JACKIE MITTOO AT HOME AND ABROAD:

THE CULTURAL AND MUSICAL NEGOTIATIONS OF A JAMAICAN

CANADIAN

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ABSTRACT

Donat Roy 'Jackie' Mittoo (1948-1990) made significant contributions to the genres of rock steady and reggae as a musician, producer and musical director of Studio One in Jamaica. He is renowned for the number of recordings that he arranged at Studio One, as well as his own instrumental recordings that featured the organ. He was also among a number of Jamaican musicians who migrated to Canada at the end of the 1960s and was active on the music scene in Toronto, as well as in the UK and the USA.

Although Mittoo's significance to the emergence and dissemination of Jamaican popular music (JPM) is acknowledged by music industry personnel, most studies focus on the big names of reggae and the theme of social protest in their music. Little attention is given to the role of session musicians such as Mittoo and the instrumental recordings that they created. This study attempts to redress this oversight; it will offer the first in-depth account of the career and instrumental recordings of Jackie Mittoo.

This dissertation is in two parts. The first section presents a career biography which situates Mittoo's role within the collective experience of Jamaican session musicians at home in Jamaica, and abroad in the centers of JPM production in Canada, the UK, and the USA. In part two of this dissertation, I outline four strategies that he used in his compositions—straight covers, covers with multiple sources, paraphrases, and remixes— and discuss the complexities associated with his body of work.

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CHAPTER 1: CULTURAL NEGOTIATIONS

One of Jamaica's famous products is its music. Most would assume that the international fame of reggae is attributable to Bob Marley, and that would be partly correct. However, behind this great man there existed a recording industry that was manned by many categories of workers. Jamaica's recording industry workers created the music that enabled a number of singers to sail to international stardom. This dissertation explores the career and music of a session musician who was significant to Jamaica's recording industry: Donat Roy "Jackie" Mittoo (1948–1990). Mittoo made major contributions to the genres of rock steady and reggae as a musician, arranger, and musical director at Studio One, which was one of the pioneer recording studios of popular music in Jamaica. He was also active in Jamaican popular music scenes in Canada, the UK and the USA.

Many singers and musicians have laid claim to originating genres of Jamaican popular music (hereafter called JPM). However, it has been Mittoo's peers, as well as reggae journalists and historians, who have acclaimed his work and his music. A number of Jamaican singers and musicians have applauded Mittoo as a "hit maker" who was central to their success in the music business. They include Ken Boothe (Foster 1999, 26), Lloyd "Matador" Daley (Katz 2012, 133), Earl "Little Roy" Lowe (Larkin 1998, 172), Lloyd "Bread" McDonald (Katz 2012, 156), Sugar Minott (Katz 2012, 334), Dawn Penn (Barrow and Dalton 1997, 102; Taylor 2012), the Silvertones (Larkin 1998, 269), Michael "Mikey General" Taylor (Larkin 1998, 197), and Willi Williams (Van Pelt 2003), among others. Many instrumentalists have also paid homage to Mittoo for being their influence and mentor, such

as Sly Dunbar (Potash 1997, 101-102), Wycliffe "Steely" Johnson and Cleveland "Clevie" Brown (Chang and Chen 1998, 194; Potash 1997, 197; Katz 2012, 318), Leroy Sibbles (Dooley), and Ras Michael (Larkin 1998, 239), among others.

