America and these activities would have some possible concerns for Trinidad and Tobago. Whatever was being done in Canada, as regard any form of steelpan development, it was magnified and amplified many more times in the USA. In the pursuit of the steelpan finding a home and place in higher academia, many universities in the USA are by far the leaders in innovations. Steelpan programs exist in curriculum up to the master's level and they also offer programs in steelpan tuning at NIU, the University of West Virginia, and the University of Akron. Other organizations like NSSBE offer a healthy catalog of steelpan information including instrument manufacture, steelpan in academia, how to start a steelband in your neighborhood, or simply how to locate an existing one. Many dissertations and theses are being offered and this adds to the library of steelpan information (Appendix A29). Due to the worldwide exposure of the steelpan over the decades, the world has responded by getting involved in all aspects of the steelpan's

existence. It was obvious that emulation and innovation would occur. Meanwhile in the Caribbean communities of the major cities of New York, Miami and Boston, the steelpan programs and activities continued in their like manner of development. More community small bands, more large bands for the growing panorama competition, more pan tuners, more arrangers of the younger generations, more individual soloists. The wave of the younger generations of steelpan players and arrangers from New York are astounding. Many of these young arrangers are now in demand, such that they are offered work to arrange for bands in Trinidad, England, Canada, and the Caribbean, and wherever there are panorama competitions. This is a continuing trend and a major way of promotion for this aspect of steelpan development.

Throughout its history, and because of its history, Trinidadians never seriously envisioned patenting their creation and invention of their musical instrument. A wake up call to this effect occurred in 2002. Some Americans announced that they were patenting some form of a system and equipment. This would drastically minimize the time that it would take to prepare the drum for tuning. This type of information was enough to send Trinidadians crying foul. They demanded answers and a response from the government and the pan organization. It must be mentioned that this conversation on patenting of the pan had been an on-going discussion for years, without any substantial conclusion. But this new patenting situation was certainly enough to trigger at least some profound consideration of what else could be done. There is the statutes of limitations. The steelpan as we know it today has been in existence since the early 1950's if consideration is given to the first complete 12-tone instruments in 1951. Perhaps, it was due to incidents like this

patenting of some aspects of the steelpan that would eventually trigger Trinidadians to do something for the steelpan in this area.

Looking at this in the broader context, a focus on the professional manufacture of the steelpan instruments was necessary and more importantly, the concept of patent. The history of steelpan development in Trinidad, illustrates how difficult it was to even imagine a concept of patent, during the early years. However, by the time of independence in 1962, a concept of patent could still have been initiated. But the reality was the struggle of the steelpan to be still accepted in its own place of origin. Such was the stigma of the pan and the “panman” and in some ways, the stigma still lingers on in some Trinidadian societies. This stigma was one of the principal reasons that the concept of patenting the instrument never became a formal thought. Trinidadians were truly unaware of the potential of their invention. The appreciation, and the respect for this invention was subdued. Instead of pursuing the concept of patent for this instrument, the focus was simply striving for acceptance. Of course there was always a price to be paid when the proper actions were not taken. This came into a reality when in 2002, two Americans announced a patent regarding some aspect of steelpan manufacture (Emrit 2017).

In 2002, the steelband community of Trinidad & Tobago received a shock when American inventors George Whitmyre and Harvey Price secured a US patent for "the process of formation of a Caribbean steelpan using a hydroforming process." With the objective of manufacturing 500 tenor-pans per month for eventual tuning, Whitmyre and Price developed a 75-ton press that stood three stories high and delivered a pressure of 10,000 psi. Alloy 304 Stainless Steel circular sections were pressed concave with imprinted notes, heated to 1,950°F in a vacuum, quickly cooled with liquid nitrogen, and then rough-tuned. The sections were then welded to skirts for final fine-tuning. The process was anticipated to create more jobs for expert tuners by eliminating the laborious, time-consuming step of manually sinking the tops of 55-gallon drums concave with a hammer. (Emrit 2017)

Needless to say, from the time Trinidadians heard of this, shock, and disbelief of “How could America patent our steelpan?” However the reality was that a patent was obtained by two Americans George Whitmyre and Harvey Price for "the process of formation of a Caribbean steelpan using a hydroforming process." Their concept was inventing of a type of equipment that would be able to produce the heavy-duty work of “sinking and grooving” the drum. This is legitimate in that they were not “re-inventing” but rather producing new equipment to reduce the time and cost of doing the basic mundane work of preparing the instrument for the final tuning. Trinidadians created a big uproar, with the exposure of this patent. In the end, it pushed Trinidadians to begin to re-consider all aspects of the concepts of patent.

5.4 Toronto continued development, Montreal continued development

Meanwhile in Toronto, with the new millennium of the year 2000, the panorama competition was now in its sixth year. This was initiated by Cecil “Muggs” Clarke and his “Pan Trinbago Canada Inc.” It turned out to be the second victory for my family group Salah & Family Steelpan workshop (now “Salah’s Steelpan Academy”) the song we played was “Picture on My Wall.” One of the dominant winning bands at this panorama competition was Silhouettes, led by Danny Mosca with the arranger, his son the very talented Mark Mosca. But, changes were also occurring in Toronto. It was apparent that Cecil “Mugs” Clarke and his organization, had run their course with the panorama competition at Monarch Park Stadium. Inner problems caused some of the bands refusal to participate, primarily two of the oldest and largest bands. But the main reason was that there was a murmur of forming a new organization that would get all the bands to be involved. However, Toronto’s panorama competition continued at the Monarch Park

Stadium under the auspices of Pan Trinbago Canada Inc. until 2002. During this time, the inception of a new organization the Ontario Steelpan Association (OSA) became a reality. Their first presentation was in 2003 and this event being the first one by the new organization was non-competitive. From 2004, OSA initiated their first panorama competition, it was won by Afro Pan. This meant that the original panorama competition ceased to exist. OSA also collaborated with the Caribana committee to have steelbands participate in the annual Caribana parade. This panorama competition presented by OSA continues to this present day at the Lamport Stadium on the eve of the Caribana parade. At present there is a total of fourteen steelpan groups, amongst them is one school group the Jesse Ketchum school and of course Salah's Steelpan Academy from Montreal. All the other groups are from the Greater Toronto area. This new panorama is now a main fixture in the Caribbean carnival weekend, as there are constant additions of more groups to the line-up. In OSA's list of panorama winners since its inception (2004-2018), only three bands have shared the champion spot for the decade: Afro Pan (2004, 2011); Pan Fantasy (2005, 2006, 2012-2019); Salah's Steelpan Academy (2007, 2008, 2009, 2010) (Appendix A17). However, steelpan activities continue to grow in Toronto as many steelpan soloists continue to participate at all types of engagements. Notwithstanding, small ensembles of three and four people who also find available gigs. There is also a markedly increasing number of steelpan church groups with their subsequent gospel concerts. In Toronto, many school boards by 1998, had merged into the Toronto District School Board (TDSB). The steelpan programs in the public schools continue with the TDSB as the leading institution. The main event for the public schools continue to be the Pan Fest week. This annual event is something that each participating school looks forward to as they tediously

prepare for this event. Their families, friends and schoolmates eagerly attend to support and cheer on all the groups. It is a well-advertised event. Sometimes the groups are given a certain piece of music that they learn to perform together. They also have their own specific prepared repertoire. A total of some twenty-five to thirty schools participate annually. A variety of genre of music is performed by the various groups including classical, jazz, pop, latin, reggae, and calypso.

In Montreal, the summer festival, the Pan Jamboree, and the winter festival Classic and Carols presented by the Pan Quebec organization, continued to grow, and attract more people. The local community looked forward to these annual events. It also provided an outlet for the steelpan program in the public schools. In Montreal, the school boards infrastructure had also undergone some denominational changes. The provincial government had reformed the system by eliminating the religious school boards. What emerged were linguistic school boards with the dividing lines between the English and the French. On the English side, the two major English school boards, The English Montreal School Board (EMSB) and the Lester B. Pearson School Board (LBPSB), divided up most of the English elementary and high schools while the French side had their own school boards. The English school boards combined amounted to less than twenty percent of the overall school population in Quebec. This brought problems that the English side would begin to encounter. Along this divide, more stringent laws about education were put in place. The open nationalist agenda in the province was expressed by the government in power. For instance, no new immigrants without English being the mother tongue could go to English schools. This would later change to all immigrants including the English would have to attend French speaking schools. There was a loophole used by the French

population who wanted their children to attend an English public school. They would first send them to an English private school for a year as this would enable them to be eligible to attend an English-speaking school. The English schools depended on this French population but the government eventually closed this loophole. After a decade of this policy the English schools felt the brunt of this as enrollment dropped. This forced the school boards to begin merging schools, to upkeep a certain population that would make the schools eligible for funding by the government. But, each merger meant the elimination of one of the schools. This process was now a continuing factor and of course there was no way out of this unless the total government policy changes. One might consider that thought as wishful thinking. This policy of course affected the steelpan programs in the various schools. By the year 2000, many of the original schools which housed the steelpan programs had merged or were shut down. However, the programs simply moved to the new schools. But, now they have also experienced cutbacks in the funding. These were some of the handicaps to the steelpan programs in the public schools of Montreal. Unlike Toronto, where the inception of steelpan programs began with an initiative by the school boards. In Montreal, the initiation was from individual schools. This also meant the difference in funding of the programs. The Toronto model is much better because there is funding for steelpan programs at the board level. The programs in the public schools of Montreal comprised of seven programs in the EMSB and two in the LBPSB. Nevertheless, the programs continued, rather struggled on. I had established my private school "Salah's Steelpan Academy" by 1998. This provided an outlet for many of the students who had graduated from elementary or high school who wanted to continue with a steelpan program. Attempts were made to try to get into the French sector and

establish steelpan programs in the public school. But, at that time the word multiculturalism did not sit well with the nationalist agenda of the government in power. In addition, more loopholes were being closed, it was still not over because as another decade passed, more stringent language laws were enforced. In many ways if the status quo remains this way and Quebec continues with this policy, it is obvious that the dwindling of the system will continue. This will subsequently affect the pan programs in these schools.

After a decade of the “Pan Jamboree” in the community a sweeping change was about to take place. The organization Pan Quebec was not being effective and was dissolved. In seeking to get the pan and program moving forward I decided to get the new principal of the Coronation school involved in an interesting project. Coronation school was the first school of the steelpan program in Montreal. The original principal Jacqueline Webb had moved on to another school and was replaced by Beverly Townsend another principal this time from Jamaica. She was determined to continue the tradition and helped in the development with acquiring more instruments and more classes. It seemed that Coronation school because of its designation of an inner school was allocated more funding while other schools were not. The principal pushed the agenda and encouraged the pan programs, however, at the end of the 1990’s she too had to move on to another school. The new principal coming into Coronation school was different and was not from the Caribbean but was Canadian. But, Coronation school had built up a great reputation for the last nine years. The English school board had invited the senior steelpan group to perform at all their major functions or the past five years 1994-1999. The band always delivered a quality performance. Coronation school also had three different groups a

beginner, an intermediate and an advance senior group. This meant that students who started off as beginners, by the time they got to the advanced group were solid players. Only Somerled, the second school with the program, which after merging became St. Monica, offered two groups of beginners and advanced. The other school had just one group with two classes per week.

I welcomed the new principal of Coronation school Diane Wood who had encountered the Coronation school steelpan group, as they had performed on many occasions for the school board. She knew of the positive reputation of this group and was determined to even make it better. I was looking at the bigger picture and wondered, if her connection with the school board could get them to be more involved in the steelpan programs. I was comparing it with the system in Toronto. I also saw another opportunity of change and initiated it. I wanted to move the Pan Jamboree out of the community and present it to the greater Montreal public. I wanted to take the event downtown in the heart of Montreal. I devised a plan, knowing that this principal was eager to make her own mark. I invited her into this new concept of an organization. Pan Quebec had dissolved so I came up with a new concept of a steelpan organization moving away from the traditional idea of a steelpan organization. I opted for a concept like the Jazz festival but with a difference. As there was the Montreal International Jazz Festival, I thought of the new concept as the Montreal International Steelpan Festival. It was time to make a total change. Move away from the community to main-stream downtown Montreal and establish an International concept, inviting bands from everywhere. The legitimacy of the organization was set up with a management team comprising of the principal of Coronation school Diane Wood, the editor of the Community Contact newspaper Egbert

Gaye and me. It proved to be a good combination as the organization took a different and positive turn. Funding was made available to the organization for the first time and invitations were sent out to many bands. It turned out that three bands from Toronto came to Montreal and a band from Maine USA. The local community steelbands from Montreal included Martin Albino and his newly formed community steelband. He was a veteran steelpan arranger and musician from Trinidad. Also included were the school steelbands from Montreal. This was 2001 and the event had moved to the heart of downtown Montreal at Place Emile Gamelin. The Pan Jamboree had now changed to Montreal's first Panorama competition and the festival took on an air of an international event. Adjudicators included Aldwin Albino musician, Penny Lewis a music teacher in the public schools and Winston "Skippy" Maingot leader of Playboys Steelband and veteran from Expo '67. The event turned out to be quite a success this first year. There were the adult Panorama competition and a junior competition for the steelpan groups in the public schools. A successful change had occurred, and the Montreal International Steelpan Festival was born. Pan was on the move in Montreal. We had brought a new festival, an international steelpan festival to Montreal.

5.5 A different perspective towards steelpan development

On another interesting point, I had completed my steelpan textbook, "Steelpan Playing with Theory." I self-published the book in 1999 and immediately began promoting my book to whomever and wherever. From 2000 to 2004, I spent a lot of time visiting Trinidad, speaking with politicians who would listen to me about the virtues of having accredited programs with steelpans in the public schools. My arguments were effective in that, being a Canadian citizen, I was able to point out that Canada in the mid-

eighties had already established an accredited system. Needless to say, Trinidadians are the inventors of this instrument and by all accounts it should be as a regular subject in the public-school system. I was determined to push this agenda as far as possible. Around this time, I played with Exodus and was also promoting my book to anyone interested.

However, a very interesting development occurred in 2005, I was teaching at an elementary school in Montreal, This was Coronation school, the first school that I introduced the steelpan program to in 1991. By this time, I had a group of students who I had been teaching since grade three and now they were all grade sixers. They had an extensive repertoire of over twenty varied songs inclusive of classics, jazz, pop, latin, reggae and soca/calypso. In the spring of 2005 a Trinidadian contingent of politicians, teachers and educators visited Montreal on a fact-finding mission of upgrading the education system. They visited the elementary and secondary schools, colleges, and universities of Montreal to understand the system. This same contingent visited Coronation school where I was teaching. The English Montreal School Board (EMSB) was aware of the steelpan program at Coronation school and subsequently set up the visit to the school. Our performance for the Trinidad contingent was impressive and they were literally blown away by the type of repertoire. They openly expressed that at the present time, they would be really hard pressed to find a school band in Trinidad that could present a similar repertoire. In their inquiry and enthusiasm, they asked “What is the formula?” I simply explained that I combine “rote and note” learning and presented my 438 pages steelpan textbook, “Steelpan Playing with Theory” by Salah A. Wilson. (Appendix A26) The enthusiasm shown for the music was now palled in comparison to the enthusiasm for the steelpan textbook. They were astonished that we in Montreal would

have such a textbook. However, I explained to them that since 2000, I have been promoting this book in Trinidad to whomever would care to listen including some politicians. The Trinidad contingent explained that they were in a fact-finding mission on education and this book represented the answer to some of their questions. They would certainly be interested in this book. I gave them a copy of the book, to which they expressed that I will be hearing from them as soon as possible. Needless to say, I was very enthralled with this new development as I was actively promoting the book in Trinidad and also Canada. In about three months later, I did receive a call from Trinidad, concerning the textbook and we began to put together plans for making the book available to Trinidadians. The wheels of motion on this project was beginning to roll and I went with the flow.

I returned to Trinidad in the fall to pursue this course of action and, although confidence in the report from the contingent that visited Montreal, I did not stop there. I continued trying to do my own promotion and met with some people who were involved with a pan program in the public schools entitled "Pan in the Classrooms." Patricia Adams was one of the teachers and promoters of this organization and she was appreciative of the book. But others were skeptical due to some language used in the book. This is a simple explanation of what began in 1975 with the musicians of my first steelpan group (Pan Vibes Exhibits- Jimi Phillip was one of the musicians). We attended a music school, Grant McEwan Community College in Edmonton, and there we referred to the names of the pans by specific range. The lead pan in Trinidad, the "tenor pan" is actually in the soprano range, therefore we referred this instrument as a soprano pan (similar to a soprano sax). The "double second pan" fits into the alto range. For the most part, it was already called

an alto pan. The other contentious pan was the “guitar pan.” The range of this pan is that of the tenor like a tenor sax. Therefore, this pan, the “guitar pan” should be called the tenor pan because of its range. However, colloquially this name of “tenor pan” is already taken for the lead instrument. This was the crux of the confusion and dissensions. I explained as best as possible that evolution of names are in order. I also emphasized that this had been the process. We once referred to the lead instrument as a “ping pong”, it evolved to being called a “first pan” and then evolved to being called a “tenor pan.” My conclusion, was to let the evolution continue. The logic is clear to evolve to the “soprano pan” for the lead instrument, and the “guitar pan” to evolve to the true tenor pan. Of course, the resistance by some Trinidadians to change their local names to musical terminologies was and is very high. The local rhetoric from some was that, “We can’t allow foreigners to change the names of our locally made musical instruments.” In my own defense, I stood up as a Trinidadian to defend the pan and expressed that I was not a foreigner but a promoter of the pan culture and an advocate for pan improvement. But, this was the type of discussions surrounding the pan and the references in my textbook. Criticism of any book is always in order as long as it is available for the public, my book is no exception, so I welcomed the criticism. But I continued to meet with Trinidadians in order to promote my book.

Through a friend and neighbour, I was able to secure an appointment with the then Ministry of Education, the Honorable Hazel Manning, the wife of Prime Minister Patrick Manning. In my mind, if she was the education minister, then she certainly would be aware of my book and she would have been responsible for sending the contingent to Montreal, Canada. This of course was indeed the case. In the meeting, I tried to articulate

the need to have the qualified people to initiate the full pan program which would lead to accreditation in the public schools. Nevertheless, at this point it appeared that the contract for the book might become a reality. I pursued the intricate steps of the applications and tender in order to obtain the contract. It became a reality in 2006, the government initially indicated some 60,000 books. The first contract came in two parts, a contract for 20,000 books followed by another contract of 10,000 books, seven months later. I had the books printed in Canada and set up a local business in Trinidad to accommodate this new business enterprise. Needless to say, with funding, you can do a lot of things and so I continued to do more promotions for pan in Trinidad and Canada.

5.6 National agenda for pan in schools in T&T, UWI's input into manufacture and patent of G-Pan and PHI, the E-pan, problems in school programs

In 2005, the Manning government's Ministry of Education initiated a national agenda of steelpan programs in all public schools of Trinidad & Tobago. This was a major project for the pan industry in Trinidad and it struck a positive note in general. However some factions of the community saw it as a privileged attempt to put only one part of the culture in the public schools. Some people of the East Indian community stated that steelpan was an African descent invention and some East Indian type of instrument should also be included. Their references were between the tabla and dholak. This idea was "shot down" as these instruments had not been invented by Trinidadians although clearly some problems with race were now highlighted. Pan programs were now introduced to the public-school system of Trinidad and Tobago. There was a textbook in place and pans were distributed to many schools. It was a great time for employment for pan makers and pan tuners. Pan teachers and staff would also benefit from this project. However, I had my

deep concerns about the type of program that would be implemented. There was yet no curriculum and no syllabus for the pan programs in the schools. My hope was that, this would become a reality and serious-minded people would work towards producing an efficient syllabus for pan in the curriculum.

In other developments, new pan inventions were entering the market. This time the spotlight was on the University of the West Indies with the head of these projects and main advocate Professor Ken Copeland. Perhaps this was the result of the need for a search for a patent as regard steelpan manufacture since there were recent claims by Americans who were patenting of some aspects of steelpan manufacture. However, two principal projects were labelled for consideration, the Genesis pan the “G-Pan (Emrit 2017). This was an oversized pan in comparison to the regular standard size in use. The idea was that these types of pans would reduce the size of the band as these larger sized pans would have more notes and expected better tonal results.

On July 14, 2007, a new series of instruments called "G-Pans" was unveiled. It was the culmination of the efforts of University of the West Indies lecturer Brian Copeland and tuners Bertram Kellman and Roland Harragin. The "G-Pans" included a tenor pan with 37 notes that spanned three full octaves, and background instruments with more notes to reduce the number of drums needed to produce the same sound. (Emrit 2017)

The other invention was the concept of an electronic pan they referred to as the Percussive Harmonic Instrument or PHI (Appendix A29). Like so many things in the steelpan world, there is always some sort of controversy or conflict. Salmon Cupid, a Trinidadian living in Canada, who was previously mentioned in this tome also came up with an idea for an E-pan. He claimed that it was his idea that he took to Trinidad and showed it to officials at the UWI. The university claimed that they were already working on a similar idea. The two types of “electronic pans” are different in appearance and style,

but they share the same concept. (Appendix A30). They are in fact synthesizers similar to what has already been on the market for decades. The keyboard synthesizer which can emulate all other instruments including the steelpan tones. The difference in the electronic pans is that they are now in the shape and style of the steelpans, which makes it easy for any steelpan player, but the technology of synthesizers remains the same.

All seemed to be going well in Trinidad and Tobago with the introduction of the pan in the classrooms project. However, murmurs of inappropriate dealings with the pan tuning and pan delivery for schools were becoming more known. There was a great danger in how the contracts were administered to pan tuners and non-pan tuners. It was a haphazard system, which tended to favor friends and colleagues. There were no tender for contracts, neither was there a quality control system. There should have been a central location where the pans would be tested under a system. This was necessary to make sure that they were properly tuned, and that they were all in the same styles and patterns. There was nothing like this in existence. Some attempts were made to have some sort of standardization of the styles of the pan. Misappropriations of funds and an inept system, sent the project of putting pans in the schools to a screeching halt and checks and balances were now being considered. Of course, this problem also affected my contract with the steelpan text books as I was promised a contract of some 60,000 books yet only 30,000 books were ordered before the disruptions. This was a setback for me as I had already begun investing in setting up a printing firm to handle future contracts. The political angle then came into play when elections and a new government, the UNC, came into power. This government, the former opposition party, had a different concept regarding the pan program in the public schools and presented a concept that no longer gave the steelpan

exclusivity as a separate program. They took a position, based on a multicultural approach, to have not just the pans but all other instruments which supposedly represent Trinidad's culture. This was perceived as tainted and race began playing a part of the discussion since pan, for all historic purposes, was invented by the African descent population even though all the races have been notable contributors in some way. These included the East Indian descent population as well as the Chinese, Portuguese, and Syrian descent populations. But, now this new government wanted to form ensembles in the schools that would include, some pans, tablas, dholaks, cuatros, and guitars. Everyone saw this as pure politics and more so as race politics. There was no constructive plans as to how this will work and so, the pan program in the schools continued in uncertainty, without a clear plan and direction. This was disappointing and a setback for steelpan development in Trinidad and Tobago. Nevertheless, the decade ended in this type of disarray with the steelpan in the public schools having an uncertain future.

Chapter 6. Reflections and Involvement during the 1970's in North America

6.1 Continued rise of the pan movement and its adherents, "Golden Age of Pan"

The dawn of the new decade of the 1970's began with the old problems. In Trinidad, the Black Power movement was metastasizing as word of the army was getting involved. Two young lieutenants Rex Lasalle and Raffique Shah were being noticed and a nation-wide curfew was enacted as the government would use all means and measures necessary to curb the revolution. Despite what was going on, Trinidadians insisted on having their carnival celebrations and this decade would also see the rise of many developments of the pan movement. There were interesting and evolutionary innovations in pan manufacture from the pan tuners and also now from academia, as the UWI began getting involved. Other aspects included the perfection of the harmonic pan-tuning system; chromed pans; the rise of the arranger; the rise of prolific pan players; the rise of more pan bands for the panorama and for the road-parade; the rise of more pans in fetes; more pan recordings; more steelband world tours; more migration; more spreading of the pan. Innovation was fueling the spread and awareness of the pan, as Trinidad just kept on rolling out additional developmental ideas.

New instruments with more drums were developed. Rudolph Charles of the Desperadoes Steelband was the biggest innovator of new instruments when he introduced the nine-bass, the rocket bass, the quadrophonic pan, and the triple tenor. He also introduced chromed pans and attempted to improve acoustics on the road with aluminum canopies. (Emrit 2017)

This era of the pan movement in Trinidad and Tobago is often time referred to as the "golden age of pan." This is due to the popularity of the pan, the 'panman' and the increased steelpan activities. The female population, however, was still negligible at this time. This will drastically change in a short time. However, the instrument in itself had a

new definition and a new look. The steelpan now had “harmonic tuning” and an electroplated chromed finished like many musical instruments. It must be realized that these innovations were still, simply the pan enthusiasts’ desire and determination to improve the instrument. The steelband recordings of the fifties and sixties are discernibly different from the recordings of this era onward of the harmonic tuned pans. As much as there were many steps and a few leaps in steelpan development in Trinidad and the Caribbean, there were also notable steelpan improvements abroad. In this chapter I will look at these developments in both areas while observing the adoptions of the instrument and the adaptations to the systems in place. In particular the public-school system of Toronto, Canada, and what impact it may have had on Trinidad or not.

However, in 1970 in Trinidad, the pan was on the move and the carnival season brought new developments. Clive Bradley entered the panorama fray in 1968, being introduced by arranger Beverley Griffith to Desperadoes, the legendary steelband from Laventille. His first arrangement was a calypso from Sparrow entitled “Mr. Walker.” However, in 1970, he won his first panorama competition with his arrangement of a Lord Kitchener’s calypso entitled “Margie.” This was a new style of arrangement and paved the way for a different construct of the panorama style. Bradley introduced a “jam section” which became a staple, literally in each and every type of arrangement to follow. I was in my final year of High School at the Abbey school in Mt. St. Benedict. It was interesting to see how everything connects in some way. While in school in 1970, it was the same time of the problem of the students protest at Sir George Williams University in Montreal. I recall the protest by the University of the West Indies (UWI) campus in St. Augustine, Trinidad. I witnessed the blocking of the entrance by the Canadian delegation as they were

entering the UWI campus. Interestingly on the front page of the local Trinidad newspaper was a photo of the graduate students as they protested against the Canadian delegation. In this photo was one of our professors who was absent from school for more than a week. His name was Andalcio, he never returned to teach after that photo. However, in Montreal the students who were responsible for the protest, seized the opportunity and thereby established a cultural organization with political overtones. The objectives were to set up an organization that would bring forward the complaints and dissatisfaction of the Black and Caribbean communities. The concept was to become a very visible minority community and the best way to do this was to establish their Caribbean culture as a main event in the city. There was a precedence for this as Toronto in 1967 did set up their Caribana event in the style of Trinidad's carnival. Montreal was determined to do the same. This would later play an important part in the recognizing and the acknowledging of the Caribbean communities' contribution to Canada.

However, back in Trinidad, after a successful 1970 carnival season, the 'panorama talk' was an on-going discussion amongst the general parlance of the population. The new decade brought this new sound and belief in the success of the pan movement. Clive Bradley's musical arrangement of "Margie" added a new feel to the panorama construct and "Despers" (Desperadoes) registered their second panorama victory. The relationship with Bradley and Despers was destined for steelpan greatness. But, steelbands were growing and popping up or just simply continuing to provide enough of what they needed for their communities or villages. There were literally two categories of steelbands which were considered either to be a "stage side" or a "panorama and roadside." Flamingoes was one of those village bands with a strong determination to change their status from a stage

side and an overwhelming desire to participate in the panorama competition and play in the J'ouvert and the two-day carnival parade. Every panman's dream to fully participate in the entire activities of the carnival season. The arrangers in Flamingoes steelband at that time were Kenrick Headley and Tyrone Noreiga. Kenrick grew up in the village. Around that time a group of guys from Chaguanas came to join the band. They were led by Henry "Bendix" Cumberbatch and included Jimi Phillip and Leo Coker a renowned pan tuner. Bendix became one of the arrangers and he was also a prolific player. Jimi Phillip, though an excellent steelpan player, became the band's drummer. Wallace Austin was also a part of the band at this time. Flamingoes was a recording and dance band with a stage side performing year-round. I recall the band having a gig at the Trinidad Hilton every Monday and Friday nights for a few years. The band was ready for the leap and, aided by the sponsorship of Lever Brothers (now Unilever), was renamed the Lever Brothers Gay Flamingoes. With this ammunition, there was a great push to get the transformation from a forty-piece stage side to a hundred plus panorama side. Mobile racks and floats for the rhythm section were needed, a balanced array of new pans to accommodate the panorama side, and enough players to fill the slots. Needless to say, it must have been quite an experience for all of the first-time players to the panorama competition. The village as expected, responded, and supported the effort. The concept of 'it takes a village to raise a child' came into effect and the project was successful. Flamingoes steelband was then able to go to the panorama in 1971 for the first time and got to the final top ten, placing fifth in the finals. The band also participated in the J'ouvert celebrations and the two-day carnival parade. It was quite an experience, I was glad to have been a part of it. However,

Flamingoes' story is one that could have happened and would have happened in many other areas of Trinidad and Tobago.

6.2 The onset of the Black Power movement in Trinidad, iconic songs, "Blocko's," DJ's, and panorama boycott

Around that time, the political situation in Trinidad and Tobago was still in a turmoil. NJAC was growing in strength, they had called for demonstrations and protest marches, which were becoming popular and publicized.

The first Black Power demonstration occurred on February 26, 1970, in response to the treatment of several West Indian students at the Sir George Williams University in Montreal, Canada. Protesters moved through the downtown streets of Port of Spain, under the watchful eyes of the police and stopped periodically to deliver speeches against the Canadian High Commission, foreign banks, the Chamber of Commerce, local businesses, and the Catholic Church. During the following weeks there were several other major demonstrations, including a march from Port of Spain into the sugar cane county of Caroni under the banner, "Indians and Africans Unite Now" (NJAC conceptualized "Black Power" as inclusive of Africans and Indians) The demonstrations finally came to an end on April 21 when the government declared a state of emergency in response to the planning of a general strike by Black Power groups and various trade unions (Stuempfle 1995, 151-152).

Williams and his PNM government saw the challenge to their rule and the country and eventually declared a State of Emergency. In this manner, they garnished the power and declared laws they deemed necessary, according to the State of Emergency protocol. The government, however, was met with resistance from the general pan movement. The leader George Goddard, President of NATTS appeared more sympathetic to the NJAC and the Black Power Movement. This can be easily rationalized, as the youths usually force the changes and they were the one who embraced the Black Power Movement more readily. Many were also of the pan fraternity. The pan movement was divided as Desperadoes, a major band with a leader like Rudolph Charles appeared to support the

government's position. Clearly, political manipulations and likewise resistance, were simultaneously occurring, and the pan movement was caught up in the middle. Eventually the push and pull would give way to the dissolving of NATTS in favor of a new organization. The result was the formation of Pan Trinbago in October 1971. Roy Augustus became the first president and he held the position throughout the decade. The national election of 1971 was again won by Eric Williams and his PNM government but the situation was complex as other factions became involved. For each type of revolution where there is a political wing, oftentimes there is also a militant wing, an extreme wing that primarily advocates violence. There was a manifestation of this type of organization having similar revolutionary rhetoric, but with a totally different approach. This group though purporting an armed struggle manifesto, resorted to bank robberies and other criminal activities. This became another concern for public safety and added another layer of activities to the Black Power movement. Stuempfle offers evidence of this situation through the words of Kendall Lewis.

And a lot of people who were more radical went into NUFF [National Union of Freedom Fighters]. And they started fighting on the hills and some robbing banks, under the name of "Freedom Fighters" and all kind of thing (Stuempfle 1995, 171).

Despite all of the turmoil of the times, Trinidadians would always insist on having their carnival celebrations. The state of emergency which prevented gatherings was problematic. The 1972 carnival season had to be postponed until the political situation subsided. The new dates would now fall in the month of May. This would be the first time that the carnival would be celebrated in May. From the innovative perspective of the pan adherents, there was no letting up. New instruments were being invented in this decade, with better tonal colors manifested in the pan. The advanced style of tuning at this time

was due to the rich breed of top talented tuners of the time including the likes of Allan Gervais, Bertie Marshall, Wallace Austin, Lincoln Noel and Rudolph Charles to name a few (Appendix A5, A36). In the same innovative spirit came the pan arrangers, excelling to produce historic masterpieces of the panorama genre. They established a precedence, and path in building the panorama construct. Top arrangers in this decade included the likes of Clive Bradley, Ray Holman, Earl Rodney, Steve Achaiba, Rudy Wells, Herschel Puckering, Gerald Charles, Henry “Bendix” Cumberbatch, Lennox “Boogise” Sharpe and many more (Appendix A37). Some of the top bands in this era also included Desperadoes, Starlift, Harmonites, Hatters, Invaders, Tokyo, Pandemonium, and Phase II. Now that the carnival was postponed the slogan ‘Mas in May’ was the wonder of the day. Nevertheless, preparations went on for the coming celebrations to be held in May of 1972.

This year, we witnessed the re-emergence of Ray Holman this time not only as arranger, but now a composer. Ray states that he was fed up with the choices of calypsos offered, primarily coming from Sparrow and Kitchener, so he composed his own calypso. Alvin Daniels assisted, and it was sung by Singing Diana. The song was entitled “Pan On the Move.” It was indeed a landmark in steelpan’s history as it became iconic (Appendix A21). Ray was the arranger for Starlift and he had previously placed third in 1964 with a song from Sparrow entitled “Bullpistle Gang” and second in 1968 with Sparrow’s “Jane.” This was followed by a first in 1969 with “The Bull” by Kitchener, a second in 1970 with Sparrow’s “Pan Man,” plus another first in 1971 with Sparrow’s “Queen of the Bands.” This was a tie with Harmonites, led by Earl Rodney, playing Kitchener’s “PlayMas.” Ray also attained a high level of recognition and “notoriety” for his popular music choices notably “I Feel Pretty” from *West Side Story* and later “Penny Lane” by the Beatles. Ray

was the most ideal person to attempt something like this; ‘a pan man with his own composition in the panorama competition.’ Ray proved his point, as Starlift placed third in the panorama of 1972. The carnival season also did not disappoint many, who predicted that the rainy weather in the month of May would be disastrous. The show went on and, in the tradition, social commentaries and calypsos were made the following year depicting the events. Sparrow’s “Mas in May” and Kitchener’s “Rainorama” which won the Panorama and also the Road March, were evidence of a couple of related songs.

During the seventies, there was another event that steelbands groups began engaging with and “investing” within their pan yards. It was an outdoor event given by one band which invited a few other steelbands. They labeled this a “Blocko-rama” and it was also meant to be a fund-raising event for the band. It seemed to be a great entrepreneurial endeavor. However, the steelbands and purpose were defeated by the invitation of a DJ. The intention was to provide music in between the bands and after the bands performed. It turned out that the DJ with large speakers provided a much louder sound and had the ability to play all of the popular music of the day, instantaneously. It was the beginning of the end for that experiment. By the end of the decade, the same loud music of the DJ’s would eventually have the same effect on the steelbands, for the carnival street parades. Throughout, the decade Ray Holman continued composing and arranging his own music for the panorama competition. He moved on to other bands, Pandemonium was on the list and in 1976/1977 placed third with the band in the finals. But this also paved the way for others to follow, most notably the already talented Len “Boogsie” Sharpe. Boogsie with all of his talent and skill needed his own space and he in turn would leave Starlift and establish his own group, the Phase II Pan Groove. As with all

things, it took the younger more “rebellious” crew to make that type of move. It was nothing new, it was quite similar to what Ray Holman did by leaving Invaders under Ellie Mannede to go with Starlift. This is a common form of growth of the steelband movement where members “branch out” to make a new band and this type of activity will likely continue in the future. There is a history of many bands going through similar situations in the past as part of the steelpan development process. For the rest of the decade growth continued in pan innovations yet there were signs of the beginning of constrictions regarding steelpan activities. Technology and advancement in sound affected the perception of steelband music. One of the biggest hits to be felt were the fetes (dances). Somewhere in the mid to late 70’s, the lore of steelbands in fetes began to wane due to several factors. Amongst them were the size of the steelbands, but more importantly the lack of a stronger sound, than the natural acoustics. The world was changing, and amplification of sounds was becoming second nature to any activity. No longer was there always a steelband or steelbands at fetes. Another area was the invasion of the DJ’s on the road parades. The acoustic pans even a hundred piece strong were no match for a truck full of DJ equipment with a few large speakers. In addition, pushing the pans on the road became a nightmare and hassle. The pan-racks were becoming impossible to negotiate through the narrow streets with parked cars etc. Changes were inevitable, and so the pan movement had to adjust to the changes. The panorama competition, therefore, began to become the central focus of all activities. These changes which were observed by keen pan enthusiasts were advocated by special interest groups. But public enthusiasm in pan were now more seasonal. Of course, the pan movement would keep on, but dissatisfaction among the membership began growing as the panmen decried the lack of money to be had

in the business. The murmur of discontent would grow to a boiling point at the end of the decade, such that a boycott of the panorama was eminent. There were heavy political overtones and divisive undertones within the pan fraternity where sides were taken. The end result was 99% boycott of the panorama competition of 1979. Only one band broke the boycott and passed through the Grand Savannah. Desperadoes, under Rudolph Charles, stood alone against the pan body and thereby sided with the government. There was an uproar from the other bands as expected. Desperadoes “earned the title of the government’s band.” But, the relationship between Rudolph Charles and the Prime Minister Dr. Eric Williams was a known fact. It was said that “Rudolph had the ear of the Doc” (Appendix A18). Only Rudolph Charles and Desperadoes could have attempted and gotten away with something like that. Desperadoes won three of the panorama titles during the 70’s decade, but so did Harmonites. There were also some songs of that era that would always be considered as ‘panorama classics’, “Margie” and “Pan in Harmony” (Desperadoes/Bradley); “Queen of the Bands” and “Pan on the Move” (Starlift/Holman) literally all the winning songs and non-winning songs also (Appendix A24). The contraction of other steelpan activities and focus on the panorama during this decade would have lasting effects. The “Steelpan Festival” which was a bi-annual event in the 60’s had an offering of only one event for the decade, in 1972. The “Bomb” competition had dwindled off to a non-competitive “bragging rights” affair. Panorama became the main event and in some cases the beginning of the only event for some bands. But the resolve of the pan fraternity knows no end, and the pan people always find ways and means to push and fight back. Such is the nature of the people and the pan culture. Despite the contractions and limitations in some areas, there were some substantial growth and

development in many areas. The tonal quality of the instrument with the harmonic tuning, the different types of new ranges of pans, and the chroming of the pans. The quality of the musical arrangements was setting standards. The fact that panmen were now composing their own music was another level and layer of development. The number of prolific pan players was also growing as steelband tours and migration were adding to the diffusion and spreading of the pan culture.

6.3 UWI's academic involvement in manufacture, tales of migrations to USA and Canada

Around this time there was also a concerted effort to involve academia in the manufacturing development of the pan. There is a limited history of this type of related activity, but attempts were made prior to this time. However, an initiative by the University of the West Indies (UWI), St. Augustine campus began a process of research involving the engineering department. Within the last decade, Imbert has led an effort to revive the project at the University of the West Indies (Appendix A23).

In 1972, the first scientific study of the characteristics of pan was initiated at the University of the West Indies (UWI) at St. Augustine, Trinidad, by Ron Dennis, a lecturer in the Engineering Department. Dennis, who was from England, analyzed the behavior of pan notes in the laboratory and theorized that pans could be pressed (made concave) by the hydroform method. Initially, a small die was manufactured and tested on mini-pans, with research help from engineering student Clement Imbert. With funding from the Caribbean Industrial Research Institute (Cariri), construction of a larger press designed by Ron Dennis began at the UWI Engineering Department in 1974. Upon his graduation from UWI, Clement Imbert joined the Cariri project team which included Richard McDavid as the Project Manager. The press was completed in 1975 and, after testing, was put into operation with the help of Caroni Limited who made their machine shop available for the project. Pans were pressed from 1975 to 1976 and were tuned by Bertie Marshall and Anthony Williams who reported their findings to the project team. The biggest problem observed by the tuners was the material distribution, i.e., the lack of a gradual reduction in thickness from the circumference to the center of the pressed surface. Improvements were made and, with the support of arranger Ray Holman, the first complete set of pans were used in the 1976 Panorama competition. Pressing

ceased in mid-1977 when funding from the Government of Trinidad & Tobago was halted. (Emrit 2017)

The pan-tuning world outside of Trinidad practice an ongoing form of research and development. Amongst the well-known researchers in this area are the likes of Rossing, Ulf Kronman, NIU, University of West Virginia, Ed Peters of Toronto, Canada. Many other countries are beginning to experiment with the concept of steelpan manufacture. However, with the change of immigration laws in North America, migration became not just a talk but an idea and concept worth pursuing. Waves of migrants were now leaving Trinidad and Tobago for North America. Many would go to the USA, but a growing number of Trinidadians were finding Canada to be the place of migration. Canadian Immigration laws were updated. This provided the added impetus for migration from the Caribbean and Trinidadians responded. I had graduated in 1970, and instead of furthering my education, I went into the work force. Biology and chemistry were a couple of subjects of which I had a keen interest and pursued employment in that field. I ended up getting a job as a lab assistant at the Carib Brewery. An interesting job of testing and tasting beers the whole day. But I was a devoted steelpan player with my village band Flamingoes. At that time all of my cousins and close relatives in the band were more than fifteen. I rose to be the section leader of the alto pans (double second). In 1970, I also met my girlfriend Margaret (Adiyah) Apparicio. We would be married in three years. The beginning of 1971 was the full pursuit of Flamingoes going to the panorama for the first time and also participating on the road for the J'ourvert and the parade. It was quite a time for young pan enthusiasts all over. But more so for us in our village, as we were about to experience our first trip to the "Big Yard" for the panorama. The rest is history, by April of 1972, my girlfriend was migrating to Canada. I had no thoughts of Canada as I was becoming quite

comfortable with my lab assistant job at Carib. Flamingoes was meaning a lot more to me with responsibilities. I became an activist in the band along with the “younger fellas”, pushing for more, for the players and the band itself. In many areas, this became at odds with the administration of which many were my close relatives. But the band was very vibrant, recording every year with lots of gigs throughout the year. There were double and triple jobs on many nights during the carnival season. This is what I experienced with Flamingoes during the years of 1968 to 1973 (Appendix A18). Some of the repertoire from the three arrangers at that time included a memorable “Bomb” song by Tyrone Noreiga “Poet and Peasants.” Tyrone was also responsible for the first panorama song in 1971, “PP 99” by Kitchener, “Country Girl” by Shadow in 1972, and “Mas in May” by Sparrow in 1973. However, Henry “Bendix” Cumberbatch also left a great body of works including “Carioca” (a latin feel) and “Village Swallows.” These were some of the many recordings of the band during that period. Notwithstanding, Kenrick Headley, as usual would always give gems to the band including “Carry Me I Want to Die” by Fela Ransom Kuti and “Caterpillar.” Kenrick had done a song for Flamingoes way back in the late 60’s and it became a ‘must play’ song at all fetes. It was part of his composition which he called “Pops Medley.” Nevertheless, 1972 was the year of the carnival in May and it was after the summer, that the idea of migrating to Montreal, Canada started to become a meaningful thought. This was going to be a big step, but a relatively simple plan. At that time, it would have taken 12-18 months to complete the application process for migration to Canada. The plan was simple, to begin the application and in a year my girlfriend and I would marry and immigrate to Canada. It was only an idea and a plan, but, we began preparations. From the time the thought was fixated in my mind, another idea of acquiring

an alto pan for migration became a must-do activity. I immediately began work on that project. Having your own personal pan in Trinidad in 1973 was a very rare scenario as all of the pans literally belonged to the steelbands where they are found. Where would one be able to get a pan for migration? Even though I was the section leader for the alto section, it was not possible for me to simply ask for a pan and expect to have one. But, I had another plan, I would ask my good friend and “big brother” Wallace Austin to make me a pan. In addition, chroming of pans had recently been a part of the innovations of pan, but at that time Flamingoes had no chrome plated alto pans. Wallace agreed to make the alto pans at no cost, but I wanted them completed with the chromed finished look. After the preparation stages Wallace took me to the chrome factory where we did the formalities and left the set of alto pans to be chromed. Everything went well, as far as the immigration process of obtaining the necessary documents. The chromed pan was being completed, my girlfriend Margaret was returning for our wedding in July of 1973 and we planned to move to Montreal, Canada. From the summer of 1972 until the end of July 1973, my main focus bringing everything together in order to migrate with my wife and my pan. This was very ambitious, but at that time it seemed to be quite possible as everything was in the right place.