Musicians also recognize the educational value of Mittoo's work, such as Julian Marley, a son of Bob Marley. In response to the question "If you could change one thing, anything, about the music business, what would it be and why?" Julian stated:

> What I'd really love, and what we really need, is . . . I would open a school inna Jamaica, or anywhere in the world, and we're going to be learning Jackie Mittoo, because everyone needs to learn this stuff. Even if I play Jackie Mittoo to someone, it blows their brains. They can't believe the chords and the phrases, and I say whoa, cuz I know this stuff when I was like high as my knee. (Marley qtd. in Quattro)

Marley's endorsement is not isolated. Based on the testimony of many, Mittoo is significant to the history of Jamaican music for his role as a collaborator, a hit maker, an influence, and his music continues to be a resource for music making.[1]

Reggae historians and journalists frequently name Mittoo as a major figure in the evolution of JPM. For example, In *Roots, Rock, Reggae: An Oral History of Reggae Music From Ska to Dancehall,* Chuck Foster describes Mittoo as "one of the musicians who helped lay the foundation . . . Jackie Mittoo not only can be heard in the background of other artists' records and featured on countless Coxsone version sides, he also issued many keyboard albums that are as fully reggae as any vocal or dub" (Foster 1999: 226-7).[2] Foster notes the quantity of Mittoo's recordings and brings to our attention an important point: a large number of recordings is essential to genre creation; one song does not create a genre.

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[1] This is evident on *Jamrid.com*, a website and database of the source of riddims that are used in dancehall music. This website shows how frequently Mittoo's music has been used in dancehall riddims.
[2] Clement "Coxsone" Dodd was the owner of Studio One.

The body of work required to establish a genre is often overlooked in JPM scholarship; however, it is mentioned by ethnomusicologist Robert Witmer:

> A survey of the popular music emanating from Kingston's recording studios in the brief period 1962–1970 reveals an incredible creative outburst, and the establishment in quick succession of three distinct popular music styles (ska, rock steady, and reggae), the features of which have helped shape and inform Jamaican popular music to the present . . . there is documentary evidence, via records, that Kingston's musicians were, in fact, creating and maintaining styles of their own. (Witmer 1987: 18)

Witmer mentions the *maintenance* of styles, which requires the recording of a body of work, not just a few songs. Colleagues of Mittoo attest that he had to record as many as 12 songs per day and 5 new rhythms per week (Walters 2003; Veal 2007: 97). In addition, Mittoo's body of work included his own instrumental recordings produced in Jamaica, Canada, the UK and the USA. Thus it was his collaborative role in the creation of the body of work that became rock steady and reggae, as well as his role in the dissemination of JPM, that makes him significant in JPM history. Research on his career and music is therefore necessary to gain a greater understanding of JPM. The intention of this study is to provide an evaluation and analysis of Mittoo's career and music that will lay the foundation for others to continue the study of his work.

<u>Research Questions</u>

This study looks at Mittoo's career choices and creative strategies in response to the cultural constraints of Jamaican society, and as an immigrant in a foreign land. My thesis is that the strategies that Mittoo employed in his career arose out of attitudes formed during his early social development. My research was guided by the following questions:

- What were the early influences in Mittoo's social development?

- What were the challenges faced by session musicians during the emergent period of the JPM recording industry?

- Which strategies did Mittoo employ in his career in response to these challenges?

- Which strategies facilitated Mittoo's productivity as an arranger?

I locate the origins of Mittoo's social strategies in his family, early childhood, and adolescent experiences. There are similarities in the strategies that Mittoo employed in his early career at home in Jamaica and abroad. The strategies include:

His sense of self-agency; he was focused on his craft and he put music first.

His interpersonal skills; he would immerse himself in the community of musicians.

He was not afraid of drastic change; he could live with ambiguities.

He chose to move forward rather than stay in one place and stagnate.

Music making as a social behaviour; he used music to reach out to others and gain acceptance.

I trace the manifestation of these strategies in his career biography in Part One of this dissertation.

I also posit that a characteristic of Mittoo's music is his reuse of existing music, which he employed in his arrangements in response to a very product-oriented industry. This will be discussed further in Part Two of this dissertation, where I argue that examining his reuse of existing music is a necessary first step in understanding his body of work. The research questions that pertain to Part Two are:

- How did he reuse existing music in his instrumentals?

- Which approaches to composing and arranging did Mittoo employ in response to a very product-oriented industry?

Relevance of This Study

The names of many musicians are mentioned in JPM literature, but few are chosen as the subject of monographs and other extensive academic work. A survey of John Gray's bibliographic guide of JPM (2011) reveals numerous monographs, dissertations and theses on Bob Marley and one MA thesis on Peter Tosh—the big names of reggae.[3] However, literature on Jamaican session musicians is limited to interviews, short articles, or one chapter of a thesis.[4] In order to advance the knowledge of JPM, it is necessary to go beyond the more visible figures in its history. This dissertation is therefore a path-breaker, as a study of the career and music of Mittoo—a studio musician—adds to our knowledge and understanding of the constraints and motivations of one category of musicians in Jamaica's recording industry.

Scholarly Position

This dissertation builds on existing academic scholarship on the early history of JPM, which includes the period before ska, rock steady, and reggae. Garth White (1982, 1984, 1998) writes on the emergence of sound systems and the genesis of ska, while Robert Witmer (1987, 1989) describes the social significance of the various popular music scenes in Kingston in the 1950s. Daniel Neely (2007, 2008) examines the history and social significance of mento. Len McCarthy (2007) provides an overview of the socio-cultural and environmental factors that impacted music production in Jamaica from 1920–1980. Dennis Howard (2009)

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[3] John Gray's bibliographic study titled *Jamaican Popular Music from Mento to Dance Hall Reggae: a Bibliographic Guide* (2011) catalogues an impressive 3472 writings on JPM which demonstrate the growth of scholarship on JPM. His data is divided into four broad sections: "cultural history and the arts," "popular music in Jamaica," "Jamaican music abroad," and concludes with "biographical and critical studies." The biographical section has subdivisions for academic studies and popular literature including dissertations and theses, journals, books, book sections, biographical dictionaries, scores and song collections, features and interviews, articles, newspaper articles, obituaries, and video recordings. Based on Gray's bibliographic guide, only Bob Marley, Lee "Scratch" Perry, Dennis Brown, Peter Tosh, and Shaggy have been the subjects of published book-length biographies. There are also biographies published on Sugar Minott (Lesser 2011) and Don Drummond (Augustyn 2013).

[4] The MA thesis of Carbone Williams (2007) discusses hand drummers in JPM.

discusses the impact of the absence of copyright laws during the emergent period of JPM and the efforts to institute these laws. This dissertation provides another view of the early history of JPM through my investigation of the career trajectory and music of a child prodigy who became active during the emergent period of ska.

This study is also situated among the body of popular and academic literature on the culture of recording studios and their session musicians. Sociologist Robert Faulkner explores the culture and career trajectories of A-list musicians in his monograph titled *Hollywood Studio Musicians: Their Work and Careers in the Recording Industry* (Faulkner 1971).[5] This was published in the same year as David Morse's monograph on Motown Records, a company that has received much attention as the subject of research. Ethnomusicologist Rob Bowman's scholarship on Stax Records includes a history of the Memphis Record Company (Bowman 1997), as well as a musicological analysis of the music produced in that studio (Bowman 1995). Jennifer Pierce (1998) and more recently Charles Hughes (2012) explore the culture of session musicians in Nashville; however, their approaches are very different. Pierce's monograph titled *Playin' Around: The Lives and Careers of Famous Session Musicians* is a biographic anthology of twelve studio musicians who discuss their training and career trajectory. Hughes' Ph.D. dissertation titled "'Country-Soul': Race and the Recording Industry in the U.S. South, 1960–1980" (2012) investigates integration among black and white musicians in what he calls the Nashville "triangle studios."