The 1973 panorama and carnival season came around, and Flamingoes participated playing Sparrow’s “Mas in May” and the band got to the semi-final round. The J’ourvert and carnival Monday and Tuesday parades were also memorable. However, Flamingoes had some internal problems brewing between leadership members. Carlos Rose, leader on one side, and Amin Mohamad, manager on the other side, were in conflict. My uncle Bob Theroulde who was the secretary, had migrated in 1972 and was replaced by another

cousin, Vernon (Vernie) Theroulde. My elder brother Ken Wilson was the treasurer. The rift between the leader and the manager worsened and some of us younger, keen-on-activism, players were looking at both factions with apprehension. Our agenda was simply to have more accountability and a bigger say for the players. But, neither Carlos nor Amin really trusted us, even though we had some of the best players in our group of activists. We were also looked upon as “college boys.” Immediately coming to my mind is my cousin Mervyn Theroulde, who went to the best school on the island St. Mary’s College. Also, my good friend and school mate Anthony Cedeno who attended the same Abbey School at Mt. St. Benedict. There were a few others who made up our team of activists. We met at Wallace Austin’s home a few times as he was sympathetic to our cause. For a while Amin appeared to be wanting to work with us, the activists. But, in the final meeting and final analysis, both Amin and Carlos saw us as the major threat. They worked together as management against us. Reminding everyone that I was due to migrate relatively soon. They won that battle if there was one, but something had started. We did, however, inform the majority of the players of being on guard, against the power struggle that was erupting within the administration. The future would be the teller of the tale. My alto pan was near completion but Wallace was offered a pan tuning gig for the US Navy Steelband group in Puerto Rico. He would not return before I migrated and there was one note on my pans that needed to be cleaned up. Nevertheless, I got my chromed alto pan from Wallace Austin and was grateful for this instrument. Leo Coker who had gotten involved with Flamingoes in the time of Bendix, was able to complete the note. I also thanked him. By July of 1973, everything had worked out positively for me, including my immigration papers. My girlfriend Margaret returned to Trinidad and we married on July 21, 1973. Ten

days later on July 31, I migrated to Montreal, Canada with my wife and my chromed alto pans.

6.4 Wider spread of the development of pan communities in Canadian cities

Meanwhile Canada's migration pattern for Trinidadians showed Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver as the principal cities of choice. More migrants brought more steelpan instruments and steelpan adherents inclusive of players and tuners. There were pockets of groups that were emerging in many cities. Pan arrived in Edmonton, Alberta in the late 1960's in a similar manner with Trinidad migrants being the key players. By 1969 a group of Trinidadians got together and a steelband group was formed, it was called the "Caribbean Express" led by Cleve Black. Interestingly Cleve Black was an all-white Trinidadian with a very heavy Trinidadian accent, of which he never hesitated to speak in the raw. The 1970's produced profound changes, yet the on-going migrations to North America continued. Like many other Trinidadians, I migrated to Canada in 1973, arriving with my wife and my pans as my principal luggage. I settled in Montreal and within the first two weeks did my first nightclub gig in a place called La Siesta. I was able to sit in on a couple of songs with a Caribbean group. I thought, I had made it, but the reality was, that it would take quite a few years later to develop. My next gig was almost a year later as I got involved with the black and Caribbean community in Montreal. I am now coming face to face with the students who had protested at the Sir George Williams University. After that incident and their graduation, they formed this culturally based organization with political overtones. They named it the "Black Community Development Project" (BCDP). This organization was led by Leroy Butcher one of the students who were in the

forefront of the confrontation against the Sir George Williams University's administration. Butcher and some of his students' friends were determined to stand up for the causes affecting the black and Caribbean communities of Montreal. This organization would be that vehicle. Accordingly, they had raised concerns in a meeting with then Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, who was sympathetic to their cause. This was an impetus for BCDP to be more pro-active. They sought best to project an image of a very visible minority. They looked at the impact, the Trinidad style "Caribana" event in Toronto. Montreal wanted to emulate, if not imitate, this Caribana idea. As a young immigrant I was enthralled with finding this new budding approach to my own recently abandoned culture. I was also respectful and mindful of the history created by Leroy Butcher and his team who were planning a major event for 1974 that would encompass all the elements of Trinidad Carnival in particular the tri-arts of "Mas,' Calypso, and Pan." I naturally fell into the pan movement and my chromed alto pans, the only ones at that time, added a new look to the community steelband. This was also the first ever community steelband group to come into existence. As mentioned, there were other pockets of groups since the 1950's but this would be one of the signature achievements of the BCDP. The fact that they would have an official steelband that could also participate in events. Being part of the first ever Caribbean parade in Montreal was a bonus. Full preparations were on the way in every area, the mas' people, the calypsonians, and the steelband movement. The following year Montreal produced its first annual Caribbean Carnival which became known as "Carifete."

With the annual arrival of migrants, came more talented and engaged pan players. I was among the new migrants in 1973, arriving with my wife Adiyah and my steelpan, a chromed alto pan made by Wallace Austin. My wife and I went directly to Montreal, where I began my own chapter in steelpan development. I immediately became a part of Montreal's first community steelpan group, "Super Steel." This group began preparation for Montreal's first Caribbean carnival festival and parade

in 1974 (later called “Carifete”). The event and organization were spearheaded by Leroy Butcher. Guest of Honor was the legendary boxer, Muhammad Ali. Pan personnel from this steelband included Knolly Smith, Bonnie Buccoo, Edmund and Kenneth Charles, Bernard Gibbs, Adrian Ali Romano and “Pudden” Ulman. (Wilson 2019, 6)

An interesting incident worthy of mentioning at this time. Rudolph Charles was called upon to tune-up the pans for the community group “Super Steel” in preparation for the 1974 Montreal Carnival parade. I had seen Rudolph many times in St. John Village when he was looking for Wallace Austin who would be tuning for Flamingoes. The pattern was that, he would take Wallace, and for a few days keep him at Desperadoes pan yard. When I saw Rudolph in Montreal, I introduced myself and explained my connection with Wallace Austin and my chrome alto pan. He agreed to look at my pan after the carnival. A few days later, Rudolph came to my apartment at 6210 Somerled Avenue in Montreal, to tune-up my pans. In my apartment, I always played my pans softly to avoid upsetting any tenants but imagine getting a pan tuned in that same apartment. Needless to say, the janitor banged on my door and I opened the door to let him see what was going on and he saw, a heavy set, six-foot black man in army overalls with a hammer in his hand. He was standing over a musical instrument he had never saw before. Rudolph gesticulated to him to come over and see but the janitor stood his ground with a look of dismay and wonderment. “What the...” and never entered. I tried to explain how rare this was, and that it would not last much longer. Shortly after I had to vacate the apartment, but it was worth it. I would tell that humorous story to Rudolph ten years later.

Toronto was expanding in many other ways with respect to steelpan development. Pioneer Selwyn “Sello” Gomes had already established a steelpan program in Sir Wilfrid Laurier public school as early as 1970 (Appendix A21). Meanwhile the municipal

government set up a Heritage Fund program which supported The Harriet Tubman Centre as a place focusing on African Canadians. The local pan movement in Toronto seized this idea to establish a community steelband group. The pan community pioneers in the early 1970's included the likes of Panman Pat, Earl La Pierre Sr., Ed Peters, Ian Jones, Cecil "Mugs" Clarke, and Ken Jeffers (Appendix A21). Around the same time in 1972, the Winnipeg Steel Orchestra was formed and has established some affiliated works with the University of Manitoba. Some of the pioneers include Patrick Nunes, Selwyn McSween, Gerry Sampson, and Ruthven Nimblett (Appendix A21).

6.5 Significant involvement of people of non-Caribbean stock, politics in Quebec, more English migrants to Toronto, pan in schools in Toronto

However, steelpan development was not only restricted to Caribbean migrants, notably Trinidadians. The pan culture was becoming more known and noticeable. It started attracting certain people who wanted to not only try it, but to experience and be a part of it. In St. John's, New Brunswick the Lancaster Kiwanis Steelband was formed in 1972 (Appendix A21). Kiwanis is an international organization that specializes in working with kids. They credit their steelband formation from an experience at the Montreal Expo '67 World Fair. They saw the Trinidad Steelbands and knew that they wanted to have a steelband program for their organization. They achieved this goal and continues to this present day. - Formed in 1972 with High School students, they performed about 40 times a year, including concerts, conventions, parades, and music festivals. The taping of a CBC television program - "The Sound Steel" was done in 1974. They accomplished "Steelhenge: Concerto for Steel Band and Symphony" by Eldon Rathburn. They also performed on tour throughout the Canadian Maritime Provinces with the Atlantic

Symphony Orchestra and conductor Skitch Henderson. "There are a lot of transplanted Jamaicans who have steel bands in New York, but never anything like this, at least in my experience" commented Skitch Henderson (Henderson ND).

Another situation of early Canadian involvement was with the York Lions Steelband, founded in 1972, in the home of the musically-talented Saunders Family. Doug and brother Don, and Doug's daughter Debbie (Canadians). Similarly, to the Kiwanis, they had seen and heard the Trinidad steelbands at Montreal's Expo '67 World's Fair and decided to passionately get involved. They met up with a Trinidadian Jerry Jerome, who was also a pan tuner and arranger who was very important in the initial stages of making it happen. They were originally sponsored by the York Lions Club, Ontario but are now a registered non-profit organization (Appendix A21). The Leadership provides the following statement on their website:

The Band provides a constructive, healthy activity for youth in which they learn how to express themselves through music and to develop leadership and performing skills. The Band's goals are to provide youth with a year-round activity which, in addition to being lots of fun, teaches responsibility and commitment. Educational trips, combined with musical performances, are a top priority (<http://www.yorklionssteelband.com/index.htm>).

However, from a political perspective the murmurs of Quebec's French nationalism began growing. The political climate was heating up with the nationalist party, the "Parti Quebecois." They won the provincial elections in 1976 and this brought about profound changes. The new law Bill 101 with its language implications had far reaching repercussions including affecting the steelpan communities in both Montreal and Toronto. After 1976, there was an exodus of people, culture and businesses, head offices were transferred from Montreal to Toronto. Many people of the English communities also, moved away from Quebec. Apart from businesses being affected so too were education

and immigration. The amount of non-speaking French migrants dwindled as the once friendly welcoming Quebec was no more to non-Francophones. Caribbean migrants from English speaking islands chose Toronto and other western cities instead of Montreal. In an interview with Patrick McNally aka “Panman Pat,” he confirmed how some events at that time led to certain opportunities. Due to the heavy flow of Caribbean migrants to Toronto, the municipal government engaged the steelpan community with more heritage programs. The steelpan community seized the opportunity to establish a community steelpan program in what was then known as the Harriet Tubman Centre. The success of this in turn encouraged the school boards to further engage the steelpan community. The result was the introduction of steelpan programs to public schools as extra-curricular activities in 1976. This proved to be of great success and served as a melting pot experience. The intention was to accommodate Caribbean migrants, but it quickly grew into an open welcoming program for all. Toronto began expanding in different areas of steelpan activities. More professional migrants were now arriving in Toronto and increasingly more groups and activities came into being. Meanwhile, there was the beginning of stagnation in Montreal as many areas became paralyzed due to the politics.

6.6 Steelpan development throughout Canada by the exploits of an active participant

For my first decade in Canada, even though I had made Montreal my home, my wife and I travelled across Canada and spent six months in Vancouver. There, we got involved with the local steelpan community. In 1975, we returned to Trinidad for the carnival season with the objective of acquiring more pans. Wallace Austin had returned home from Puerto Rico and I got him to make me a couple of pans – a soprano and a “double tenor” which I refer to as a mezzo-soprano. I did not play the panorama with

Flamingoes but I went with Mervyn, Cedeno and some of the other guys who were in our “rebellious activist group.” Most of the guys were now playing with Ray Holman and Pandemonium, so for the 1975 Panorama I also played with Pandemonium. Ray had done a song by Maestro entitled “Tempo” and it was a good experience to play Ray’s music and be back with my friends and relatives playing pan in Trinidad.

However, when I returned to Montreal in 1975, an adventurous steelpan experience would occur. Kenrick Headley had married my cousin Marlene and they visited and stayed with us in Montreal. Kenrick went on to do some business in Trinidad. They had invited us to come out west and join their group in Vancouver. Patrick, my elder brother, had immigrated in December of 1974 and was also staying at my home. We all decided to make that move, by that time I now had three sets of pans (soprano, mezzo-soprano and alto). My wife Margaret, my brother Patrick, and my cousin Marlene eventually packed up and moved to Vancouver where the steelpan scene was very vibrant at that time. Far away on the West Coast, the joy of finding this type of music was exhilarating for steelpan lovers. We had gone to Vancouver to team-up with Orvis Noel’s “Super Tones.” Kenrick Headley was the arranger. I had known Orvis from Trinidad as he was a player in Flamingoes, a former manager of the band, and also a former student of Abbey School. Two of his brothers were good friends of mine, Hamish, and Winston, we all grew up together in St. John Village. Hamish was one of the leading soprano players in Flamingoes and he had also migrated to Vancouver within the last few years. Another surprise addition to Orvis’ band was Jimi Phillip who had joined Flamingoes with the Bendix crew. Lorris Sammy Morris, Marlene’s brother and another of my cousins was also a part of the band. We had five of Flamingoes top players who were part of the 1971

first Panorama competition. Everything should have worked, however, from the beginning, the views of Orvis were not at all compatible with the rest of us.

How a steelband functions in Trinidad is just not possible in Canada. I realized that to stay with Orvis' band even though friends and relatives whom I grew up with were part of the band was not viable. It could have been a very powerful band with Kenrick as the arranger, but it did not work. So, I parted ways with my three sets of pans. I was welcomed by another band "Trinidad Cavaliers" led by Vernon and J.C. Charles. They offered me a room in their house and their steelband group was in their basement. This worked very well. There was yet another band led by a pan tuner Otto "Boots" Faustin called "Coffee Dregs." I pondered about him making me a tenor range instrument (double or triple guitar) and a set of bass-pans. With the three pans I already have, it would allow me to have a complete SATB band. It was an intriguing idea, and I immediately began to work on the concept. It involved having to also join his band. At that time, it was not the cultural acceptable to be playing in more than one 'competing' band. But, I was not about to follow any would-be laws. Vernon and JC had no problems with Boots as he was also their pan tuner. All went well, I was now playing and performing with these two bands in Vancouver, while acquiring enough money to pay for the pans. There was yet another band that I came across, they were the legendary "Moonlighters" with Moon at the helm. I visited their Cosmos Club to see and hear their performance. There was still another group, "Sunset Cavaliers" known as the Bajan band.

By this time, my wife and brother had moved on from Vancouver to Edmonton. I was awaiting the completion of these pans. Edmonton was the next destination since I had some relatives living there. My eldest brother, Ken was there. He was the former treasurer

of Flamingoes and my uncle Bob, original founder and secretary of the band was also there. I thought that, all I had to do was get the steelpan equipment and show up. Their support would be unquestionable. After about six months in Vancouver, I boarded a train with a complete set of steelpan instruments from bass to soprano. In addition, I had two people who were willing to make a change and travel on this adventure with me. Gale Hunte the drummer for Boots “Coffee Dregs” band, and Nikki Assoon also the drummer for Moon’s “Moonlighters Steelband.” They were simply impressed with what I was doing, and as young people, there was that adventure of the unknown. So, off to Edmonton, we went, not knowing what to expect. First stop was my elder brother’s home. It was a form of imposition because we knew no one else in Edmonton. Nevertheless, after one week we found a place where we were able to set up our band and live at the same time. There I was trying to put together my first group with a full complement of pans and two willing players but my wife, already back in Montreal with her family, was not able to handle this type of adventure.

My uncle Bob Theroulde and my elder brother Ken Wilson, the former secretary and treasurer of Flamingoes, were both there as was my other brother Patrick. It seemed to me that it would have been easy to put together a band with all of these former players. However, my two elder relatives, whom I thought would give me that natural support, and would be proud of me taking up this position with the steelpan, were on the opposite view. They were actually dismayed that I would leave Trinidad to come to Canada to “just beat pan.” as they stated. I was not expecting this feedback especially from two people, whom I had looked up to in the pan world. But, that was the reality and instead, it simply gave me a greater inspiration to do steelpan in Canada. My two friends and I settled down at our

new place, and of course the next step was, how do we pay the rent and how do we live. The word got out amongst the Caribbean community about our new group. Presently there were two other steelbands in Edmonton. The Caribbean Express with Cleve Black as leader and arranger. The other band was a group of younger guys, who called themselves “The Brotherhood Steelband.” They were made up of friends and family, the Barker brothers and other relatives were the leaders in the band.

The first addition to my group was a friend and activist from Flamingoes, Vincent “Bossman” Thomas. He had made a trip with Ray Holman’s Pandemonium to Montreal in 1975. Vincent had a plan to not return to Trinidad with the band, and instead to stay in Canada and apply for legal status. He got in touch with me and I welcomed him to join our group in Edmonton. My other childhood friend Anthony Cedeno was with him on the trip and was also considering “jumping ship.” This is referring to staying in Canada and not returning with the group. But he changed his mind, he had a good job back in Trinidad. Vincent however, joined us and strengthen our group. I called the band “Pan Vibes Exhibits” (Appendix A22). We immediately started putting a repertoire together. This was now my first band and I am now in the position of leader and arranger with limited experience in these areas. Nevertheless, I was able to use whatever I knew at that time, common sense and logic were good friends of mine. Shortly after, Jimi Phillip who was still in Vancouver with Orvis Noel’s “Super Tones” decided to join us “young fellas” in this adventure in Edmonton. Jimi had known Vincent because we were all players in Flamingoes. So it was a re-union, Jimi was now embarking on his pan tuning career,

But, he was also a prolific young pan player and he had arranging skills. So, he became the de facto arranger. I assisted and did whatever I was capable of doing at that

time. Our band concept began growing and immediately we took a different approach to pan. We started playing more of the popular music that was on the radio. In addition, we began doing vocals with the ensemble. In order to raise funds, we started having 'shows' in the house that we were renting. We were not silent in asking anyone to bring food or whatever they were able to. We started becoming popular as we found work in the university campus. We visited Grant McEwan Community College, a music school. They admired our steelpan concept and invited us to attend classes without any grading. We were able to participate in a couple of their concerts. Having this experience in a music school inspired me to know that I must become literate in music. We started doing more gigs in Edmonton, but winter was coming, and Edmonton's winters are just brutal. Nevertheless, we survived the winter. Spring was coming around and soon the summer of 76 would be here. Like the time of 1967, Montreal was again the talk for the summer. They were hosting the 1976 Olympics. It was important to go back to Montreal. So, we prepared to return to Montreal for the summer. My wife welcomed the group and we started a new chapter of steelpan activities in Montreal. At that time, the only band in existence was the Trinidad Playboys the guys who were there from Expo'67. They had returned to Montreal and set up their band (Appendix A26).

6.7 Pan grows in Toronto schools, Montreal Carifete, more forms of steelpan development

However, the political scenario in Montreal was problematic, the Parti Quebecois won the government elections, and were the party that some suggested had a separatist agenda. They introduced stringent French laws including Bill 101. There was a saying “If you don’t like Bill 101 then take the 401” This is in reference to taking the Hi-way 401 to Toronto. This political situation would see a lot of migration to Toronto and other western cities. In addition, new English-speaking migrants were hesitant to go to Quebec so Toronto began reaping the benefits of Montreal’s demise. The municipal government, the school board, and the pan community got together in 1976 and introduced steelpan programs to the public schools of Toronto as extra curricula activities. This was the first step in a milestone of progressive growth of the steelpan. This program was intended to accommodate the influx of Caribbean migrants to Toronto but was found to be attractive and accommodating to all, as students gravitated to this new type of musical instruments. The steelpan programs in the Toronto schools began growing as more schools wanted in on this new musical phenomenon. The teachers at that time were generally Trinidadians or people from other Caribbean islands. In Toronto, the pan was on the move again, as it now entered academia. It must be noted, that at this same time in history, pan was not yet officially introduced to the public schools of Trinidad and Tobago although we have seen instances where the steelpan was unofficially introduced to some schools. Dave De Castro had a small group at the Abbey school in the early 1950’s (Appendix A11, A17, A31). A good friend, Aldwin Albino was one of the first persons to teach pan, in a public school in Trinidad. As a teacher, he also initiated the first request for a steelband to play in a church.

My initiative to develop a steel band at the school proved to be a success, in many ways, but it also ensured our students their rightful places in the church. Calvary R.C. School made history: quoted Carl Jacob in an article dated May 28, 1968, for the Sunday Guardian, a local newspaper. My principal, Mr. Arthur Cyrille's dream had come true. He went on to say. Our intention is to use the steel band not simply as an extra-curricular activity for our pupils but to experiment with it as a medium for the teaching of music and other subjects. Mr Albino deserves a word of praise for suggesting an implementing the idea." Father Nicholas Sheridan the parish priest also deserves some credit, because without his blessings this project would not have been accomplished. We had indeed created history ion Trinidad and Tobago and possibly in the world, as we were the first school to have a steel band as an integral part of its daily curriculum. In addition, we broke tradition, by being the first non-conventional orchestra, a steel band to perform at a Mass in the sanctuary of a Catholic Church in Trinidad, West Indies. (Albino 2008, 88)

Aldwin was, among many other things, an iconic figure in the early days of radio and TV entertainment. The popularity and long running effect of various shows propelled Aldwin Albino to become a household name. In particular, the more than twenty years running and famous show "Auntie Kay" which dealt with children's talent and entertainment, Aldwin was the pianist. The Hazel Ward show which dealt with teens and similarly, there was the popular TV show "Scouting for Talent" with Holly Betaudier. This was a showcase for all talent, Aldwin was again the pianist. Aldwin was from a musical family and his elder sister, Merle Albino, is a well-known and well-respected musician. She is currently still active and can be seen and heard among other things as an adjudicator or commentator during the carnival season. Aldwin's younger brother Martin, has a known history of remarkable pan activities with a group called Savoy's. He immigrated also to Montreal, Canada in the seventies, following Aldwin who had immigrated previously. Martin continues to work in music and the steelpan business and we have done and continue to do many things in steelpan activities in Montreal. Aldwin

and I had a very special relationship in and out of music (Appendix A31). In 2019, Martin called me up to give me the sad news of the passing of Aldwin (R.I.P.)

During the mid-seventies steelpan activities began growing in Toronto, partly due to the greater influx of Caribbean migrants. The lack of Caribbean migrants going to Montreal was a gain for Toronto. Then, there was the general increase in steelpan activities, especially in academia. More pockets of steelpan groups began to develop within the Caribbean communities, and more opportunities for steelpan players became a reality. The fact that there were now steelpan programs in the Toronto public schools and growing in numbers gave a great boost to steelpan recognition and acceptance. In addition, the popularity of the Caribana weekend in Toronto was an ever-growing scenario becoming a world-wide event in which steelbands were prominent.

In Montreal, the 1976 Olympics revived the hope that the city might be able to recreate “the magic of Expo ’67”. But, politics raised its head with the issue of separation. It was viewed as a break-up of the country. One has to study the history of Quebec and the history of Quebec in Canada to begin to understand, why at that time the population would choose that specific government. One that was pushing the agenda of a uniquely French society, with heavy emphasis on the French language, culture and ultimately the separation from Canada. I will not go into that political web even though by all account to this day I have lived most of my life in Montreal. But the politics were affecting all forms of life. The 1976 Olympics, was not the success that was expected and the whole process was mired with labour strikes and other problems made obvious in the unfinished Olympic Stadium. There was great news for Trinidad & Tobago though, as Hasely Crawford of Trinidad won the 100 meters and became the fastest man on the planet. However, time

began to come to a standstill in Montreal as all forms of entertainment and other jobs began drying up as the politics became more unstable. There were limited steelpan activities happening during this time but the Trinidad Playboys led by Winston “Skippy” Maingot were still active. Edmund “Sad Man” Charles had some remnant of the community band that was part of the first Montreal 1974 Caribbean Festival. There were still individual pan players around like Louis Blesdell, Bert Boldon, Albert “Filo” James, Martin Albino, James Andrews (pan tuner from Expo ’67) and more. But, there were no more steelpan groups. The Montreal Carnival, the “Carifete” which was so successful in 1974, took a negative turn in 1975 with a split in the administration. Leroy Butcher kept true to his commitment of a community organization and community event, but the carnival was hijacked by another faction within, led by Henry Antoine. The result was that there were two permits and two carnival parades on the same day one going east and the other going west. It sent a message to the city that the Caribbean community was not ready, as it showed the disunity. I was out west in Vancouver at that time. For the 1976 Carnival, there was only one parade, but by that time it was engulfed by Antoine and his group. It was never able to re-capture the grandeur of 1974 and began a continuous downward slide.

My own group Pan Vibes Exhibits brought a new prospective to steelpan in the city at a time when not much was happening. We signed up with a booking agency and began doing lots of gigs in the Montreal area and also in the suburbs and countryside. We did a bit of vocals, with pop songs and we were small for a steelband, a soprano (lead pan), alto (double-second), tenor (triple guitar) and bass (six-pan bass) with drums. We were able to fit in small spaces and playing in clubs was not a problem. However, by the

fall of 1977, we disbanded, the same problems that cause bands to stop functioning. We became a victim of band problems. By the spring of 1978, I decided to put another band together. I recalled Jimi Phillip who had returned to Trinidad, got some other guys from Montreal, and invited an iconic singer from Trinidad to be the vocalist in the band. The band was called Galaxy Vocal Steelband and the singer was James Byron (Junior Byron). Part of our objective was to return to the university gigs in Edmonton as there was potential and we now had a much stronger group. We began the preparation and rehearsals for this new trip. We did a couple of shows in Montreal and Junior Byron was still a big name in many circles. It was well received. The concept in Edmonton with Galaxy went very well as we were able to do recordings, radio, and TV shows (Appendix A22). This band lasted for a good year before it too fell apart and everyone went their own way. I still continued a band with my wife, another friend Michael Jackson (Sadiq Muhammad) and his wife. Junior Byron and Jimi Phillip were still occasionally involved when around and I had two children by then.

But steelpan groups were growing in many Canadian cities by the end of the 1970's. It was the same pattern of Caribbean migrants namely Trinidadians setting up or assisting in the formation of these groups. It was happening in various cities, including Calgary, Winnipeg, and Ottawa. The seventies in Montreal ended up in wonderment of what's next? But pan was on the move in many Canadian cities and in the public schools of Toronto. Meanwhile the end of the seventies in Trinidad saw progress in many areas. There was the better tonal color and innovation in various styles of pan. But, also in the arrangement of panorama music, many gems were left from a constellation of arrangers and bands. 1972 was also the only Steelband Festival for the decade (Appendix A24).

There were, however, discordant vibes from dissatisfied players, such that there was a general boycott of the 1979 panorama (Emrit 2017).

The decade ended with steelbands boycotting the Panorama competition in 1979 in protest over insufficient prize money. The boycott created an opportunity for recorded music to replace steelband music on the road during Carnival. Disc jockeys (DJs) took full advantage of the opening and the steelband lost its prominence on the road during Carnival. Thus, began the era of DJ music. (Emrit 2017)

All of the bands boycotted the panorama competition as a protest against the government as regard the funding or lack thereof. This was the position and recommendation of the Pan Trinbago leadership. However, one band again broke rank with the main body. Yes, it was Rudolph Charles and Desperadoes and one would imagine the same, as almost a decade ago. His friend the Doc (Eric Williams the Prime Minister) requested of him to not comply with the boycott. The end of this decade saw the end of the leadership of Roy Augustus as President of Pan Trinbago, to be now replaced by Arnim Smith. And so, ended a decade of many changes. But, there were mixed feelings about progress for the ordinary pan man.

Chapter 7. Political and social influences in the Caribbean: historic gains for the steelpan in Canada during the 1980's.

7.1 Decade of iconic songs in Trinidad, more spread of pan in Canada, pan receives accreditation in Canadian schools.

This chapter, considers the crossroads that the pan movement and the pan man arrived at in Trinidad in the 1980's. By observing the political influences and their consequences toward the pan movement and community, we can conclude whether there were benefits. Always looking at growth and development elsewhere, Canada and other areas of influence will be examined. But we begin this chapter with a reflection of the Trinidadian perception of life. The calypsonians who are the social commentators never hesitate to take charge and express their artistic abilities. For the 1979 carnival season, the steelband movement boycotted the panorama competition and the parades on the streets. In 1980, calypsonian Lord Kitchener sang a calypso entitled "No Pan."

No pan, no pan, no pan on the street,
 Ah bawlin Oh! Well what is wrong with them
 No pan, no pan, that is what they mean
 Ah bawl out Oh! Well it go cause a big problem
 They claim it is time, and it's long overdue
 Steelband man have woman to mind too
 Since we can't get the money
 We want them to know hopefully
 They could play they mas with guitar and brass.
 (Aldwin Roberts "Lord Kitchener" 1980)

This is typical of calypsonians to offer their social commentaries in calypso feel and Kitchener was indeed the grandmaster of this when it came to the steelpan. But the disenchantment by the pan movement was still hovering over the system and ultimately had to be addressed. The new leadership of Pan Trinbago under Arnim Smith was determined to push forward to secure a better path forward for the pan man and the pan

movement in general. He insisted in re engaging the steelbands in the biennial music festivals. In the last decade, only one was held in 1972. This became a steelpan project that the new administration undertook as a part of their agenda. In 1980, the resumption of the Steelband Festival “classical genre” began and Trinidad All Stars won this first year of the decade. That same year they left probably their greatest panorama gem. “Woman on the Bass.” They also won the panorama competition that year and their rendition of “Woman on the Bass” became iconic. This would be a decade for iconic panorama songs. Every action causes another reaction. The previous year of having no steelpan for the panorama and the street parades provided another opportunity for the DJ music. Their presence on the street became more prominent. There would be no turning back from this and the prominence of the steelpan on the street parades would no longer be the same. It began to dwindle and be overpowered by the sounds of DJ music on the parade trucks. All along the parade routes where there were booths for food and beverage outlets, the DJ music was heard. Things were changing, but, the steelpan movement was behind and needed to play catch-up. From no pan in 1979 to a lot more pan activities in 1980, this was the pan movement’s response. In 1981 All Stars went on to do a double by again winning the panorama competition. This time with a song by Blue Boy entitled “Unknown Band.”

Meanwhile in Canada, the 1980’s saw a greater spread of the pan to many more Canadian cities. By the early 1980’s, pan entered the University of Manitoba in Winnipeg by Trinidadian students Ruthvin Niblett and Jerry Samson who were responsible for the Winnipeg Steel Orchestra. Activities continued in Vancouver with Kenrick Headley and Otto “Boots” Faustin, both spearheading the pan movement. In Alberta’s two major cities, steelpan activities continued. In Edmonton, a new group “Soul Survivors” joined the fray

and “Trin Can” also became a part of the make-up of steelpan activities in Alberta. Calgary had started its steelpan development and in 1984 when the group “Calysto” began their steelpan journey (Appendix A25). In Toronto, steelpan development was at a different level in comparison to the rest of Canada as they were simply moving ahead. The steelpan programs in the public schools were about to take a major leap forward. Since the programs were initiated in 1976 as extra curricula activities, it had grown in leaps and bounds. It caught the eyes of the provincial government, where the Ministry of Education incorporated the steelpan program into the schools’ curriculum as accredited programs. This is a historic milestone in steelpan development.

This all began happening around 1976, where the primary instructors capable of coordinating those classes were Trinidadians. It was expected that they would have had some form of steelpan experience, if not professional training. Amongst these people were the likes of Earl La Pierre Sr., Ian Jones, Lindy Burgess, Cecil “Mugs” Clarke, Panman Pat McNeilly and others. This type of activity began spreading in the school boards of Toronto. The success of the program gained momentum as it continued its spread across the Greater Toronto Area. In so doing it caught the interest of the provincial government. In 1986 the Ontario Ministry of Education designated a course code for the steelpan programs initiating accreditation. School boards across the province now had the choice of having credited steelpan programs within the music curriculum or use the steelpans as extra curricula activities. This is a milestone in steelpan development and augurs well for the future. Panman Pat McNeilly indicated that he was called in, to sit at some of these meetings with the authorities, where the accredited course code AMQ was initiated. (Wilson 2019, 7)

It was a great opportunity for the steelpan movement in Toronto. Employment for steelpan teachers was made available. A more professional approach for steelpan teaching and learning was created. Students were benefiting from a new relatable activity that serves to aid and add to the school board’s agenda. Because it was initiated by the provincial Ontario Ministry of Education, the program was now available in the public schools of the entire province of Ontario. The choice was up to the school to have credited

programs or extra curricula programs with the steelpans. However, this was the standard that the Ontario Ministry of Education had taken. It must be noted that no credited programs in public schools were offered in Trinidad at that time.

From 1979 to 1982, I spent most of my time between two communities in Montreal and New York. After my last band Galaxy Vocal Steelband with lead singer, Junior Byron fell apart. I left Edmonton with my wife and now two children and returned to Montreal. Still doing steelpan music, I found my life taking a spiritual turn as I travelled between two religious communities exploring the various aspects of self-improvement. I found solace in expanding my spiritual beliefs. However, the disillusion about my steelpan exploits gave me some thoughts about returning to Trinidad. By December of 1982, my wife and now three children were in Trinidad. After a decade in North America, it seemed that nothing much was accomplished. I had not paid attention to the panorama competition for the last four years. Then a brother of mine gave me a cassette of a recording of the 1982 panorama competition. Desperadoes was playing "Ah Going and Party Tonight" arranged by Clive Bradley. I could not stop listening to that song and played it at least five times there and then. This song put me in such a great mood that I suddenly wanted more of this. Interestingly enough, sometime in early January 1983, I visited my friend Wallace Austin at his home in Morvant and Rudolph Charles showed up. The last time I saw Rudolph was when he repaired my pans in my apartment in Montreal. I gave him the story about the janitor and my eventual eviction from the apartment. Rudolph invited me to play with Despers (Desperadoes) and that same day took me up on the hill. This is Laventille, I remember him driving me up to the pan yard from Morvant. One of the conversations was him telling me that he was a Muslim and his name was Hakim. So we exchanged Muslim

greetings “Salaam Alaykum.” Along the way, he was hailed out by numerous people who knew him. “Charlo” and “Trail” were two of names that he was called. When we arrived at Despers pan yard, all pan players were engaged in some form of panorama and pan yard activities. Rudolph knowing that I played alto, took me by the well-known alto section guys. David, Michael, Tash, Pigou, El Moose and Bolt were some of the guys I met. We remained close friends even to today, it was quite an experience. The rest is history, Desperadoes, won the panorama competition of 1983 with Clive Bradley’s arrangement of Blue Boy’s “Rebecca” which turned out to be one of the most iconic of the decade and one of the gems from Bradley. I was fortunate to be a part of this remarkable experience. I also played with Desperadoes the following year 1984, where the song was another great work of artistry by Bradley. The song was calypsonian Baron’s composition entitled “The Jammer.” I remained in Trinidad from December 1982 to April 1984. After the carnival season, I realized that I had to return to North America and although a decade previously I went without knowing anything, this time I was returning with a big family. Our fourth child was born in Trinidad during this period.

7.2 Pan buskin’ and community pan programs in Montreal

Similar to the first time, I acquired another alto pan from Wallace however, my wife and I had a family responsibilities, and we returned to Montreal in the spring of 1984. Within that first week, a good friend of mine Khalil “Bede” Li, came to me with a proposal that I should go into the subways and streets of Montreal and introduce the steelpan to the Montreal public. I was wondering what direction to go with the pan in this new cycle and this was certainly not in the mix. However, I decided to explore the

possibilities and it turned out to be the beginning of a new chapter of steelpan history in Montreal. A series of events began, from a humble beginning of steelpan 'buskin' in the streets and subways. It was the first ever steelpan buskin' in Montreal and subsequently Canada. (Appendix A25) During this period I enrolled myself at the Montreal Conservatory of Music and began my academic musical journey. I registered for consecutive secondary III, IV, and V and completed them after three semesters. During this same period, I met many musicians and started working in bands with contemporary musicians. Harold Faustin, a well-known jazz guitarist, invited me to play with his band and I also met the Volny Orchestra, a Haitian group who invited me on a musical tour of Haiti. Many more positive experiences occurred. One day, playing downtown on St. Catherine's street, the legendary Taj Mahal popped up for a listen. He was in town to do a Jazz & Blues performance at the Rising Sun and he gave me a special invitation to his show. At that time, Robert Greenidge was touring with him, but was not on that trip as Taj Mahal was doing a solo show. However, I went to the great performance at the Rising Sun and was honored to listen to the legend.

After this I rented a place downtown, to accommodate my great paying gig of buskin' in the subways and streets. I also wanted to again, put a group together but, this time with mixed instruments, not a traditional steelband. It occurred to me that I should begin teaching pan, since I have been getting many requests from performing up close with the public. Many people had not seen or heard a steelpan since the famous Expo '67 Fair and they often came up to me and expressed the sentiment that they enjoyed it so much. For many, it was the first time that they had heard or seen a steelpan, and they often looked underneath dumb-founded expecting to find something else that was making this

unique sound. Needless to say my 'hat' (steelpan case) was always rewarded generously. At the end of my buskin performances, I always took home my 'rewards' where my wife did the accounting. I simply cleared it of other things that people threw in the pan case such as business cards, phone numbers, and sometimes marijuana or hashish.

In 1984 Salah started playing his Pan in the Metro. 'And that's when my luck changed. In the Metro, people liked the music and I started to make really good money.' He remembers the Christmas of 1985 with special fondness. 'I was working the Berri Metro and when I got home with the money Adiyah found two \$100 bills wrapped in a \$2 bill. We couldn't believe it. Somebody must have liked the music a lot.' There was more to come. 'I was back in the same place the following year and it happened again. Another \$2 bill with \$100 bills wrapped inside. Adiyah counted them. One, two, three, four, five. Five hundred dollars. I'm sure it was the same person, but we'll never know who. Too bad because we'd like to say thanks.' Despite the windfall, Adiyah wanted to ease up on the Pan and get a regular day job. (Quigg 1994) (Appendix A10)

From the place that I rented downtown, I began to give private lessons in steelpans. My friend Jimi Phillip had returned to Montreal. I thought about him making me some pans as he had continued with his pan tuning. He was now a much more capable pan tuner. I also met Bert Boldon who was also in the same building, renting a room for his music program. Bert is one of the pioneers who was here since the 1950's. He had just written his account of pan in Montreal entitled *Vignettes of Pan: The Montreal Story* (Appendix A10). I jokingly told him, that another chapter was beginning. He mentioned about my enthusiasm of taking the pan to the streets and subways and that it had crossed his mind, but never materialized.

However, for me, it was time to move on, I wanted to do more and so I visited the black and Caribbean communities around 1987. I returned to the Cote Des Neiges community. I was familiar with this community that had introduced the first carnival in 1974. The carnival had been a consistent annual event, rising to some levels, never

equaling the first year. A steady decline was obvious, even though some years were meeting some basic standards. There was no steelpan activity period, so I wanted to re-introduce steelpan programs to the community. It was well received. I met with Michael Gittens director and Lynette Edwards secretary. Lynette had been one of the students at the Sir George Williams University. I invited James Andrews as pan tuner. He was one of the gentlemen who came up with the defense force group for the Expo '67 Fair and remained in Montreal. The program was successful and signaled a community steelpan program in Montreal. The N.D.G. Community soon responded with wanting to have their own program. This organization was run by Roy Gittens, (Michael's brother) as director and Shirley Whittaker as secretary. By 1988, there were now two steelpan programs in two communities in Montreal. It was around this time that I also decided to put my family group together with my young kids. They were already a part of the two community programs that were happening. "Salah & Family Steelpan Workshop" began in our apartment building. We had to play really soft, but we managed. Very soon we were in and about the city of Montreal, performing and bringing a new version of steelpan music all over the city. By 1990 we had secured some major performing events. Amongst them, was the performance at a major league baseball game between the Montreal Expos and Pittsburg Pirates. We were required to play the Canadian and US anthems before the game (Appendix A17). Our performance also included some of our music during the half time show. Elsewhere in Canada, other similar forms of steelpan development were occurring. In mid-Canada, the city of Winnipeg, Ray Holman of Trinidad, began a series of steelpan teaching promotions at the University of Manitoba. He was accompanied by pan tuners Jim St. Rose and Albert John. The project began in 1986 and ran until 1988. This was

confirmed by Albert John. The spectrum of steelpan activities across the wide landscape of Canada was broad. It confirmed a very promising and progressive look at the steelpan at the end of the decade. As much as the growth of the steelpan in Canada is being acknowledged, it is dwarfed by the steelpan activities in the USA. The sheer magnitude of population and activities renders the USA, a steelpan juggernaut. The Caribbean community continues to do its steelpan development in the manner it knows. However, the wider American community who have adopted the instrument since Pete Seeger's time, have done so, mostly based on the academic perspective. The Steelpan programs in public schools of the USA continues to grow, from the elementary to the University level.

7.3 Pan and politics in Trinidad, a structural shift, more iconic songs

Meanwhile, in Trinidad, the steelpan movement was experiencing a novel change in its structure. Pan Trinbago had re-introduced the biennial classical Steelpan Festival. However, the pan movement had unmistakably lost ground in its march forward. The overpowering sound of the DJ music on the streets and the fetes handicapped the steelbands. By the end of the decade the steelbands were totally isolated from the fetes. This resulted in the steelbands no longer learning a large repertoire for the carnival season. They no longer continued recording much music as in previous decades. The total concept began to be geared primarily toward the panorama competition and a reduced effort for the street parades. The resilience of the steelpan movement in the midst of these circumstance was to continue the struggle and push for other gains by tapping into the politics. Under the new leadership of Arnim Smith, the push resulted in the incorporation of Pan Trinbago by an Act of Parliament (Appendix A25).

In 1986, Pan Trinbago changed its status from a union to a cultural organization when it was incorporated by an Act of the Parliament of Trinidad & Tobago. In 1987, Pan Trinbago, was awarded a Trinidad & Tobago *Trinity Cross* for its outstanding organizational work in representing the steelbands. (Emrit 2017)

This act enabled the government to better fund the organization. However, many viewed this as the government's further interjection into the pan movement. It reflected Pan Trinbago as only an extended arm of the government. The other areas of steelpan development continued with the refining of the tonal quality and the addition of extended ranges of pans. From the musical perspectives, the decade left us with iconic songs including the All Stars with "Woman on the Bass," Despers doing "Ah Going and Party" and "Rebecca." 1987 saw a winning panorama landmark with a pan man composing and arranging his own song. Len "Boogsie" Sharpe with his rendition of his composition "This Feeling Nice" accomplished this feat. At the end of the decade, one of the best accomplishments of the pan movement in Trinidad, was probably the quality of panorama arrangements of songs. These are still considered some of the very best (Appendix A25).

At the end of this decade, a stark contrast of approaches to steelpan development can be observed in North America and Trinidad and the Caribbean. Trinidad has always been and continues to be the leader in steelpan development in the Caribbean. We therefore take Trinidad as the gauge. There were consequences for the steelpan movement losing two of its main assets. Notably playing in the carnival dances (*fetes*) and the main dependency for live music bands on the street parades. This was detrimental to its dominance and survival. It was obvious, with the lack of engagements to perform, the bands saw no need to learn the array of songs. Hence, the emphasis on streamlining the music mainly towards the panorama was the likely option. It was undoubtedly an

unhealthy vision for the pan movement. Something had to be done, a new concept and thought towards the panorama was required and the pan people had to respond. The decade also saw the formal involvement of the government in the pan movement through the Act of Parliament incorporation of Pan Trinbago. Meanwhile the steelpan in the public school system was flying below the radar of recognition. There was a need for the pan to be involved in academia, in a true meaningful way. When compared with Toronto in this decade, the steelpan was already designated as an accredited program in the public schools by 1986. In the US at this time, the pan movement was looking at pan as accredited programs in higher institutions of learning. This is reflected in many universities, already offering programs from the bachelor to the MA level at their universities (Appendix A29). Pan in the Caribbean communities of North America at that time, continued to grow and develop in many ways, by emulating the cultural aspects of its development in Trinidad. The general consensus at this time shows the beginning of different approaches to steelpan development in North America and the Caribbean. The emphasis by the non-Caribbean communities was based on academic outreach and the population of public schools with steelpan programs. The emphasis by the Caribbean communities in North America was based on emulating what was occurring in the Caribbean steelpan development. Greater immigration to North America was evident and Toronto continued to be the hub of activities with prominent and professional players making that city their home. This added to increased steelpan activities as a new breed of young pan enthusiasts of Caribbean stock began to push for change (Appendix A25). Nevertheless, as the 1980's closed steelpan was on the move and its future taking shape.

Chapter 8. Development strategies in major cities of Canada and USA

8.1 Increased steelpan activities in schools and communities

This chapter reveals an increased tempo of steelpan development in many areas of North America. This is in comparison to Trinidad's adjusting to its principal event the panorama competition. The emphasis in North America is on academic education for the steelpan programs. The initiation of pans into the school system in Toronto came directly from the programs that began with the steelpan community and the municipal government. The school boards were directly involved in this initiation of steelpans into the public schools of Toronto. Montreal, however, was a totally different scenario. Despite the politics of Quebec and the ever-dwindling English population, the steelpan made a resurgence with the two community programs. In 1991, I created an outlet for the community programs by introducing a summer steelpan event entitled the "Pan Jamboree." The two community steelpan groups, Trinidad Playboys and Salah & Family Steelpan Workshop, along with Bert Boldon and Martin Albino as soloists were the artists for this event. It turned out to be a great success and heralded pan activities again in Montreal. There had been a hiatus of these activities since the 1970's. After introducing the steelpan programs to these two Caribbean communities, I considered the possibility of getting steelpan programs to the public schools of Montreal. Toronto was decades ahead in this regard and Montreal was a different society with French culture and language.

A chain of events happened after this Pan Jamboree festival when a friend of mine, Ainsley de Couteau, invited an elementary school teacher, Britten Bernard, to attend the Pan Jamboree. Britten expressed his surprise that this type of activity was happening in Montreal as he had always envisioned a steelpan program in his school. We collaborated

and presented a detailed program to Jackie Webb, the principal of the school, which included how to acquire steelpan instruments. Webb, a Trinidadian, was well known in the Black and Caribbean community as an actress and co-founder of the Black Theatre Workshop. In 1991, the first steelpan program in the public-school system of Montreal began with Coronation Elementary School. My objective was to make this school produce a successful program that would spread to other schools. For the second Pan Jamboree summer event, we had by then established a non-profit organization entitled "Pan Quebec." This was an organization with a mandate to promote the steelpan culture in Montreal. Staff members included Bert Boldon, Knolly Smith, Egbert Gaye, Britten Bernard, Jamal O'Brian, Leonard Marshall, and myself. It took over the operations of the Pan Jamboree and Coronation school participated in the 1992 presentation. It was an overwhelming success as it brought out the larger community. The mere fact that this activity was now becoming an annual event created lots of optimism in the pan community. The same year we also initiated another pan program at Somerled Elementary School of N.D.G., a nearby locality. The principal was Curtis George, also of Caribbean descent, from St. Vincent. Ever since I had attended musical institutions the thought of having some steelpan textbook was foremost in mind. Over the years, I had done diagrams and basic theory with notes and notations for my alto pans and this served well as a personal "music diary." I recall a conversation with Curtis George, principal of Somerled School about introducing the concept of the steelpan program in the public schools and the importance of promoting this type of program. He asked whether I had a textbook and I told him that I was working on it. That conversation re-ignited the passion to not only continue with the book concept, but it also made me consider higher education. Being

very pragmatic, I recognized that the “panman” was still lacking the skills of music theory and I was one of them. However, I had begun the process and academically was up to the level of Secondary V (Montreal Conservatory’s standard 1986). I then focused on going to the university to earn a degree in music. McGill University was my first choice and I called up the authorities and explained my situation and my instrument the steelpan. Suddenly the reality of the times became a factor. McGill University had no programs regarding any aspect of a steelpan, nor did they seem interested in this activity. I was not deterred and figured that McGill was ‘not yet ready’ and I called up Concordia with the same explanation. I expressed that my instrument had a range from F#3 to C#6. They were happy to hear my explanation and called me in for an interview and audition. Concordia University accepted me with my steelpans and my first degree journey began in 1992 with a jazz specialization program using my pans as my principal instrument. This is the first time that someone would do a degree on steelpan at Concordia University. Incidentally, Concordia University is what Sir George Williams University had morphed into. There is some irony here. I graduated in 1995, but during that period, I was continuously working on a steelpan textbook. By 1994 the steelpan program was introduced to two additional high schools, Shadd Academy and John Grant High. In addition to the summer Pan Jamboree, we (Pan Quebec) also established a winter festival where we played specifically different genres of music. Seasonal and “classical” music were introduced for this show. It was entitled “Classics and Carols” in line with the traditions of the December season (Appendix A26). This event attracted another cross section of the public. The name was later changed to “Classics to Calypso.” These two events, the Pan Jamboree in the summer, and the Classics to Calypso in the winter, began generating more interest from

the media. Steelpan activities continued in the communities. My family group was experiencing a lot of work, and a couple more local community groups sprung up. Montreal began having increased steelpan activities in the 1990's. Steelpan presence also began re-appearing in the local Caribbean parade, which occasionally produced a semblance of a decent carnival parade.

Meanwhile in the 1990's Toronto began growing more rapidly both in the school programs and the communities. In the school programs, some community steelpan members were instrumental in introducing the "Pan Fest" to the schools from 1989 (Appendix A26). This is an annual event which showcases the steelpan programs in the public schools. It comprises of a weeklong festival of several different schools participating each day. This presents great opportunities for interaction and networking amongst the different schools and groups. It is open to the public, where support comes from parents and the communities to which the schools originate. However, there were not enough steelpan instructors to keep up with the demand. Steelpan instructors from Trinidad were invited to participate in the school programs (Wilson 2019). Salmon Cupid was one of these immigrants, he would later invent the first electronic pan in 2006 (Appendix A30).

In the early 1990's, a request by the school boards was sent to Trinidad for steelpan teachers. There was a limited amount of capable people for the now growing steelpan programs in the public schools. Salmon Cupid was one of the Trinidadians who responded, to the call for steelpan teachers in Toronto. In an interview, he indicated that after the initial response in 1992, he eventually migrated to Canada in 1994. He still teaches in the public schools, organizes a tour abroad, every two years with a local school. He has also invented an electronic pan he calls the "E-pan." Many school boards merged in 1998 to become the Toronto District School Board (TDSB). The research has shown that there are over fifty schools with steelpan programs in Toronto since its inception in the late 1970's. The TDSB has a total of 52 schools with steelpan programs of which 39 are elementary schools and 13 are high schools. In addition, there are 13 schools which use the course code AMQ and offer the steelpan program as

an accredited course. Other school boards in the Greater Toronto Area account for more steelpan programs. The great majority of programs are however concentrated in the elementary schools. (Wilson 2019, 7)

8.2 Toronto's first panorama competition, more professional steelpan groups and performances, more individual panists

Steelpan programs were now in at least 50 schools by this time, and simultaneously more activities were happening in the growing steelpan community. Since its inception in the 1960's, the community steelpan groups have always participated in the Caribana weekend of events. Cecil Mugs Clarke set up a non-profit steelpan organization called "Pan Trinbago Canada." In 1994 the Montreal organization invited the Toronto organization to the annual Pan Jamboree. Clarke was delighted with the success of the event which by this time comprised of four school groups, five community groups and steelpan soloists. A great family crowd was already generated with just the schools. But, the public got more involved as the event grew. At each presentation, a very packed and diverse audience clamored for more. Cecil Clarke also noted to us in his observation of the festival, that it exhibited a high competitive nature. This was to some degree comparable to a Trinidad panorama competition. However, the Pan Jamboree was advertised as non-competitive and there were no prizes for any performances. On his return to Toronto, Cecil Clarke envisioned a Toronto Panorama competition for 1995. If this were to happen it would be the first Panorama competition in Canada. The date was set for the July of 1995 one week before the Caribana weekend. The venue was the Monarch Park Stadium and the cast included six bands from Toronto and one band from Montreal. This was the first time that Toronto and by extension Canada would be having a panorama competition. My family group, "Salah & Family Steelpan Workshop" represented the band from

Montreal. All of the six bands from Toronto were fifteen plus players, with a couple of the bands having more than twenty-five players. Our Montreal group comprised of only six players. Since the inception of our group in 1988, we worked and practiced like a family unit. Steelpan playing became second nature, the entire family was involved. From 1992 to 1995, I had completed my first degree a BFA at Concordia University in Music – Jazz Specialization. The same year 1995, we produced our first album entitled “Good Feelings” (Appendix A26). The band became quite popular in Montreal as it represented a family unit, a different sound, a different culture and simply, interesting music. The band practiced a lot, became quite good and developed a wide repertoire. It was therefore hired for all types of engagements even large performances. One such event was the performance of both the Canadian and American anthems before a baseball game, plus entertainment during the half-time. The game was between Pittsburg Pirates and Montreal Expos at the Olympic Stadium in Montreal. Another was a successful five-day gig at the Montreal International Jazz festival in 1997. This was also a big highlight (Appendix A26). The repertoire included, classical, jazz, latin, pop, reggae, and calypso/soca. In addition, we did some vocal numbers, giving an enhanced quality to our compact and mobile group. The Toronto community had never seen nor heard our group before this 1995 panorama competition.

When all the bands were lined up, we were very conspicuous, being the smallest. We had setup a tent covering with our transport vehicle as a backdrop and we were amplified with a moderate sound system. This was quite normal for us during our summer gigs in Montreal. But, we did not look like the other bands, and certainly did not look like we were a part of the panorama competition. Many people thought that we were just a guest

band. However, when we opened before the event to do a sound check, it drew the other bands members to our band. They marveled at the family band, the amplification concept, but more importantly the style of music and the big sound emanating from such a small unit. The panorama song is an eight minutes' arrangement of any calypso or soca song. Our song was entitled "Bassline" by DeFosto (Appendix A26). This was one of the songs on our new album (cassettes and CDs) entitled "Good Feelings" which were prominently displayed in front of our band. A panorama competition with a band already having their panorama song on a cassette and CD? We were different in many ways and the result for this first panorama competition was a victory for Salah & Family Steelpan Workshop. Jesse Ketchum Pan Vibrations, one of the public schools where a pan program is taught, was an active participant, along with the other community based groups. Toronto held its first official panorama competition at Monarch Park Stadium in 1995. Salah & Family Steelpan Workshop emerged as the first winners, of a panorama competition in Canada.

This chapter of Toronto's panorama competition opened the door for similar activities. This type of steelpan development by the Canadian Caribbean community, was simply an emulation of the culture of Trinidad. This was the same pattern of the Caribbean adherents in the USA. But, growth and any form of it, should serve a purpose and assist in pushing forward the same developmental concepts. By the 1990's, there were now a younger breed of growing pan players in Toronto. Many who were introduced to the schools' steelpan programs in the seventies had grown up and were now experienced players. Some had become prolific soloists and arrangers of the many smaller pockets of steelpan groups that were now popping up in the city. There was some growth in small ensembles of church groups, and they created outlets with shows and concerts. These

types of events were well supported in the communities, as they became annual gatherings. Trinidadian Hameed Shaqq, aka the “Pan piper” who arrived in Toronto in 1978, introduced steelpan buskin’ to the subways, sometime in the mid 1990’s. He explained that he had to convince the City authorities that it was not a “drum,” or just a drum, (as drums were banned in the subways). Rather, it was a percussion instrument, similar to a piano. Hameed explained that he also had to recruit some assistance from the community. Cecil “Mugs” Clarke with his Pan Trinbago Canada organization, was able to furnish some written documentation toward the cause. This, along with a convincing live audition set him on a path of establishing a permit for buskin’ in the subway. There are quite a few people today, who do steelpan buskin in the subways as a means of a livelihood. This was quite different from when I did the buskin’ bit in Montreal, in the mid-eighties, a decade before. No permits were required at that time, it was still some exotic novelty and Montreal had appreciated the Trinidad steelpan groups at the Expo ’67 two decades prior. However, in Montreal today, like Toronto, a permit is required for any type of buskin on the streets and in the subways. Hameed Shaqq would later introduce steelpan programs to correctional facilities (Wilson 2019, 6). All of these activities, including individual soloists being a part of any rock, reggae, calypso, or jazz groups created new openings and outlets for the steelpan player. At the same time it raised the visibility of the presence of the steelpan being a part of any genre of music.

In an interview with Hameed Shaqq, a Trinidadian who arrived in 1978 and became the first steelpan “busker” in Toronto’s subways in the mid 1990’s, he also laments the lack of steelpan activities in the secondary schools. He is responsible for introducing steelpan programs to the youth correctional facilities under a program entitled the “Second Chance Scholarship Program.” (Wilson 2019, 7)

Steelpan development continues across Canada in the nineties. In Edmonton, my uncle Bob Theroulde and eldest brother Ken Wilson finally decided to get back into the game. Way back in the seventies, I had invited them to support my group in Edmonton, but that did not go too well. I was quite pleased to know that they were again involved with pan and would support them in any way. The name of their band was called "CAPE." A group since the 1980's "Trincan" with founder Trinidadian Cecil George showed a similar trend, with "former pan players" who were now getting involved again. Some were doing it as a hobby, or an extra means of income, or just a way to gather with friends. In Winnipeg, Manitoba, more steelpan activities were occurring as Albert John and Jerry Samson put together a steelband group "Hi Lise Steelband." They were also responsible for introducing steelpan programs to three schools in Winnipeg. Steelpan activities were also happening in New Brunswick. After graduating from Concordia in 1995, my knowledge and confidence in music was an asset to new adventures. I produced my first album with my family group. It was a great achievement and the album was entitled "*Good Feelings*" which was also an original composition. I also composed a blues entitled "Blues for Pans." The rest of the album comprised of a mixed batch of genres, including "classics" jazz, latin, calypso, reggae, and pop with vocals. The idea was to show the versatility of the steelpan in various genres (Appendix A26).

Sometime in the mid to late eighties while I was still doing some form of steelpan buskin, I recall one time my friend Jimi Phillip was in town and I invited him to go on a buskin hunt with me. The target was the young and growing Montreal International Jazz Festival which was primarily held on St. Denis Street, famous for jazz and night life at that time. We took to the streets with my alto pan and his soprano. We knew that

eventually, we would be stopped by the authorities but we figured that if we were to get just fifteen minutes, it would suffice. Like typical buskers, we chose an ideal spot on the very crowded street, took out our gear and immediately, the crowd formed a circle around us. The act of setting up a steelpan ensemble on the street was energizing and full of anticipation. As we took the pans out of the pan-cases, which were regular contemporary bass drum cases, the public literally started pouring money into them. We were not yet set-up to play and the enthusiasm was just growing. Montreal had never witnessed this spectacle. We were yet to play our first note but were already quite generously rewarded. We broke out with a song we have been playing for quite a while entitled "Love's Theme" by Barry White. The crowd was truly appreciative and continued rewarding us, growing in size, and raising the noise levels of appreciations. We may have been in our third or fourth song, when the "expected" authorities showed up. There were loud shouts of discontent expressed by the crowd, with chants of leave them alone in English and French. The cops, of course would have none of that, but were also engulfed in the happenings and were themselves probably enjoying it. But they asked us if we had permits, which we did not. The gig was up, we had to pack up and leave. With no fuss, we simply acknowledged and told the cops we were just having some fun and sharing our culture. We were generously rewarded for our 15 minutes of fame at the Montreal International Jazz Festival. We found a litany of different things apart from money in our pan cases. But this was the closest that I had come to being a part of the Jazz Festival at that time. In 1995, Bert Boldon called me up and asked me whether I wanted to go to Andy Narell's show. He was doing a solo performance at a church setting for the Montreal International Jazz Festival. Bert had spoken with Andy and gotten some complimentary tickets. My wife Adiyah,

accompanied me as we met with Bert and went to Andy's show. We visited and chatted with Andy after his performance. It was always at the back of my mind to take a steelpan group to the jazz festival. I knew that I had to get ready and be prepared for that event, whenever the time arrived. In 1996, I took up the challenge of applying to the famous Montreal International Jazz Festival. I was prepared having been to school, studied jazz, and graduated. I fell in love with jazz music as any student of jazz would and learnt about improvisation and enjoyed jamming with school friends. I loved playing with my family. In addition, I recently produced my first family album and there was some jazz and latin content with covers like "Out of Nowhere," "Serenata," "Simple Samba," and my own composition "Blues for Pans." I was confident that these selections on the album would convince the people at the Jazz Festival and we would end up getting the gig. However, we did not and instead of us getting this type of gig, we heard that the Cote Des Neiges group which I had started since 1986-1987 period, got the gig. I had stopped working with this organization a few years prior to that time for some misunderstandings of direction of the pan program. I was blown away for quite a few reasons, least of all for the fact that I knew this group and knew their level. I also knew what was expected at this jazz festival. It was the first time that a steelpan group from the black and Caribbean community would participate at this event. I knew that this group was not prepared and it would not be a good and proper representation of pan, period. This troubled me deeply, but there was absolutely nothing that I could have done. It further exacerbated the problem when I imagined them doing a terrible job and thus affecting the possibilities of any other steelpan group getting such an opportunity. Nevertheless, the event day arrived and the band began their performance at the jazz festival. I was unable to attend the open out door

event. But, the reports that came in were worse than expected. It was not just a disappointing performance. It was simply, that this group should not have been there at all. I had parents of two different elementary public schools (Coronation and Somerled) called me up complaining of what they saw. They wondered why I did not get their school kids to participate instead. I got quite a few other calls including from friends jokingly asking me how I let this happen although they knew full well that I was not responsible. The following day my wife and I went down to the jazz festival to see the steelband group. I stayed back feeling highly embarrassed and feeling pain for the students. Many had begun their first steelpan instructions with classes from me. My pain and embarrassment turned to anger when I heard the repertoire. The Trinidad anthem, the Canadian anthem, and “Frere Jacques.” I looked at the band and noticed that there was also no drum kit, no other percussion. There were quite a few people gathered to experience the show. By the second song, the majority of people had walked away. After the third song, only a handful of people remained. Allow me to defend the steelpan, it is not that what was played, was not understood, or musical. Neither was it that the pans were out of tune. The fact is that this event was a jazz festival and there was no need for any national anthem to be played in this type of event. But, more importantly for one to play the Canadian anthem at the Montreal International Jazz Festival was akin to sacrilege with the still heated political situation in Quebec. It was a total ill choice of a repertoire. I could not leave it there. I took out a critique on a local newspaper admonishing the leaders of that organization whom I knew, for misrepresenting the community and the steelpan. I then directed my criticism to the Jazz Festival leadership. I wrote them a letter telling them that they were not following their own protocol, which included the fact that each band must present a

CD or (cassette) of their music. I knew that the Cote Des Neiges Band had nothing of the sort. I did not believe that I would hear from the Jazz festival, but I had my say. I was not hesitant in telling them that they did not do proper research and they could have gotten a much better group. In addition, they brought Andy Narell the previous year, but then chose not the best steelpan group or individuals locally to represent Montreal. However, I heard from the jazz festival and they suggested that I re-apply for the 1997 Festival. This was some good news and I looked forward to that time. When the new year came around, I sent in the application with some of the history from the last year. They invited me in to a meeting with the main representatives and it was funny. Before I could get settled, the first question they asked me was "Do you play the Canadian anthem?" I was so prepared for this, as if scripted. I explained quite clearly that I personally do not believe that there was any need for anthems at a jazz festival. They laughed and understood, I got a five-day event for the 1997 Festival. However I was curious as to how and why they went to the Cote Des Neiges community, I had my suspicions. They admitted that after having Andy Narell in 1995, and receiving my CD and application, admonishing them that they should look at the local community, they reacted. However, they bypassed my stuff and simply went into the black and Caribbean community, which is the same Cote Des Neiges, organization. Somehow the Jazz festival organizers assumed that it would be the same to go to this community organization. Perhaps they would then recommend our group or maybe there were other groups. My suspicions were confirmed that this is how the Cote Des Neiges group got the gig. They were not prepared for it because they did not in fact apply for it. It was given to them. I was clear in my appreciating being accepted to perform at the 1997 Montreal International Jazz Festival with my family group. But I was

also clear in letting the Jazz Festival organization know that we, as a black and Caribbean community cannot be painted with one wide brush. The result was a successful run at the festival being placed on the “Best Bets” options for the duration (Appendix A26). In 1997, I expanded my family band to establish a steelpan academy, rented a place and registered a non-profit organization as Salah’s Steelpan Academy. That same year we also went to Boston, Massachusetts and participated in the Boston panorama, placing third. We met a group from Main and “all-white” steelpan group “Pan Coalition.” We felt that they were not treated with respect and invited them to Montreal. We also promised them that if we ever have a panorama competition, we will not hesitate to invite them. We went to Boston the following year, but we did not see the group from Main.

In Toronto, the panorama competition initiated by Cecil Mugs Clarke, continued growing in popularity and the number of bands. Since its inception in 1995, it became an annual event on the landscape for the Toronto carnival season. However, conspicuously, the two larger and older bands refused to participate. This was due to some personal situation between Mugs and the leadership of the two bands (Afropan and Pan Fantasy). But, Toronto was also now producing more prolific pan players. The local group of pan tuners from Toronto included Earl Wong, Ed Peters, Tommy Critchlow, and Albert John. However, other pan tuners from Trinidad annually come to Toronto to assist. The number of local arrangers were also increasing as many more pockets of bands kept popping up. The public schools were also growing creating more employment for steelpan teachers. The pan fest was growing to a full week of activities with participation by five school steelpan groups each day (Appendix A26).

8.3 The magnitude of steelpan activities in the USA, defining times for the pan in Trinidad, pan & politics friend or enemy, national instrument declaration

Meanwhile in the USA, the two approaches to steelpan development were well on the way. This is expressed by the two aspects of development. First, the Caribbean culture with the panorama and carnival as major influences. Secondly the non-Caribbean community's academic approach through the public-school system. In New York, the pan movement within the black and Caribbean communities were reaching new heights as regard the panorama. So grand was the panorama competition in New York that it was only rivaled by Trinidad's. Top arranger like Clive Bradley was a dominant force. Miami had also established a panorama competition worthy of mention and it continued growing to this present day. Other areas of development included prolific steelpan soloists like Othello Mollineau who had a great run with Jaco Pastorius. Rudy "Two Left" Smith a renowned steelpan jazz musician. He continues to make waves across Europe and North America. Robert Greenidge has been a prolific soloist with numerous big names like Bill Withers, Grover Washington, Taj Mahal, and Jimmy Buffet. He has also charted his own course. Pan Tuners like Cliff Alexis had been working diligently in the education area at NIU. His works are documented. Legendary Ellie Mannette had been contributing to establishing pan in North America from ever since his involvement with the US Navy Steelband. He continued working with the Narell's in New York. Later moving on to his greater achievements in Morgantown, West Virginia. In 1991 Ellie was invited to the University of West Virginia where he took up residence. Ellie set the path for Steelpan development in the USA and he received numerous awards.

Internationally, the contributions of Elliott Mannette, the accomplished pan tuner, were recognized in 1992 when he became an Artist in Residence at West Virginia University, Morgantown, West Virginia, USA, where he continued to teach music

students how to play and tune pans through the turn of the century. In 1999, Mannette received an US *Endowment of the Arts Award* from President Bill Clinton for his work in the furtherance of indigenous culture. (Emrit 2017)

The nineties in Trinidad, was a defining time for the steelpan movement. Owen Serrette who had inherited the presidency of Pan Trinbago from Arnim Smith at the end of the eighties, continued with the traditions. But, it was apparent that the steelpan movement had inflicted a wound on themselves. The Panorama competition was now not only the main event, but it was also the main focus of steelpan activities. The biennial Steelpan Festival still continued however, and this gave some semblance of more than just the panorama. But, the fact that steelbands were no longer in any of the carnival fetes limited their need for a wider repertoire. The enjoyment of having full bands on the road with racks was now a thing of the past. The bands were all now settled on flatbed trucks, limiting the amount of pans, and therefore limiting the level of sound decibels. In addition, the competition on the street was now not only from the DJ's on the trucks, but at every food or drink outlet along the parade route. Loud recorded music was played on adjacent sides of the streets. "Pan in Danger" was a song that came out in the eighties, depicting the plight of the steelpan and it was still applicable in the nineties. However, because the focus was on the panorama, changes were inevitable. Nevertheless, the quality never waived, each year the music continued providing musical satisfaction to the public. Renegades would go on to win five panorama competition in this decade followed by Desperadoes winning three. The other two winners were Exodus and Phase II Pan Groove (Appendix A26). From the political angle in the nineties, came some of the defining moments of the steelpan in Trinidad and Tobago.

Pan and Politics have at many times been on the opposite ends of the spectrum. From the onset of the phases of steelpan development, the pan has been on the defense, fighting for the right to exist, the right to grow, the right to become what is its destiny. A defiant and rebellious group, the “panmen” were the standard bearers. They had great hope and aspirations in what the future would bring for the pan. However, the pan and politics were not always enemies. It is well known and understood through the local politics that governments and politicians have lobbied and used the pan, the pan movement, the steelbands and the pan players to satisfy their political needs. But, likewise, the pan movement and all adherents have also benefited from the government subventions. There are also many other areas where the government intervened or used its influence, for the assistance of the progress and development of the pan. So the relationship has been one of both foe and ally. However, the trajectory has been heading towards a closer relationship. With the incorporation of Pan Trinbago by an Act of Parliament in 1986, it pushed the needle closer in that direction. This act is interpreted by some as subjecting Pan Trinbago to being an “arm of the government.” The history has shown that the government has been the principal and only financial donor of the Pan Trinbago organization. Six years after its incorporation by the Act of Parliament, a strong political push came directly from the head of the state. In 1992 the government of the day the PNM, led by Prime Minister Patrick Manning, made a declaration of the pan being the National Instrument (Appendix A26). This declaration initiated different reverberations. Within the nation itself, there were polarizing views. It was met with joy, pride, and enthusiasm from a great cross section of the public. But, to some it was nonchalant, while to others it was met with disdain and outright rejection. Amongst some of the East Indian

community, it was viewed with suspicion and classified as being accommodating only to the African descent population. The most notable and vocal critic was Satnarine Maraj, a community leader who had the ears of many politicians. The discourse led to the *Trinidad Guardian* (1992) raising race and class issues, with topics ranging from what is to be considered “African,” “Indian,” and “Trinidadian.” This declaration has also been the topic of a PhD dissertation by Daina Nathaniel in 2006 (Appendix A26). Recently the topic has emerged with a different conviction. The question now asked is “Has this declaration been ratified by an Act of Parliament?” An article on the internet dated August 15, 2005 states that there was no ratification by parliament. In an interview with Hameed Shaqq of Toronto who made inquiries into the subject by visiting government sources in Trinidad 2013. He expressed that he was unable to come up with any satisfactory answer. Researching the Trinidad government’s website, I found no affirmation, neither was it even mentioned in the three sittings of the House of Parliament in August of 1992 (Appendix A26). This matter is obviously going to be re-visited again sometime in the future. But, for the present the public is of the opinion that the steelpan is the national instrument of Trinidad and Tobago.

8.4 Pan in the race and race in the pan in Trinidad, the advancement of women in pan in the 90’s, panorama the only show in town.

The issue of race, amongst Trinidadians is a worthwhile conversation in view of the high level of race mixing that occurs. Trinidad’s history has been one of a highly cosmopolitan nature because of its European colonial past. But also due to the many various nationalities that have over the last hundred and fifty plus years, made Trinidad and Tobago their home. However I will restrict the narrative to the role in particular of the

East Indian community in steelpan development. There is evidence of this community's involvement as early as the era of the forerunners of pan (bamboo and iron bands). Kim Johnson in *The Illustrated Story of Pan* identifies a photo from 1946, depicting six young boys having a jam session. What's interesting is not only their attire, but the instruments that they were playing. They were all percussion, consisting of wood blocks, maracas, 'bass box', mbira (thumb piano). Also included were two early style steelpans, a three note kettle pan, and a one hand ping pong. However, what I found to be the most interesting was the make-up of this young group, three of them were of African descent and the other three were of East Indian descent (Appendix A5). Kim Johnson brings home the meaning of the photo in his narrative.

It was love at first sound. The booming, clanging, ringing, banging of the iron band instantly captivated young men throughout the island. It was loud, it was mobile and it was rudimentary, it was nonetheless theirs. This was no inherited seasonal affair in the bamboo but a fresh new all day, all night passion. There was rivalry and jealousy, so the young men fought like lions amongst themselves, for which they were ostracized and punished. But rivalry also begat innovation, which transformed the duckling into a swan. In just over a decade between 1939 and 1951, the dustbin and paint-can bands became orchestras whose unique voices could sing all the songs of all the peoples of the land. (Johnson 2011, 46)

This photo and narrative from Johnson highlights one of the involvement and input from the Indian community as regard steelpan development. There are many areas of East Indian descent Trinidadians playing an important and notable role in the steelpan movement. Bobby Mohamed, the first arranger in the South to win a panorama competition was of Indian descent. Bobby introduced a new concept and dynamism to pan and the panorama competition. He brought a force with the number of basses and band size that was never replicated. Steve Achaiba, another arranger from the south, also of Indian descent again won the panorama competition in 1975 with Hatters Steelband. He

won with a song by Lord Kitchener entitled “Tribute to Spree Simon.” This made it only the second band from the South, to ever win the panorama competition since its inception in 1963. There are many more Trinidadians of Indian heritage all over the island who have formed bands, led bands, arranged for bands. I grew up with Indian brothers who were also pan players. However, one of the most notable player, arranger band leader was the legendary “Jit” Samaroo. Not only did he win the panorama competition on numerous occasions, but he is still the only one to have won three consecutive panorama with the same band Renegades in the large band categories. What I believe was a significant change in Renegades history was the entering of Jit as the arranger. He lifted not only the arrangement, but the status of the band. One of the most striking contributions by Jit Samaroo, was his leadership in putting together his family band, the Samaroo Kids later Samaroo Jets. This family-unit was well known for its quality of music and performances. Its participation in major steelpan events with a “small side” in comparison to all the other conventional bands yet doing extremely well and placing very high in the results. Jit and his family were recording artists (Appendix A14).

They made many world-wide tours as ambassadors representing Trinidad and Tobago and the steelpan. I recall doing a gig in Arouca, sometime in the late 1960’s with my village band Flamingoes. Jit and his family were also playing. It was the first time, that I saw them as a group. Flamingoes’ “Stage Side” was at least thirty two players maybe more. Jit and his family were no more than seven all together but they were so impressive; I could not believe how good they were. It turned out later on that they would be a big inspiration for me when I decided to put my family group, Salah & Family Steelpan Workshop, together. There were many other Indian descent people who have and continue

to this present day to make great contributions to the steelpan advancement. It should be mentioned that other races inclusive of Chinese descent, Portuguese descent and others have played and continue to play a part in the development of the steelpan. This is in opposition to the views expressed by some that the pan has solely been the contribution of African descent peoples.

Another interesting development in the 1990's was the advancement of women in pan. As we have seen, since the beginning in the early 1950's, women had bravely entered the pan world and established themselves. The women pioneers like Hazel Henley and the Girl Pat Steel Orchestra and Daisy James McClean were some of the people who pushed the boundaries of pan. They did this at an early stage in the steelpan development in Trinidad. Since then, we have seen a small incremental increase in women players, until the nineties. There is a legendary song entitled *Woman on the Bass*. This song by calypsonian Scrunter, depicts a highly skilled female bass player from a leading band (Desperadoes). It also became iconic as Trinidad All Stars won the panorama competition in 1980 with this song. Die-hard fans would argue that it is the best arranged panorama song ever. This of course is totally disputed by others. However, in the nineties, because of more pans in the schools as extra curricula activities, the increase of female participation was apparent. Girls now had the unmasked opportunity to get involved, and they did. The trend continues to the present day, with some bands having an even amount of female players. Quite simply put, it would be very difficult for the pan to survive today without female participation. The explosion continued on to the next decades, where women were not only players, but also arrangers, leaders, managers, even pan-tuners. They have won the panorama and other steelpan competitions. Today, since 2019, the

leader of Pan Trinbago is a woman. That in a very big way, sums up the continuing and evolving role of women in steelpan development in Trinidad and Tobago. This is a very positive form of growth for any organization and movement. Women have earned the right to not just be a part of the process, but in fact, be a major player in the developmental process. This obviously augurs well for the growth of the pan movement.

However, the advancement of pan in Trinidad was now becoming more than what the pan movement was offering. The pan movement had literally been reduced to a one main event show, the annual panorama competition. It became a “seasonal thing” for many bands as the only event was the panorama competition. By all accounts more or less, the same bands would be the only bands to get to the final top ten spots. These were the well-known bands that had been in existence ever since the pan started. For the more than a hundred other participating bands, the journey was simply a labour of love, filled with hope and aspirations. The rare band rising to become a part of the top bands would occasionally occur. Nevertheless, without the other annual performances and participating programs, the steelbands became only a seasonal concept for many of the hundred plus bands. The effects of changes of the times, streamlined the steelband movement solely into the panorama competition, and whatever diminishing roles in the carnival parades. A solution had to be found, because despite the limitation of performances, bands were still trying to put their act together. The next best objective was to at least qualify to the second or third round of the panorama contest. The primary concern of getting to the “Big Yard,” the Grand Savannah for the panorama finals remained an illusion for the majority. Internal changes and adjustments within the pan movement were now necessary. Pan Trinbago had to react, but a solution would only come in the following decade. In addition the pan was

introduced into the public schools in the capacity of extra curricula activities and resulted in a “Junior Panorama Competition. The pan in the public schools signaled some form of acknowledgement, that the pan had arrived, but had it? By comparison with Canada, Trinidad was falling way behind in this endeavor. The pan was introduced to Toronto public schools as early as the mid-seventies as extra curricula activities. By the mid-eighties it was fully entrenched as credited programs in the entire province of Ontario. Trinidad now introducing the pan as extra curricula activities will have to wait for another decade for some sort of full accommodation into the public school system.

The end of the nineties in Trinidad saw another change in the leadership of the steelpan organization Pan Trinbago. Owen Serrette, who had been the leader since 1988 passed on the baton to Patrick Arnold (Appendix A 20.) Patrick brought not only his personal background as a pan tuner originating from Tobago. But, he had lived abroad in North America and sought to interject a different approach based on his experiences. The biennial Steelpan Music Festival continued unto the end of the decade with championships awarded to Desperadoes, Trinidad All Stars (twice), Exodus and T&T Defense Force with a tie. There was no competition in 1990 (Appendix A26). The Panorama history for the decade was interesting. Renegades placed eight times in the top three bands, winning five of those contest including three consecutively, all under the musical direction of Jit Samaroo. Desperadoes placed five times in the top three bands winning three of those contest. In 1991, Robert Greenidge registered his first win as an arranger with his own composition of “Musical Volcano.” He repeated the same feat with another of his own composition in 1994 entitled “Fire Coming Down.” The third victory of Desperadoes was in 1999 with legendary the Clive Bradley’s arrangement of a rendition of Emmanuel

“Oba” Synette’s “In My House.” Interestingly enough, this was Clive Bradley’s second consecutive win at this time. He was in the “wilderness”, away from Desperadoes and took an “unknown” band and won the panorama competition. The “unknown” band was a band from Arima called Newtones. The song was another classic from David Rudder entitled High Mas. The “pan talk” around this song was that Desperadoes declined interest in doing this song, even with Bradley. They considered it a “hymn.” If there is any semblance of truth in that, then it must have been a hurtful chant to hear the end point of the final rendition on the panorama night. The song High Mas became an iconic panorama song as it contradicted the so-called norm of panorama music (“it has to be fast and upbeat”). It won the competition. But, everyone acknowledged the ingenuity of Bradley and his ability to transform any song into a typical Trinidad character in music. In 1999 Bradley also accomplished a feat yet to be done by another arranger, he won, the first prize with Desperadoes playing “In My House,” and also placed third with another band Newtones playing “Toco Band” by Lord Kitchener. However there was more in this decade, Phase II, with Len “Boogsie” Sharpe, placed five times in the top three bands with four of them being second places, Anisse “Haffers” Hadeed assisted in 1996 with a Boogsie/Alvin Daniel composition of “Mind Yuh Business.” Despite all of these iconic songs accompanied with panorama victories, there was still one of the most iconic songs that stood out. It did not win the contest, Ken “Professor” Philmore’s own composition of “Pan by Storm” with Fonclaire Steelband. It placed second to Renegades with Kitchener’s “Iron Man” arranged by Jit Samaroo. Fonclaire and Philmore also placed second the following year with another of his composition entitled “Pan Ecstasy.” Also in this decade newcomer Exodus broke the strangle hold of the big bands in 1992 as they won their first

panorama competition with a song by David Rudder entitled “Savannah Party.” They also placed seven times in the top three bands in this decade. Exodus was the breakout band from Flamingoes, which occurred in the early 1980’s. The only band yet to be mentioned in the top three bands of that decade was Trinidad All Stars placing three third places during that period. This is what was generated from that era, a strong sense of cultural music that will always be remembered (Appendix A26). In addition, the on-going development of individual steelpan soloists added to the presence of steelpan activities at home and abroad. Other panmen who made significant contributions to the furtherance of steelband music in this decade were ambassadors Earl Brooks, Othello Molineaux, and Rudy Smith (Emrit 2017).

8.5 More expansion of pan concepts in Canada and USA

The end of the nineties in Canada saw the beginning of more changes on existing infrastructures of the general pan movement. The pan in the public schools of Toronto were spreading. But, the spread was concentrated more on the elementary schools and a lot less on the secondary schools, the high schools. This was obviously not the best balanced trend for steelpan growth and development. From the community development in Toronto, the panorama structure continued with its growth since its inception in 1995. More bands were getting involved in participation and the public was becoming more aware. There was all around growth including the competition itself, which was a major talk for the carnival season. This panorama event was managed by Cecil “Mugs” Clarke and his Pan Trinbago Canada Inc. company. Before this, a lot of the bands were participants in the annual Caribana parade. There was discontent and angst felt by the two

major larger and older bands in the city. Afro Pan in existence since 1973 and Pan Fantasy, which grew out of Afro Pan a few years later (following the same tradition as bands from Trinidad). According to the Toronto's history, in like manner, Panatics Steelband grew out of Pan Fantasy, and New Dimensions another band followed suit. All of these actions of new bands being formed actually signaled a form of growth. These bands became popular in their own right with their own supporters. But the two top tier bands Afro Pan and Pan Fantasy for their personal reasons refused to participate in the panorama competition held at Monarch Park Stadium. They expressed their unwillingness to be a part of Mugs' panorama. Silhouettes, led by Danny Mosca with his son Mark Mosca as arranger, became the dominant force. Other bands included Mississauga Academy of Steelband with Jessie Ketchum led by Mugs, Panatics with Layne Clarke, and New Dimension led by Miley and Machado. Pan man Pat McNeilly brought a group called Pantastics and New Waves was a smaller group that also participated. The first winner of the competition, Salah & Family Steelpan Workshop, was still making the annual trip from Montreal to participate in this event.

I established a legit registered organization in the late nineties as Salah's Steelpan Academy, recruiting more students and then participating in the Toronto panorama with this new name. However, the local talk was that, without the participation of the two big bands, the validity of the panorama was a question and an issue. The murmurs and rumors began about establishing a new steelpan organization and a new panorama concept. One that would include all the bands. But for the moment, the Toronto panorama continued unabated at the Monarch Park Stadium. It would go until the early period of the new decade. In Montreal, as the nineties decade was closing, a new beginning was happening

because of overwhelming growth. The Pan Jamboree, was a non-competitive steelpan event, which began in 1991. This was an outlet for a couple of community steelpan groups and a school steelpan band. It had now grown to six school bands with different levels of beginners, intermediate and seniors. The community groups included, The Trinidad Playboys Steelband led by Winston “Skippy” Maingot; Salah & Family Steelpan Workshop; Salah’s Steelpan Academy; the Cote des Neiges community group led by Lynette Edwards; the N.D.G. community group led by Shirley Whittaker; Pan World led by James Andrews; and Savoys led by Martin Albino. There were still steelpan soloists Bert Boldon, and Roderick Smith. The amount of participants had outgrown the concept and we began considering having two concerts one for the schools and another for the community. The Pan Jamboree had outgrown its venue at the Bill Durnham Arena in Cote Des Neiges. In addition the public was now clamoring for a full panorama competition in Montreal. For the last decade I, along with my family and Pan Quebec, had been spearheading the steelpan development process in the communities and public schools. I had the assistance of some prominent pan personnel, amongst them were the people I pulled together to form the organization Pan Quebec. These included Knolly Smith, who was one of the original members of Esso Trinidad Tripoli Steelband of Expo ’67 who toured with Liberace; Bert Boldon pioneer pan player since the fifties; and Egbert Gaye, a Trinidadian who was involved in the Pan Trinbago organization as head of the Eastern Region in Trinidad. Egbert established “The Community Contact,” his community newspaper in Montreal since the nineties. Britten Bernard, a teacher at Coronation Elementary School was instrumental in assisting me in establishing the first pan program in a public school. Other supporters included Jamal O’Brian, another Trinidadian and

friend, along with Leonard Marshall of the Trinidad Playboys Steelband and a participant at the Expo'67 World Fair. Of course there were many more who assisted and continue to assist in steelpan development in Montreal.