Scholarship on the culture of recording studios outside the United States include Ian Condry's (1999) discussion of popular music recording in Japan, Frederick Moehn's (2001)

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[5] Faulkner uses historical research methods as well as ethnography and draws on Howard Becker's theory of art worlds—that is the creation of culture as a response to social tensions—to describe the work experiences of A-list musicians in Hollywood.

study of studios in Brazil, and Andy Hicken's (2010) investigation of recording studios in Indonesia. This dissertation will provide another perspective on the culture of workers involved in an emergent recording industry, within a developing country. This study will also provide insight into the conflicts and challenges of session musicians in Jamaica's recording industry, thereby presenting a unique contribution to the body of academic literature on recording studios and session musicians.[6]

This study will also find a place among literature on the career and music of organists. Organists are further classified according to genre; hence there are classical, church, rock, R&B, and jazz organists. The performing style and skill set of each category of organist is different. Research on the work of classical and church organists is well represented in academic literature; however studies on the work of organists in popular music genres, such as reggae, have less representation. The term "reggae organist" is currently used in job ads to identify the keyboard player in a reggae band; the category seems warranted because the skill set of a reggae organist and his function within a band differs from organists in other genres.

This study of strategies and approaches used in Mittoo's instrumental arrangements also expands the literature on JPM arrangements. Previous writings on JPM arrangements include Luke Ehlrich's paper on reggae band arrangements (1982) and Robert Witmer's discussion of the elements of reggae and ska (1981, 1986). Michael Veal's monograph on dub (2007) includes an analysis of the dub remix of one of Mittoo's instrumental recordings. Keith McCuaig's MA thesis on Canadian reggae fusion examines one of Mittoo's instrumental recordings (2013). This study expands the literature on reggae arrangements by

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[6] A new publication that provides insight into the music industry through the autobiography of a studio musician is *The Amazing Jimmi Mayes: Sideman to the Stars* by Jimmi Mayes and V.C. Speek (2013). There is also a biography on James Jamerson (Licks 1989) and an autobiography by Hal Blaine (2010).

outlining approaches to composing and arranging that developed in response to the culture of the recording industry in Jamaica and as a result of the circumstances of the life of one man.

Personal Position

During a discussion with my mentor, Prof. Bob Witmer, on possible dissertation topics, I expressed an interest in the life histories of musicians. He brought to my attention a CD titled *Jamaica to Toronto: Soul Funk and Reggae 1967–1974* and suggested that I look at one of the Jamaican musicians on the CD who also lived in Canada. I was drawn to Jackie Mittoo because he was the only Jamaican Canadian keyboard player featured on the CD. I felt confident in examining Mittoo's music because his instrument was the organ/keyboard, which is similar to my main instrument, the piano. I grew up around the piano at home in St. Andrew, Jamaica. I started lessons officially at age five. My progress in learning to play the piano was earmarked by yearly piano and theory exams with the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music and the Associated Board of the Trinity College of Music. The Licentiate of the Royal Schools of Music (LRSM) is the highest level of classical piano training that could be attained in Jamaica in the 1980s. In preparation for the LRSM, I studied piano with Jean Anderson for three years, as well as harmony and history with Tom Murray of the British Council in Jamaica. In 1989, I completed the LRSM (teaching division). Subsequently, I also completed the post-graduate teaching diploma in secondary education (music) at Mico Teachers' College with honours.

Although I was familiar with Mittoo's music, I must admit that I knew nothing of him prior to starting this research six years ago. However, I was impressed with the body of work that he created during his short lifetime and the accolades that so many of his colleagues in

the music industry gave to him. I was curious about his career trajectory as a pianist, which seemed so very different from my own. My work in the music field has been in education.[7] My performing gigs have mainly been playing for weddings, funerals, church services, choirs, as an accompanist at music competitions, and for a few lunch hour concerts. I developed a deep interest in the history of JPM because of my work with the Tourism Product Development Company (TPDco) in Jamaica. I was commissioned by TPDco to develop and deliver a Jamaican music history curriculum for the purpose of educating tourism workers about Jamaica's traditional and popular music. I facilitated the TPDco music seminars for three years. During these seminars I met many of the men who actually worked with sound systems in the 1950s; therefore many of these seminars were like walks down memory lane for some of the participants. I learned a lot from them about the history of sound systems. One of the comments that would be invariably made at the end of each seminar was that the content of my presentations should be taught in Jamaican schools. I was convinced and motivated by the sincerity of these remarks, and since then I have assiduously worked on developing Jamaican music history content to assist teachers.[8] In fact, it was my desire to learn more about the *process* of researching music history and ethnomusicology that brought me to York University in 2006.