From the onset my idea of steelpan development was much more than a panorama competition. Whereas we have shown that the steelpan development process was set about in two basic camps: an academic perspective with pan programs in institutions of learning; a community approach primarily through the panorama concept. I thought about combining the two concepts in Montreal and we were in the best position to do this. I had introduced the pan programs to the public schools and re-introduced the pan programs in the black and Caribbean communities, therefore we were in the position and had the ability to put it together. I was determined not to follow the same pattern as that of most Caribbean peoples in the diaspora, which is to simply focus on the panorama concept. At the same time, I strongly believe in preserving the culture of the panorama and my academic studies re-enforced this concept.

I also looked at the model of Pan Quebec, established in the pattern of the Pan Trinbago concept. I did not believe that this was the best model of moving forward here in North America. So, the idea of a new organization became common talk. Looking around in full view, I saw the Montreal International Jazz Festival. That was the model, I saw best fit for the pan program in Montreal. The Montreal International Steelpan Festival would be set up in a similar mode as that of the Montreal International Jazz Festival. The Jazz Festival is set up as a non-profit organization (entitled to funding). However, it has a profit subsidiary enterprise which handles all of the business aspects. This was the plan for the new millennium, as we wrapped up the end of the nineties. The annual Pan Jamboree

had outgrown the area and the Bill Durnham Arena in Cote Des Neiges. We decided to move the summer event to the downtown core. There was another aspect to steelpan development that I had been working on, since my first encounter with academia. This goes way back to the seventies in Edmonton with my first steelpan group “Pan Vibes Exhibits.” We attended the music school Grant McEwan Community College in 1975. It was after this experience that my friend Jimi Phillip and I began referring to the names of the steelpan instruments by its correct range (Appendix A23). In other words our lead instrument the “tenor” pan is verifiably in the soprano range, we referred to this instrument as a soprano pan; the “double second” directly fits into the alto range, we referred to it as an alto pan (which was already a common and appropriate name at this time); Then, the famous “guitar pan” is actually in the range of the tenor, so the “guitar pan” is in fact the tenor pan. Now, I am a Trinidadian, but, good luck to anyone in trying to get Trinidadians in Trinidad to call a “guitar pan” a “tenor pan.” However, these were some of the early beginnings of the theoretical music learning process. It was from these bits of information that I began writing my notes and ‘music notes’ about my “double second” now alto pan. My friend Jimi Phillip similarly began doing his notes for his “tenor pan” now soprano pan. Jimi was actively embarking on his pan tuning career at that time and was also determined to develop a booklet for his soprano pan. He continued, gathering his information on the basic rudiments of music along with illustrations of the soprano pan. Jimi Phillip successfully completed his book *How to Play the Soprano Pan* in the nineties. I continued with the developing of the concept of learning music with the use of steelpan instruments. My idea was to set up a music theory book applicable for any steelpan instrument from bass to soprano. But, filled with an incremental approach to

reading, writing, and learning the “grammar” of the music. My second entry in academia was followed by my enrollment at Montreal Conservatory of Music, where I completed Secondary III, IV, and V in the mid-eighties. This re-enforced the writings on my steelpan music theory book. My next entry in academia was in 1992, by enrolling to do my bachelor’s degree in music at Concordia University. In 1995, I graduated from a jazz specializing program using my pans as my principal instrument. During this time, I was also working on my steelpan textbook. At the end of the decade in 1999, I successfully completed the entire process of writing and self-publishing my book through my company Salahpan under the title *Steelpan Playing with Theory* by Salah A. Wilson (ISBN 0-9686188-0-4) (Appendix A26).

In this manner the nineties decade ended, and for all purposes everything was looking towards a positive continuation of events. Quite a lot of steelpan activities were happening in both Montreal and Toronto. By all definitions, the pan was on the move in our area of development. Similarly, in the USA, the spread of the pan was now growing all over American public schools. Interestingly enough this area of development has now taken up roots of its own. Even though it initially began with predominantly Trinidadians and people of Caribbean stock. Now, it no longer needs the guiding hands of Trinidadians or people from its area of origin. When we eventually summarize the effect and impact of the USA involvement in pan we will get a good idea of the intense growth and production that is actually taking place in the USA. There is a lot happening in the non-Caribbean community. But not to be left out, is the Caribbean input. Many large and not so large American cities participate in the panorama competitions and they continue to provide the biggest gatherings of pan lovers. New York, Miami, and Boston are still the leaders in this

area, but a host of other US cities are now bringing the panorama competition to their city. In 1997 and 1998 our organization, Salah's Steelpan Academy, also went to Boston to participate in the Boston Panorama competition. In addition, there are a lot of summer steelpan workshops set up across all areas and these events, for the most part, are hosted by non-Caribbean peoples, ordinary Americans. The prolific steelpan virtuoso soloist has also come of age and new doors of steelpan development are evident as the steelpan can be heard on many recordings. It begs the questions? When are we going to have Grammy or Juno nominations and awards for steelpan? The reality is that the steelpan for all its increasing popularity, is still flying below the radar of the level of recognition needed to get to the next step. However, with the input of so many new adherents, it is a positive assumption that it may soon be soaring on the radar of acceptable music.

Chapter 9. Pan in politics, politics in pan; global involvement

9.1 Trinidad's unique politics with pan

The dawn of the new decade brought new changes to Trinidad and Tobago. Prime Minister, Patrick Manning, was under no obligation to call an election as he was only halfway into his five-year mandate. However, the winds of change were against him and he called and lost the election to the new regime of Kamla Persaud Bissessar. May 26, 2010 a new government was put in place. It was the first time that a woman would assume the mantle of leadership of the country, in addition, she was of East Indian descent. Race and politics go hand in hand in Trinidad and Tobago in an unspoken undertone. Calypsonain David Rudder expressed in one of his calypsoes, the sentiment, “We don’t vote, like we fete.” However, this new government, was determined to leave their indelible mark in their politics. They had a different view of the steelpan program in the public school system. There was a narrative that race was disguised in the intention of changing the concept of the pan programs in the schools.. Their idea to improve the already existing pan program was to replace the pan program with a “multicultural program.” Some saw this as an ill-conceived, provocative response to replace the steelpan program. The concept was to form an ensemble with some pans, cuatros, tablas, dholaks, guitars, etc. Needless to say, it was looked upon as an assault on the existing pan program in the public schools for racial political motivations. The steelpan was still viewed by some as an African descent invention, rather than an invention by Trinidadians. By this time, however, the original program of having pans in all schools had come to a screeching halt. This was due to corruption and mismanagement of the involved pan personnel. This also meant no more sales of the textbooks to the government. However,

for the serious minded people who wanted the steelpan to find prominence in academia, this was a total setback for steelpan development in this area. But, the new government had a mandate for the next five years, so the pan fraternity of Trinidad and Tobago had to settle down to observe the next move.

Meanwhile Pan Trinbago, in 2009 also changed leadership. Patrick Arnold lost the leadership to Keith Diaz. A now controversial figure was taking the leadership of the pan organization. I had a very good relationship with Patrick Arnold when he was the president. I tried introducing to him a program for the pan yards similarly as pans were now into the public schools. The program was entitled “A National Musical Literacy Program for the Pan yards of Trinidad and Tobago”. Patrick Arnold was interested and being a Tobagonian, he invited me to introduce the concept to Tobago bands. I went with him and gave a lecture on the topic. My idea was to get this program happening as a pilot project with a few bands. However, in Trinidad one has to be there to stay on any project. The concept never got off the ground in any meaningful way, and now with a new leadership this idea had to go to the back burner but I do intend to revive this concept at a better time. I did meet with Keith Diaz in 2009, when he assumed leadership. After that first meeting with the new president of Pan Trinbago, I came away disenchanted with what I heard and saw. In comparison to Patrick Arnold as president. I saw an inept leader with his own agenda, I was very disturbed and could only hope for the best. Anyways, like all things in Trinidad, panorama came around in 2010 (Appendix A26).

Pouchet and Silver Stars again won the panorama competition with Edwin’s composition of “Battle Zone” This was his second consecutive victory, by this time the first prize for the panorama competition was \$1,000,000.00. Second prize was

\$750,000.00, third prize \$500,000.00. This was only in the large bands category and all the other categories of medium and small bands also had substantial infusion of funding across a graded system. No other music competition world-wide was offering this type of funding for any music program competition. This was a very high standard set, for music programs and gave a big boost for steelpan development and served as a model to the world. The following year, the new administration of President Kamla Persaud Bissessar was determined to set her mark on the national scene. She offered two million dollars to the winners, in all areas of culture: the “steelpan contest,” the “calypso contest,” the “soca contest,” and now the “chutney contest.” Many saw this as pure politics and an opportunity to get the newly “Indian chutney contest” on same par as the calypso, soca, and pan which have been around for decades before the chutney concept. Again, this is all in with the politics of Trinidad and Tobago. Carnival season 2011 came around and each area of the carnival culture was promised double for their first prizes, compliments of the new government. Needless to say, there was a lot of excitement in the pan community as the big bands prepared for the big event. The two million- dollars first prize, was only allotted to the “big band” category. The smaller categories cried foul to no avail and the end result in the large band category was a victory for Trinidad All Stars. They played Edwin Pouchet’s arrangement of “Showtime.” As the winner they received the \$2 million dollar first prize. Exodus placed second with “Calling Meh” by Destra and Silver Stars ran third with Pouchet’s “Showtime” (Appendix A33).

9.2 A panorama tale from Canada to Trinidad

I have been returning to Trinidad annually for the last three decades. St. John village in St. Augustine where I grew up, has always been my home and place of refuge. All through that period, I would often do a drop-by at the pan yard in the village. I would offer some form of support because this was the home of Flamingoes and there was a lot of history with this village band. This was my family's band that I grew up with. However, the encounters were few over the years until the period when I began promoting my steelpan textbook. In the early 2000's. I directly spoke with the manager/leader, Russel De Souza to get involved with my textbook for the band. But, the band and leadership were focused on one main objective: the participation in the annual panorama competition. As a Trinidadian, I understood this very well, this was the carnival season, the panorama season. A musical literacy concept for pans would not be a focus at this time. However, I certainly had a different view in that I had begun scoring my panorama music arrangements since 1998. I recognized the value in having music scores for a panorama song. But as for Flamingoes, for the next few years, I continued to engage Russell, the manager concerning the well-being of the band. I must mention that I not only knew Russell and grew up with him, but we played together with Flamingoes in the late 1960's when I first joined the band. Russel was the leading bass player at that time. Incidentally, Russell is a relative, a close cousin of mine. This is the village we grew up in, so I kept in touch whenever I returned to the village. However, I did not get involved with their internal management, neither their music. It was only in 2009 that Russell came to me and asked whether I could assist the band musically. At that time, he had another relative Steve Theroulde acting as the manager. Their arranger, BJ Marcelle, had pretty

much completed the song except for an introduction. He was someone who also grew up in the village, played with Flamingoes and later Exodus, and went to become a renowned player and arranger. There was a serious task at hand with the preliminary round of the competition within a week or so. I had offered some criticism and advice to Russell over the years, so here was a test for me to put things into action. Of course, I took up the challenge, went to work, listened to what they were doing in the pan yard and recorded the song. Growing up in Trinidad I learned by rote like everyone else and I also knew how an arranger arranged the song also by rote. But, I took the recorded music home and transcribed the song and then wrote out an introduction to fit the already arranged music. This action also enabled me to now officially assist the band musically. It was some type of home coming! Was I finally back with my village band since the seventies when I migrated to Canada? The panorama preliminaries 2009 was held in the pan yard and needless to say that this is always a big event in the village despite the fact that Flamingoes was now a shell of its former self. The village always comes out to give support or, at least, to hear what the band was doing. The band qualified and now had to appear for the semifinal round a week later. It was a good attempt, but the band was not quite ready for the next step which required bigger and better equipment, pans, and players. However, it was a great learning experience and did set the stage for what was to follow.

Russel and the manager invited me to be the arranger for the 2010 panorama competition and also asked if I would accept the position of co-leader in order to help organize the band and I agreed to assist. My family, (wife, six children and two grandchildren), had visited Trinidad in 2007, this time they wanted to visit and play in the

2010 panorama competition with Flamingoes. This looked like an interesting plan, I chose the song “Battle Zone” by Edwin Pouchet and scored an arrangement that would be the panorama song for Flamingoes in 2010. I returned to Trinidad a month before the panorama preliminary round in order to prepare the band. There were problems within the band amongst some of the members and management since some anti-social members were hindering new members. It was a tough call because some of the members, who played in the 2009 competition, did not return due to the same anti-social environment created. I went about inviting some old friends to participate and join the band for the season. Meanwhile my family in Montreal were preparing themselves and a couple of other students who wanted to experience a panorama competition in Trinidad. My family and students had planned to arrive three days before the event. I had been working for three weeks prior with the band in the village. A week before the event the band would only muster about twenty players. The song was not completed, but more than that, the band just did not seem ready for the panorama competition, just about a week away. My family then sent me a recording of what they were doing in Montreal, not only were they completed, but they were playing the song at the correct up tempo almost flawlessly and this was just a dozen of them. I marveled right there at the beauty of having scored the song, so that it could be played and taught simultaneously in different places. Back in the pan yard in Trinidad, with one week to go, it seemed quite a task to finish the song and get it ready in the panorama mode. The villagers were asking the questions of when I expected my family to show up. I was disappointed that Flamingoes did not have at least the same number of players they had in 2009. However, I knew that those ten eager players from Montreal who thoroughly knew the song would make a difference.

In Trinidad, there are some pan players who go around playing with different bands. This started off as a gig for really talented and professional players, who had the ability to learn and play with more than one band. Later on, it turned out to be a hustle with those same players not fully learning and playing to the required level. Nevertheless, it also aided in the numbers game of having a certain amount of pan players in the band. I always had a small group in Canada and we were still able to deliver on the goods, so I knew that size matters but, so does the quality of music. Flamingoes also had a few “pan hustlers” who showed up and were questioned and allowed in, as the system provided the way. I focused on doing as much as possible in the three days prior to the arrival of my family from Montreal. On the last rehearsal on the eve of their arrival, that session seemed lack lustered and certainly not panorama-ready. But I knew that the ten people coming in would make all the difference and simply told them that there was still time. The following day they arrived. My home is not far from the pan yard and they were soon all having an impromptu rehearsal. This was first of all much earlier than the regular rehearsal and it immediately drew people who were nearby. My youngest daughter Zaynab, was the drummer and they had never seen a female “panorama” drummer around here. There were a few people in the pan yard who were individually learning the song. I allowed the ten visitors, the Montreal crew to do their thing with playing the song. They were eager to deliver, it would be the first time that everyone in the village including me, would hear the entire song. In addition, we had never played the song at the tempo that they played it at. Everyone was blown away by the efficient performance of this group of ten and there were lots of smiles. We were all looking forward to the rehearsal later in the evening. I explained to the family of the need to first assist in completing the song and

then the adequate drill rehearsal for the panorama event. We quickly completed the song as many arrived earlier, so by prime time the band was literally kicking. It was a good feeling for the band and the village, it was a great evening. The momentum that was picked up, continued to the actual day of the event. We all felt it was a good run, but now had to wait a couple of days for the results as Flamingoes was in the eastern region and other regions still had to complete their first round. The band placed tenth overall and was among the 20 plus bands to participate in the semi-finals a week later. The unfortunate draw of playing number one for the semifinal fell on Flamingoes, it was a tough call, but we had the confidence that we would get to the final round. However, it was not to be as the band dropped to overall thirteenth place and the first twelve bands were picked to go forward. Nevertheless, the band enjoyed a healthy season by participating in carnival events in Tunapuna that year and won the best calypso song and best tune of choice. It was a great opportunity for the band as they also played in the Tunapuna parade on both days, Monday, and Tuesday of the carnival. It was a great moral booster for the band and the future looked promising. At the end of the season we all returned to Canada but left quite a lot of hope for the band and the village.

9.3 More developmental growth of steelpan in Canadian cities, emerging cracks in new administration of Pan Trinbago, continued plans for major international festival

Meanwhile in Canada, two panorama competitions were about to take place, first in Montreal, with the Montreal International Steelpan Festival. Salah's Steelpan Academy continued its dominance at the Montreal Panorama competition. Playing Edwin Pouchet's *Battle Zone*, Salah's Steelpan Academy won its 4th consecutive panorama victory (Appendix A38). This was unprecedented, but would the band be able to complete the job

the following month in Toronto by winning the 2010 Pan Alive panorama competition. If we would accomplish this feat it would be a quadruple victory in both cities of Montreal and Toronto. The stakes were high and the musical journey arduous but filled with excitement and adventure. We took up the challenge to complete this victory. My group Salah's Steelpan Academy from Montreal, had won the last three consecutive Pan Alive panorama competitions in Toronto. We were now homing in on the possibly fourth victory. The most favorite song of the year was none other than Edwin Pouchet's "Battle Zone." It would be our chosen song, after our three previous victories. We had found a path to victory, it was simply, early preparations, diligent work and of course a well arranged song. In addition, our Montreal panorama which preceded Toronto's served as an ideal preparatory phase. We had all the right ingredients and an additional assistance. Silver Stars who had won the 2010 Panorama competition in Trinidad was an invited guest artist at this year's event. Some of their members simply loved our version of their song "Battle Zone" and requested to participate with us. With all things being equal and no restrictions they participated in the enhancement of our song. It was an outright victory for Salah's Steelpan Academy. This placed our band on another level being the first band in North America to achieve four consecutive victories in a panorama competition in two Canadian cities (Appendix A38). In 2011, a change of the guard resulted in a new champion in Afro Pan steelband. This was their second victory, after winning the first of this series of panorama competition by OSA in 2004. The only other band to achieve success was Pan Fantasy, they won in 2005 and 2006 and then would continue a winning streak from 2012 to 2019. This was that area of steelpan development in Toronto as regard the Pan Alive Panorama competition. In Montreal we continued the event with limitation

due to lack of funding and support until 2013. It then became too difficult to carry on as I left Montreal to pick up school in Toronto in 2012. The revival plan for our Montreal International Steelpan Festival will see an added emphasis on the non-panorama aspect of developing the show. This will be comprised of steelpan soloists and small ensembles. At the same time, the panorama concept will take the form as an evolution to a “steelpan world cup” or “steelpan Olympics” as the original concept was intended. We established our Montreal International Steelpan Festival (Appendix A32). The concept was to have visiting bands prepare a panorama-style arranged song and another song of choice. These would be the songs for the competitions. Over the years we have had participants from Trinidad. Soloists including Darren Sheppard and Jimi Phillip and steelbands like Starlift Youth, led by Barry Mannette, and Arima Golden Stars led by BJ Marcelle. From the USA, we had a regular band that participated more than any other band from outside of Montreal, they were Pan Coalition of Maine USA, led by Carl and Nigel Chase. Matt Potts with his group from Chicago was also a participant. The other participants were soloists across Canada, Kenrick and Kenneth Headley from Vancouver, Mark Mosca and Gareth Burgess from Toronto. In addition, many of the Toronto steelbands participated, “Muggs” Jesse Ketchum Pan Vibration, Tommy Crichlow’s Pan Masters, Panatics, St. Jamestown, Albert “Bachak” John’s Forrest Creek Steelband. Hamilton Youth Steelband. The local bands and soloists from Montreal included the following Martin Albino, Roderick Smith, Walid Wilson, Regan Phillip, Pepeto Pinto, Rashid Wilson and Salah Wilson. In 2013 we brought soloists Andy Narell for a concert and did our final panorama competition. Lack of funding and support was no longer feasible to invite bands nor artists

from abroad. We continued with a non-panorama event however until 2016, with the intention to resume in 2021.

But in Trinidad, there were already deep cracks in the Keith Diaz administration of Pan Trinbago. Improprieties of the sort that involved court cases and resignations of key officials with controversial statements. Elections were dragged out from these court cases and therefore kept the present administration in power. They were ready to throw anything against the wall to see what would stick. Suddenly around 2013, an idea started floating around of Pan Trinbago. It involved them wanting to stage an international panorama competition in Trinidad. I wondered aloud, from where did this come? It was obvious that the administration was desperate with all of the extended court cases currently happening. No better way to distract by expressing a big plan for a broad appeal. It may have been someone simply popping up that idea, or it may have been a revived concept buried in their archives. However when the public got a hold of the idea, it was met with skepticism by some and criticized by others for a waste of tax-payers money. The principal backer of this project would be the government. Many saw it as another scheme by the present Pan Trinbago administration to deflect from their problems, and another attempt to remain in power. I was skeptical of the intent like many people having adequate knowledge of the workings of that administration. However, not only had I heard this before, but I was an initiator of this plan. I recalled sometime in the early 2000's, I invited Pan Trinbago's administration to our Montreal International Steelpan Festival. I also encouraged the president Patrick Arnold and Richard Forteau the secretary to start doing an international festival with a panorama competition. This would be similar to what we were attempting to do at that time in Montreal. I visited them at their office many times whenever I would

return to Trinidad. I kept them abreast, of what was happening in Montreal. I did establish a relationship with that administration. However, even though, I had no confidence in the leadership of the Keith Diaz' administration. I felt the need to support the concept because it was an idea I had given the previous administration. I also thought that I should attempt to take my band Salah's Steelpan Academy from Montreal to this big show in Trinidad, scheduled for 2015. This is the same concept that forms the basis for our Montreal International Steelpan Festival. It would feel like a contradiction if I did not support this concept. In Trinidad, a special organization was set up for the purpose of running the two part event of conference and panorama competition. The principal funding would come from the government, but sponsors were also sought. There were problems and clearly many things were not well thought out. They gave an option to the Trinidad bands to place in the top positions the previous year in order to qualify, and the total number of players per band would be no more than sixty. However there were no options or set ways to choose the bands from abroad. I sent a suggestion that they could consider looking at places where there are panorama competitions and choose the champion steelband from that area. Rules and regulations along with registrations and necessary documents were then forwarded to the chosen bands. Two bands were chosen from Canada, Pan Fantasy of Toronto and Salah's Steelpan Academy from Montreal. Two bands were also chosen from the USA, while other bands would come from England, Japan, and other Caribbean islands. What gave more credibility to the event was the fact that it was combined with a conference and workshop. Important local businesses and organizations got behind the International Festival committee. Presentations were made by local and foreign scholars. In the end, 2015 came along and the first international panorama and conference event

was held in Trinidad. Success is measured in different ways according to the expected and achieved goals. It was expected that Trinidadians would show up for a panorama competition and a steelpan conference. The two events were modestly attended accordingly, so by all standards one can say that it came to reality and was successfully executed. However, many questions were asked after the event, most importantly, what did the pan community gain and, by extension, what did the country gain? Tax-payers money was involved so questions from the public were justified. The conference focused on presentations and questions relative to steelpan development, and solutions for future sustainability. But many in the public questioned the lack of ability of the organization to successfully market the event in a meaningful way. The lack of foreign attendance compiled with only a modest turn out of locals did not deliver financial expectations. However, many saw missed opportunities to market the event professionally and successfully to the world. The concept of a full “Pay Per View” marketing of the event to the world was lost. I wrote an unpublished paper on the panorama competition aspect of the event, documenting the journey of my band (Salah’s Steelpan Academy) to the event (Wilson 2016, unpublished).

9.4 Panorama concept spreads across the globe, USA asserts itself as a major player, Trinidad elects its first female president of Pan Trinbago

Throughout the history of the steelpan in Trinidad notable people, in particular the pan tuners, made contributions to the cause. Recognition and acknowledgements were slow although honorary awards were given to the pan community membership from the government and universities. But, other organizations and affiliations often show their support for some aspect of the steelpan movement. Due to the ultimate passing of a rare

breed of steelpan contributors, the pan tuners, awareness was a motivating factor in trying to acknowledge and recognize these important steelpan tuners.

The year 2013 was significant as it marked the 50th anniversary of the Panorama competition. This type of panorama competition has been diffused to many parts of the world. Many Caribbean islands hold similar annual events as do North America and Europe with New York hosting the largest after Trinidad, followed by Toronto, and Nottingham in England. Many other major cities host this event including Miami, Florida and Montreal. Steelpan activities post 2010 have spread the world over even to remote unexpected areas. A quick look at steelpan activities on the internet will reveal a trove of knowledgeable information on the steelpan. Surprisingly, I found a steelpan group in Oman in the Middle East, where a Trinidadian was still behind the inception (Appendix A36). However, today's world no longer consists only of people from their place of origin. Many diverse promoters and many prolific exponents of steelpan, such as American Andy Narell, are now the main participants of the art. In August 2015, the following 15 pan tuners were honored at the 4th Annual Pan on D'Avenue parade held in Woodbrook, Port of Spain.

- | | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| • Clifford Alfred | • Reynold "Slater" Gillies | • Bertram "Butch" Kellman |
| • Patrick Arnold | • Kenneth Guppy | • Andrew Morris |
| • Herman Guppy (<i>Died: December 2015</i>) | • Roland Harrigin | • Jim Jimi Phillip |
| • Gerard Clarke | • Roland Inniss | • Desmond "Mappo" Richardson |
| • Michael Cupidore | • George "Yoyo" Kalicharan | • Joseph Roseman |

Africans from places like Nigeria, have for more than two decades been visiting Trinidad to learn the art of making the steelpan. There are now pan tuners and pan

activities in schools in Nigeria (Appendix A36). Steelpan activities never lent itself to much interest in South America, simply because the demographic migration has always been to North America and Europe. However, there are small entities of steelpan activities in various south and central American countries such as Brazil and Mexico. But in the major areas of our focus in this study, there has been significant growth and development in numerous areas of steelpan activity. In North America, the emphasis of steelpan in academia has proven to be the one of the principal drivers of steelpan education and presence in society. It has affected all manners of people participation from the elementary to university level and beyond. What began experimentally in elementary and secondary schools have now become integral parts of learning in higher institutions of colleges and universities. Steelpan history and activities are today a great source for numerous theses and dissertations. This augurs well for steelpan development. The research has pointed out that Toronto, Canada is by far the most progressive in steelpan activities in the public schools and in the communities at large. There is a robust program in the elementary schools, the high schools however, need an infusion of programs that continue from the elementary schools. The colleges and universities though limited, are now in the radar of steelpan activists who are demanding more. In addition, there are the comparative information of colleges and universities in the USA. In the communities at large, the Pan Alive panorama competition is still the main event in steelpan activities, occurring at the annual “Caribana” weekend. However, there are numerous activities throughout the year where all different concepts of shows and genres of music are defined. Small ensembles of steelpan groups are a quick gig, notwithstanding the ever growing number of steelpan soloists that perform individually or with other contemporary music bands. Meanwhile,

everything that happens in Canada is magnified at least ten times in the USA. While the acceptance of the steelpan in academia continues to spread around the world, this phenomenon is confirmed in the USA and now reported in theses and dissertations.

Now that the instrument has become prominent in countries all over the world the question becomes how this did happen? How did an instrument created by the poor and repressed people of the small island of Trinidad become a standard in music education programs across the globe? How was this able to happen in only half a centuries' time? Why have music educators deemed it worthy of their curriculum and why do students deem it worthy of their time? Are their significant educational benefits or is it simply an enjoyable ensemble?Currently in the United States there are over 120 steel pan ensembles within collegiate programs alone. When counting all bands, including primary schools and community groups, the estimated number is closer to 1,000. The ensemble has also spread across the globe and can be found in large numbers in Canada, France, Australia, and Japan (Yancey 2009).

This quote from Yancey serves as perfect example for illustrating the perception of the steelpan phenomenon in America, how it is acknowledged by teachers in their programs. It also gives an idea of the amount of activities that currently exist when looking at the number of groups. This statistic is more than a decade old and the rate of growth continues to increase. In addition to the schools and universities, there are now numerous organizations that promote steelpan activities in academia and the communities. One such organization is the National Society of Steelband Educators, also referred to as the NSSBE (Appendix A29). There are also numerous steelpan manufacturing companies now embarking on larger productions of steelpans. Notable universities in Northern Illinois, West Virginia, Ohio, and New York are involved promoters of steelpan development. Two prominent Trinidadians who have left their indelible mark in steelpan history in America are Ellie Mannette, who produced volumes of work at West Virginia University, and Cliff Alexis at Northern Illinois University. Other Trinidadians have also placed their stamp on steelpan education in academia. Dr. Dawn Batson at the University of Florida

has been an enabler of steelpan activities and in particular assisting and guiding many of the prominent steelpan players and arrangers of the era. Liam Teague, in residence at NIU and Mia Gormandy completing her doctorate adds to the growing list of academics in pan. As we race towards the end of this decade, we see that the spreading of steelpan activities is taking on different forms. Whereas, when we previously spoke of steelpan in the Caribbean communities, the references were primarily the people of Caribbean stock and those who migrated to North America and developed steelpan activities in their communities.

However, today in places like New England there are intense concentrations of steelpan activities which are not motivated by Caribbean stock people. Local Americans have learned to manufacture steelpan and have organized their own schooling and community events. In Maine, pan tuner Carl Chase, and his son Nigel, music arranger are pioneers in their area. They have been promoting steelpan activities, steelpan summer camps, and developing steelpan programs in the schools and communities for decades. I invited them to our annual Montreal International Steelpan Festival and for a decade, they have been consistent visitors and participants with their group “Pan Coalition” (Appendix A32).

They also were one of the USA bands to participate in the 2015 International Panorama and Conference in Trinidad. Meanwhile the Caribbean roots communities in New York, Miami, and other American cities, continue to push the boundaries on panorama and carnival parades. At the same time, a greater number of professional soloists are being born as lots of the younger generation of steelpan players are becoming musically qualified. Younger arrangers, (Andre White, Kuent Rose, Odie Franklin, Kendall Williams, et al) are now the dominating force in the panorama competitions. In Montreal and Toronto, the push into academia by pan adherents sets the stage for more musically

trained professional pan musicians. Meanwhile in Trinidad, a new management team of Pan Trinbago, replaced the embattled regime of Keith Diaz. The new administration is led for the first time in history by a woman, Beverley Ramsey Moore, and so the story of “pan on the move” continues.

GLOSSARY

Colloquial phrases and terminologies in Trinidad & Tobago

A.

Alto pan – a name for the steelpan also called “double seconds” existing within the general alto range.

African skin drum – usually refers to a goat skin drum.

B.

Badjohn – an alias, a name given to a person of disrepute, of immoral character.

Big Yard – a reference to an area in the grand savannah where the panorama competition passes, synonymous with other names like the “Bull Track,” “The Savannah,” “The Drag.”

Bomb competition – a steelpan competition in Trinidad during the carnival parade, organized by the steelpan fraternity expressing undisclosed music (WAM “classical,” or American standards, “pop,” etc.)

Boom – the name of an early instrument, first made out of bamboo and then transformed when the concept changed to that of metallic steel drums. The boom represents the bass effect.

Bull track – see “Big Yard.”

C.

Canboulay – a colloquial term referring to an event which occurred during the pre-emancipation period and continued into the post emancipation, derived from the French term “canne-brulee” literally means cane burning.

Caribana – a Trinidad-style carnival event in Toronto since 1967.

Carifete – a Trinidad-style carnival event in Montreal since 1974.

Chantwell – a singer, poet, teller of tales, forerunner of the calypsonian.

Chinee music – a colloquial term in Trinidad, referring to the sounds emanating from a steelband when they used amplification in the 1960’s during the carnival parade.

Chromed pans – pan instruments that are chrome plated.

Chutney – originally an East Indian delicacy. Refers to a type of music originating from the Indian descent community in Trinidad. The music mixes with calypso/soca rhythms with East Indian style nuances.

Coco payol – a reference to a Spanish descent people, originating from Venezuela, arriving in Trinidad as a cocoa and coffee planters.

Creolization – in Trinidad, a concept of integration of many peoples into a cultural consciousness, stemming from the French creole, “freemen” and the combining of the emancipation celebration and the “Mardi Gas” celebration.

Cutter – the name of an early instrument, first made out of bamboo and then transformed when the concept changed to that of metallic steel drums. The cutter represents the high end of the band and was responsible for improvisation techniques.

D.

Double second – see alto pan.

Drag – also the drag. See “Big Yard.”

Du dup – an early steeldrum instrument, which carries a steady basic beat.

E.

E-pan – electronic pan invented by Salmon Cupid in Canada and another by Professor Brian Copeland of the University of the West Indies in Trinidad. See also PHI.

Ex-Tempo – a creative improvisatory technique of calypso singing with immediate and live compositions.

F.

Fete – a dance event, a grand public party usually associated around the carnival season but not restricted to only that time.

Foule – the name of an early instrument, first made out of bamboo, the foule resides between the cutter at the top and the boom at the bottom.

French creole – people of African and French origins.

G.

G-pan – another name for the Genesis Pan, an invention of a new size and style of pans in Trinidad, originating from the UWI under Professor Brian Copeland.

Grand Savannah – see Big Yard.

Guitar pan – a name given to a steelpan instrument with a range of the tenor.

H.

Harmonics – a term in Trinidad pan tuning, where the method incorporates resonant upper partials of the overtone series in the note tuning process.

Harmony Pan – a steelpan invention by the late legendary Rudolph Charles, consisting of six drums with a range from tenor to soprano.

Hosay – an annual festival celebrated by a section of society involving a parade with tassa drumming as a highlight. In reality it is a diluted form of a religious festival by a Muslim sect.

I.

Indianization - in Trinidad, a concept of integration of many peoples into a cultural consciousness. This is demonstrated in several ways, Trinidadians of different ethnicities and nationalities celebrate the Indian festivals like Divali by dressing and celebrating in Indian cultural attire at those occasions.

Iron band – a forerunner to the contemporary steelband, the iron bands were made up of all types of metallic objects and the emphasis was purely rhythmic.

J.

Jamette – a Trinidadian word derived from the French word ‘diametre’ and refers to people who were just under the border line. It is also in reference to a woman considered a prostitute but who is also brash and exhibits a form of shamelessness.

J’ourvert – a Trinidadian word coined from the French “jour ourvert” meaning day break. It refers to the early morning celebrations of the Trinidad carnival.

K.

Kalinda – in Trinidad, (also Calinda) a word derived from French which refers to a type of dance and song associated with stick fighting.

Kittle – an early musical instrument related to the era of the iron band and early steelbands in
Trinidad.

L.

Last lap – in Trinidad also known as lagniappe, refers to the end parade of Carnival Tuesday Evening, or simply the last of anything, last dance, last drink, etc.

M.

Musicking – a contraction of “music making.” A term coined by Christopher Small referring to activities related to, or involved with, music performance; all the parts that come together to make the event happen, including after the event.

N.

Nine bass pan – an innovation of Rudolph Charles. Nine drums with twenty-seven notes covering a range from A1 to B3.

P.

Panman – name given to a steelpan player, originally depicting a negative and derogatory connotation.

Panorama competition – or simply panorama refers to the annual steelband competition originating in Trinidad which is now emulated in many North American and European cities.

Pan round the neck – early steelpan groups carried the pans around their necks for mobility.

Pan yard – the assembly place where the steelband operates.

PHI – Percussive Harmonic Instrument. The electronic (E-pan) invented by Professor Brian Copeland at the University of the West Indies in Trinidad.

Picong – in Trinidad, a verbal duel in song, but also denotes teasing and satirical banter.

Ping pong – an early steel drum instrument, with four or five notes to produce melodies, held with one hand and played with a stick with the other.

Play mas' – the act of participating in the costumed masquerade parade or steelbands and other bands during the carnival in Trinidad.

Q.

Quadrophonic pan – an innovation of Rudolph Charles, also known as Quads and Quadros. An instrument which reinforces the melody and offers harmonic support. Range B2 to D6; four drums; forty notes; seventeen inch skirt length.

R.

Road side – refers to a group of people who joins a steelband for the carnival season to participate in the panorama and also the road parade.

Rocket pan – (Rocket bass) another innovation from Rudolph Charles and Desperadoes steelband. Steel material shaped as rockets were added to the bass pans.

S.

Saga boy – A Trinidadian character displaying the image of a fashionable, well-dressed playboy, pimp, attention seeker.

Soca – the Trinidadian music derived from calypso.

Stage side – refers to the regular members that make up the core of the steelband.

Steelbands Clash – refers to the era of steelband violence and gang warfare which also spilled over to the streets on the carnival days.

Steelpan Playing with Theory – a introductory theory text focused on music literacy for pan players. Written and published by the author of this dissertation and used in school systems in Montréal and Trinidad.

Spider web pan – a lead steelpan instrument invented by the legendary Tony Williams. The shapes of the notes on the pans renders the appearance as that of a spider's web. More importantly the notes were arranged in the cycle of fifths.

T.

Tamboo bamboo – the concept of the bamboo band, a forerunner to the steelband.

Tenor pan – the name for the lead instrument of a steelband in Trinidad, it is in the soprano range and is also now known as the soprano pan.

Three-note “jazzy” strum – a strumming technique developed by Ray Holman in the 1970s which employs the notes of a triad alternating between the hands. In a bar of cut time the pattern sounds as an eighth rest followed by three eighth notes and repeated.

Triple tenor pan – a set of three drums also known as triple cello pan. Range of twenty-seven notes from B2 to C#5.

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APPENDICES A1-A38: Photos, Documents, Visual Content

Appendix A1. The Colonial Period

<http://www.pariapublishing.com/cedula1783.htm>

The Royal Cedula of 1783

translated into English by Governor Don José María Chacón, the last Spanish Governor of Trinidad, under whom the Cedula was promulgated throughout the Caribbean as a result of the endeavor of Roume de St. Laurent

Source: *Prof. Carl C. Campbell, Cedulants and Capitulants, published by Paria Publishing Co. Ltd. in 1992. P.P. House of Commons, 1826-1827 (428) =II, Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the subject of Titles to Lands in the Island of Trinidad, pp. 191-194.*

Whereas by our royal instructions given the 3rd of September 1776 to captain of foot, Don Manuel Falquez, at that time governor of our island of Trinity to wind-ward, and by our commission afterwards granted to Don Joseph de Abalos, when we conferred on him the general superintendency of the province of Caracas, we thought proper to form rules and grant various privileges for the population and trade of the island afore-said; we have now resolved, in consequence of the representation our said intendand, as well as at the desire of some inhabitants already established there, and others who are anxious to become inhabitants thereof, to form a system of colonization and trade, by the following articles:-

Art. I. All foreigners, natives of nations and states, in friendship with us, who would wish to establish themselves, or are already settled in our said island of Trinity, must make it appear, by the means prescribed by our government of the island aforesaid, that they profess the Roman Catholic religion; for without this indispensable condition, they cannot be admitted to settle there. But this justification shall not be required from the subjects of our own dominions, as no doubt can be harboured with respect to them on this head.

Art. II. Of foreigners who are admitted agreeable to the foregoing article the governor will receive the oaths of allegiance and fidelity by which they will bind themselves to observe and abide by those laws and ordinances of the Indies to which the Spaniards are subject: in virtue of which oaths, we will in our royal name, grant unto them gratis and in perpetuity the lands they may be entitled to claim by virtue of the following regulations.

Art. III. To each white person, either sex, shall be granted four fanegas and two sevenths of land (equal to ten quarrees French measure, or thirty-two acres English measure) and half the above quantity for every negro or mulatto slave that such white person or persons shall import with them, making such a division of the land, that each shall partake of the good, bad, and indifferent. And these distributions shall be recorded in a vellum book of population, specifying the name of each inhabitant, the date of his admission, the number of individuals of his family, his quality and rank; and every such inhabitant shall have an authentic copy from said book for the parcel of land allotted to him, which shall serve as a title to his property in the same.

Art. IV. The free negroes and mulattoes who shall come to settle in the said island, in quality of inhabitants and chief of families, shall have half the quantity of land granted to the whites, and if they bring with them slaves, being their own property, the quantity of land granted to them shall be increased in proportion to the number of said slaves, and to the land granted to said negroes and mulattoes, this is, one half of the quantity granted to the slaves of whites; and their titles shall be equally legal and granted in the same manner as to whites.

Art. V. After the first five years establishment of foreign settlers in the said island, they shall, by obliging themselves to continue therein perpetually have all the rights and privileges of naturalization granted to them, and to the children they may have brought with them, as well as those that may have been born in the island, in order to be admitted in consequence to the honorary employments of the public, and of the militia, agreeable to the quality and talents of each.

Art. VI. No capitation or personal tribute shall at any time be laid on the white inhabitants; they shall only be liable to pay one piece of eight yearly for each of their slaves, of whatever cast, and that only to commence ten years after their establishment in the island, and this tax shall never be increased.

Art. VII. During the first five years the Spanish and foreign inhabitants shall be at liberty to return to their native country or former place of abode; in which case they will be permitted to carry with them such property as they brought to the island free from any duty of exportation, but on the increase during such time they will be liable to the payment of ten per centum: and it is to be understood that the lands which have been granted to such inhabitants as voluntarily quit the island shall devolve to our royal patrimony, to be disposed of for the benefit of others, or as shall be found most convenient.

Art. VIII. We grant to the old and new inhabitants that shall die on the island, without having apparent heirs there, the power of bequeathing their fortunes to their relations or friends, wherever they may be; and if their successors should choose to settle in the island they shall enjoy the privileges granted to their constituents: but should they prefer carrying away the inheritance, they may do so by paying upon the whole amount fifteen per centum duties of exportation, where the testator has been five years established, but

if he died before that period, only ten per centum, as provided in the foregoing article, and as to those who die intestate, their parents, brothers, or relations shall inherit, even should they reside in foreign nations, provided they are Roman Catholics and settle in the island; but in case they cannot or will not become inhabitants, they shall be permitted to dispose of their inheritance by sale or gift, agreeable to the rules prescribed in the two foregoing articles.

Art. IX. We also grant to all the inhabitants of landed property in the said island power, agreeable to the Spanish laws, of bequeathing or otherwise disposing of their said landed property, without making any division thereof, to one or more of their children, provided that no injustice is done to the rights of the other children, or to the widow of the testator.

Art. X. Any inhabitant who, on account of a law-suit or any other pressing or just motive, may have occasion to go to Spain, or any province of our Indies, or to foreign countries, shall ask leave of the governor, and he will be entitled thereto, provided he is not going to an enemy's country or carrying away his property.

Art. XI. The Spanish as well as the foreign inhabitants shall be exempt for the space of ten years from the payment of tithes upon the products of their lands; after which period, which is to be reckoned from the first day of January 1785, they will only pay five per centum, which is half tithes.

Art. XII. They will be also exempt for the first ten years from the royal duties of alcabala upon the sale of their products and merchandizes and afterwards they will only pay an equivalent of five per centum; but when they ship in Spanish bottoms for our kingdoms of Spain they will be always exempt from any duties of exportation.

Art. XIII. Whereas all the inhabitants ought to be armed, even in times of peace, to keep their slaves in awe, and oppose any invasion or depredation of pirates, we hereby declare, that this obligation does not comprehend them in the class of a regular militia, and that they will acquit themselves of this duty by presenting their arms every two months at a review, to be taken by the governor, or by the officer he may appoint for that purpose; but in time of war or disturbance of slaves they ought to assist in defense of the island, agreeable to the disposition that may be taken by the commander-in-chief.

Art. XIV. The ships and vessels belonging to the old and new subjects, of whatever tonnage or build, must be brought to the island and registered there, with a proof of the property, and they will be made Spanish as well as those obtained from foreign nations, by purchase or any other lawful title, till the end of the year 1786, and they will be all exempt from the alien and qualifying duties; and those who may choose to construct vessels in the said island, government will permit them to cut the timbers necessary for that purpose, excepting only such timbers as may be necessary for the use of the royal navy.

Art. XV. The trade and importation of negroes into the island will be entirely free of duties for the space of ten years from the beginning of 1785, after which time the inhabitants and dealers in slaves will only pay five per centum on their current value on importation; but it shall not be lawful for them to transport said negroes from said island to any part of our dominions in the Indies without our royal permission, and a consideration of six per centum when thus imported into any of them.

Art. XVI. The inhabitants themselves can go (having the governors leave) with their own vessels, or freighted ones, being Spanish, to the islands in friendship with us, or to the neutral ones, to look for slaves, and take with them produce, effects, or any other property sufficient to pay for them, it being registered in the custom-house, and paying five per centum for exportation, which duty shall likewise be paid by the traders who with our permission shall bring slaves to the island, besides that which they will pay on importation of said slaves, from which we exempt the inhabitants, in order to encourage their cultivation and commerce.

Art. XVII. The course of trade between Spain and the inhabitants of Trinity, and that which they may carry on with such of their produce as is admissible in our islands and American dominions, will be totally free of all duties from the 1st January 1785, for the space of ten years and even at the expiration of said time they will be likewise exempt of all duties of importation into our kingdom of Spain, agreeable to the rules laid down in our last regulation of free trade; so that they can never be encumbered with any taxes other than such as will be fixed on the products of our other West Indian dominions.

Art. XVIII. In like manner Spanish and foreign goods and merchandize and also the fruits and liquors of this our kingdom, which shall be entered in our custom-house and transported to said island shall go free of all duties for the said term of ten years, and shall be in like manner introduced and expended therein; nor can they be reshipped for any other part of my dominions in the Indies; but in case it should be permitted on any urgent or just occasion, it shall be only such articles as are real Spanish, and on paying such duties as are provided by the regulation of free trade.

Art. XIX. In order to facilitate by every means the trade and population of the island, I permit for the said space of ten years, from the commencement of 1785, that the vessels belonging to the inhabitants of the said island, and likewise to my subjects of Spain, may make voyage to the said island, sailing directly with their cargoes from the ports of France, where my consuls reside, and returning directly to them again with the fruits and productions of the island, excepting cash, which I absolutely prohibit the exportation of through that channel; but with the indispensable obligation that my consul shall take an exact inventory of everything that is shipped, which he shall deliver signed and sealed to the captain or master of the vessel, to be by him delivered at the custom-house in Trinity, and also with the condition of paying five per centum on the entry of the goods and merchandize, and the like quota on the exportation of the produce they shall ship in return to France, or to any other foreign port; but they must not touch at any Spanish port qualified to trade to the Indies.

Art. XX. Upon any urgent necessity, which may appear to the governor of the island, we grant to all its inhabitants, permission similar to that contained in the foregoing article, to enable them to have recourse to the French islands in the West Indies, under the indispensable obligation, that the captains or masters of vessels take exact invoices of their cargoes and deliver them to the officers of the royal administration, in order to compare them individually with the effects they bring, and exact the same contribution of five per centum on their current value in Trinity.

Art. XXI. In order to furnish my old and new inhabitants amply with what may be necessary for subsistence, industry, and agriculture, we have given effectual orders to the commanders of the province of Caracas, for the purpose of conveying to the island such quantities of horned cattle, mules and horses, as may be deemed necessary, at the charge of my royal revenues; and they shall be given to the inhabitants at the first cost and charges, till they can form a breed of them sufficient for their purposes.

Art. XXII. We have made the like provision for a sufficient quantity of flour for the space of ten years, and if through any accident there should happen to be a scarcity of this article on the island, the governor will permit the inhabitants to go to the foreign islands with their own vessel or vessels belonging to my subjects, to purchase as much as may be wanted, carrying for that purpose produce equivalent, and paying five per centum on the exportation thereof, and the same on the importation of the flour.

Art. XXIII. We have likewise ordered to be sent to said island from the manufactories of Biscay, and other parts of Spain, for the said space of ten years, all the instruments and utensils necessary for cultivation, that they may be given to the old and new inhabitants at the first cost; but after the expiration of said ten years, it will be their business to supply themselves; and if during said time, through any cause, there should happen to be a scarcity of said articles and expressing want of them, they shall be permitted to be sent for to the foreign islands in friendship with us, subject to the same regulations provided for flour.

Art. XXIV. We have also directed that two secular and regular priests, of approved learning and exemplary virtue, and well acquainted and versed in the foreign languages, shall go to Trinity to serve as pastors to the new inhabitants that may be there, and we will appoint a competent living for them, to the end that they may support themselves with the decency due to their character, and be no encumbrance to their parishioners.

Art. XXV. We permit the old and new inhabitants to lay before us, through the hands of the governor of the island, the regulations they may think most convenient and proper for the management of their slaves, and to prevent their running away; in the meantime, we have instructed our said governor as to the regulations he is to observe on that head, as well as with respect to a reciprocal restitution of runaway slaves from the foreign islands.

Art. XXVI. We have likewise instructed our said governor to use the utmost diligence that the plague of ants be not introduced into the island; to prevent which all the goods and effects coming from such of the Antilles as have been infested with this vermin, must be individually inspected; and whereas the inhabitants are the most interested in this point, they shall propose to government two persons of the greatest confidence and activity to examine the vessels, etc., and carefully attend to the performance of this point.

Art. XXVII. When the sugar crops shall become considerable or abundant in Trinity, we will grant to the inhabitants the liberty of erecting refining houses in Spain, with all the privileges and exemption of duties which we may have granted to any of our natural born subjects or foreigners who have erected such; and we will likewise permit, at a proper time, the erection of a council board in said island for the advancement and protection of its agriculture, navigation and commerce; with immediate direction to the governor in his particular instructions, and to the other judges, to use humanity, good treatment, and impartial and speedy administration of justice to all the Spanish and foreign inhabitants, and not to trouble or injure them in any way whatever, which would be very much to my royal displeasure.

Art. XXVIII. Lastly we grant to the old and new inhabitants of said island when they have motives deserving our royal consideration, liberty to send us their remonstrances through the means of the governor and minister for the universal dispatch of India affairs; and in case the business should be of such a nature as to require a person to solicit it, they shall ask our leave for it, and we will grant it, if their demand is just. And in order that all the articles contained in this regulation should have their full force, we dispense with all the laws and customs which may be contradictory to them; and we command our council of the Indies, the chancellors and courts of justice thereof, vice-kings, captains and commanders-in-chief, governors and intendants, common justices, the officers of our royal revenues, and our consuls in the ports of France, to keep, comply with, and execute, and cause to be kept, complied with, and executed the regulation inserted in this our royal Schedule. Done at St. Lorenzo, November 24th 1783, Sealed with our private seal, and subscribed by our under-written Secretary of State, and also Secretary for the universal dispatch of India affairs.

We the King. Joseph de Galvez.

GERARD A. BESSON / PARIAPUBLISHING CO. LTD

The Royal Cedula of 1783 <http://www.pariapublishing.com/cedula1783.htm>

Appendix A2. Articles of Capitulation for the Surrender of the Island of Trinidad

Source: *Prof. Carl C. Campbell, Cedulants and Capitulants, published by Paria Publishing Co. Ltd. in 1992*

Art. I. The officers and troops of his Catholic Majesty and his Allies in the Island of Trinidad, are to surrender themselves prisoners of war, and are to deliver up the territory, forts, buildings, arms, ammunition, money, effects, plans and stores, with exact inventories thereof, belonging to his Catholic Majesty; and they are hereby transferred to his Britannic Majesty in the same manner and possession as has been held heretofore by his said Catholic Majesty.

Art. II. The troops of his Catholic Majesty are to march out with the honours of war, and to lay down their arms at the distance of three hundred paces from the forts they occupy, at five o'clock this evening.

Art. III. All the officers and troops aforesaid of his Catholic Majesty are allowed to keep their private effects, and the officers are allowed to wear their swords. Art. IX. All public Records are to be preserved in such Courts or Offices as they are now in; and all Contracts or Purchases between individuals, which have been done according to the laws of Spain, are to be held binding and valid by the British Government.

Art. IV. Admiral Don Sebastien Ruez de Apodaca being on shore in the island, after having burnt and abandoned his ships, he with the officers and men belonging to the squadron under his command, are included in this Capitulation, under the same terms as are granted to his Catholic Majesty's troops.

Art. V. As soon as ships can be conveniently provided for the purpose, the prisoners are to be conveyed to Old Spain, they remaining prisoners of war until exchanged by a cartel between the two nations, or until the Peace; it being clearly understood that they will not serve against Great Britain or her Allies until exchanged.

Art. VI. There being some officers among his Catholic Majesty's troops whose private affairs require their presence at different places of the Continent of America, such officers are permitted to go upon their parole to the said places for six months more or less, after which period they are to return to Europe; but as the number receiving this indulgence must be limited, His Excellency Don Chacon will previously deliver to the British Commanders a list of their names, rank and places, which they are going to.

Art. VII. The officers of the royal administration, upon the delivery of the stores with which they are charged, to such officers as may be appointed by the British Commanders, will receive receipts according to the custom in like cases, from the officers so appointed to receive the stores.

Art. VIII. All the private property of the inhabitants, as well Spaniards as any such as have been naturalized, is preserved to them.

Art. IX. All public Records are to be preserved in such Courts or Offices as they are now in; and all Contracts or Purchases between individuals, which have been done according to the laws of Spain, are to be held binding and valid by the British Government.

Art. X. The Spanish officers of administration, who are possessed of landed property in Trinidad, are allowed to remain in the Island, they taking the oaths of allegiance to His Britannic Majesty; and they are further allowed, should they please, to sell or dispose of their property and to retire elsewhere.

Art. XI. The free exercise of their religion is allowed to the inhabitants.

Art. XII. The free coloured people, who have been acknowledged as such by the laws of Spain, shall be protected in their liberty, persons, and property, like other inhabitants, they taking the oath of allegiance and demeaning themselves as becomes good and peaceable subjects of His Britannic Majesty.

Art. XIII. The sailors and soldiers of his Catholic Majesty are, from the time of their laying down their arms, to be fed by the British Government, leaving the expense to be regulated by the cartel between the two nations.

Art. XIV. The sick of the Spanish troops will be taken care of, but are to be attended by, and to be under the inspection of, their own surgeons.

Art. XV. All the inhabitants of Trinidad shall, within thirty days from the date hereof, take the oath of allegiance to His Britannic Majesty, to demean themselves quietly and faithfully to His government, upon pain, in case of non-compliance, of being sent away from the island. Done at Port D'Espagne, in the Island of Trinidad, the 18th day of February 1797.

(signed) Ralph Abercromby, Henry Harvey Joseph, Maria Chacon

Besson, Gerard A. (1992). <http://www.pariapublishing.com/capitulation.htm>

Appendix A3. Population Statistics Trinidad & Tobago, 1797

Source: *HISTORY OF TRINIDAD, By Mordred Fraser, 1891 (Page 149)*

Commanders in 1797 accorded to all those who did not wish to take the oath of allegiance to the King of England to leave the Island, a general census of the inhabitants was taken, of which the following was the result:

	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total
Whites	929	590	301	266	2,086
Free Coloured	1,196	1,624	895	751	4,466
Indian	305	401	190	186	1,082
Slaves	4,164	3,505	1,232	1,108	10,009
	6,594	6,120	2,618	2,311	17,643

WHITES

English	-	663
Spanish	-	605
French	-	1,093
Subtotal -	2,361	

FREE

English	-
Spanish	-
French	-
Subtotal -	5,275

COLOURED

English	-	599
Spanish	-	1,751
French	-	2,925
Indians	-	1,154
Slaves	-	20,464
Total	29,254	

Besson, Gerard A. (1992). <http://www.pariapublishing.com/population.htm>

Appendix A4. The Merikens in Trinidad 1815-1816

<https://www.nalis.gov.tt/Resources/Subject-Guide/Merikins>

- TRINIDAD IN THE 19TH CENTURY
- FREE BLACK LAND OWNERS
- COMPANY VILLAGES
- OBSTACLES FACED BY THE MERIKIN SETTLERS
- NOTABLE MERIKINS AND MERIKIN DESCENDANTS
- MERIKIN TRADITIONS
- MERIKIN RELIGION
- MERIKIN INSTITUTIONS TODAY
- MERIKIN POETRY
- REFERENCES

LANDS CONFERRED BY THE BRITISH

The story behind the arrival of the Merikins in Trinidad goes back to the American War of Independence, 1775 - 1783 when runaway slaves were first encouraged to join the British fighting forces. A major enticement for their enlistment was the promise of freedom by Lord Dunmore, the then Colonial Governor of Virginia. At the end of the war these ex-soldiers were granted their freedom and taken to Nova Scotia in Canada, Sierra Leone, Jamaica, and the Bahamas.

During the War of 1812-1814, known by some historians as “The War of Faulty Communication”, the British made similar promises of freedom to slaves who joined their naval or military forces. These black soldiers were told that at the end of the war they would remain free men and earn 16 acres of land per head of family.

Historians document that these black soldiers/marines were runaway slaves of the American slave owners who made up the British army and that they were recruited into a total of six (6) military companies. They were recruited mainly from Chesapeake Bay, shores of Virginia and Maryland, as well as from the coast of Georgia.

The following Proclamation was made:

A PROCLAMATION

By the Honourable Sir Alexander F. I. Cochrane,
K.B. Vice Admiral of the Red, and
Commander in Chief of His Majesty’s Ships
and Vessels, upon the North American Station.
Whereas, it has been represented to me, that
many Persons now resident in the UNITED STATES,
have expressed a desire to withdraw therefrom,
with a view of entering into
His Majesty’s Service, or of being received as
Free Settlers into some of His Majesty’s Colonies.

This is therefore to Give Notice,
That all who may be disposed to emigrate from
the UNITED STATES will, with their
Families, be received on board His Majesty’s
Ships or Vessels of War, or at the Military
Posts that may be established, upon or near the
Coast of the UNITED STATES, when
they will have their choice of either entering into
His Majesty’s Sea or Land Forces, or of being
sent as FREE Settlers to the British
Possessions in North America or the
West Indies, where they will meet with due
encouragement,

Given under my Hand at Bermuda,
this 2nd day of April, 1814,
ALEXANDER COCHRANE.

By Command of the Vice Admiral
WILLIAM BALHETCHET.

GOD SAVE THE KING

Appendix A5. 1930's-1940's

The innovative journey of Pan - 1930's era

Bamboo Plant



Bamboo Instruments



The Tamboo- Bamboo Band - circa 1910-1930s



Tamboo Bamboo Band

The innovative journey of Pan

Tamboo Bamboo Band



Trinidadians playing in the tamboo bamboo band

Iron band



Neville Jules in the engine room courtesy Kim Johnson (2011)

Appendix A5 continued. 1930's-1940's



ORIGINAL STYLE PANS courtesy Kim Johnson (Johnson 2011)



Ellie Mannette tuning a pan in the 1940's

Appendix A5 continued. 1930's-1940's

Early concepts of steelbands - 1940's



Gonzales Rhythm Makers, courtesy Kim Johnson (Johnson 2011)
Early concept of a steel band - Trinidad

Early concepts of steelbands - 1940's
Diatonic instruments –simple melodies



WINSTON "SPREE" SIMON (Adams 2005)



Winston "Spree" Simon and Tony Williams in Williams' backyard 1968
courtesy Kim Johnson (Johnson 2011)



Pan Tuner Allan Gervais



Tuner Percy "Lizard" Thomas with a double second he made with 23 notes in August 1952 from a design by Dixieland captain Ernest Ferreira

Appendix A5 continued. 1930's-1940's



Kim Johnson's photo ("Illustrated Story of Pan" pp 45-46) depicting early race unity in steelpan development

Boys from Five Graves to Cairo in St. James, 1946. (left to right: Roderick "Leo" Thomas; Solomon Abdul; Leslie Grannum; Simeon Grannum; Patrick Abdul. Sebastian Abdul. Note the three note "kettle," the one-hand ping pong, and the "box bass" inspired the African mbira or "thumb piano" Photo courtesy of Charlotte Elias (Johnson 2011, 47)

Appendix A6. 1940's -50's Pan in the Caribbean.

Pan in Antigua <https://whensteeltalks.ning.com/page/the-story-of-pan-in-antigua>



Pan in Guyana



Woodman Ellis, Musical Arranger and Quo Vadis tramp pass the rostrum off Public Free Library entertaining Princess Margaret during her royal visit in 1958. (Photo courtesy of Godfrey Chin)

Appendix A6 continued. 1940's -50's Pan in the Caribbean

Pan in Grenada



1956 St. Georges, Grenada West Indies- Carnival parade through the streets of St Georges
<https://whensteeltalks.ning.com/photo/1956-steel-band-carnival-parade-through-st-georges?context=user>

Appendix A7. 1950's Pan in the Caribbean



Pan in Jamaica 1957

<https://whensteeltalks.ning.com/photo/1955-grenada-west-indies-steel-band?context=user>

Appendix A7 continued. 1950's Pan in the Caribbean

PAN IN SCHOOLS - IN TRINIDAD

1950's- First documented Pan in School - 1950 at Abbey School, Mt. St. Benedict, St. Augustine. A school ran by Monks - David De Castro

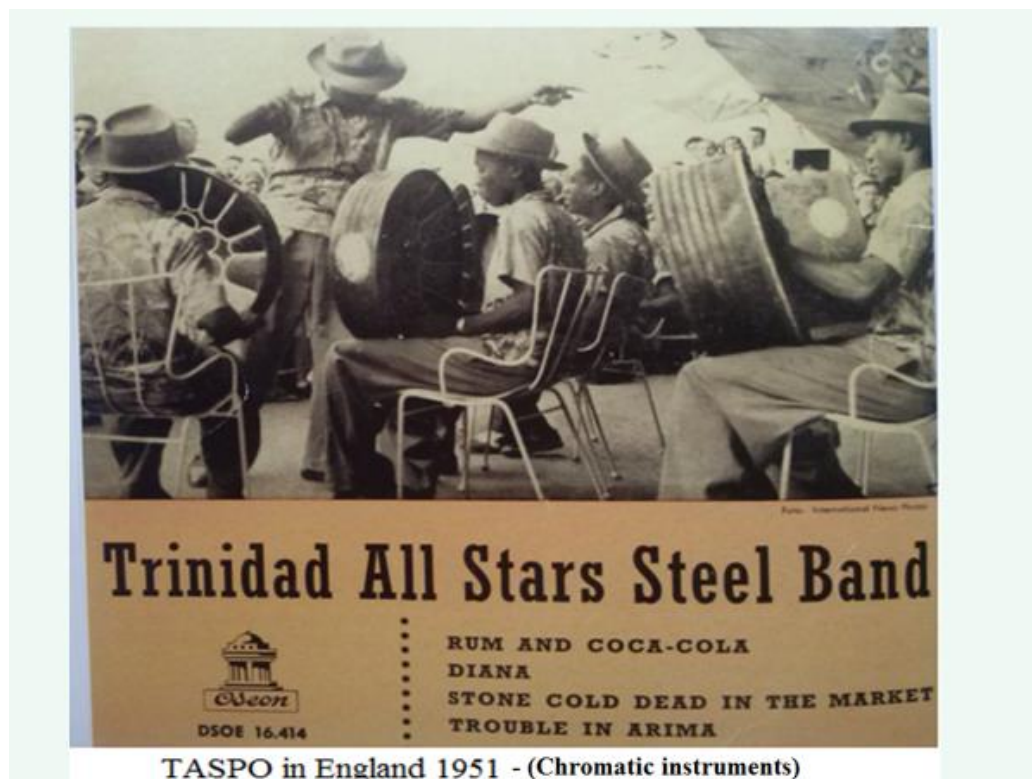


STEELBAND MUSIC FESTIVAL WINNERS: 1950's

YEAR	WINNING STEELBAND	SELECTION
1952	Boys Town	You Are My Heart's Delight
1954	Southern All Stars	Anna (<i>Vato Roman & F. Giordano</i>)
	Katzenjammers	The Breeze and I (<i>Ernesto Lecuona</i>)
1958	No Competition	

<http://www.bestoftrinidad.com/steelband50s.html>

Appendix A8. TASPO'S Festival of Britain Tour-1951



Appendix A9. Women in Pan

Girl Pat Steel Orchestra



Glenroy Joseph. *The Original All Female Steelband- Girl Pat Steel Orchestra*. Trinidad and Tobago, Trinidad and Tobago Culture - Steelpan and Calypso September 7, 2018 <https://grjoseph.com/2018/09/07/girl-pat-steel-orchestra-castillianne-juliana1956/>



Hazel Henley Founder of Girl Pat Steel Orchestra

Appendix A10. Pan in Canada

<http://www.panonthenet.com/panmag/montreal-story.htm>

Vignettes of Pan History - The Montreal Story by Bert Boldon - Republished with the expressed permission of the authors from – PAN - Fall 1987 - Vol.2 No.1



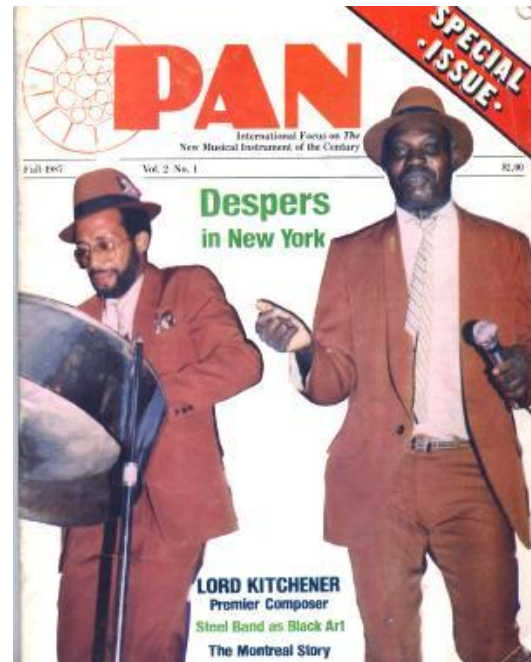
Montreal, Canada 1950's



Montreal, Canada 1950's



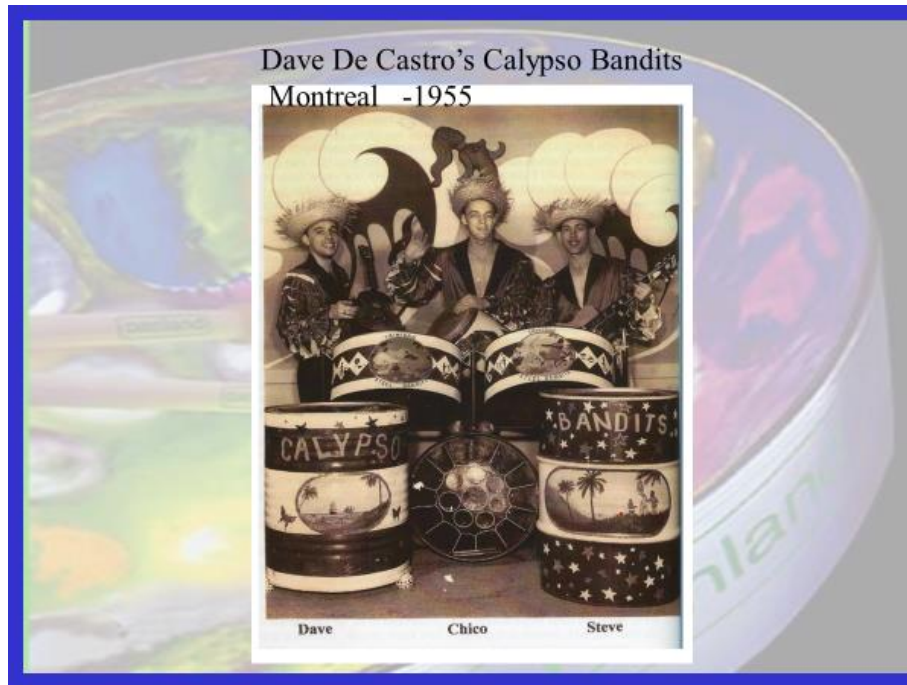
Bert Boldon Montreal, Canada 1950's



Lord Kitchener

Appendix A11. Montreal and Toronto, 1955

Dave De Castro aka “The Bandit” – Montreal 1955



Selwyn “Sello” Gomes – Toronto, 1955



Esso Tropitones with "Sello" Gomes (3rd from Right) Toronto 1955

Appendix A12. Pan in the USA

RUDY KING Trinidadian pan pioneer in New York (1949)

The year was 1949, and the music scene in America would never be the same. That is the year that Rudy King, aka 'Rock' and 'Rudolph Carter' – (to those who knew him as a young boy/man in his native Trinidad) came to America, bringing with him the knowledge of manufacturing and playing the instrument now known worldwide as the steelpan.



Appendix A12 continued. Pan in the USA

Pete Seeger - An inspiration for pan in the US



AP Photo

An account by Ray Funk and Andrew Martin, published Monday February 3 2014.

With the huge number of steelbands in the American school system growing daily and others, like that at Northern Illinois University, celebrating four decades of continuous activity, questions arise as to beginning of the movement. When were steelbands first begun at American schools and universities?

Digital newspaper archives and the Internet are helpful in uncovering details of several contenders, though they only illuminate part of the story. Founded in 1973, the steelband at Northern Illinois University is the longest continually running steelband at any American university; however, there clearly were a number of short lived steelbands that formed at American universities in the 1960s and earlier. At a time when there are numerous tributes to Pete Seeger who died last week, his role in pan and with university and school steelbands has not been mentioned.

Likely the earliest steelband at an American school or university was at UCLA which had a short-lived steelband created by Pete Seeger in 1956. Folk singer and political activist Seeger considered pan as more than simply a musical instrument and was convinced of its use as a tool for community building and juvenile control. A political activist at heart, Seeger was fascinated with the political history associated with pan and calypso music noting, “there’s a kind of raucous democracy about a steel band.”

Early American pan advocates, such as Seeger and Murray Narell, envisioned a future in which the steelbands could rise out the ashes of the imploded calypso craze and function as a legitimate vehicle for public good in cities across America. He had come to Trinidad and fell in love with pan and had one made for him and created the short film *Music from Oil Drums* about the music, the first film ever devoted to steelband.

Seeger was a folksinger by trade and during the mid-1950's, he embarked on long college tours throughout the United States. These were artistically fertile years for Seeger and he brought a variety of instruments with him on the road in the hope that the eclectic variety would serve as a metaphor for the diversity of American culture. "I arrived to sing at Cornell [University] and I had a steel drum with me and I had a mandolin, two kinds of banjos, two or three kinds of guitars. It seems that I was a travelling music store."

Seeger's fluency on the steelpan was formidable, though he never reached true mastery of the instrument and was much more interested in introducing pan to his various American audiences. Seeger sought to bring pan to the masses and in a 1957 letter to Admiral Daniel Gallery, founder of the US Navy Steel Band, he listed some of the various steelbands that were recently brought to life—all of them first in their respective regions of America. "Last year my family and my neighbors [Beacon New York] and myself had a small band and we still play together occasionally but our repertoire is limited to two or three songs and we are only about six members all in all. On the UCLA campus in California the students followed my directions and put on a short performance for the other students."

Seeger's letter appears to be documented proof of one of the earliest steelbands at an American university comprised chiefly of students and the letter dates the UCLA band to approximately spring of 1956. Pan was well received in many of the universities that hosted Seeger in the late 1950's and, in addition to UCLA, he helped start steelbands at Cornell University, USC, and Michigan State University.

The band at Michigan State University, known as the Bomboushay Steel Band, recorded and released an album on the Folkways label in 1962—the first commercial recording made by a university steelband. The band was comprised of students from Michigan State University and was one of several early American steel bands fostered by Seeger while on his college tours. Members of the band included English professor and political activist Gene Bluestein, American students, as well as several visiting Caribbean international students. The short lived steelband was led by Derek Hodge (1941-2011) from the Virgin Islands who later abandoned music for law and politics back in his native Bermuda and served two terms as the Lieutenant Governor of the islands.

Seeger's grand scheme was to subversively liberate the youth of America with the "raucous democracy" of steelband. As such, he was very interested in forming steelbands in schools and community organizations' in New York City and outstate New York. The Wiltwyck steelband was one such community band. The school was initially designed as an experimental summer camp for Protestant African-American

juvenile delinquents and potential juvenile delinquents and steelband consisted of local boys, twelve years of age, all of whom attended the Wiltwyck School near Esopus, New York. Trinidadian Kim Loy Wong began teaching the boys in June of 1959. By October, the new steelband offered a public concert in the school gymnasium which Seeger and sound engineer Peter Bartok recorded and produced into an album for Folkways Records.

Seeger knew that because of their knowledge and expertise having Trinidadian panmen start steelbands was a key element in starting a steelband movement in American schools. Working towards this goal, he facilitated the successful immigration of native Trinidadian steelband pioneers to the United States. Most notably among his efforts was Kim Loy Wong, from Hi-landers Steel, who, in addition to his work with the Wiltwyck steelband, established a steelband and pan manufacturing facility in University Settlement, New York in the late 1950's. He later moved to Texas and still is involved with pan. Ray Funk is a retired Alaskan judge who is passionately devoted to calypso, pan and mas. Andrew Martin is an ethnomusicologist, percussionist, pannist, and Associate Professor of Music at Inver Hills College in St Paul, Minnesota. (BBC)

PETE SEEGER AND PAN

First documentary film on the steelpan

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PM7JjNwKg3s>

Appendix A12 continued. Pan in the USA

Kim Loy Wong's exploits in USA



Kim Loy Hi Landers Orchestra

Kim Loy Wong's Hi Lander Orchestra



Kim Loy Wong's Delinquent Youth Steel Band Group Inc

Appendix A12 continued. Pan in the USA



Kim Loy Wong with First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt



President D. Eisenhower with US Navy Steelband

Appendix A13. Andrews Sisters; Tassa Drummers of Trinidad and Tobago

Andrews Sisters performing the plagiarized hit “Rum & Coca Cola”



Two of the Andrews sisters who performed the plagiarised hit “Rum and Coca-Cola, photo -op with the pan, circa 1953 .courtesy Kim Johnson (Johnson 2011)



Tassa drummers of Trinidad & Tobago

Appendix A14. 1960's

Trinidad & Tobago Independence August 31st, 1962



First Panorama Competition 1963
Pan Am North Stars – Champion



Appendix A14 continued. 1960's <http://www.bestoftrinidad.com/steelband60s.html>

PANORAMA WINNERS: 1963 - 1969

YEAR	RESULTS	STEELBAND	ARRANGER	SELECTION
1963	1	North Stars	Anthony Williams	Dan Is the Man in the Van (Mighty Sparrow)
	2	Sundowners	Steve Regis	Harry & Mama (Mighty Sparrow)
	3	Desperadoes	Beverly Griffith	The Road (Lord Kitchener)
1964	1	North Stars	Anthony Williams	Mama Dis Is Mas (Lord Kitchener)
	2	Desperadoes	Beverly Griffith	Mama Dis Is Mas (Lord Kitchener)
	3	Starlift	Ray Holman	Bullpistle Gang (Mighty Sparrow)
1965	1	Cavaliers	Lennox Mohammed	Mas (Lord Melody)
	2	North Stars	Anthony Williams	Hold On to Your Man (Lord Kitchener)
	3	West Side Symphony	Herman Johnston	Steering Wheel (Mighty Sparrow)
1966	1	Desperadoes	Beverly Griffith	Obeah Wedding (Mighty Sparrow)
	2	Cavaliers	Lennox Mohammed	My Brother Your Sister (Lord Kitchener)
	3	Hilanders	Bertie Marshall	Obeah Wedding (Mighty Sparrow)
1967	1	Cavaliers	Lennox Mohammed	Sixty-Seven (Lord Kitchener)
	2	Desperadoes	Beverly Griffith	Governor's Ball (Mighty Sparrow)
	3	Tripoli	Tommy Crichlow	No Money No Love (Mighty Sparrow)
1968	1	Harmonites	Earl Rodney	Wrecker (Lord Kitchener)
	2	Starlift	Ray Holman	Jane (Mighty Sparrow)
	3	Dixieland	Curtis Pierre	Miss Tourist (Lord Kitchener)
1969	1	Starlift	Ray Holman	The Bull (Lord Kitchener)
	2	Cavaliers	Lennox Mohammed	Mas in Brooklyn (Mighty Sparrow)
	3	Harmonites	Earl Rodney	Bongo (Mighty Sparrow)

Appendix A14 contiued. 1960's <http://www.bestoftrinidad.com/steelband60s.html>

STEELBAND MUSIC FESTIVAL WINNERS: 1960s

YEAR	WINNING STEELBAND	SELECTION	TEST PIECE
1960	Dixieland	Agnus Dei	
1962	North Stars	Voices of Spring (<i>Johann Strauss</i>)	People of the Islands
1964	West Side Symphony	Roses from the South (<i>Johann Strauss</i>)	
1966	North Stars	Poets and Peasants (<i>Franz Von Suppe</i>)	Intermezzo in E ^b (<i>Anthony Prospect</i>)
1968	Trinidad All Stars		

JIT SAMAROO & FAMILY

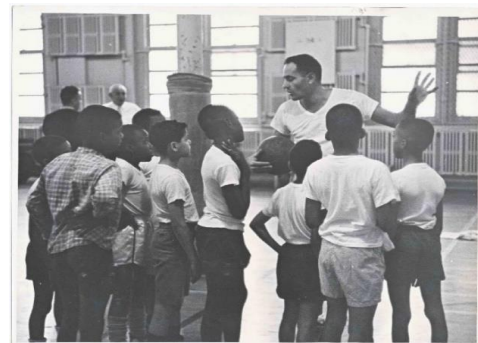
When his mother died in 1961, the young Jit, appointed the task of taking care of his younger siblings, formed a little combo to keep them together. He had played Pan with 'Village Boys,' a Pan-around-the-neck steelband in the village but his true love affair with the instrument began at age 14, when a neighbour took him to join the Lever Brothers Canboulay steelband in Tunapuna. The musical director of Canboulay, Landig White, recognized Jit's potential and encouraged him to take music lessons; he also allowed him to try his hand at arranging. Sometime afterwards, Jit took home some discarded pans from the band and began to teach his younger siblings to play. They eventually formed a family band, the 'Samaroo Kids', which made its debut on 23 August 1967, at a concert held at the University of the West Indies. (<http://www.bestoftrinidad.com/index.html>)

Appendix A14 continued. 1960's



Ray Holman is shown in the picture above with his 1964 Trophy surrounded by Starlift members and Schofield Pilgrim.

Appendix A15. Murray Narell and Steelpan. Photos compliments of A. Narell (2019)



Appendix A16. Ellie Mannette in New York



Merits

Mannette was credited with several innovations which have proven to be essential for the evolution of steel pan. He was the first to use a 55-gallon oil barrel instead of biscuit tins or soap boxes. Furthermore, Mannette was the person to sink the top of the drum^[9] into a concave shape, thus having more space to place notes as well as achieving a better isolation between the different pitches. Ellie Mannette has developed many instruments of the steel pan family. His use of the [whole tone scale](#) on two resonance bodies has become a widely common standard. Mannette developed his own unique skills and style over many years. Within the University Tuning Project at West Virginia University in [Morgantown, West Virginia](#), US, he passed on his knowledge of pan building and tuning to many students, thereby ensuring that his experience is passed on to future generations of pan makers. His creations can be admired in many museums and galleries including the [Smithsonian Institution](#), the [Metropolitan Museum of Art](#), and the [Contemporary art gallery](#) in New York.

Awards

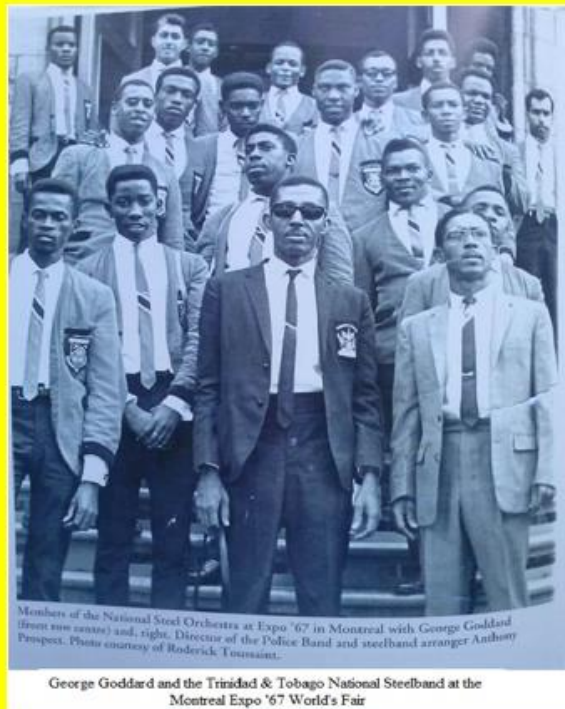
In 1969, Mannette was awarded the [Hummingbird Medal](#) of [Trinidad and Tobago](#) for his innovations in pan making. For more than 30 years, he was at the forefront of the steelband movement in the United States, and in recognition of his significant contribution to this thriving art form, he received the 1999 NEA [National Heritage Fellowship](#) Award,^[3] the highest honour for the traditional arts given in the US. Also in November 2000, he was awarded an [Honorary Doctorate](#) from the [University of the West Indies](#) and returned home to Trinidad, after a 33-year absence, to accept it. The same year he also received the [Chaconia Medal](#) from his home country, for outstanding cultural achievement. In 2003, Mannette was admitted to the Hall of Fame of the [Percussive Arts Society](#) of the United States, when he was quoted as saying: "Looking back more than half a century during my humble beginnings in this unique art form, no one during that period could have envisioned the rapid growth of this instrument. Through the years as I developed my skills, my entire mindset was sharing my knowledge with others for the betterment of this instrument."^[2]

Appendix A17. Pan in Canada 1960's

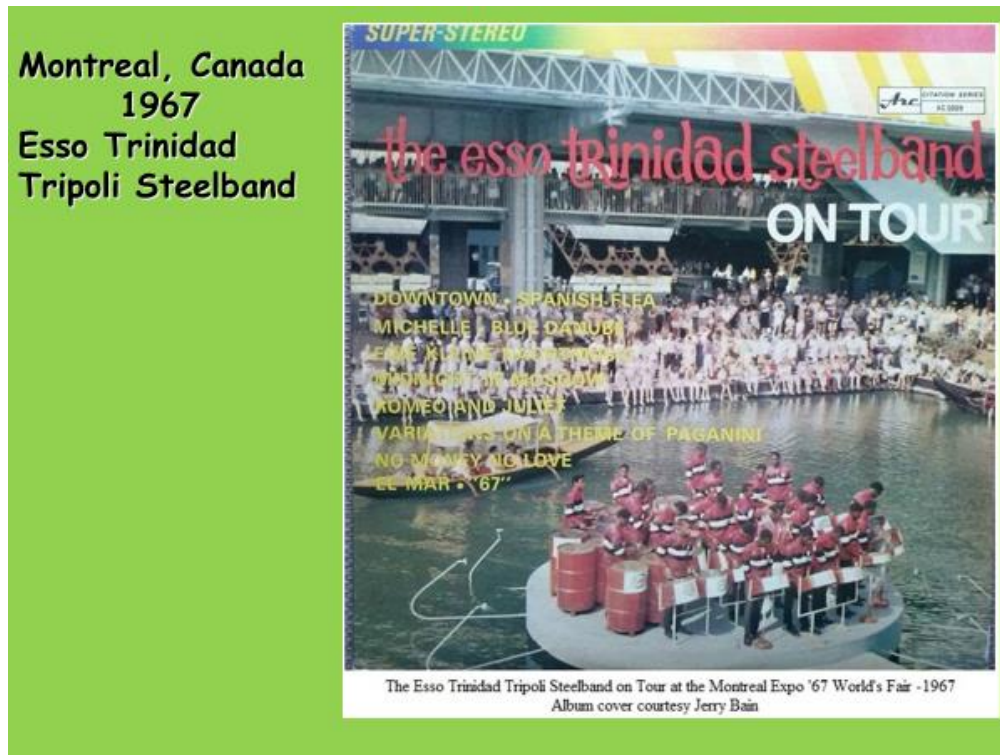
Montreal, Canada
1967
The Exponians
Steelband of
Trinidad and
Tobago



Montreal, Canada 1967
George Goddard and
the National Steelband
of Trinidad & Tobago



Appendix A17 continued. Pan in Canada 1960's (author's collection)



The David Frost Show featuring Trinidad Tripoli Steelband and Liberace

Appendix A17 continued. Pan in Canada 1960's (author's collection)

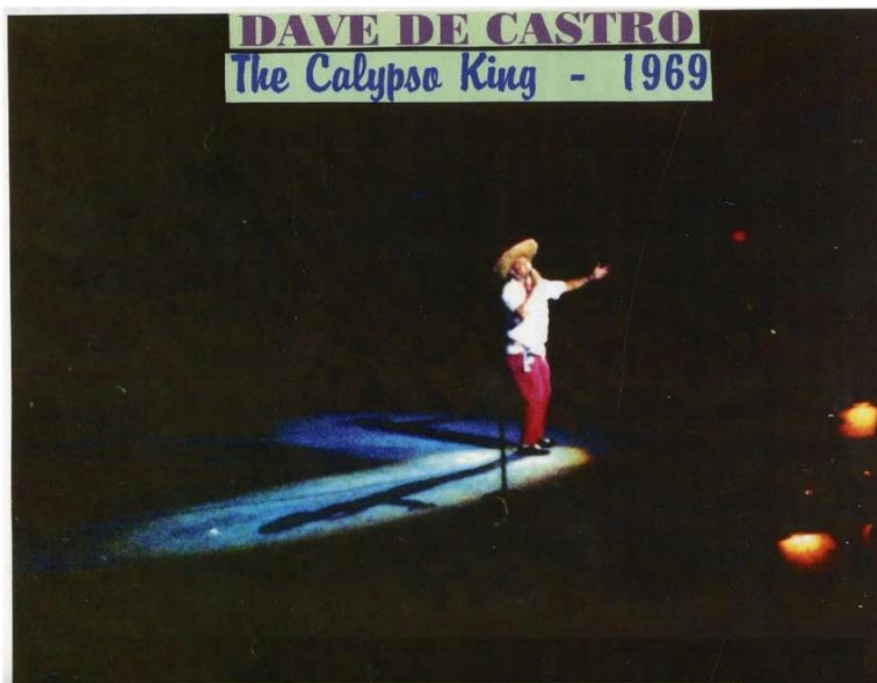
Toronto Caribana Parade



CARIBANA - Toronto- Canada



Appendix A17 continued. Pan in Canada 1960's (author's collection)



Maple Leaf Gardens- Toronto Canada

Appendix A18. 1970's

Rudolph Charles & Dr. Eric Williams @ Despers pan yard



Desperadoes' General Manager Rudolph Charles (in hat) speaking with Prime Minister Eric Williams in the Laventille Community Centre and Desperadoes panyard. The mural in the background was painted by artist Carlisle Chang as an independence gift to the band. Photo courtesy of Government Information Services.

"It was the old Community Centre. It had a lot of thing going on there. Table tennis. Weightlifting. George Yeates had got a piano from somebody in Chaguaramas who wife liked the band. That's what Beverly used to work on.

"In the '61 elections, I could remember the Doc had to go in the East or Caroni or somewhere so. The band went. That was the fight force. Laventille went up to support, to ensure it eh have no hasecara. Everybody say, 'Caroni is Indian and Indians is killers.' The buses came on The Greens to pick up Laventille people. Petit John would have been there. I didn't go. That was for the more daring ones. Everybody worshiped the Doc, it was that relationship."

Dennis "Tash" Ash,
Desperadoes

Flamingoes Steelband 1968-1973 (author's collection)



(Salah in Flamingoes 1968-73)



(Salah in Flamingoes 1968-73)

Appendix A18 continued. 1970's (author's collection)



Relatives: Precious and Vernie
(Flamingoes-Panorama prelims 70's.)