I perceived that there would be much to learn about Jamaican culture and reggae arrangements through an exploration of Mittoo's music, which could benefit those who desire

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[7] I was employed as a piano and music instructor at Northern Caribbean University for a few years. I have also taught in many of the teacher-training colleges including Church Teachers' College, Mico Teachers' College, and Moneague Teachers' College. I have worked in a number of high schools and prep schools where I taught from pre-kindergarten to grade 9.

[8] My first publication (textbook) that integrated Jamaican music history with general music content was *Music for Big Ants and Little Ants* (1998) followed by the *Caribbean Integrated Music* series (2002, 2004). The fourth text was *I Want To Teach Music: Methods, Materials, and Management for Kindergarten and Elementary Teachers* (2004); it has been used in some teacher's colleges in Jamaica.

to learn more about JPM. Therefore my initial objective was to analyze his music, which I present in Part Two of this dissertation. However, there were so many contradictions and so much misinformation on his career in popular and academic literature that I felt compelled to look more closely at the details of his life. Thus his career biography became a significant part of this dissertation.

Research on Mittoo's career was not a simple task, as there are no Mittoo fonds in any archives, hence my reliance on oral history. In this fieldwork, my position was that of an outsider to his family and my challenge was gaining access to his relatives, which was time consuming. Fortunately, most of the persons I approached were willing to share their memories with the hope that their beloved father, son, lover, friend and or colleague would finally receive the credit and attention he is due. It is my hope that this version of the story of Jackie Mittoo's career and music will encourage discussions that are long overdue.

Methodology

Mittoo's career in the recording industry started at Studio One. To discern the culture of session musicians in JPM from 1957–1970, I examined scholarly literature, popular literature, liner notes, and discographies to identify themes, trends, issues, links, and influences among instrumentalists involved in the production of JPM. The narratives by and about singers, studio musicians, and producers provided insight into the culture of the Jamaican recording industry from the late 1950s to the early 1990s in Jamaica and Toronto. To ensure that I was thorough and that I did not take details for granted, I contested rather than repeated well used anecdotes and scrutinized details that did not fit timelines. I also used social media to garner information on Mittoo. I checked the comments on all of Mittoo's

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instrumental recordings on YouTube.[9] I also used Facebook extensively to make contact with

his high school contemporaries and to approach significant persons in his life, as I had no

other way of contacting his former associates, friends and family. Facebook was helpful in

making contact with significant persons in Mittoo's life; however, it took a long time for most

to respond.

Fieldwork in Jamaica included visiting Mittoo's former residence in Harbour View. I

met persons in the neighbourhood who provided information on the history of the area, which

they described as an artists' commune. This trip resulted in connecting with persons who were

significant in Mittoo's life during his adolescence in the 1960s and in the late 1980s when he

returned to board in Harbour View for a short time.

Data on Mittoo's career biography was garnered partly through oral history.

Interviews provided insights into the events and people who influenced Mittoo's musical

development. Telephone interviews, meetings, and emails with significant persons from each

stage of Mittoo's life helped me to create a profile of his early childhood and his career. My

interviews were semi-structured—there were no questionnaires. My opening question was

usually about the interviewees' interaction with Mittoo and the conversation would progress

from that point. The majority of these interviews were on the phone and others were in

person. In some instances I employed extensive note taking during the interviews; in other

instances the interviews were recorded. The notes and transcriptions often revealed gaps in

the information, which required follow-up calls to clarify ambiguities.

I spoke to members of Mittoo's family and those with whom he had significant

relationships, including his mother, Dorothy Mittoo-Walker; his ex-wife, Barbara Tourigny;

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[9] This was tedious but it proved fruitful when I found a comment from one of his childhood friends and I was able to interview him.

his first-born son, Marlon Mittoo; his eldest daughter, Marcia Mittoo, and her mother,

Merlene Finikin. Emails with his youngest son, Joel Simpson, followed by conversations with

Joel's mother, Marlene Simpson, provided important details concerning Mittoo's time in the

UK. Friends and associates from Mittoo's childhood and adolescence who could be located

and interviewed included: Godfrey McLean, Melva Harris, Fredlocks Elliot, Donald

Davidson, Ernie Smith, and Arnold Bertram. They were able to provide insight into Mittoo's

early childhood, and gave accounts of his presence at the two high schools that he attended:

York Castle High and Kingston College. Conversations with Noel Alphonso and Carol Dodd

were insightful with regards to details of Mittoo's work life at Studio One.[10] Colleagues from

Toronto such as Howard Cable, Jay Douglas, and Rick Wilkins were able to comment on his

work in Canada. Two of his Canadian associates, Michael Williams, a broadcaster, and Aston

Barned, a vinyl collector, also provided insight into his time in Canada. Maxine Stowe

answered questions to clarify details on his work in Miami in the late 1980s.[11] Each person

presented a unique perspective on different periods of his life. Their input helped me to

develop a greater appreciation of Mittoo's personality, his life as a studio musician, and a

transnational musician. Also, simply speaking to persons of Mittoo's generation was

informative; they were able to provide insight into attitudes and values of that generation and

point me in directions that I would not have considered.

Historical research methods provided context for the interview process. This involved

a genealogical search at the Registrar General's Department in Jamaica and archival research

in a number of historic periodicals and newspapers such as the *Daily Gleaner* (1834–present).

A survey of the *Daily Gleaner* led to a number of discoveries about Jackie Mittoo's family

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[10] Noel is the son of Roland Alphonso, and Carol is the daughter of Coxsone Dodd.
[11] Maxine was the manager and partner of the late Sugar Minott.

background and was essential in order to gain insight into pre-independent Jamaica. [12]. I also collected and collated information already published on Mittoo and his music from a number of periodicals, newspapers and scholarly publications. Becoming knowledgeable about Mittoo's genealogy, the music and culture of that era, as well as the history of the JPM industry was necessary to be able to discern when further questions were needed in interviews. I am an outsider to the family and to personnel in the JPM recording industry; therefore this knowledge was especially important in order to gain the confidence of some of the interviewees, and to be in a position of reciprocation in conversations.

The primary resource that made the study of Mittoo's music possible was his recordings. I identified characteristic elements in his compositions by analyzing a representative sample of his recorded output. My approach to analyzing this non-scored music included close listening and transcription. I was also engaged in a number of activities over the years to gain further insight into his music. I listened extensively to music from the 1950s and 1960s. I took a course in jazz studies at York University. I played keyboard bass and the Hammond organ in a church band for two years; this provided some experiential knowledge of playing within a band. I also incorporated Mittoo's music into lessons for the group piano classes that I taught at York University.[13] Although this was not the same as directing a band, it demonstrated the efficiency of division of labour in a band. Using riffs in an arrangement was effective when working with a group of persons with mixed musical abilities.

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[12] Specifically, looking at the microfilm of past issues of the *Daily Gleaner*.
[13] Teaching Mittoo's music to the piano class helped me to understand some of the narratives of musicians who worked with Mittoo. The song that was most popular with the students was "Drum Song."

Organization of the Dissertation

This dissertation has two parts. Part One examines Mittoo's career and Part Two looks at his music. After the introduction in chapter one, the second chapter in Part One presents an explanation of the key concepts that are referenced in this study: biography, *habitus*, metaphors in music, and borrowing. These concepts undergird my discussion of Mittoo's career and music. Chapter Three presents a review of literature related to Jackie Mittoo. The purpose of this chapter is to briefly assess existing knowledge about Mittoo and his work in scholarly and popular literature. In Chapter Four I discuss social factors that had an effect on Jamaican musical culture in the 1950s and 1960s.