Family and friends in Flamingoes (1968-73)

Appendix A19. 1972 First Steelband at the Grammy Awards

Grammy Awards for 1972

By Patrick Mondout

The big winner at the 14th annual Grammy Awards, which were presented on March 14, 1972, was unquestionably [Carole King](#). She won for both album ("Tapestry") and record ("It's Too Late"). No female had ever won both categories. She even won for writing "You've Got a Friend" which was made popular by James Taylor. In fact when you add the Best New Artist award for Taylor's future wife [Carly Simon](#), it was truly the musical Year of the Woman.

Note: All nominees are listed and 🏆 denotes the Grammy winner(s).

Best Ethnic or Traditional Recording	
🏆	They Call Me Muddy Waters - Muddy Waters
	18th Century Traditional Music of Japan - Keiko Matsuo
	The Esso Trinidad Steel Band - Esso Trinidad Steel Band
	Javanese Court Gamelan - Javanese Players
	Message to the Young - Howlin' Wolf
	Mississippi Fred McDowell - Mississippi Fred McDowell
	Stormy Monday Blues - T-Bone Walker

<http://www.awardsandshows.com/features/grammy-awards-1972-221.html>

Appendix A20. Presidents of Pan Organizations 1950-2018

Ian Franklin

According to my research, the following is a list of the various Presidents of PAN ORGANIZATIONS commencing in 1950 that will later adopt the name PANTRINBAGO in 1972. You will notice 17 entries, but only 15 different names have been elected. Mr. George Goddard is the only President who challenged other Presidents and won on 3 separate occasions. {The Man in the US is #45, but there have been only 44 different Presidents in the US; #22 and #24 is the same person} Now back to T&T, Mr. Patrick Arnold served the longest with the most consecutive years (13).

- (01) Mr. SYDNEY GALLOP<>1950 to 1956
- (02) Mr. NATHANIEL CRICHLLOW<>1956 to 1957
- (03) Mr. GEORGE GODDARD<>1957 to 1959
- (04) Mr. ALBERT JONES<>1959 to 1960
- (05) Mr. EDGAR POUCHET<>1960 to 1961
- (06) Mr. CECIL HUNTE<>1961 to 1962
- (07) Mr. GEORGE GODDARD<>1962 to 1971
- (08) Mr. ALDWYN CHOW LIN ON<>1971 to 1972
- (09) Mr. ROY AUGUSTUS<>1972 to 1974
- (10) Mr. BERTIE FRASER<>1974 to 1976
- (11) Mr. MELVILLE BRYAN<>1976 to 1978
- (12) Mr. GEORGE GODDARD<>1978 to 1979
- (13) Mr. ARNIM SMITH<>1979 to 1988
- (14) Mr. OWEN SERRETTE<>1988 to 1996
- (15) Mr. PATRICK ARNOLD<>1996 to 2009
- (16) Mr. KEITH DIAZ<>2009 to 2018
- (17) Mrs. BEVERLY RAMSEY-MOORE<>2018

<http://www.pantrinbago.co.tt/overview/about/Overview/About#collapseOne>

Appendix A21. Pan Pioneers

“Pan on the Move” composed by Ray Holman, Starlift Steelband (1972)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L5cMgaPQbr8>



Pan Pioneers – Toronto (author’s collection)



Appendix A21 continued. Pan Pioneers (author's collection)



The Sir Wilfid Laurier C.I. Blue Devils 1970 with Sello Gomes

Winnipeg Steel Orchestra- formed in 1972
They have accomplished affiliated works
with the University of Manitoba.



Pioneers include -Patrick Nunes, Selwyn McSween, Gerry Sampson and Ruthven Nimblett.

Appendix A21 continued. Pan Pioneers

Lancaster Kiwanis Steelband - St. John's, New Brunswick

<http://www.norecordsnobs.com/music-blog/lancaster-kiwanis-steel-band>

- Formed in 1972, High School students,
- Performance - 40 times a year, concerts, conventions, parades and music festivals.
- The taping of a CBC television program - "The Sound Of Steel" 1974
- "Steelhenge" - a Concerto for Steel Band and Symphony by Eldon Rathburn
- Performed on tour through the Maritimes Provinces with the Atlantic Symphony Orchestra- conductor Skitch Henderson.
- "There are a lot of transplanted Jamaicans who have steel bands in New York, but never anything like this, at least in my experience". Skitch Henderson

<http://www.norecordsnobs.com/music-blog/lancaster-kiwanis-steel-band>



Appendix A21 continued. Pan Pioneers

York Lions Steelband

<http://www.yorklionssteelband.com/index.htm>

Founded -1972, in the home of the musically-talented Saunders Family.

Doug and brother Don, and Doug's daughter Debbie (Canadians).

Involvement by Jerry Jerome (Trinidadian).

Originally sponsored by the York Lions Club (Ontario)

Now a registered non -profit organization.

“The Band provides a constructive, healthy activity for youth in which they learn how to express themselves through music and to develop leadership and performing skills. The Band's goals are to provide youth with a year-round activity which, in addition to being lots of fun, teaches responsibility and commitment. Educational trips, combined with musical performances, are a top priority.”



York Lions Steelband



York Lions Steelband

Appendix A21 continued. Pan Pioneers

York Lions Steelband



York Lions Steelband



York Lions Steelband



Appendix A22. Pan in Edmonton (author's collection)

Pan Vibes Exhibits –Edmonton Alberta 1975



Galaxy Vocal Steelband with Junior Byron (1977) Edmonton

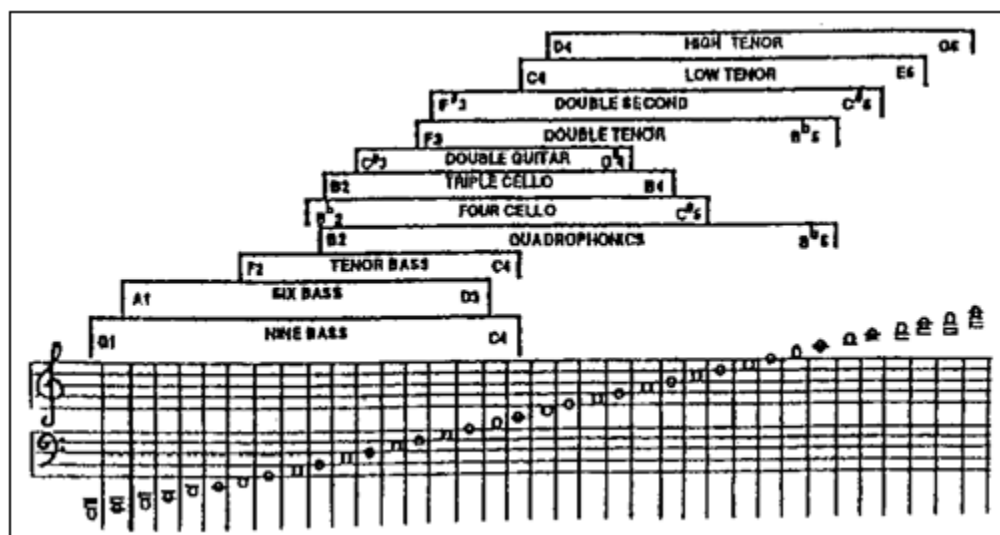


GALAXY VOCAL STEEL BAND

Just arrived from Montreal for a short stay in Edmon
this creative group brings back to town the sound of a
class Trinidadian steel pan band, missing from Edmo
ever since the two leaders, Tony Wilson and Jimi Pt
left last year for the east with their first band, the Pan
Exhibits. Their adventuresome arrangements on fi
tuned pans are a treat which your ears and rhythmic
should not miss.

Appendix A23. Pan Instruments – Classification and Range

Original Name of instrument	Theoretical Name and Range	Number of Drums	Numbers of Notes	Style of instrument
1 Ping Pong First Pan Tenor Pan	Soprano	1	29-32	Varied cycle of fifth
2 Double tenor	Mezzo-soprano	2	28-32	two types
3 Double Second	Alto	2	32-36	three types
4 Guitar Pan	Tenor (Two - Pan)	2	20-26	three types
5 Cello Pan	Tenor (Three - Pan)	3	24-30	three types
6 Triple Guitar	Tenor	3	30-32	two types
7 Quadraphonic	Tenor-Mezzo-soprano	4	40	two types
8 Harmony Pan	Tenor-Mezzo-soprano	6	40	one type
9 Four Pan	Bass - Tenor	4	20-24	two types
10 Tenor Bass	Bass - Tenor	4	20-24	three types
11 Five - Bass	Bass	5	20	two types
12 Six - Bass	Bass	6	18	three types
13 Nine - Bass	Bass	9	26	two types
14 Twelve - Bass	Bass	12	28-30	two types



Appendix A23 continued. Pan Instruments Pan Instruments – Classification and Range



Clem Imbert UWI engineer at work with engineering team -hydroforming press

Appendix A24. Panorama Winners 1970-79

<http://www.bestoftrinidad.com/steelband70s.html>

PANORAMA WINNERS: 1970 - 1979

YEAR	RESULTS	STEELBAND	ARRANGER	SELECTION
1970	1	Desperadoes	Clive Bradley	Margie (Lord Kitchener)
	2	Starlift	Ray Holman	Pan Man (Mighty Sparrow)
	3 (Tied)	Invaders	Mackie Boyce	Margie (Lord Kitchener)
	3 (Tied)	Silver Stars	Edgar Pouchet	Simple Calypso (Lord Blakie)
1971	1 (Tied)	Starlift	Ray Holman	Queen of the Bands (Mighty Sparrow)
	1 (Tied)	Harmonites	Earl Rodney	Play Mas (Lord Kitchener)
	3	Invaders	Mackie Boyce	Mas in Madison (Lord Kitchener)
1972	1	Harmonites	Earl Rodney	St. Thomas Girl (Lord Kitchener)
	2	Tokyo	Gerald Charles	Miss Harriman (Lord Kitchener)
	3	Starlift	Ray Holman	Pan on the Move (Ray Holman)
1973	1	Trinidad All Stars	Rudy Wells	Rainorama (Lord Kitchener)
	2	Tokyo	Gerald Charles	My Connie (Mighty Sparrow)
	3	Harmonites	Earl Rodney	Steel and Brass (Wellington)
1974	1	Harmonites	Rupert Mark	Jericho (Lord Kitchener)
	2	Hatters	Steve Achaiba	20 to 1 (Lord Kitchener)
	3	Antillean All Stars	Henry Cumberbatch	Bass Man (Mighty Shadow)
1975	1	Hatters	Steve Achaiba	Tribute to Spree Simon (Lord Kitchener)
	2	Fonclaire	Rudin & Milton Austin	Tribute to Spree Simon (Lord Kitchener)
	3	Tokyo	Gerald Charles	Tribute to Spree Simon (Lord Kitchener)

1976	1	<u>Desperadoes</u>	<u>Clive Bradley</u>	Pan in Harmony (<u>Lord Kitchener</u>)
	2	<u>Hatters</u>	<u>Steve Achaiba</u>	Home for the Carnival (<u>Lord Kitchener</u>)
	3	Pandemonium	<u>Ray Holman</u>	We Kinda Music (<u>Ray Holman</u>)
1977	1	<u>Desperadoes</u>	<u>Clive Bradley</u>	Hasely Crawford (<u>Lord Kitchener</u>)
	2	Potential Symphony	Earl Brooks & Lawrence Guerra	Tourist Leggo (Short Shirt)
	3	Pandemonium	<u>Ray Holman</u>	Pan yard Vibration (<u>Ray Holman</u>)
1978	1	<u>Starlift</u>	Herschel Puckerin	Du Yemi (<u>Mighty Sparrow</u>)
	2	<u>Desperadoes</u>	<u>Clive Bradley</u>	Pan in the 21st Century (<u>Lord Kitchener</u>)
	3	<u>Phase II Pan Groove</u>	<u>Lennox Sharpe</u>	Carnival Is Bacchanal (<u>Lennox Sharpe</u>)
1979		<i>No Competition</i>		

STEELBAND MUSIC FESTIVAL WINNERS: 1970s

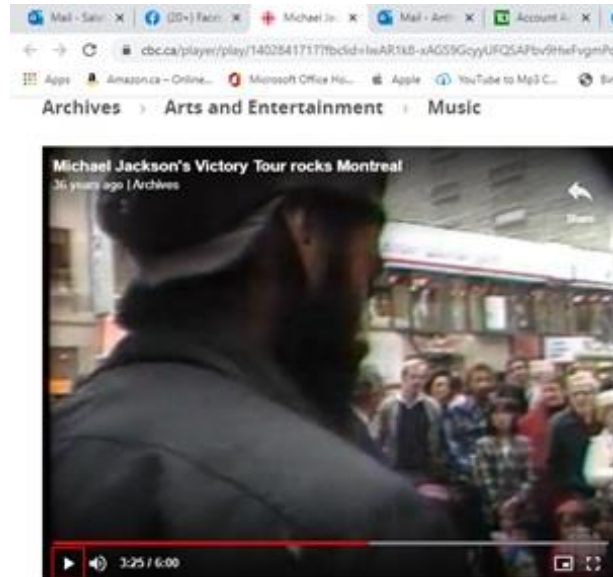
YEAR	WINNING STEELBAND	SELECTION
1970	<i>No Competition</i>	
1972	<u>Trinidad All Stars</u>	
1974	<i>No Competition</i>	
1976	<i>No Competition</i>	
1978	<i>No Competition</i>	

<http://www.bestoftrinidad.com/steelband70s.html>

Appendix A25. 1980's Buskin; Calysto



Salah on the pans -1984
Buskin' in Montreal



Michael Jackson's Victory Tour rocks
Montreal

Salah Wilson at 3:24 (steelpan busker in
Montreal) in this Michael Jackson promo
(under) -

<https://www.cbc.ca/player/play/1402841717/>



Calysto Steelband founded in 1984 - Calgary

Appendix A25 continued. 1980's New Generation (author's collection)

New Generation of Pan Players



Hameed Shaqq - Pan Piper



Winston "Paddy" Fredericks



Mark Mosca



Al Foster



Joy Lapps



Andre Rouse



Layne Clarke in Toronto

Appendix A25 continued. 1980's Act of Parliament (T&T government website)

<http://www.ttparliament.org/publications.php?mid=30>

+/- Act of Parliament

ACT No. 5 OF 1986 - AN ACT TO INCORPORATE PAN TRINBAGO.

Pan Trinbago was formally incorporated by an act of parliament in 1986 (Act No. 5 of 1986). The act inferred Corporate status on PanTrinbago, set forth its aims and objectives and conferred extensive powers on the organization to act locally and internationally in all manners to further the development of the steelpan and protect the interest and welfare of the members of steelbands.

Aims and Objects noted in the Act include:

1. To promote the development of the steelband movement.
2. To purchase, lease, or acquire lands, buildings, and real property
3. To present, manage, organise concerts, competitions, music festivals and grant or contribute towards prizes and awards.
4. To affiliate with organizations having similar objectives.
5. To advance and protect the welfare of steelband members.
6. To encourage and conduct steelpan research.

Powers given in the act include:

1. Acquire land or any estate or interest in land.
2. Accept subventions and donations and manage and invest all moneys belonging to Pan Trinbago.
3. Construct or acquire national headquarters and invest in the production of steelpan instruments.
4. Acquire any patents, copyrights, trademarks, licenses and the Explore which may directly or indirectly benefit Pan Trinbago.
5. To do anything deemed by its Convention that can be carried out in connection with or ancillary to any other power or objectives.

Appendix A25 continued. 1980's

<http://www.bestoftrinidad.com/steelband80s.html>

PANORAMA WINNERS: 1980 - 1989

YEAR	RESULTS	STEELBAND	ARRANGER	SELECTION
1980	1	Trinidad All Stars	Leon Edwards	Woman on the Bass (Scrunter)
	2	Desperadoes	Clive Bradley	No Pan (Lord Kitchener)
	3	Renegades	Jit Samaroo	Jean The Netball Queen (Lord Kitchener)
1981	1	Trinidad All Stars	Leon Edwards	Unknown Band (Blue Boy)
	2	Renegades	Jit Samaroo	More Pan (Lord Kitchener)
	3	South Stars	Steve Achaiba	Mas in San Fernando (Singing Francine)
1982	1	Renegades	Jit Samaroo	Pan Explosion (Lord Kitchener)
	2	Trinidad All Stars	Leon Edwards	Heat (Lord Kitchener)
	3	Desperadoes	Clive Bradley	Party Tonight (Clive Bradley)
1983	1	Desperadoes	Clive Bradley	Rebecca (Blue Boy)
	2	Casablanca	Henry Cumberbatch	Ash Wednesday
	3	Trinidad All Stars	Leon Edwards	Jail (Mighty Chalkdust) Rebecca (Blue Boy)
1984	1	Renegades	Jit Samaroo	Sweet Pan (Lord Kitchener)
	2	Trinidad All Stars	Leon Edwards	Don't Back (Mighty Sparrow)
	3	Casablanca	Henry Cumberbatch	Tourist Elsie (Lord Kitchener)
1985	1	Renegades	Jit Samaroo	Pan Night and Day (Lord Kitchener)
	2	Trinidad All Stars	Leon Edwards	Soucouyant (Crazy)
	3	Desperadoes	Beverly Griffith & Robert Greenidge	Pan Night and Day (Lord Kitchener)
1986	1	Trinidad All Stars	Leon Edwards	The Hammer (David Rudder)
	2	Phase II Pan Groove	Lennox Sharpe	Pan Rising (Lennox Sharpe)
	3	Phase II Pan Groove	Ken Philmore	

		Fonclair		Pan Here to Stay (Lord Kitchener)
1987	1 2 3	Phase II Pan Groove Renegades Desperadoes	Lennox Sharpe Jit Samaroo Beverly Griffith	This Feeling Nice (Lennox Sharpe) Pan in A Minor (Lord Kitchener) Pan in A Minor (Lord Kitchener)
1988	1 2 3	Phase II Pan Groove Pandemonium Desperadoes	Lennox Sharpe Clive Bradley Beverly Griffith	Woman Is Boss (Lennox Sharpe) Sailing (Mighty Trini) Panama (David Rudder)
1989	1 2 3	Renegades Phase II Pan Groove Fonclair	Jit Samaroo Lennox Sharpe Ken Philmore	Somebody (Baron) Fire Down Below (Lennox Sharpe) Fire Down Below (Lennox Sharpe)

STEELBAND MUSIC FESTIVAL WINNERS: 1980s

YEAR	WINNING STEELBAND	SELECTION
1980	Trinidad All Stars	
1982	Casablanca	1812 Overture (<i>Tchaikovsky</i>)
1984	Trinidad All Stars	Symphony No. 4 in F Minor, Opus 36 (<i>Tchaikovsky</i>)
1986	Desperadoes	Polovetsian Dances (<i>Alexander Borodin</i>)
1988	Desperadoes	

<http://www.bestoftrinidad.com/steelband80s.html>

Appendix A26. 1990's (author's collection)

Salah & Family Steelpan Workshop at the Montreal Olympic Stadium



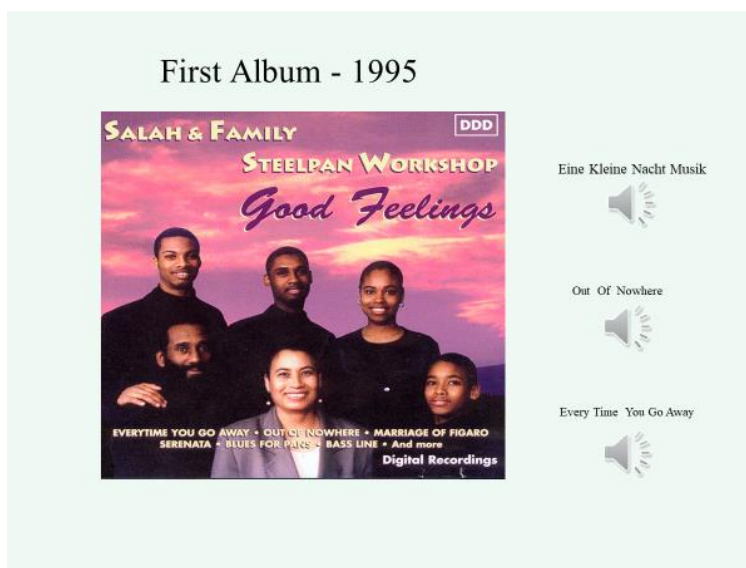
Montreal Community Pan Programs



Pan in the communities @ the annual "Classics & Carols" fest.

Appendix A26 continued. 1990's (author's collection)

Salah & Family Steelpan Workshop -First album "Good Feelings"



Salah & Family at the Montreal International Jazz Festival 1997



Salah & Family Steelpan Workshop
1 at the Montreal Int. Jazz Fest. 1997

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J1XaVCOBy44>

Winter Steelpan Festival

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wu5GFvhT0mw>

The Family in the Subway (Montreal)

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dNm7N6CFnyM>

Appendix A26 continued. 1990's Montreal steelpan groups (author's collection)



Trinidad Playboys Steelband - (former members from one of the expo '67 groups)



Students at the annual Pan Fest

Appendix A26 continued. 1990's

Declaration of National Instrument.

Finding an 'equal' place: How the designation of the steelpan as the national instrument heightened identity relations in Trinidad and Tobago (Daina Nathaniel 2006)

<https://fsu.digital.flvc.org/islandora/object/fsu%3A180977>

On August 13, 1992 the Prime Minister of Trinbago Mr. Patrick Manning declared the steelpan to be the national instrument of Trinidad and Tobago. To date, that declaration is yet to be an Act of Parliament in the land of its birth and creation. There is no legal protection for the national instrument. The steelpan is the true original heritage of Trinbagonians like its sister art form, calypso. And yet, even today there is still no clear unified working strategy from Trinbago's leadership to promote the steelpan. The main focus in Trinbago is still the Panorama, the bi-annual Music Steelband Festival and the mini panoramas held almost monthly. There is no financial investment from the business community to the steelband.

(<http://www.pan-jumbie.com/tishof/rendezvous3.htm>). (Khalick. J. Hewitt 2005)



August 15, 2005 - Volume 1, No. 3

22. [Friday, 28 August 1992](#) (2nd Sitting - 2nd Session - 4th Parliament)  (310.8 kb)

23. [Friday, 21 August 1992](#) (1st Sitting - 2nd Session - 4th Parliament)  (23.8 kb)

24. [Friday, 7 August 1992](#) (33rd Sitting - 1st Session - 4th Parliament)  (220.8 kb)

<http://www.ttparliament.org/publications.php?mid=30>

Appendix A26 continued. 1990's Panorama Winners

<http://www.bestoftrinidad.com/steelband90s.html>

YEAR	RESULTS	STEELBAND	ARRANGER	SELECTION
1990	1	Renegades	Jit Samaroo	Iron Man (Lord Kitchener)
	2	Fonclaire	Ken Philmore	Pan by Storm (Ken Philmore)
	3	Phase II Pan Groove	Lennox Sharpe	Breakdown (Lennox Sharpe)
1991	1	Desperadoes	Robert Greenidge	Musical Volcano (Robert Greenidge)
	2 (Tied)	Renegades	Jit Samaroo	Rant & Rave (Tambu)
	2 (Tied)	Fonclaire	Ken Philmore	Pan Ecstasy (Ken Philmore)
1992	1	Exodus	Pelham Goddard	Savannah Party (David Rudder)
	2	Phase II Pan Groove	Lennox Sharpe	Jam Meh Up (Lennox Sharpe)
	3	Renegades	Jit Samaroo	Bees' Melody (Lord Kitchener)
1993	1	Renegades	Jit Samaroo	Mystery Band (Lord Kitchener)
	2	Phase II Pan Groove	Lennox Sharpe	Birthday Party (Lennox Sharpe)
	3 (Tied)	Trinidad All Stars	Eddy Quarless	Dust in Yuh Face (David Rudder)
	3 (Tied)	Exodus	Pelham Goddard	Dust in Yuh Face (David Rudder)
1994	1	Desperadoes	Robert Greenidge	Fire Coming Down (Robert Greenidge)
	2	Trinidad All Stars	Eddy Quarless	Earthquake (Lord Kitchener)
	3	Renegades	Jit Samaroo	Earthquake (Lord Kitchener)
1995	1	Renegades	Jit Samaroo	4 Lara 4 (Merchant)
	2	Exodus	Pelham Goddard	Simple Thing (Pelham Goddard)
	3	Desperadoes	Robert Greenidge	Pan Parang (Robert Greenidge)
1996	1	Renegades	Jit Samaroo	Pan in a Rage (The Original De Fosto Himself)
	2	Phase II Pan Groove	Anise Hadeed	Mind Yuh Business (Alvin Daniel)
	3 (Tied)	Exodus	Pelham Goddard	The Case of the Disappearing Pan yards (David Rudder)
	3 (Tied)	Desperadoes	Robert Greenidge	Blast Off (Robert Greenidge)

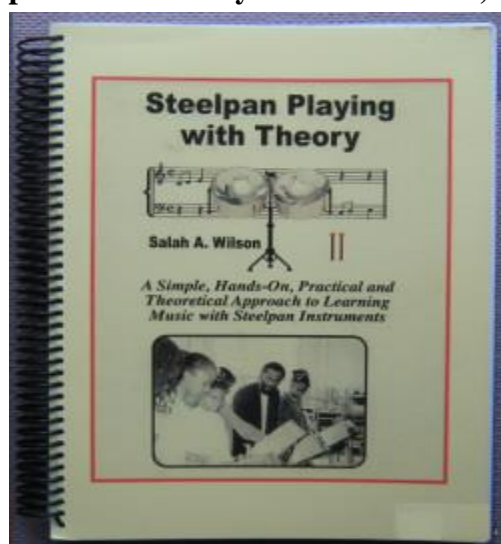
1997	1	<u>Renegades</u>	<u>Jit Samaroo</u>	Guitar Pan (<u>Lord Kitchener</u>)
	2	<u>Phase II Pan</u>	<u>Lennox Sharpe</u>	Misbehave (<u>Alvin Daniel</u>)
	3	<u>Groove Exodus</u>	<u>Pelham Goddard</u>	Guitar Pan (<u>Lord Kitchener</u>)
1998	1	<u>Nutones</u>	<u>Clive Bradley</u>	High Mas (<u>David Rudder</u>)
	2	<u>Exodus</u>	<u>Pelham Goddard</u>	Pan Parade (<u>Tony Prescott</u>)
	3	<u>Trinidad All Stars</u>	<u>Leon Edwards</u>	Me and Meh Lady (<u>Car Wash</u>)
1999	1	<u>Desperadoes</u>	<u>Clive Bradley</u>	In My House (<u>Emanuel Synette</u>)
	2	<u>Exodus</u>	<u>Pelham Goddard</u>	Play My Music (<u>Pelham Goddard</u>)
	3	<u>Nutones</u>	<u>Clive Bradley</u>	Toco Band (<u>Lord Kitchener</u>)

STEELBAND MUSIC FESTIVAL WINNERS: 1990 - 1999

YEAR	WINNER	ARRANGER	SELECTION
1990	<i>No Competition</i>		
1992	<u>Desperadoes</u>		
1994	<u>Trinidad All Stars</u>		
1996	<u>Trinidad All Stars</u>		
1998	<u>Exodus</u>	<u>Pelham Goddard</u> & <u>Desmond Waithe</u>	
	T&T Defence Force		

<http://www.bestoftrinidad.com/steelband90s.html>

Steelpan Text Book by Salah A. Wilson, 1999



Appendix A27. 2000's

Ian Franklin

According to my research, the following is a list of the various Presidents of PAN ORGANIZATIONS commencing in 1950 that will later adopt the name PANTRINBAGO in 1972. You will notice 17 entries, but only 15 different names have been elected. Mr. George Goddard is the only President who challenged other Presidents and won on 3 separate occasions. {The Man in the US is #45, but there have been only 44 different Presidents in the US; #22 and #24 is the same person} Now back to T&T, Mr. Patrick Arnold served the longest with the most consecutive years (13).

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- (06) Mr. CECIL HUNTE<>1961 to 1962
- (07) Mr. GEORGE GODDARD<>1962 to 1971
- (08) Mr. ALDWYN CHOW LIN ON<>1971 to 1972
- (09) Mr. ROY AUGUSTUS<>1972 to 1974
- (10) Mr. BERTIE FRASER<>1974 to 1976
- (11) Mr. MELVILLE BRYAN<>1976 to 1978
- (12) Mr. GEORGE GODDARD<>1978 to 1979
- (13) Mr. ARNIM SMITH<>1979 to 1988
- (14) Mr. OWEN SERRETTE<>1988 to 1996
- (15) Mr. PATRICK ARNOLD<>1996 to 2009
- (16) Mr. KEITH DIAZ<>2009 to 2018
- (17) Mrs. BEVERLY RAMSEY-MOORE<>2018

<http://www.pantrinbago.co.tt/overview/about/Overview/About#collapseOne>

APPENDIX A28. "In the Rain Forest" by Len "Boogsie" Sharpe

<https://whensteeltalks.ning.com/video/skiffle-bunch-in-the-rain-forest-hd-version>



Appendix A29. National Society of Steel Band Educators



Appendix A30. The G Pan, the E-pan, and the PHI

PATENT: Williams, B. (2002). ‘Steelpan plan Worth Fighting For’ – Should Americans hold the patent for a production process used by Trinis? New York Carib News [Online], <http://www.indypressny.org/article.php3?ArticleID=87>.

Information on the G- Pan.

The following is an abstract by the inventor Brian Copeland, giving an insight as to why the need for an invention of pans with much larger surfaces. The diameter of the regular sized pans, are 23 inches (58.42 cm.) whereas the diameter of the g-pan is 27 inches (67.5cm). The regular soprano pan has a total of 29 nine notes with a range from C4 (middle C) to E6. But the soprano g-pan has 36 notes (three complete octaves) with a range from C4 (middle C) to B6.

ABSTRACT

An ensemble of acoustic steelpan musical instruments, being an innovation which significantly improves upon traditional acoustic steelpan prior art. Said improvements include an extension of note range across the assemblage of G-Pans, a substantial reduction in the number of steelpanns required to effectively cover the steelpan musical range, the use of a compound design whereby individual component parts of the instrument, specifically the playing surface, chime, rear attachment, or skirt and the playing stick or mallet, are optimized for their specific function, the application of a variety of techniques for eliminating or reducing, non-musical sympathetic vibrations and the inclusion of a variety of mechanical and acoustic resonator designs, to enhance optimally, the sound projection of the aforementioned instrument (Copeland 2009)

Appendix A30 continued. The G Pan



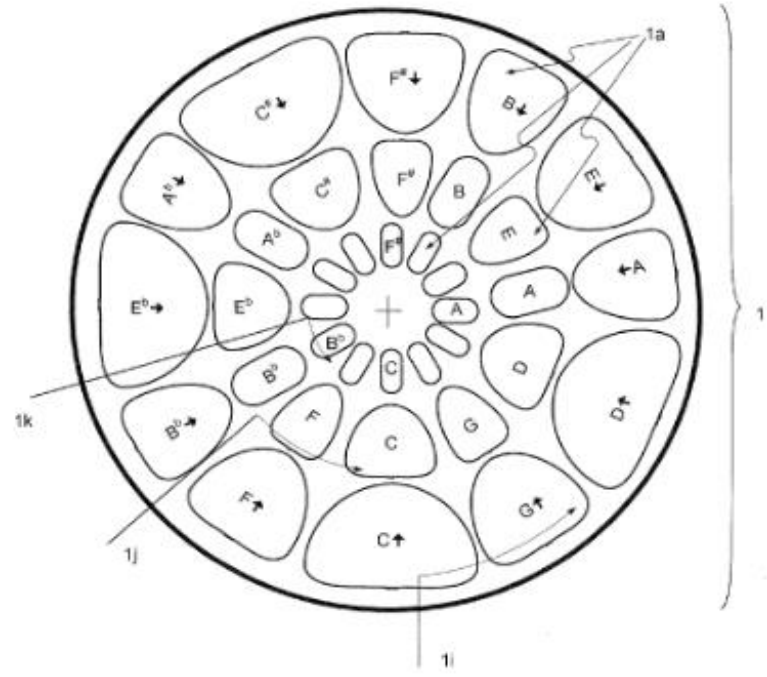
(19) **United States**
 (12) **Patent Application Publication** (10) **Pub. No.: US 2009/0013851 A1**
 Copeland (43) **Pub. Date: Jan. 15, 2009**

(54) **G-PAN MUSICAL INSTRUMENT** **Publication Classification**
 (75) **Inventor: Brian R. Copeland, San Fernando (TT)** (51) **Int. CL G10D 1302 (2006.01)**
 Correspondence Address: (52) **US. CL. 84/411 R; 84/421**
Grossman, Tucker, Perrault & Pflieger, PLLC
55 South Commercial Street
Manchester, NH 03101 (US)

(73) **Assignee: REPUBLIC OF TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO, Port of Spain (TT)** (57) **ABSTRACT**
 (21) **Appl. No.: 12/171,634**
 (22) **Filed: Jul. 11, 2008**

Related U.S. Application Data
 (63) **Continuation-in-part of application No. PCT/TT2007/000001, filed on Jul. 13, 2007.**
Foreign Application Priority Data
 Jul. 12, 2007 (TT) TT/A/2007/00172

An ensemble of acoustic steelpan musical instruments, being an innovation which significantly improves upon traditional acoustic steelpan prior art. Said improvements include an extension of note range across the assemblage of G-Pans, a substantial reduction in the number of steelpans required to effectively cover the steelpan musical range, the use of a compound design whereby individual component parts of the instrument, specifically the playing surface, chime, rear attachment, or skirt and the playing stick or mallet, are optimized for their specific function, the application of a variety of techniques for eliminating or reducing, non-musical sympathetic vibrations and the inclusion of a variety of mechanical and acoustic resonator designs, to enhance optimally, the sound projection of the aforementioned instrument.



Appendix A30 continued. The E-pan and the PHI (author's collection)



The E-Pan invented in Canada by Trinidadian Salmon Cupid



The Percussive Harmonic Instrument (PHI)
Invented by Brian Copeland at UWI St. Augustine campus - Trinidad

Appendix A31. Salah and De Castro, 2010 Toronto; Salah and Albino, Montreal



**Salah & The Bandit (Dave De Castro) - Toronto
(Ajax), On. Canada, (2010)**



Aldwin Albino at Salah's Steelpan Academy in Montreal

Appendix A32. Toronto Panorama Bands (author's collection)



Afro Pan Steelband



Silhouettes Steelband



Salah's Steelpan Academy

Appendix A32 continued. Toronto Panorama Bands



Pan Fantasy Steelband

Appendix A32 continued. Montreal Steelpan Festival (author's collection)



Montreal International Steelpan Festival



EMSB Steelband (Junior Panorama)



Salah's Steelpan Academy



Tommy Crichlow's Pan Masters



Pan Coalition of Maine USA

Appendix A33. Panorama Winners 2010-2015

<http://www.bestoftrinidad.com/steelband10s.html>

PANORAMA WINNERS (LARGE BANDS): 2010 - 2015

YEAR	RESULTS	STEELBAND	ARRANGER	SELECTION
2010	1	Silver Stars		
	2	Phase II Pan Groove	Edwin Pouchet	Battle Zone (<i>Edwin Pouchet</i>)
	3	Trinidad All Stars	Lennox Sharpe Leon Edwards	Pan Army (<i>Lennox Sharpe</i>) Large Is Large (<i>Leon Edwards</i>)
2011	1	Trinidad All Stars	Leon Edwards	It's Showtime (<i>Anslem Douglas</i>)
	2	Exodus	Pelham Goddard	Calling Meh
	3	Silver Stars	Edwin Pouchet	It's Showtime (<i>Anslem Douglas</i>)
2012	1	Trinidad All Stars	Leon Edwards	Play Yourself (<i>sung by Crazy</i>)
	2	Phase II Pan Groove	Lennox Sharpe	Archbishop of Pan (<i>sung by Lydian Singers</i>)
	3	Silver Stars	Edwin Pouchet	Gie Dem Tempo (<i>sung by Denyse Plummer</i>)
2013	1	Phase II Pan Groove	Lennox Sharpe	More Love (<i>Lennox Sharpe, sung by Black Stalin</i>)
	2	Trinidad All Stars	Leon Edwards	Bounce And Drive (<i>Clive Telemaque</i>)
	3	Renegades	Duvonne Stewart	Shock Attack (<i>Edwin Pouchet and Alvin Daniell</i>)
2014	1	Phase II Pan Groove	Lennox Sharpe	Jump High (<i>sung by Destra Garcia</i>)
	2	Trinidad All Stars	Leon Edwards	Excitement (<i>Shirlaine Hendrickson</i>)
	3	Renegades	Duvonne Stewart	In De Minor (<i>De Fosto</i>)
2015	1	Trinidad All Stars	Leon Edwards	Unquestionable (<i>Clive Telemaque</i>)
	2	Phase II Pan Groove	Lennox Sharpe	Happiness (<i>Lennox Sharpe</i>)
	3 (Tied)	Renegades	Duvonne Stewart	Jam Them Hard (<i>Joahann Chuckaree</i>)
	3 (Tied)	Exodus	Pelham Goddard	De Puna Band (<i>Pelham Goddard</i>)
	3 (Tied)	Silver Stars	Liam Teague	Edwin's Legacy (<i>Alvin Daniell & Barnet Henry</i>)

2016	<p>1</p> <p>2</p> <p>3 (Tied)</p> <p>3 (Tied)</p>	<p>Desperadoes</p> <p>Supernovas</p> <p>Phase II Pan Groove</p> <p>Renegades</p>	<p>Carlton Alexander</p> <p>Amrit Samaroo</p> <p>Lennox Sharpe</p> <p>Duvonne Stewart</p>	<p>Different Me (<i>sung by 5 Star Akil, composed by Jovan James</i>)</p> <p>Breakthrough (<i>sung by Chuck Gordon, composed by Amrit Samaroo & Mark Loquan</i>)</p> <p>Madd Music (<i>sung by Keith Lucas, composed by Len "Boogsie" Sharpe and Nigel Rojas</i>)</p> <p>Music Inside Meh Head (<i>sung by Nadia Batson, composed by Johann Chuckaree and Nigel Rojas</i>)</p>
2017	<p>1</p> <p>2</p> <p>3</p>	<p>Trinidad All Stars</p> <p>Desperadoes</p> <p>Renegades</p>	<p>Leon Edwards</p> <p>Carlton Alexander</p> <p>Duvonne Stewart</p>	<p>Full Extreme (<i>sung by MX Prime</i>)</p> <p>Good Morning (<i>sung by Peter Ram, composed by Jovan James</i>)</p> <p>Good Morning (<i>sung by Peter Ram, composed by Jovan James</i>)</p>
2018	<p>1</p> <p>2</p> <p>3</p>	<p>Renegades</p> <p>Skiffle</p> <p>Desperadoes</p>	<p>Duvonne Stewart</p> <p>Marc Brooks, Kendall Williams, Odie Franklin</p> <p>Carlton Alexander</p>	<p>Year For Love</p> <p>Hello</p> <p>Year For Love</p>

Appendix A34. Steelpan on the International Scene (author's collection)



Steelpan group in OMAN (Middle East)



Steelpans in Africa



Steelpan group in Nigeria

Appendix A35. Email Communications with Andy Narell re Pan History

Fri 2020-01-31 9:51 AM

To: Salah Wilson

Hi Salah - I hope you're feeling better. slow down, man... stress and deadlines are gonna kill us old guys...

My father was born in new york city, moved to a farm in connecticut when he was 12 (his father finally got the payment the WW1 veterans were promised and was able to buy a small farm). He went to graduate school in NYC (Columbia Teacher's College), met my mother, and became a communist. He was blackballed and couldn't get a job. he bounced around various jobs until he got one working on a pilot project in harlem on how to deal with gang warfare. his second social work job was at the Educational Alliance (Lower East Side), again working with gangs. He was always looking for group activities that would interest the kids, and happened upon steel band music accidentally. Rupert Sterling, a university student from Antigua, was getting fired from his job at a summer camp they ran, and they asked him what else he know how to do. When he said he could make and play pans, my dad hired him, having seen a steel band play once. Rupert made a set of pans, taught one group, and they were playing gigs. The other kids wanted to do it too, and Murray and Rupert launched 20 steel bands in a year and a half - two rooms and two sets of pans. In 1962 he organized the first steel band festival in the USA. Here's a link to download a recording. It's a fascinating document..

<https://drive.google.com/open?id=1mMe036pf5ppDq9MDvGfqRkPypG6KwB7G>

There were two competitions - professional and amateur... The pros featured Kim Loy Wong, Rupert Sterling, Tommy Rey,... You can also hear my first recording ever - i'm playing tenor pan with the Whitestone Drummers (later known as the Steel Bandits) My father saw the enormous potential of steel band music as a social force, even before he knew the story behind it. He didn't know when he started the program that the pan had been created by youth gangs - the same demographic that he was working with. He also didn't know that women had been excluded in Trinidad and that the girls had formed their own bands in the 50's. So he unknowingly repeated history by forming all girl bands at the Edgies. You can hear that (he was unaware) in his introduction of the Jamaica Queens, the first all girl band in the USA. He subsequently went to Trinidad (1963), fell right into the golden age of steel band music, met Ellie Mannette, Tony Williams, Bertie Marshall, Rudolph Charles, etc.. and saw how the gangs had transformed themselves into disciplined orchestras, how pan was breaking down barriers of race and class. He became convinced that steel bands could be a revolutionary force in america, and envisioned steel bands everywhere - in schools and community centers all over the country. He did his masters thesis for social work school on his work with steel bands and gangs... He did know Pete Seeger, and was well aware of his role in bringing Kim Loy Wong to the USA, and of the book they did together. I remember when he got Seeger to perform at the Edgies for the kids. I met him that night. My father was by this time a vehement anti-communist, having been disillusioned by the reality of the Stalinist USSR, and had differences of opinion with Seeger, but I think the reasons that had brought them to that

cause were similar - the plight of poor working people, racism, etc... Here's a link to download some photos from the Edgies and the steel band festival
https://drive.google.com/open?id=1wKvsA1-XszJxFAfijAZ52obZ9d6Q2_P
 I hope you enjoy the recordings and let me know when you have follow-up questions.
 all de best
 andy

Salah Wilson
 Thu 2020-01-30 11:57 AM

Greetings Andy,
 My apologies, for the late response, since I returned from Trinidad a couple weeks ago, I've had some problems. I have been pushing the studies, I am near 68 yrs but my brain still thinks I am 21. So I had a slight breakdown where I had to go to the emergency last Monday. All is well now, basic exhaustion. I was told to slow down, but this is the last semester, will push but with some restraint. Concerning my project, of course nothing would be better to have a full one on one interview...but time is the problem.
 I can narrow my stuff down to probably get from you somethings concerning your father that you would probably know. I don't think your father knew what his sons would turn out to be in the pan world, especially you. My topic is about steelpan development and a couple of my questions would be.
 What was the motivation that pushed your father to become the type of steelpan activist that he was?
 Did he ever encounter Pete Seeger on this steelpan topic?
 Any memorabilia pictures with your Dad and his children, and or with Ellie Mannette would also be, welcomed.
 Listen Andy, anything you send me would be fine.
 Regards, Salah
 Pan in the 21st Century, Pan Down Memory Lane 2006. [Online], Available:
http://www.pantrinidad.co.tt.pan21_2006/pan21st_2006.asp?url=about_pan21st_2006.
 What is Carifesta? [Online], Available: guyfolkfest.org/whatiscarifesta.htm.

Appendix A36. Pan Tuners



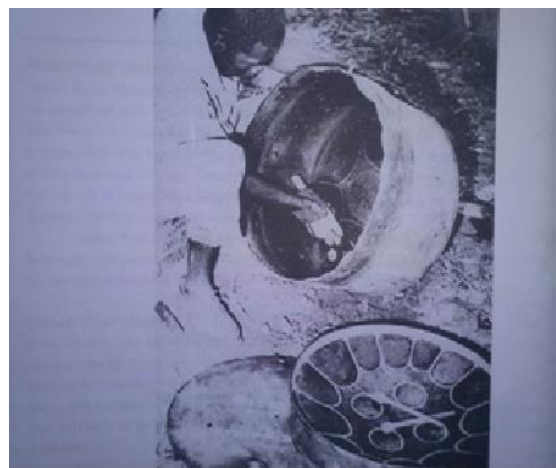
WINSTON "SPREE" SIMON (Adams 2005)



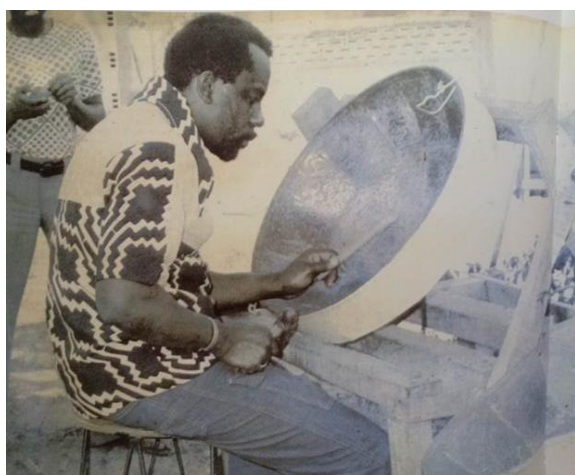
Winston "Spree" Simon and Tony Williams in Williams' backyard 1968
courtesy Kim Johnson (Johnson 2011)



Tuner Percy "Lizard" Thomas with a double second he made with 23 notes in August 1952 from a design by Dixieland captain Ernest Ferreira



NEVILLE JULES at work on a guitar pan



BERTIE MARSHALL at work



Pan Tuner Allan Gervais

Appendix A36 continued. Pan Tuners



RUDOLPH "CHARLO" CHARLES at work



WALLACE AUSTIN at work



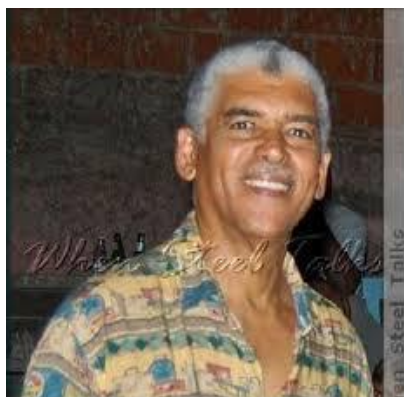
Jimi Phillip works on a skirt-less porta-pan, which won an award in 1988. Photo courtesy of Jimi Phillip.

Jimi Phillip, pan tuner and steelpan innovator in his workshop courtesy -Kim Johnson (Johnson 2011)

Appendix A37. Pan Arrangers (author's collection)



Dr. Jit Samaroo



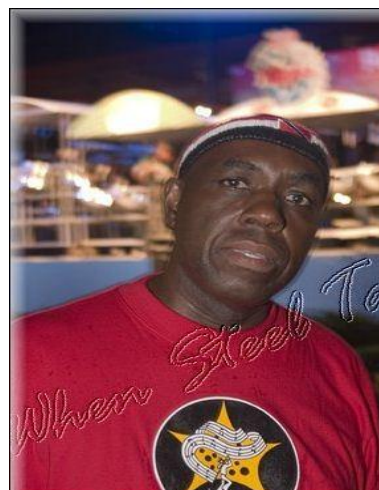
Ray Holman



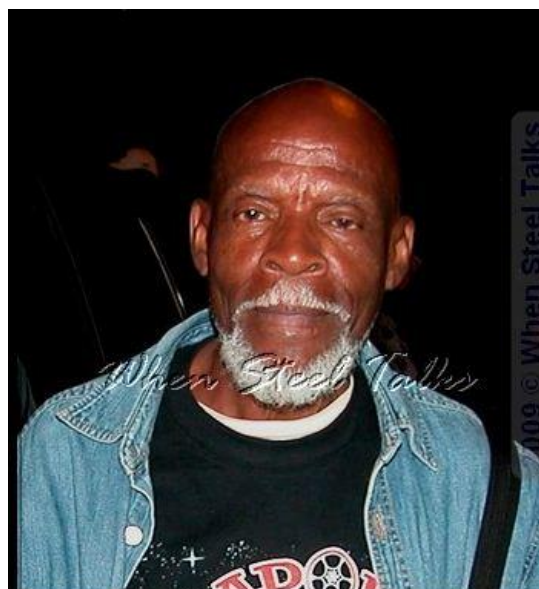
Pelham Goddard



Ken Philmore



Leon Edwards



Earl Rodney



Robert Greenidge

Appendix A38 continued. Newspaper Clippings

THE PRESS
 THURSDAY, DECEMBER 14, 1933
 8 CENTS

Pope writes Goddard about pan in church

Mr. GODDARD has replied to a letter from the Pope regarding the matter of the pan in the church. The letter, signed by His Holiness' Secretary of State, is a message of "brotherly love."

The Pope's letter is a message of "brotherly love" and is a message of "brotherly love." The Pope's letter is a message of "brotherly love" and is a message of "brotherly love."

E CART
BLE
VENDORS MUST SEE
H FOR CHECK-UP - OR QUIT

Trees on
home

NOW 11 CENTS

BWIA THREAT TALKS?

Barriers

Letter to Goddard

West Indians Transplant Carnival

PAGEANT SAID MOST FASCINATING
 By JOHN F. DASH

West Indian Carnival Day was celebrated with a parade which transplanted the best pageantry of the tropics. Trinidad in particular, in New York on Saturday afternoon, September 13. A bright sun shined in a clear, blue sky gave a brilliant lustre to that colorful event.

West Indians and native Americans, painted their faces in such various, splendid patterns, as to make a picture of a picture. Thousands of guests from Jersey, Brooklyn, and upstate came to view "the great feature" and merry festivity. It was the most fascinating, Pan-American, West Indian pageant I have ever seen, though being a West Indian myself.

The vehicles and marchers assembled at 11th Street near Central Park West Avenue after forming columns, they proceeded down 11th Street then turned up Seventh Avenue. I found no way on to a vantage point. Taking a view of the women who rode on a grey charger, symbolizing Joan of Arc.

Mrs. Jessie Weddell, president of the West Indian Day Association, led the parade, immediately following came Mr. Richard D. Moore, secretary of the United Caribbean American Council. Captain Hugh Malone, chairman of this organization, and a distinguished visitor, Mr. A. A. Thomas of British Guiana, leader of the British Guiana Workers' League.

PROTESTS JUDG BILL

This car carried a banner depicting a woman with the slogan "Don't buy from the man who has no conscience." From the "Jude Bill (H.R. 178)" and across the side the banner "Don't buy from the man who has no conscience." This is a protest against the proposed bill which would give the Federal Government the right to regulate the sale of goods made in the United States.

Back in the rear of the South American contingent, a very colorful and interesting scene. This is a parade of the West Indian people. Three little boys wearing their little hats were performing an African dance. A man, as he moved along the parade, he was shouting at the crowd. "Don't buy from the man who has no conscience." This is a protest against the proposed bill which would give the Federal Government the right to regulate the sale of goods made in the United States.

Trinidad Medical Opinion Against Use of 'Cal'

A survey of medical practitioners in Port-of-Spain on the subject of the use of "Cal" on the human system, revealed the following facts:

One prominent doctor said "The fact that a doctor has to be present during the use of 'Cal' is enough to show the practice is not a safe one."

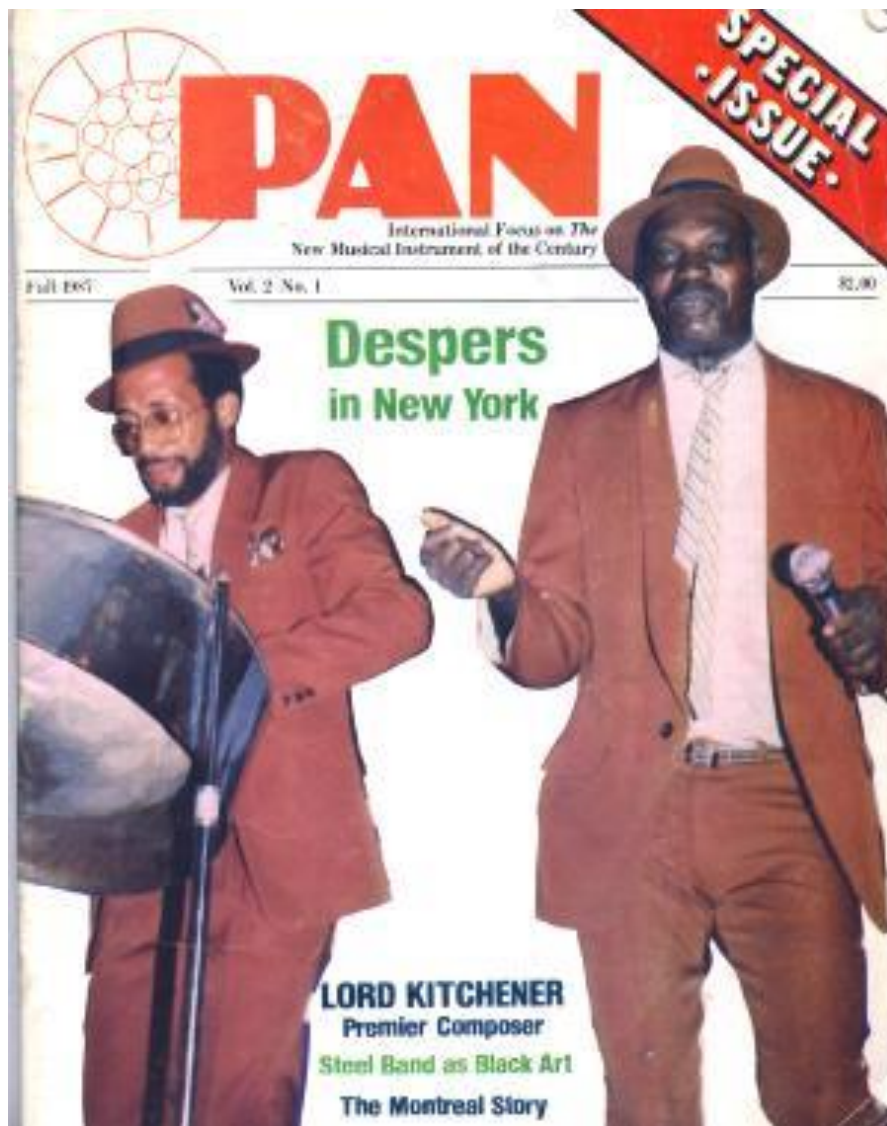
"As a doctor, it is impossible to divorce my profession from human feeling. The effect of 'Cal' on the human system is a very serious one. I have read and heard about the harmful effects of 'Cal' on the human system, and I am sure that the medical profession in Port-of-Spain is of the opinion that the use of 'Cal' is not a safe one."

Continuing, he said "In the 'Cal' case, the 'Cal' was used as a means of making a confession, and the confession was not a confession of guilt, and in most cases the confession was not a confession of guilt, and in most cases the confession was not a confession of guilt."

Motorists Sign To Beat Main Road Police Tra

These signals are given to drivers are useful accessories and they are of great value to the driver. They are of great value to the driver. They are of great value to the driver.

Appendix A38 continued. Newspaper Clippings



Appendix A38 continued. Newspaper Clippings

Goddard warns of a plot on panmen

STEELBAND Association president, George Goddard last night charged that the government was going to do everything within the next two months to put the steelband movement against the Black Power movement.

A bearded Mr. Goddard, in his first public appearance on a Black Power platform, said at Wood...

Attack launched on band sponsors

Association's Executive Committee on Sunday which was considering government's proposals for assisting steelbands.

Then he added: "If the present steelbandmen think that their future counterparts will think as they think, they are bouncing their heads."

Some sponsors demand that their steelband give them 12 free performances a year. This meant "if we were to assume that one performance cost \$200-\$300 each, the sponsor would have gained an average of \$3,000."

SPONSORS

He claimed that no sponsor puts out that much money "solely" for the development and

bands men have been struggling for years without getting anything and suddenly "it would appear that there is a plot between the powers that be and 'big business' to contribute everything to them."

Mr. Goddard said from a survey he carried out, he found that during the past year \$74,000 was spent on 16 steelbands by businessmen.

He recalled that in 1962, 1964 and 1967, the Prime Minister had set up committees to work towards the improvement of the steelband move-

heard anything of their reports."

Said Mr. Goddard who claimed he was embarrassed by the Prime Minister during one of his meetings with steelbandmen; "The steelband movement is 99 per cent black and one will do anything to win their favour."

Asked Mr. Goddard: "It is good that Despers received \$20,000 to go to New York to study music, but what about the other steelbands? Are they not entitled to something too?"

Mr. Goddard made the same charges at an

Trinidad newspaper article circa 1970

Art of pan thrives in Montreal

DANIEL FEIST
Special to The Gazette

THE ART of the steel pan is alive and well in Montreal, thanks largely to Sarah Wilson. Wilson has been a steel panner for as long as she can remember.

"You might say I grew up with a steel pan in my back yard. It was always around," he said.

"But the steel pan was recognized as a legitimate thing. It came from the ghetto, you know. And it was only recently that Trinidad became the national instrument. Up until then, it was useful to be associated with the pan."

Wilson's pan is finally regarded as a respectable instrument and the government of Trinidad actively tries to keep young people out of trouble by encouraging them to play steel bands. It might look like a branch of learning, but the art of pan has the power of jazz.

Wilson was born in the village of St. John, Trinidad, and came to Canada in 1971. He then, he it already appeared his steel instrument and steel pan has become his love and life.

Now 45, Wilson has played his love of the instrument with his family and community.

"I was in Trinidad when I learned to play," he said, "but when I got to Montreal, I was in a steel band with my pan."

Wilson also teaches steel pan at two elementary and two high schools. There are ongoing programs at Commission School and Somerset School, as well as at John Grant, in September, the program from St. John's Academy now comes will be moved to Wagar High School.

"I give other classes, too," Wilson explained. "There are private lessons, of course, but I like to teach parents and teachers at Somerset School and on Tuesday, I lead a group of seniors, mostly women, at the St. John's Family Workshop."

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Members of the Wilson family steel band: front right, Daniel Feist; right, Sarah Wilson; and in background, mother Sarah Wilson.

Appendix A38 continued. Newspaper Clippings

The Gazette

SINCE 1776
MARCH 31, 1996 52¢

Leading authority on steel pan has family as backing band

Spotlight on
ANTHONY WILSON
SALAH WILSON
ALAN MUSTAK
THE GAZETTE



When Anthony Wilson started playing steel drums as a boy in his native Trinidad in the early '60s, there was a stigma attached to being known as "pan man." But Wilson persevered, and turned the liability into an asset.

"My relatives were all in the village steel band, my uncles, my cousins," he said. "I always liked it. For me, I always wanted to make it a career, even though people who played the pans were considered rebels without much of a future. I always liked it despite the stigma."

Today Wilson, 43, is probably Canada's leading authority on the instrument. He, his wife Adiyah, 44, and their children Walid, 18, Ismael, 15, Miriyam, 12, Fatima, 8, and Zaynab, 7, have their own band, Salah & Family Steel Pan Ensemble.

Wilson teaches courses in steel pan music at four Montreal schools and introduced the instrument to the jazz program at Concordia University. He has also written a beginner's manual on the subject, Pan With Theory, and is president of Pan Quebec, a nonprofit organization for enthusiasts.

The steel pan is a relatively new musical instrument. It appeared in Trinidad in the '40s, when it was first fashioned out of oil drums. Today the more sophisticated models are made of steel, and register a cheerfully low-

ered "they didn't love playing it here all that much as they did back home. They weren't as committed as I was."

"It was slow to get acceptance for steel drums in Canada, slow here when you consider they have a great international following. It is hard to believe, but there are hundreds of steel bands, especially in Scandinavia. The sound has gone a lot international but Canada is just catching on."

Wilson got some work during the '76 Olympics and started teaching privately, but it was a struggle.

"I finally gave up and went back to Trinidad for two years," he said.

It wasn't until he came back to Montreal in 1985 and started basking in the metro that he found an audience.

"I started to promote the pans as a one-on-one thing out on the street. This was successful. I started taking some courses at McGill. By then I had a family, so we started to do something with the kids, and we formed the family group."

They were on the bill at last night's benefit for Community Contact, and have gigs lined up until September. They also plan to play outdoors in Old Montreal during the summer.

Wilson said learning to play the pans isn't difficult, but it takes a while to master the technique.

"It's like anything else," he said. "If you love doing something, it is not hard."

The family is recording a CD and is planning a trip across the country to promote it. "It'll be a working vacation," Wilson said. "We'd like to spend some time out west in Edmonton and Vancouver and we have a gig."

PHOTO COURTESY GAZETTE

The Wilsons (from left): SALAH Zaynab, Fatima, Ismael, Miriyam, Adiyah and Walid make up steel-pan band.

Wilson followed his wife to Montreal in 1973 and tried to put a band together here several times.

"The steel pan made its impact in Montreal during Expo 67, and it should have taken off, but it didn't. There were some people here who kept the culture to some degree, but it was more or less traditional culture," he recalled.

He went west in pursuit of his dream - to Vancouver and Edmonton where he jammed with relatives and friends he had known in Trinidad.

In his disappointment, he discov-

Community CONTACT

409-4540 • Volume 5, Number 3 • March 1996 • 409-4540



A family musical explorations

by Eghert GAYE

About two times a week, several members of the Wilson family get together at the basement of their Dorval flat. On some days they play some jazz and make music.

Each session is like an adventure in musical horizons as the group which includes the father, Salah, his wife Adiyah, children Walid, Ismael, Miriyam and Miriam, Fatima and Alan Mustak, explore a repertoire of challenging classical pieces, blues, jazz, R&B, reggae, samba and subgenres.

So it is not surprising that over the past few years they have been making their well-ventilated instruments, new pieces and new working methods on Quebec's band-

to each instrument seem to be happening in the group. Just in the past 12 months, from the release of their first full-length cassette Good Feelings, the members have won the Prix de la Musique in Quebec during Christmas week and jazz, which will further define the band's capabilities, are in the works.

But a great deal of their efforts will be devoted to being adequate ambassadors of the instrument.

In the seven years they have been performing the music and highly skilled parents have made the family unit into a tight and professional sounding ensemble capable of holding their own in almost any performance setting.

With each member having attained a respectable level of

proficiency in reading and interpreting music and in playing their instruments Salah is very excited about the prospects of the group.

He says a number of special and all-time including classical, Christmas music and jazz, which will further define the band's capabilities, are in the works.

But a great deal of their efforts will be devoted to being adequate ambassadors of the instrument.

which was performed in Trinidad and Tobago just after the end of WWII) is still relatively new to this city.

Salah says just as in the case in almost every country on earth many Montserratians are working up to the magnificent sound of the steelpan which is claimed to be the only non-petersonian type instrument invented this century.

And although a number of highly capable steelbands have passed this city, Montreal still remains uncharted territory for the instrument and Salah and his family ensemble are still pioneers being a warm, beautiful sound to a new land.

On Saturday March 30, Salah and Family Ensemble will bring their super sounds to the Tiffany Hall, 3817 Buckton Street in the Community Contact benefit evening.

Appendix A38 continued. Newspaper Clippings



SALAH'S STEELPAN ACADEMY panorama victory
Community Contact, August 16th 2007



SALAH'S STEELPAN ACADEMY panorama victory- Community Contact, August 16th 2007

Appendix A39. Approvals and Internet References



Approval from
Brian Copeland.doc



Approval from

Salmon Cupid 2.doc



Approval from



Approval from



Approval from



Approval from Kim
Johnson.docx



Approval from Kim
Johnson 1.docx



Approval from H.
Ian Jones.docx

From: **ED Peters**

Sent: December-10-13 11:29:26 AM

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

I, Edward Peters, hereby give to Mr Wilson full consent to use any information from our interviews specifically for his Thesis paper.

Yours Respectfully

Edward Peters

From: **Lindy Burgess**

Sent: December-11-13 10:26:09 PM

To: Salah Wilson

Hi Salah,

You have my permission to use the information obtained during your interviews with me.

Be Well,

Lindy.

Videography

Toronto Panorama - Pan Alive

Salah's Steelpan Academy Champs – Pan Alive 2010 – Toronto Panorama Competition

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R87VEudNf8o>

Panman Pat & Super Dave -Name that March

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jmNKAlcaoeQ>

TDSB – Pan Fest

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Montreal International Steelpan Festival

<http://www.tourisme-montreal.org/Travel-Trade/What-To-Do/Events/montreal-international-steelpan-festival>

<http://www.panonthenet.com/news/2009/june/panorama-montreal-6-30-09.htm>

<http://www.panonthenet.com/news/2010/jul/review-montreal-7-1-10.htm>

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<http://www.panonthenet.com/news/2011/jul/montreal-2011-festival-international-steelpan-7-15-2011.htm>

<http://www.panonthenet.com/news/2012/jul/festival-international-de-steelpan-de-montreal-2012-7-12-2012.htm>

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http://whensteeltalks.ning.com/video/festival-international-de-steelpan-de-montreal-2012?xg_source=activity

Salah & Family Steelpan Workshop

1 at the Montreal Int. Jazz Fest. 1997

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JlXaVCOBy44>

Winter Steelpan Festival

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wu5GFvhT0mw>

The Family in the Subway (Montreal)

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dNm7N6CFnyM>

The Vignettes of Pan History –The Montreal Story by Bert Boldon

Boldon Bert. Vignettes of Pan History -The Montreal Story. When Steel Talks

<http://www.panonthenet.com/panmag/montreal-story.htm>

Appendix A39 continued. Approvals and Internet References

Internet Videography

Montreal International Steelpan Festival. Panorama 2010. When Steel Talks
<http://www.panonthenet.com/news/2010/jul/review-montreal-7-1-10.htm>
 Toronto All Stars - Rosedale School (Salmon Cupid)
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bxCFnFKOJ9w&list=UU-VkTAHwbeB7EjyrcmJ2aPg&index=14>
 Salah's Steelpan Academy – 'Battle Zone' Toronto Pan Alive 2010. You Tube
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C5INnbIHFx4>
 Salah's Steelpan Academy – 'Feel So Good' Toronto Pan Alive 2010. You Tube
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qevf4GwWE11>
 Salah & Family at the Montreal Int. Jazz Fest 1997
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J1XaVCOBy44>
 York University Steelpan music program 2013
<http://www.facebook.com/photo.php?v=10151494485926162&set=vb.509156161&type=2&theater>

Discography:

Salah & Family Steelpan Workshop. *Good Feelings*. Arranged by Salah Wilson, Salahpan Studios, Montreal 1995. Compact Disk

Internet Reference

Ontario Music Educators Association
www.omea.on.ca
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www.edu.gov.on.ca
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<http://charlessmithpiano.tripod.com/studio/id8.html>
 Sample Syllabus for Music Theory for Non-Majors: Introduction to Music Theory, Indiana University
<http://raider.mountunion.edu/~peroneje/Z111Syllabus09.pdf>
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<http://www.thestar.com/news/gta/caribana/article/841469--steel-pan-band-more-than-music>
 TDSB – Pan Fest
http://www.tdsb.on.ca/about_us/media_room/Room.asp?show=GreatThings&view=detailed&enableNav=true&self=11708
 Pan in the High Schools and Colleges of the USA
<http://www.panonthenet.com/news/2008/apr/onthehomeove-usa-4-27-08.htm>
 York Lions Steelband - <http://www.yorklionssteelband.com/index.htm>
 NB Kiwanis - <http://www.norecordsnobs.com/music-blog/lancastr-kiwanis-steel-band>
 Brockville Lions Steel Band – <http://main.brockvillelionssteelband.ca>
 US Navy Steelband
<https://www.discogs.com/artist/2170974-The-United-States-Navy-Steel-Band>



Jazzy moment with legendary saxophonist Sanyid Abdul Khabbyr in Montreal.

Appendices B1-16

Questions, Interview Transcriptions, and Comments

As a part of this study, a series of interviews were conducted in Trinidad. The idea was to connect with a cross section of pan enthusiasts from various walks of life and with different experiences. I sought “ordinary people” who I thought would potentially have something meaningful to contribute. The following questions were asked.

1. How, when, and why did you get involved with steelpan?
2. What is your involvement in the steelpan community of Trinidad & Tobago?
3. What is your involvement with steelpan in academia?
4. What is the state of steelpan development in academia in Trinidad & Tobago?
5. What role has the government played or is playing in steelpan development in Trinidad & Tobago?
6. Since steelpan tuning is still an oral tradition, do you think enough is done to preserve and further develop the art form?
7. How can the pan tuners expand their development and outreach?
8. What is the state of the steelbands in their various categories?
9. Pan Trinbago – do you have an opinion?
10. How aware are you of steelpan development in Canada and the USA?
11. A steelpan is sold for \$8000.00 US in the USA while the same pan is sold for \$8000.00 TT (the foreign exchange being at least \$1.00US = \$7.00 TT. What does that say to you?
12. Steelpan’s biggest event in Trinidad & Tobago, the Panorama competition, what are the potentials?
13. What else besides the panorama competition?
14. The pan yards, what are the potentials?
15. Steelpan manufacturing industry - a steelpan ministry, what are your thoughts?
16. Recognition of leading pan personnel in Trinidad and Tobago, are they being acknowledged?
17. How can steelpan development in Canada and the USA, impact steelpan development in Trinidad & Tobago?
18. Have you ever imagined a greater Caribbean steelpan development program that can impact the social, cultural, and educational fabric of the Caribbean nation?

The focus of these questions was to bring about specific responses and also trigger a more in-depth conversation on the topics. It was also an opportunity for the interviewees to offer their opinions. To begin these interviews, I arranged a schedule with a friend from Trinidad, Bertel Gittens. He agreed to accompany me on many of these interviews.

However, the first interviewee was my uncle, Bob Theroulde who was chosen since he was responsible for the initiation of “Flamingoes,” one of the first steelband groups in the village. It was around 1957 when he began, with his friends, in his mother’s (my grandmother) “back yard.” I was enthralled that a young teenager dared to undertake a task of initiating a steelband in the village. The information from the interview is withheld as Mr. Theroulde exercised his right to veto publication. The ethics protocol for interviews requires his request be honoured but personally I also respect his rights.

Appendix B1. Interview with Norman “Jingi” Davidson, December 8, 2018.

Bertel served as my literal guide for the next interview and took me to an area of Trinidad called Movant. The interviewee was an older gentleman and the elder brother of the legendary pan tuner Philmore “Boots” Davidson. He had been a member of TASPO, the first famous touring steelpan group that participated at the festival of Britain in 1951. With great respect and admiration, I greeted Norman “Jingi” Davidson, who welcomed us in his home. Aware of his background, I assumed that some of the questions might not be relevant. Nevertheless, I wanted to hear all what he wished to speak about and anticipated that he would want to tell “his story.” According to the ethics protocol, it was important that we both agree to extend the time, which we did. The conversation flowed and he had all the time he needed to express himself. Under a relaxed setting in his modest home, we settled in for the conversation, interrupted a few times, by some of his friends who were passers-by. I asked my more relevant questions in an interspersed manner and we spoke about many things, all related to the pan conversation. Jingi, as he preferred to be called, was an eager participant. An interesting response from him came when asked about his first experience with the steelpan.

Norman “Jingi” Davidson: Before the steelband, it had the bamboo band...and the bamboo used to be for the carnival and mas and everything ... and what happen is that the bamboo fellas and the police had a... a clash!

Researcher Salah: Around what time was this?

Norman “Jingi” Davidson: This was 1932...32..33...and the bamboo fellas ... it was around Christmas time coming down... and they had a little disturbance at the bottom of Laventille road and the Moravian Church...and one of the officers Bradshaw and another named Lithglow, they were two officers, inspectors in the police force and they had an altercation at the bottom of Laventille road and the Moravian Church ...and they had banned the bamboo...

Researcher Salah: They banned the bamboo?

Norman “Jingi” Davidson: After that altercation with the police and so on... so the next year ...it come down instead of having bamboo, they had buckets, bed-pans, basin and all sorts of things... so that is the emergence of the steelband... the beginning of the steelband... because is metal, anything that have a sound because they had banned the bamboo.

Researcher Salah: Did they ban the buckets and bed-pans?

Norman “Jingi” Davidson: Nah! Nah! That is the soul of the steelband. (Wilson personal interview with Davidson, 2018).

However, there is some discrepancy as this information conflicts with previously stated information. This is in reference to the transfer from the bamboo band and the emergence of the steelband as regard the time factor. Davidson’s account is considerably much earlier. It also conflicts with other accounts which states that there was no official ban on the bamboo bands. But, it adds to the narrative as it is his factual account and reasons for the transfer from the bamboo bands to the eventual steel band. It was a very interesting and colorful discussion with this elderly gentleman. One of the final questions I asked of him was the following.

Researcher Salah: How can steelpan development in Canada and the USA, impact steelpan development in Trinidad & Tobago?

Norman “Jingi” Davidson: Because it got accepted in the schools... and once you accept it in schools... is market and everything. (Wilson personal interview with Davidson, 2018).

Appendix B2. Interview with Marcus Ash on December 12, 2018

A contrasting interview with Marcus Ash, a younger individual who was recently elected to the new administration of Pan Trinbago. This took us on a journey to the capital city of Port of Spain. A different perspective and outlook on the steelpan development and character of Trinidad and Tobago was expected. I had never met this younger person but knew his uncle, the legendary Desperadoes “double second” player “Tash” when I played with Desperadoes in 1983/1984. The interview was conducted in the business compound of my friend Bertel Gittens. Bertel was such an advocate for steelpan development that facilitating this interview was second nature to him. I really appreciated his involvement. From the interview, Marcus Ash stated that he began his journey with the steelpan, at a young age in 2002. I was interested in what this younger person had to say. I was not disappointed with his contribution and enthusiasm.

Researcher Salah: What is the state of steelpan development in academia in Trinidad & Tobago?

Marcus Ash: I think, it’s now shaping up to be something happening...that makes sense. Why I’m saying that, is now that I’m education officer, I was able to meet with the different stake holders. So, I would have met with officials from the Ministry of Education. In my first week, I would have met with the Pan In Schools, which is an NGO that deals with steelband education in the secondary schools...I would have... thanks Miss Stacy Alcantar, she has been president of Pan In School. I would have met with Mr. Auburn Wiltshire, he is the head of Multicultural Music Program Unit. They deal with steelband education in the primary schools. I would have met with Paul Massey. He is one of the curriculum officers that deals with the curriculum of music and steelpan education in secondary schools. I would have met with the steelpan faculty with the dean at UTT. ...I would have met with Dr. Jeannine Remy of the University of the West Indies...I was able to see where everything...

Researcher Salah: So, since you took up office you’ve done this?

Marcus Ash: Yes!

Researcher Salah: That’s very impressive.

Marcus Ash: That was it in my first week...and just to get to know what is happening.

Marcus stated that his getting into the steelpan was by chance and not a premeditated event. He has had a meteoric rise to leadership roles in various stages, including the national steelband and Silver Stars steelband. This is now transferred to his role as Education Officer of Pan Trinbago. We can witness his enthusiasm from the interview as it relates to his first week in office. This augurs well for steelpan development as it is also a person of the younger generation. Following up on these two interviews, Norman “Jingi” Davidson expressed that with pan in education, there is some possible area that Trinidad may benefit from pan education in North America. Marcus Ash expressed his commitment to pan in education by visiting all branches of education within his first week in office as Education Officer of Pan Trinbago. That type of push is important for progress in this area of education.

Appendix B3. Interview with Akinola Sennon, Aquil Arrindell and Keith Byer 2018

For the next interview, I journeyed all the way to the south of Trinidad, to an area called Siparia. The destination was the pan yard of Deltones. Siparia Deltones is a well-known band that represents not only the area, but, is one of the main contenders representing the southern bands. The leader of this band is Akinola Sennon, a young man determined to make a mark with his band. He was joined by another prominent pan person in the area, Keith Byer, leader, and founder of Diatonic Steelband. On the way to Siparia, I had to pick up another individual for the interview. A young man by the name of Aquil Arrindell. Aquil, like Marcus Ash, represents the new younger breed of pan enthusiasts, very vocal and incensed with pushing for steelpan development in all areas. He was also the leader of San City Steelband. This interview now involved three prominent pan enthusiasts, although Keith Byer was senior to the other two younger brothers. We gathered at the pan yard of Deltones and settled in to conduct the interview. The same set of questions were asked. There were differences, and sometimes similar perspectives on a number of the different topics and issues that were articulated. Each leader of their steelband groups, offered their own ways and means of steelpan development within their respective communities. These were inclusive of music literacy programs, programs for different ages of community members and other activities in the pan yard. Keith Byer, also a former staff member of Pan Trinbago expressed his model for a successful steelband. He emphasized that it did not include participation in the panorama competition. However, I also wanted to challenge their thoughts, and the following question brought out some interesting responses.

Researcher Salah: What role has the government played or is playing in steelpan development in Trinidad & Tobago?

Akinola Sennon: For me, is a topic that I've spent a lot of time investigating...and studying. And, the topic of the government involvement in the steelpan...you know...cannot be answered without a formal investigation into the development of government system in Trinidad and Tobago on a historical level. What are the eras that we have undergone...And what are the things that pre-empted or dictated these eras....and after...you know...exploring these... then we could see what role government could play... not only with pan but anything that represents... institutions, coming out of the people...you know...so...for me...ahm... We went from that pre-colonial stage, colonial stage...export independence...export...went into that republic era, and within doing so we have never really developed our own institutions, our own education institution, our own political institution, economic institution, security institution, so basically all the institutions that we have in Trinidad and Tobago today, is based on a mere adopting of the same colonial system. We really didn't adopt that tone of de-constructing the throne, to reconstruct the throne. A deconstruction didn't happen, we basically just went and sit on the throne, and as the youth does say, think we get through. And, so...so...explore how that affects and effects on pan, a government or a political system that went and sit on the throne. Pan that represents a rebellion, a freedom sound... pan which represented...a...a...from in the midst of oppression were able to see the light and develop this thing, pan which represented a self-expression for the son of the slave...you know what I'm saying...So how would a government system that went and sit on the throne of a colonial master respond to such a movement. The response would be merely a...a...a...just taking a personal push to everything. So, in my...my true and honest belief...the government on its own, based on their philosophy, historically, would never be that element or that entity that would take pan out of the current status quo and bring further evolution.

Researcher Salah: Would you say then, if there is a change of government in terms of younger people thinking like you, could probably force that change to come about...

Akinola Sennon: You see the problem is not the people, the problem is the system. So, no matter...once that throne is that throne.

Researcher Salah: But can't the people change the system?

Akinola Sennon: If they decide to burn the throne down.

Researcher Salah: What's your take on this Aquil?

Aquil Arrindel: To be on a more surface level to that question, is...is... a mechanical problem as well...eh...because...the government, base on the act or base on the power the government gave Pan Trinbago. The government has recognized a body to do the development and put money into that body. So, on further investigation, with the whole...um...being the chairman of CIP...and...we're doing that kinda rebellion thing...to get...to get people into office...that...that credible. And, the investigation went on to get a little background on the structure of Pan Trinbago and the relationship between the government and Pan Trinbago...the 30 million dollars that they would have gotten at one point in time, the thirty or twenty-five or thirty-two, or whatever it is...was not for panorama...was for you to run your business for the year...but, then they take the money and invest it all into panorama, and they woulda get money back

from panorama to run...So, they had their thing going on...but, the government involvement was to give you that money to develop yourself... so to blame the government it would be...kinda...you understand. Other than that, that money, bands get assistance...Ah don't know...Byer would have talked about his program that is government funding.

Keith Byer: Partially funding.

Aquil Arrindel: Partially funding, Akinola would have his education program and sometimes the government...

Researcher Salah: So, the government has played some part...

Aquil Arrindel: Right, right...San City would have...but, it aint where we would like it, but, they recognize that through community development, they do their thing...through NCC, they do their thing. So, they're giving the finance. As a matter of fact, within the whole struggle...um... that recently happened to get the Diaz administration out, we would have realized that NCC who represented the government wanted to take it over but Pan Trinbago took NCC to court and win the case...when it is, that they took money from the gate receipts.... And they pulled up the Act and said ...listen Pan Trinbago have this right...so the government cannot come in, and step in, because the government already gave Pan Trinbago this right. So, it is a mechanical problem as well for the government.....And it is not really a problem, we just have to get our institution happening right... to do what's need to be done. Because, we don't expect the government to micro-manage... the government invest you with a power, we gave you the money, so you make sure and develop your steelband.

Researcher Salah: So, what do you have to add Keith?

Keith Byer: Well. I just don't want the wrong impression to go out there..... because the Act, is which forms the basis for Pan Trinbago... which incorporates Pan Trinbago...it is more of a recognition Act, but it don't give much teeth.....so the Act do not have much power... so ...but my take is that...um...the government of itself in Trinidad is very ad hoc in a way...in their involvement in steelband...is a case of as is, and when is necessary, and is also, a case of what is politically expedient. It is not into structured development and I could use my thing that they referred to...yes... when I applied to them, I will get some level of funding, but is to their whims and fancies and I have to convince them, that I am doing something beneficial to the community. So, they do not have...this passion for the pan, or they recognize the pan in...and in the capacity of what it could do for the country and...more so...more so...there is a model...in the Virgin Islands. And, that it is the US government who fund these people, fund the tutors, fund the classes...that is a structured thing, there is nothing so, coming out, unfortunately from the country where it was born, and I think it have a lot to do with what Akinola was saying...and the system and the inheritance of it. We have a lot of hang over. The colonial system is still hanging over, lingering out there. So, then, maybe what you saying we need a youthful government out there but we don't see that...there is no... I am not seeing the avenue for no youthful government. I am not seeing an avenue even...even for a third party, which have been tried already.

So, if you can't get a third party, forget the youthful government. The two-party system and the people that control the two parties is a problem...not only in Trinidad...Caribbean leaders like to die in office...they're not giving in to new ideas...and when people come into the system by attrition, they impose those lingering colonial ideas on them. You have to tow the line, or you can't come at all. So, there is no structure, to say, there are no program to say...Ok pan was here in Trinidad... and is not for a lack of recognition...because successive governments, over the last three or four governments when they came in, they talked about pan, there is this girl Chris Rampersad, she wrote a big article on it, you hear Gypsy talk about it, you hear a lot more. Pan has a diversification, So they're recognizing the power of the steelband, they're recognizing what is happening globally. But, they're not going further than the talk...but the system is not there to facilitate.

This interview brought out some specifics about the Trinidad and Tobago's government relationship with the pan movement, Pan Trinbago. It also highlights the pros and cons of the pan movement working with the government. The consensus from these Trinidadians is a needed change, but it involves a meaningful reconstruction of the system and not a mere "replacing of someone on the throne."

Appendix B4. Interview with Keith Simpson December 19, 2018

The next journey, would lead to the western part of the island to a place called Diego Martin. The scheduled interview is with Keith Simpson newly elected official of Pan Trinbago. My friend Bertel Gittens had organized this interview and also accompanied me. Keith Simpson has been around the pan movement since the fifties in the St. James area, and was well acquainted with Hugh Borde and Tripoli Steelband. He was also a collector of steelpan information and an informed historian. He welcomed us in his home for the interview. Keith, amongst other things was particularly well versed in the local history of pan in the west area, the St. James/Woodbrook corridor. I asked him the same litany of questions. We were able to explore a lot of additional information related to the list of questions. I have chosen a response to a particular question, to highlight a thread from the previous conversation concerning the role of the government. Keith Simpson responded to a question by referencing a particular incident with his steelband group, and the late former Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago, the honorable Dr. Eric Williams. It was a personal encounter with him representing his steelpan group and the Prime Minister and his entourage. They were visiting bands with a specific plan and a purpose that coincides with former narratives. The plan of acquiring sponsorship for the bands in the early seventies by engaging local companies to participate. This, by all standards was a major step in some form of steelpan development. It presented a new forum, whereby steelbands were now engaged with some form of recognition. The following is the account with the Keith Simpson interview.

Researcher Salah: What is your involvement in the steelpan community of Trinidad & Tobago?

Keith Simpson: Well, I started, officially...officially in 1970, that is forty-eight years ago when we formed a band called Ambassadors, which was sponsored by Nestles. I will give you a little story about an interaction with Eric Williams, because I was working at Nestles as a young fella...and I was working in the office, and I asked them if they will sponsor a steelband. The Marketing Director told me no, they don't have no money. A few days later a night we were practicing for seventy-one panorama that was our first year and somebody say Boy! Look...Eric Williams somewhere outside there with some people....Ah say what! ...Eric Williams!...You can talk, you go and talk to them...I walked outside, I see the short fella there, with he entourage...and..ahm...he said. "I am Dr. Eric Williams." I said I know that very well sir. I know that very much, I know you. He said, "We are doing a visit to all steelbands and we are trying to get them sponsors." He had a clipboard with a list of companies...and he told me...select any company and he will get them to sponsor band...

Researcher Salah: And he actually told you to choose any company.

Keith Simpson: Yes, it on a clipboard so.... I'll never forget that... So, I said, Sir I work at Nestles and asked them to sponsor my band and they said that they didn't have any money. He said, "Is that so"? he said on Monday he is going to speak with the head of Nestles of Trinidad. Nestles office was situated right under the fly-over, first fly-over we had...ay...ay...By lunchtime, the same manager came by me, he said Keith, we're going to sponsor your band you know.... Such was the power of the man. (Wilson personal interview with Keith Simpson 2018).

Initiated by the government, it provided not only needed financial assistance, but some form of prestigious title of acceptance and professionalism. Keith Simpson's account of what happened and the encounter with the government by means of direct contact with the Prime Minister, is a similar tale with other bands around that time. This was the mood and the push by the government. Of course, the political angle of elections and other areas of influence was also evident with this involvement of the government.

Appendix B5. Interview with Glenford Sobers and Jimi Phillip December 22, 2018

From Diego Martin in the west to Chaguanas in the central part of Trinidad, is where the next interview would take place. I had contacted my friend Jimi Phillip ahead and organized an interview with him. I also requested of him to interview some learned and experienced pan pioneer from the area. He suggested a person who is well known for his pan enthusiasm and pan experience, his name, Glenford Sobers. I journeyed with my wife Adiyah to Chaguanas for this interview. We visit Jimi every time we come to Trinidad, so we knew how to get to his pan tuning workshop, situated just off the southern bound highway in Chaguanas. We found him there and decided to first go by his friend Glenford Sobers to do that interview. Glenford was born in 1941 and claims at around age seven, he began to get involve with the steelpan movement in his surroundings. So, his concept of the steelpan movement begins from an early age as a child. It was also the embryonic age of the steelpan in its developmental process. He grew and developed with the steelpan, having his own band(s), and becoming a pan tuner. Glenford also provided a colorful narrative of his exploits as a member of the National Steelband of Trinidad and Tobago. A journey that began with the forming of that group in 1963. It was after the 1962 Independence and Glenford expressed that it was a collaborative event with the pan movement that had the full support of the Prime Minister, Eric Williams. There was a tour to the USA in 1964, followed by a European tour of Great Britain and France. In 1966, they went to Jamaica and in 1967 toured Canada and the Montreal Expo '67 World's Fair. He confirmed the events of this World's Fair and expressed a camaraderie amongst all the pan men, when the three steelbands of Trinidad & Tobago were present for a show at the event. He still continues to have a band to the present day, a single pan band. In his own

way, he continues with his contribution to the steelpan. He spoke about a form of steelpan development that brings the people together. He echoed unity in pan. This was his response in part to one of the general questions.

Researcher Salah: Steelpan’s biggest event in Trinidad & Tobago, the Panorama competition, what are the potentials?

Glenford Sobers: Yeah, we have to keep it, we have to keep it...because...that keep pan men together...in a friendly...friendly manner. Just like the National Steelband where with Dr. Eric Williams they took a person from different bands in Trinidad and Tobago to form one band, so that come like a unit, all before that, was “badjohn” thing. (Glenford Sobers 2018; interview).

Jimi, who had accompanied us to Glenford Sobers for that interview, now took us back to his pan workshop for his interview. Sitting down with Jimi for an interview is like a full circle in steelpan development. Jimi and I had met in the late sixties when Henry “Bendix” Cumberbatch, well know pan personnel, master arranger and player, came to be a part of Flamingoes. Bendix brought an entire contingent of pan men from Chaguanas. Needless to say, the band grew instantly, and this helped propelled the band in 1971 to finally take part in the annual panorama competition. I migrated to Canada in 1973 and Jimi migrated some time in 1974. We would meet up in Vancouver in 1975. Jimi would be part of my first group in Edmonton in 1975, Pan Vibes Exhibits.” We would later travel with the band to Montreal for the Montreal Olympics season in 1976. After the band broke up, typical case of young guys trying to put things together. We formed another band a couple years later with famed Trinidad vocalist Junior Byron. The group was called Galaxy Vocal Steelband. The band disbanded after a couple of years and everyone went on their own. Jimi decided to return to Trinidad and establish himself there focusing on his pan tuning. We have kept in touch throughout the years and here we are now with an

interview. He continues today being awarded several times for his innovations in pan. He also introduced pan tuning programs that had been coordinated with relative government and school programs. He has also been invited to participate with steelpan innovations involving the University of the West Indies. This was his response to one of the questions.

Researcher Salah: What role has the government played or is playing in steelpan development in Trinidad & Tobago?

Jimi Phillip: Well, ahm...I know, the Ministry of Culture did some pan tuning, that's years ago, lately here now, the Pan in the School Coordinating Council, since 2000...maybe 2002, they...they started introducing pan making to students in those schools...they had workshops and things. And then in 2004, they eventually started tuning programs with students in the schools and it started right here.

Researcher Salah: Interesting...and what is the state now?

Jimi Phillip: Well...it went on for...from 2004 to about maybe 2010... and then the last class we had was teachers...from, maybe, about ten schools or how much...come to learn the movements of making pans, so then they will have it in the schools as...how they would have mechanics and other things...so that is happening in the schools now. So, you could sign up to do...pan making, like if you would sign up to do mechanics or wood working, or something. So, it is implemented in some schools right now.

Researcher Salah: That's positive...so, in that part of development, something is happening.

Jimi Phillip: Yes, some thing. (Wilson personal interview with Jimi Phillip 2018).

We covered many more topics, but I wanted to highlight, that aspect of steelpan development in the public schools as well as the role he initially played in its inception. One of the main points that Jimi was driving home was the lack of avenues for pan. He lamented the fact that if someone went to school and learn pan making as a trade, how will that person fare after, when looking for employment in that area. But, having lived in Canada for a number of years, Jimi returned home to Trinidad and has since been involved with many aspects of the steelpan industry. He continues to lead in innovation and training of pan makers and tuners.

Appendix B6. Interview with Ray Holman December 27, 2018

My next interview is one where I am actually living a dream. The person with whom I will do this interview is in all circles considered a living legend. He was an activist and forward thinking, very progressive individual from an early age, notwithstanding his legendary skills as a pan player, arranger, and composer. Many of his exploits were not only original but, have also been successful and iconic. I, like everyone else, also knew of Ray Holman. I had met him before, someone had introduced me to him in a group and I recall meeting with him again on another occasion. I did play on one of his musical arrangements for the 1975 panorama season when I had returned to Trinidad and some of my friends from Flamingoes were playing with Pandemonium. Ray was the arranger and the song was “Tempo” by Maestro. Ray’s home is where it has always been in Woodbrook. I arrived at his home, he was alone and welcomed me and we sat down for the interview. Same format with the list of questions. I knew that the first question would stretch out and the information Ray gave was enough for a full biography. I wish I could use all of the information, but it was just so much. All were interesting, some new, some confirming other historic information, some adding to other bits of pan history. The first part of my topic would definitely ring a bell with Ray Holman, so, I began with that. “Pan, still on the move.” In 1972, Ray Holman made a historic debut in steelpan development, by being the first “panman”, steelpan arranger to compose and arrange his own song for the panorama competition. The song was entitled “Pan on the Move” and it became iconic. It became a sense of pride for the pan man that he could compose and write his own song, not just arrange some other person’s song. So, I began with that, I figured that he might have wondered why I use the phrase “Pan, still on the Move.” I explained that I

could not use the original phrase “Pan on the move.” At the same York University, someone wrote a master’s thesis and the title began with the same original phrase.

However, I still wanted to get a solid understanding of his thoughts when that era arrived, where he began his compositions on panorama songs. I went directly to the well to get that information.

Researcher Salah: Tell me about...about this iconic song, How did it come about?

Ray Holman: *Pan on the Move?*

Researcher Salah: Yes, *Pan on the Move*, the first time a pan man is composing his own song for the panorama.

Ray Holman: Well...I took to my way of thinking, don’t know if it was right. I used to look and see...I always...I’m an observer, you know, God bless me with a good mind to observe, to wait, think. And I say, whenever I go by the Calypso Tent...and I know from Sparrow and Kitchener who used to come here, right here they used to come and play when they have their song...When I go in the tent, and ah pass by...ah not hearing the same song twice...That used to kinda...then in a pan yard all of us playing the same song...why...that used to bother me boy...what the hell is this? When we make an album, one Ray Holman, two Beatles and all the rest is Sparrow and Kitchener. I say, this can’t be right, when you go by a pan yard, you suppose to have something original...of your own...so, it was as if a kinda shackle. They had us shackled...that is the expectations, pan had to wait on the calypso...So, I say No! that has to change. So, I saw myself,,. How old was I at that time?...72...28 years old . So, I saw myself as a liberator, as a revolutionary, not for the sake of that but to help the current situation...write your own music.. you have an instrument there, and you all not doing anything there, only arranging it...arranging is nice but you got to something original...So, that you hear...that is Starlift, you know that is Starlift playing...So, that is what, I did...and not without controversy.

Researcher Salah: Of course, of course, but you never stopped and other people followed you including Boogsie and others.

Ray Holman: If you ever listen to the words of that song

Researcher Salah: Yes, I have it in my song list...

Ray Holman: What it is... ‘A lot of pan men I’m sure, will try and compose a song that will inspire them.’...Ah say all yuh stop sleeping and do your thing...all yuh see what’s going on in the world and all yuh waiting on Sparrow and Kitchener...So, Sparrow and Kitchener now, they didn’t like that...they never came back here after that...ha...ha....So that is how it went, then I started to write, more and more things not only calypsoes, different genres, and write for pan and choir...

Researcher Salah: I like how you mixed it up also...you do things like taking into consideration other races, so your mind is very progressive in your compositions you explore.

Ray Holman: Salah, my mind is not like many of these people here...they see right here, I see beyond there...So, Trinidad is not only black people, so why is it that you shouldn't play some Indian music. When Shorty did it, Shorty's wife was East Indian...and Shorty had the vision. That was a big advance, so, Shorty did it right. When I did it, people come and say...boy yuh playing Indian music...is just the old politics. (Wilson personal interview with Ray Holman 2018).

Ray, also offered various opinions, all from his own personal experiences and his general involvement in steelpan from an early age. I was humbled to have this interview with Ray Holman.

Appendix B7. Interview with Denise Hernandez December 28, 2018

For the next interview, I had to return the following day to the capital city of Port of Spain. Initially, I was supposed to have met the president and the secretary of Pan Trinbago. However, the plan changed due to an updated schedule for the president, but I was still able to get the secretary of Pan Trinbago for the interview. These two interviews were important for several reasons, amongst them were the fact that they were women and secondly they were the newly elected leaders of Pan Trinbago. Beverly Ramsey Moore as the president and Denise Hernandez as the secretary. Denise, welcomed me as we settled down to do the interview in their temporary office space around the same locality as their former address. Denise Hernandez had been involved with pan for quite a while as normally expected of all pan enthusiasts of Trinidad & Tobago. All quite similar stories, however, Denise's band is the legendary All Stars of which she is the vice-captain as well as a bass player. She began her steelpan experiences around 1972 in the south of the island. Fonclaire was the main influence at that time. She spent eight years in Canada where she studied at York University. Returned to Trinidad and began working in the schools. She got back into pan when some of her students asked her to participate. She was involved with Newtones from Arima where she made acquaintances with none other than legendary arranger and musician Clive Bradley. Everybody remembers Bradley's arrangement of David Rudder's *High Mas*. Denise was invited by Pan Trinbago's president Patrick Arnold to become a part of Pan Trinbago of which she accepted and became the education officer for a six -year period. During that time, she got involved with various aspects of steelpan development. Amongst them was her involvement with

the youths and their steelpan activities in particular. She articulated a system, in which the steelpan youths could begin to govern their own affairs.

Denise Hernandez: I modeled it from the big picture. So, they had a management, president, vice president, etc. I got them to set up their little standing committees, just like the constitution and bylaws and then I said, you all are running this thing...you just come to me for advice. They have their own bank account, they have their statutory monthly meetings, then they will come to me ...xyz...so that I will report at the executive level. They planned all the panoramas, all the music festivals...

Researcher Salah: They did it by themselves?

Denise Hernandez: On their own...on their own...I started talking to them...Listen, pan is a business, some of you want to be lawyers, so let's look at, we want corporate lawyers, we want entertainment lawyers, copyright lawyers. So, think about these aspects of law. We want financial managers, we want accountants etc....And I started telling them as young people coming out of school, now attending university...

Researcher Salah: This is very important for steelpan development, because setting up an infrastructure is what will benefit much more in the future.

Denise Hernandez: I said, right, this is what we can go to school and tell people. You don't have to play music for your career. You can play your pan, but you can do business, you can be the lawyer for the band, you can be this or that...And I was so proud of these young people. (Wilson personal interview with Denise Hernandez 2018).

We interestingly covered the other questions and topics. It was important to have the secretary of Pan Trinbago have a say even though we tried to get the newly elected female president. It was also important to get the views of a female participant. Denise continued with her very informative responses until the conclusion of the interview.

Appendix B8. Interview with Martin Daly and Gerard Clarke December 29, 2018

The following day would likely be the last interview in this session since I was due to return to Canada in a couple of days. I decided to do a double interview at the same time. The participants would be Gerard Clarke, pan tuner/player, and Martin Daly, an attorney, lifelong pan lover, and weekly columnist for the Sunday Express. The interview would be held at the home of Martin Daly, six miles west of Port of Spain at the entrance to the Diego Martin valley. As planned, I met up with Gerard and he took me to Martin's home. Gerard and Martin have been friends for a very long time. Gerard and I have been friends for more than a decade and he is currently the pan tuner for my band in Canada "Salah's Steelpan Academy." He also has been the tuner for Flamingoes for the last few years. We settled in for the interview at Martin Daly's beautiful home overlooking the western coastal port of Trinidad. The same format of questions would be applied with each participant responding freely as it would suit them. A lot of information was expected and there were no disappointments. I expected different points of view, simply because of the different backgrounds and types of involvement in steelpan development of these two men.

Researcher Salah: What is your involvement in the steelpan community of Trinidad & Tobago?

Martin Daly: Well, my involvement morphed into being a commentator. I emphasize not on the musical aspect, I mean, I'd hear something and say I like it. But, I realized that pan had a tremendous potential, for keeping communities, at the lowest level out of trouble at higher levels, bonding. At higher levels promoting achievements and ultimately music education. I saw it as a whole healer and bonder of communities and I have very strong views about that. So, I have written many, many columns over the years, about the potential for the steelpan as a...as...well, I use the world social engineering...in North America that might be considered a left wing term.

Researcher Salah: I think this is very important for steelpan development for commentaries, opinions, and views.

Martin Daly: Absolutely...of course! And as I got deeper into it, I began to see the work that was being done in these communities. Some bands had homework centers to which at-risk youths would go...but there was...and I got...well angry is a strong word, discontented about the fact, that none of the governments we had, have ever tapped-in to the infrastructure of the social development that is already there. They are only dimly aware that these things are going on... and then, of course I extended my interest to going to Brooklyn twice, to follow the panorama there. I saw certain things, one of which impressed me was...ah...they put a lot of emphasis on at-risk youths and latch key children in New York, going to the pan yard, because, is exactly how I see it should be done here. But, it was more formalized in some cases. And the other thing was that I began to learn that for every panorama,... ahm...university students came from North America, principally. I mean people came from Japan and so on. But, university students came from North America, and they actually got credits for playing in bands...and there again, it provided for want of a better word, international validation.

Researcher Salah: So, I am really impressed that you noticed this, and started writing about it, to inform the people here, this is very important.

Martin Daly: I have been a columnist here since 2002, and my columns have been... a selection of them has been gathered in a book, and one part of the book, has, collected in a separate section, all the political and other commentaries that were selected by my editors, about two thirds of the book. The last third is a collection of all pieces written about pan and culture. And, that part of the book is physically described as Pan and Culture...And, I'm pushing the same message all of the time...So that, in terms of observing and experiencing what is going on, I have been to Birdsong's musical school on a Saturday morning...I have seen some of the homework centers that Solo Harmonites used to run...I have seen many other things that are done...I have written things...all of these are vehicles by which we keep trying to inform the wider public that steelpan has gone past fighting and so on.

I needed input from Gerard Clarke, now a prominent pan tuner, who has worn the hats of many different roles in steelpan development, including player and administrator and a PRO position in Pan Trinbago for a period of time. But he has also been very vocal on pan issues.

Researcher Salah: What role has the government played or is playing in steelpan development in Trinidad & Tobago?

Gerard Clarke: The government is not playing a major role in steelpan development. They have put, since Hazel Manning's time, under the PNM, they put pan in school again. They gave...they outfitted steelbands with a sixteen-piece orchestra...they hired about twelve of us to provide the pans...and it was put in, everybody was on their own. They never followed up on what was happening. Even when the pans are to be

maintained, there isn't any money to maintain the pans...every school has to try and find their own funding to be able to get the tuner...like schools' panorama, I would work for schools and... ahm... 'we raising some funds with the BBQ coming up, we'll see if we could give you some money out of that.'...and the school's themselves are not taking part and some of the schools have money...St Joseph Convent in St. Joseph... is a parent who paid me this year, his daughter is playing and he said... you know ...ahm...'how much is the job?' I said everything is \$5000.00 he said, 'come tomorrow I'll pay you.'

Martin Daly: Now, that's another thing that's very important. The schools' panorama for me is the most enjoyable event of the panoramas and steelpan activities around carnival time...because of the enthusiasm. I stress that I am not musical...but what appears to be of high quality and the risk of repetition and enthusiasm...very, very important,, that is the vehicle, by which you can...what is the word I want...get rid of the class and race and obstacles, because...you see the so-called prestigious schools, and people from so-called prestige areas... I laugh at some of the people that I see suddenly appearing on a panorama stage, where before their child was involved in it, they wouldn't be seen dead in a pan yard, let alone on a stage.

Researcher Salah: That's a real big plus.

Martin Daly: But it is a huge plus, because these people in turn...this is a different kinda these people... These people have access to money and to philanthropic...potential philanthropic organizations, potential formation of foundations...But of course, once their child is finished playing in the schools' panorama and they pat themselves on the backs...they're gone...we have not harnessed their interests, and that's another huge area that is not understood. And...likewise, I don't want my passion to run away with me...the second-best event on a par with that, is the judging in the pan yard. There you see again, the whole of ...whether is north or south or east...the whole of different communities, that never intersect socially, come together for that evening. You see little old ladies coming in maxi taxis. Equally important is people that would never, otherwise go near a pan yard. And all of that needs to be pulled together in a proper development program. There is a role to play...but there is no one doing this type of work.

Researcher Salah: So, some little research studies need to get in there, to bring this information back to the people and somethings that the government could look at.

Martin Daly: If they interview, the parents of these kids, these same little old ladies coming in maxi taxis and all the people who would not normally go in a pan yard. What brings them out?...What is your interest? It would then tell them how to develop the product. What is it they enjoy? What is it they are looking for? And they would also learn what is authentic, is right there in the pan yard, not a pair of sneakers from Florida. (Wilson personal interview with Martin Daly and Gerard Clarke 2018).

This was the nature of the discussion with Martin Daly and Gerard Clarke. There were many more important areas discussed with the same vibrant progressive information coming forward and some are referred to in the final summary.

Appendix B9. Interview with Nestor Sullivan August 27, 2019

In August of 2019, I returned to Trinidad to complete a few more interviews. I did not get all of whom I wanted but, was grateful for those that participated. These are the following accounts of the conversations. The first was Nestor Sullivan who agreed to come to my home in St. John Village, St. Augustine, Trinidad. Nestor has been involved in the steelpan activities since the early seventies and became increasingly involved since that time. He has been a member of the Pan Trinbago organization wearing different administrative hats along the way. Nestor is also a sought-after lecturer on steelpan issues. He has been a founder/member/adviser and manager of Pamberi steel Orchestra of Barataria. We settled down for the interview.

Researcher Salah: What role has the government played or is playing in steelpan development in Trinidad & Tobago?

Nestor Sullivan: Well, I see it as a limited approach to the whole thing, because the main thing for me ... look at, ahm...if you look at the way...I'm taking a country as an example, the United States their approach to developing human capital, teaching people a course of study and practice to become master pan tuners. A course also designed by Trinidadian Ellie Mannette. We have nothing like that in our country...and they are producing people who are ...

Researcher Salah: In West Virginia University?

Nestor Sullivan: Yes, West Virginia University, and since 1991. So, from 1997, you have people graduating as tuners, so they're going into the industry of the United States. You have more than a thousand educational institutions with steelpan instruments each of these have ten tenor pans, that is ten thousand tenors...and we're not talking about the other pans.

Researcher Salah: And, Trinidad will not be making any of those.

Nestor Sullivan: Exactly, we have no Trinidad, no West Indian, no Caribbean person involved in that...one of the most important things for me...what is needed...we have to find a way to put the best educational things in place, to take people, young people who coming into the pan movement and who attending school to become the professional and highly trained pan tuners...then we have...because if we look at the global industry, let us look at Africa as an example. Out of fifty-five states, steelpan can be found in four. Fifty-one, no pan, if we get, let's say ten countries in Africa and each of them want pans for ten schools...so that's a way of looking at it.

Appendix B10. Interview with Brian Copeland, August 30, 2019

Still in the St. Augustine area, I went to the next interview a few days later. The destination was then University of the West Indies (UWI). This St. Augustine campus is in my neighborhood, a place I knew and visited many times. The interviewee was Professor Brian Copeland, son of Mac Copeland the famous legendary mas' producer. Brian came from a cultural family and was awarded the highest order of Trinidad and Tobago for his contributions to the steelpan movement since he was the main person behind the innovations of the Genesis Pan (The G-Pan) and the Percussive Harmonic Instrument (The PHI). Controversies in the pan world are not new to the movement and Brian Copeland and his innovations were not spared from these. The interview was an opportunity to get the facts from his perspective as he would be able to have his say. His new position at the university was a positive and progressive step and it was important therefore to get his views on the state of academia in Trinidad and Tobago. We waded into other areas of the discussion including politics, economics and the social acceptance of the pan and its potentials. I placed a metaphorical situation to him in the conversation.

Researcher Salah: There is a train in the station. The name of the train is “Pan on the Move.” It is supposed to be our (Trinidad and Tobago) train. We are supposed to be the owners, conductors, and guests...The train has just left the station, not only are we not on board, we also did not know that there was a train in the station.

Brian Copeland: It is still tied to that whole discussion I had about building an infrastructure exploiting the innovations in the country. In fact, that is the mark of a third world nation...that is the mark of a third world nation.

Appendix B11. Interview with Merlin Gill, September 3, 2019

The third and final interview was in the same neighborhood area with Merlin Gill, someone I knew. I grew up also knowing of his involvements in many aspects of the pan movement including as an arranger, manager, and leader of bands. He was also business oriented and was concerned with entrepreneurship, especially in pan. Merlin Gill's central place of operation is located on the Eastern Main Road in Curepe, a small town, bordering St. Augustine on the western side and the neighborhood where I grew up. Gill's Pan Shop is one of the few major pan exporters in Trinidad and Tobago and Gill is well known across the globe for his contributions of being an exporter of steelpan instruments and accessories. But before that, he was a pan man and many other areas of steelpan development became his playground. He gained a wealth of knowledge and experience as he played with many bands from a very early age including City Symphony, Starlift, Silver Stars, Amboys and Crest Merry Boys. He was also band leader, founder, and arranger for Scherzando and Sforzata. Many of his panorama arrangements were acknowledged, notably Shadow's 1974 composition "*I Come Out to Play*." He also won the Bomb competition for three consecutive years. Little known is Merlin Gill's philanthropic approach in assisting countries, communities, groups, and individuals by donating musical instruments. Cuba acknowledged him for supplying instruments for up to a forty-piece steelpan ensemble. Clearly Merlin's conception is of a global village and he does not view the non-Trinidadian pan tuners as competitors, rather he incorporates them in his global concept by employing them. Merlin Gill shared a chronological account of his pan exploits from his early beginnings at age twelve and the interview covered all of

the relevant topics and questions. An interesting response to the effects and relationship with pans in the USA and Trinidad gave the following answers.

Merlin Gill: ...Watch, I am, I am shipping pans for Pan yard twenty years now, you know. I am Pan yard's sole supplier you know... sole supplier... Cliff Alexis come down here, we went to PASIC. It cost us three hundred thousand dollars... We in PASIC... Virginia Beach... nah!... every year they have that right... plus your VAT...three hundred thousand it cost. You know our app? You ever saw it?...the app, a replica to the pan...

Researcher Salah: Yes, yes, I saw it.

Merlin Gill: We gone up there with that, when Liam Teague see it, ...he and Cliff Alexis, they never leave we, I does go, my daughter and them went with Mazzi. They never leave for three days right... Out of thirty-five bands, twenty-eight were supplied by Gill's Pan Shop. We have the record for supplying the most pans in America.

Researcher Salah: Are you still doing this?

Merlin Gill: It gone, since Trump come in, let me tell you what he has done. Trump has stopped the schools from buying direct...like how a school coulda send an order, a purchase order from the federal government, right... what he has done is screw up everything, all the different states have different laws, right...we used to get awe direct orders and the schools used to pay direct.... Now the same people who dealing with pan, they have to give the order to them.

I chose this part of the interview to merely highlight a contrasting view from a Trinidadian who is engaged in business of trade of steelpan equipment and accessories. This final interview summed up the responses from Trinidad. This information is a part of the overall narrative.

Appendix B12. Interview with Vernie Theroulde, December 10, 2019

Finding a reason to return to Trinidad is always an ongoing quest and since my mother was celebrating her 101st birthday on December 1st 2019, my wife and I arrived in Trinidad the first morning of December and greeted my mom. I was concerned that I could not use my uncle's interview, so I opted to the next best choice, an elder cousin, Vernon Theroulde. For this interview, I travelled alone to Chaguanas, central Trinidad, where I had done a couple interviews in that area with my friend Jimi Phillip. Vernie, as we called him, was always a mentor to not only me but all of my other cousins. He was a little guy with a big heart, really skilled in soccer (football) and steelpan. I learned both soccer and pan skills from him and I always admired his tenacity. Vernie and I grew up in the same environment with a steelband in the back yard of our grandmother's home. He, too as a young boy was not allowed to go into the pan yard but he also disregarded this notion and "sneaked" in with willing help from the bigger guys. He was supported by our uncle Bob, and because of his natural skills and abilities, was acknowledged and accepted. This opened doors and he went on to become one of the leading players in the band. He played with a couple other bands, notably Desperadoes. Pan tuner Wallace Austin saw his skills and took him up to Desperadoes where he also excelled as a player during the years of 1968, 1969, 1970. Meanwhile, he continued playing with the village family band Flamingoes. He also held the administrative role as Secretary of the band from 1972 when Bob migrated to Canada. We settled in for the interview and went through the litany of questions.

Researcher Salah: What role has the government played or is playing in steelpan development in Trinidad & Tobago?

Vernie Theroulde: The government has helped Pan Trinbago, they have given Pan Trinbago monies to produce their event, the bulk of the subscriptions comes from the government.

Researcher Salah: Do you think it is enough?

Vernie Theroulde: No! I don't think so, it is not enough, it is our national instrument and I personally, don't believe that they are doing enough to project the pan forward. I don't think that the government over the years, have taken the steelpan seriously, you know, seeing that it is our own. I'm sure that if it were some other country more would have been done to project the steelpan.

Appendix B13. Interview with Michael Cooper, December 12, 2019

Michael Cooper is one of the leading steelpan entrepreneurs in Trinidad having established his steelpan manufacturing business for the last two decades. He has been one of the main exporters of steelpans to the world. His business is located on the Eastern Main Road in Laventille. He has been in the fore front of steelpan development by providing a home for novice pan tuners who began with their training and learning the art and craft of making pans. Here they hone their skills to become pan makers and pan tuners. He has introduced a new form of pan enhancement with the “powder coating” concept. He has also been a force pushing for more in steelpan education and community programs. He sits on numerous boards related to the steelpan business. I had known Michael for quite a number of years as we were frequently engaged in business. He has been a marketer of my textbook “Steelpan Playing with Theory.” Setting up an interview with Michael was like having a re-union of ideas. I visited his office and we settled in for the interview. He has his views on which direction the steelpan should be going and he was not reluctant to express himself on the government’s involvement. He agrees that by general consensus that much more could and should be done. Similarly, Pan Trinbago needs to re-focus their principal objective which is the panorama competition and establish a world-wide marketing plan. We covered the wide array of questions and agreed on many of the pan positions but not on all. His view that establishing a ministry for pan was, as I expected, in conflict with his concept of the pan exporting business. However, I explained that with a pan ministry his expertise in pan manufacture would be a big plus in the bigger picture of establishing a national manufacturing company for the steelpan business. Here is a relevant response.

Researcher Salah: Since steelpan tuning is still an oral tradition, do you think enough is done to preserve and further develop the art form.

Michael Cooper: No not at all, and that is one of the biggest problems ahead. Salah, all of the pan tuners are dying out. Look at all of the main players who have gone in the last few years. We just lost people like Guppy Brown, Wallace Austin... These are not replaceable people. There is no infrastructure in place for this type of development. All of these young pan tuners today, where do you think they first started to learn about pan tuning. ...right here at Panland...of course you know how it goes, as they learn some of the skills, some of them choose to branch off on their own.

Researcher Salah: Is that a problem for you?

Michael Cooper: Of course, but what could you do, this is Trinidad, but more people are always coming through. These are some of the handicaps that we have to go through.

We continued with more of the same dialogue about trying to find the ways and means to move forward. Michael continues with his innovations and is now sitting on a board at the UTT that deals with steelpan development.

Appendix B14. Interview with Rudy Moore, January 10, 2019

My scheduled return flight to Toronto was January 10 however, I was very fortunate to secure another interview on January 8. In seeking more diverse and rational points of view, I wanted a non-pan player/arranger/composer, neither pan teacher nor tuner, but, someone who just simply was a “genuine pan-advocate.” I believe that individual is Rudy Moore. He lived in an area known as Curepe, which is bordered by St Augustine to the East and St. Joseph to the West. On my way to his home, I had to pass in front of a main steelband group called Moods. We settled in for the interview which was also a re-union since I had known Rudy decades before when he was my boss for my first ever job in Trinidad. After graduating from high school, I was hired as a lab assistant at the Carib Lager Brewery in Champs Fleurs, Trinidad where Rudy was the head-chemist and in charge of the lab. Rudy and his wife Carol were present at my wedding ceremony so our families knew each other. We began with the ethics explanation and necessary documents giving consent for the interview. Not too far into the interview, Rudy pointed out to me, the arrival of his neighbor across the street from him. It was Leon “Smooth” Edwards, reputable arranger of the legendary All Stars Steelband and it was suggested that we visit with him after the interview. In the interview, Rudy explained his initial awareness and contact with the pan. Growing up in the St James area in the mid to late fifties, it was normal for young 15-16 year old boys to ride their bicycles to and from their destinations. Rudy spoke of riding to St Mary’s College which he attended and also riding bikes with his friends to the various pan yards in his St. James area. Bands included Wonder Harps, Cross Fire, Cross Roads, North Stars, Invaders, Starlift, Silver Stars, Symphonettes. He pointed out that in those times each band had their own distinct sound. One could

determine “which” band by their tonal quality, by their type of strumming, their style of playing, and choice of songs. Rudy laments that today all the bands have the same or similar sounds and styles. Rudy also added that the onset of the panorama competition in 1963 benefited people like himself, who could then go to one venue to hear all of the bands. Rudy also represents some typical Trinidadians who gather together and visit pan yards and pan events. He proudly speaks of his group of pan lovers, for whom this action has become a ritual hobby that they look forward to and that they enjoy. Rudy’s response to the questions were interesting.

Researcher Salah: A steelpan is sold for \$8000.00 US in the USA while the same pan is sold for \$8000.00 TT (the foreign exchange being at least \$1.00US = \$7.00 TT. What does that say to you?

Rudy Moore: Good marketing, but it is our fault...we should be the ones making that kind of money, I’m sure you agree. But, we have not done what was necessary. This is what, Pan Trinbago have not done as regard the developing of the steelband.

Researcher Salah: The pan yards, what are the potentials?

Rudy Moore: As I’ve said these events of bands inviting other bands to present joint shows...The pan people could have an area set aside...you know when you go to the States, all these places have little gift shops where they sell souvenirs etc...Now I met a guy in Trinidad in 2005. He had a big idea for pan...he spoke about putting up a theme park in the scale of a Disney Land scenario where it would feature steelband and calypso.

The following question generated a lengthy discussion as we were familiar with the topic “Steelpan manufacturing industry - a steelpan ministry, what are your thoughts?” However, Rudy and I were on opposite perspectives and points of views. Rudy’s view concerning the concept of “A ministry exclusively for the pan” was quite simply that there was already too much government involvement in the pan. It should be left to the private sector to continue the development of pan culture. I countered with a detailed but concise explanation of the fact that Trinidad’s main economic export is oil. The main industries and revenues that sustain Trinidad and Tobago are derived from oil and natural gases. My

argument is that in twenty years oil might still be in existence but considered as dirty energy similar to coal, not usable, and very bad for the environment. Trinidad should diversify and not use the contents of the barrel, but instead use the steel barrel itself to export musical instruments to the world. The concept of putting the steelpan ensemble (a complete family of instruments) on an equivalent status as string ensembles and wind ensembles is crucial. String and wind ensembles occupy much of academia from the elementary through secondary to university levels. But, this would be a 20-year project of development, simply because the main product of human capital along with the infrastructure will take that length of time. We need to be developing and producing pan tuners to accommodate and support a steelpan manufacturing industry. There is a world market in academia, just waiting to be tapped into. However, it was agreed that no business in Trinidad would be willing to make the type of investment required to establish this industry. It was too risky for them and more discussion ensued.

Researcher Salah: Pan is a different thing because you need human capital, the final point is the artisan work of the individual pan tuner. What is necessary is setting up an infrastructure for the future. I believe that we should be investing in pan in such a way that twenty years from now when the oil thing is over, we would have the ability to sell pan. Look at this reality in the technology of pan, most schools in North America have two principal forms of ensembles, string ensembles and wind ensembles. Each having their respective families. We have done a great thing by inventing another family a percussive family of instruments, the pan family. Our job then is to market this in every possible institution of learning. Now that's a multi-billion-dollar industry.

Rudy Moore: Into the schools' system in the US...boy...

Researcher Salah: No forget the US, I'm saying the US is gone. Africa, take Africa...we have some 54 states, and there is pan in some four countries. Fifty countries are waiting for pan.

Rudy Moore: South America, we just talking about that...

Researcher Salah: Yes, but we must have a robust plan...I am talking about a plan to replace oil, a bold move to replace the leading export... the infrastructure needed will take a good twenty years to get to the point where you would have produced enough tuners to do the job.

Rudy Moore: You see,... from that point of view, that's where you will need a government to be able to see that... that is not a private person...it is much bigger than that.

Researcher Salah: No, this is what I'm saying, it cannot be a private business. First of all, no Trinidadian is going to invest in pan in this way, it is too risky. This is not a project for an individual to make money, it is much bigger than an individual attempt. In my opinion...we need to get two billion dollars annually to begin the setting up of the infrastructure to deliver this industry in the future. The only way you can get that is to have a ministry, with its own resources to develop.

Rudy Moore: Ok. I am now on board with what you're saying...yeah.

Researcher Salah: You need to set up the plants for this industry... you see that eye sore (the so-called Pan Trinbago new site) whenever you come in from the airport in Trincity, that is where you need to do the industry. A plant for R&D, a plant for the manufacture of the steel drums (barrels). A plant for the entire process of sinking, grooving, tempering, pre-tuning, final tuning. A plant for the chrome plating, powder coating, painting, a plant for the manufacture of pan stands, racks, cases, and other accessories. A plant for trainees and apprenticeships programs and showcase.

Rudy Moore: Yes, I see the need and importance of producing pan tuners and the concept of pan in the schools world-wide.

Appendix B15. Interview with Winston De Souza, January 8 2020

Following the interview with Rudy Moore, I returned to my village and thought about another possible “village” interview with Winston De Souza who was also a relative. Winston had been around since the fifties and was a founding member of the original Flamingoes. His house is approximately two hundred meters away from the pan yard. We had spoken previously about the possibility of doing the interview, and although time was the factor we settled in at his home in the late afternoon. During the preliminary set up for the interview I wondered what would result from this interview? Winston had migrated to England at an early age in the 1960’s but has always been a frequent visitor to Trinidad. His involvement with pan continued in England as he is a main supporter of “Mangrove,” one of the leading bands in England. The established questions generated the following responses.

Researcher Salah: How, when, and why did you get involved with steelbands?

Winston De Souza: Well, that was the known thing at that time, growing up in the village. Every village had a steelband.

Researcher Salah: What year are we talking about?

Winston De Souza: Well, in the fifties, I was a teenager, it was around 1955-1956.

Researcher Salah: So, what was happening in the village at that time, I was only three or four years old at that time.

Winston De Souza: Well, there was always a pan side in the village... first was the “iron band”... everything always started from your grand-mother, Ma Mena... in her backyard. Then there was another band lower down with Carlos Rose, his brother Gabriel also. But we were the younger fellas and we sat around and decided to start a band.

Researcher Salah: Do you want to call some names?

Winston De Souza: Well, there was Bob “Crazy” Theroulde (your uncle), Cecil “Zilla” Harewood, myself, “Pone”, “Pudden”, “Rod” Hernandez, my brother Melbourne “Vats” and others, but it was we the younger teenagers. We used to thief people drums and things, by Ma Mena house we went and thief some cocoreet and

build a little shed in the back. Then we put little change together to go and buy some drums down Wrightson Road.

Researcher Salah: Who was the pan tuner then?

Winston De Souza: Carl Greenidge, there was another fella, I am trying to remember his name, he used to come and do a little arranging, but it was Carl Greenidge, he was the man, the tuner, arranger, player. The band participated in the Tunapuna carnival throughout those years. However, I migrated very early, I left Trinidad in 1960 for England.

This information from Winston, confirmed the origins of the first Flamingoes steelpan group in the village. It began in my grand-mother's backyard and continued until the fateful carnival Tuesday when "badjohn Foots" destroyed the pans in the parade and returned in my grand-mother's backyard to finish destroying the rest of the band. He was confronted by my grandmother Ma Mena, who knew him from a little kid in the village. She was the only one fearless enough to challenge and stop him in his tracks. Everyone in the village respected my grandmother as the Queen of the village. Not only music bands emanated from her place, but also the main masquerade band of the time "Morning Bell" was her creation. Her husband, my grandfather, Charles Theroulde was also a musician and the town's fiddler plus he had his own band of horns and strings. So, this was the environment surrounding my grand-mother's home. For me she was the first female activist in pan and culture.

Researcher Salah: Ok, what happened when you went abroad?

Winston De Souza: Well I went in the army and had to adjust to the new life... around the seventies is when we decided to put a steelband together and we founded Mangrove in England. It became a home for lots of Trinidadians who played pan before. It also included some of the original members of TASPO, Philmore "Boots" Davidson, also Forsyth, Zig, Sterling Betancourt was around but never really involved with Mangrove there were also a lot of people from Tunapuna who were part of the scenarios at those time including Leslie Palmer, he was one of the founders of the Notting Hill carnival.

The similarities of development In England are clear, it is the same method of development in North America with Trinidadians bringing their pan and culture and getting involved. Establishing themselves, their groups, and their events.

Researcher Salah: Since steelpan tuning is still an oral tradition, do you think enough is done to preserve and further develop the art form?

Winston De Souza: No, because we still doing it the old-time way...we get a drum, we sink it...whereas other countries they have factories...automation, machines to sink the drum etc... We should have been doing all of this long time because this is our instrument.

Researcher Salah: How can the pan tuners expand their development and outreach?

Winston De Souza: They should have schools teaching the younger people how to tune and make pans... Now, before all over the world, it used to have Trinidadians there to teach and show them how to do it. Today they don't need us anymore because they are now training their own people to do it and that is what we should be doing here.

The conversation with Winston continued with him filling in the blanks and giving his descriptive version of affairs. After getting an exhaustive amount of information. I thanked him and returned to my home higher up in the village. This interview concluded the series of interviews in Trinidad and I began to prepare for my return trip to Canada.

Appendix B16. Email Interviews with Andy Narell, January 29; January 31, 2020

For my next interview, I would have to use some form of social media, because, it became impossible to meet in person with some individuals. I interviewed Trinidadians, in Trinidad, and I previously interviewed non-Trinidadians. The following is an interview using emails. This was American born Andy Narell, he is today a world-renowned steelpan player, composer, arranger, educator and recording artist. Andy has taken the steelpan to many parts of the world. He continues to contribute to steelpan development through the outlets of his live performances. He works with an array of ensembles of his choice. He also participates in steelpan workshops internationally. He is also a frequent visitor to Trinidad and a participant in the steelpan activities. He has had a long and colorful history with Trinidad from the time he was introduced to the pan culture by his father Murray Narell. However, for this interview with Andy, I was more interested in knowing about his father. I had read some information on Murray Narell and his works in steelpan development with Trinidad's legendary pan-tuner Ellie Mannette. I had first met Andy Narell way back in the mid-nineties. It was 1995, I had recently graduated with a BFA from Concordia University with my pans in a jazz specialization program. That summer, Bert Boldon, one of Montreal's steelpan pioneers, and uncle of famed athlete Ato Boldon called me. Bert and I have been friends for a while in Montreal. He told me that Andy Narell was booked as part of the Montreal International Jazz Festival, and he had a couple complimentary tickets from Andy. My wife Adiyah and I gladly accepted and went to the concert with Boldon. It was a solo steelpan concert, so it was interesting to see how Andy would navigate himself through this concert. The choice of venue was a church-like building with ideal acoustics for pan. After the event we met with and

congratulated Andy and began a friendly relationship. He was excited to know that I had an active family steelpan group. Two-years later, my family group would be featured for a four-day event at the 1997 Montreal International Jazz Festival. (Appendix A26). I met Andy many times after that in Montreal and Trinidad. We invited him to our Montreal International Steelpan festival in 2013, where he was the featured performer. But because of scheduling difficulties Andy and I agreed that I should send him the questions and he would respond. The correspondence format would be email. I wanted to know what motivated his father Murray Narell to become the type of steelpan activist that he became. I was also interested to know whether he had ever met with Pete Seeger and if there was any relationship regarding the steelpan. The following are some of the questions.

I do not think your father knew what his sons would turn out to be in the pan world, especially you. My topic is about steelpan development and a couple of my questions would be. What was the motivation that pushed your father to become the type of steelpan activist that he was? Did he ever encounter Pete Seeger on this steelpan topic? Any memorabilia pictures with your Dad and his children, and or with Ellie Mannette would also be, welcomed. Listen Andy, anything you send me would be fine. (Salah Wilson Email to Andy Narell January 29, 2020)

Andy responded with a detail account of his father's journey in life. From being born in New York to being raised on a farm in Connecticut. He met his wife and mother of Andy at Columbia Teachers College, a graduate school in NYC. But, he subsequently became a communist and was blackballed by the government, hampering chances of good employment. He was able to land the types of jobs that dealt with dealing with gangs and gang-warfare evidence of his first job in Harlem and subsequent social worker jobs in the Lower East Side. These activities sparked his interest in disadvantaged and challenged kids and set him on a path of that type of activism. In his search for ways and means to promote this activity, by chance, he met someone who could make and play steelpans.

Rupert Sterling was this person, a university student from Antigua. A relationship happened with Murray and Rupert resulting in the development of steelpan activities. This attracted lots of people and resulted in the launching of some twenty steelband groups in a year and a half. This type of activity continued with their presentation of the first steelpan festival in 1962. Andy explained that there were two competitions one for the professionals inclusive of Kim Loy Wong, Rupert Sterling, Tommy Rey, and others. There was also the amateur competition to accommodate the younger and less experienced. Andy himself was a lead pan player with the Whitestone Drummers (Steel Bandits). (Appendix A35). He gave a response to his father's motivation for his activism in steelpan.

My father saw the enormous potential of steel band music as a social force, even before he knew the story behind it. He didn't know when he started the program that the pan had been created by youth gangs - the same demographic that he was working with. He also didn't know that women had been excluded in Trinidad and that the girls had formed their own bands in the 50's. So he unknowingly repeated history by forming all girl bands at the Edgies. You can hear that (he was unaware) in his introduction of the Jamaica Queens, the first all-girl band in the USA. He subsequently went to Trinidad (1963), fell right into the golden age of steel band music, met Ellie Mannette, Tony Williams, Bertie Marshall, Rudolph Charles, etc. and saw how the gangs had transformed themselves into disciplined orchestras, how pan was breaking down barriers of race and class. He became convinced that steel bands could be a revolutionary force in America, and envisioned steel bands everywhere - in schools and community centers all over the country. He did his master's thesis for social work school on his work with steel bands and gangs. (Narell, Andy. Email to Salah Wilson January 31, 2020) (Appendix A35)

Having followed the exploits of Pete Seeger with his travels to Trinidad in the fifties and the subsequent developments in pan, I wondered about the similarities with Murray Narell and Pete Seeger. Andy's response answered that question.

He did know Pete Seeger and was well aware of his role in bringing Kim Loy Wong to the USA, and of the book they did together. I remember when he got Seeger to perform at the Edgies for the kids. I met him that night. My father was by this time a vehement anti-communist, having been disillusioned by the reality of the Stalinist

USSR, and had differences of opinion with Seeger, but I think the reasons that had brought them to that cause were similar - the plight of poor working people, racism, etc. (Narell, Andy. Email to Salah Wilson January 31, 2020) (Appendix A35)

The link to download some photos from the Edgies and the steel band festival follows:
https://drive.google.com/open?id=1wKvsA1-XszJxFafijAZ52obZ9d6Q2_P