Chapter Five consolidates and contests narratives about Mittoo in popular literature with regards to basic details of his life and his career. This chapter is divided into two parts: "Jackie at Home," which examines his formative years from 1948–1968, and "Jackie Abroad," which looks at his career trajectory after Studio One from 1968–1990 Each section starts with quotations by and about Mittoo, which I annotate with a 'thick description' (Geertz 1973a). My aim is to place the events of his life in cultural context, which illuminates many aspects of Jamaican culture and history. Chapter Six summarizes my findings on the strategies Mittoo implemented in his career.

The introduction of Part Two, Chapter Seven, outlines the scope, aim, and methodology that I used in the analysis of Mittoo's instrumental recordings. Chapter Eight presents a second review of literature, which is relevant to the focus of Part Two; I discuss scholarship on borrowing. Chapter Nine outlines the general characteristics of Mittoo's compositions and recordings. This information was garnered from an exploratory analysis of fifty of his instrumental recordings. I present findings on the instrumental force, structure,

time feel, tempo, melody, articulation, and texture of his arrangements. I then comment on his recording output and obstacles to creating a discography for his body of work. I also examine the reception of his music based on the comments of his fans in Chapter Nine.

Chapter Ten presents analyses of two straight covers from two types of sources; the first is from an instrumental recording and the second is from a song. The layers of the straight covers are compared with their sources to reveal how they were modified. In this and subsequent chapters I discuss the titles of covers that are retained, versus those that are renamed. Chapter Eleven explores covers that were created from multiple sources. I describe the placement of borrowed music in these covers as being simultaneous, sequential, or a combination of both. Chapter Twelve presents two types of paraphrases. The first is a declared paraphrase, which is similar to the format of a jazz paraphrase. The second type of paraphrase is undeclared. These two types of paraphrases are also indicative of two ways that recordings may be related to each other within tune families in JPM. In Chapter Thirteen I examine the origins of "Drum Song" and discuss the approaches taken to remix this instrumental recording. I show how the remixes and versions of "Drum Song" not only represent Mittoo's creative efforts, but they carry a personal narrative; they map various points in his life's journey. Chapter Fourteen summarizes my findings with regards to the strategies Mittoo used in composing and arranging straight covers, covers with multiple sources, paraphrases, and remixes.

CHAPTER 2: DEFINITION OF TERMS
Biographies, Metaphors in Music Making, Habitus, Borrowing

Biographies

The biographical section of this dissertation is informed by guidelines outlined by biographer Hermione Lee in *Biography: A Very Short Introduction* (2009) and ethnomusicologist Bruno Nettl in *The Study of Ethnomusicology: Thirty-One Issues and Concepts* (2005). Lee discusses general issues involved in writing life stories, and Nettl discusses approaches to the study of the individual that are specific to the field of ethnomusicology. Lee outlines the process involved in writing life stories and challenges common assumptions about representation, scope, and the conceptual framework of biographies; these topics are also addressed by Nettl as it relates to the general field of ethnomusicology.

Lee challenges the belief that a biographer needs to be related to, or demonstrate fealty to, the subject of the biography. This invokes the issue of representation and the question "who has the right to speak on this subject?" She asserts that the researcher does not have to be related to the subject or be a fan of the subject and suggests that the passion that drives the research may be for the historical period, rather than adoration for the individual (Lee 2009: 12).[1] Furthermore, Lee advises that "witnesses, friends and enemies have their own agendas, or misremember events or embroider their anecdotes over the years. Biographers have to treat

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[1] Lee provides an example which clarifies this crucial point:

> Biographers are often asked whether they like or love their subjects. If you are writing a biography of Hitler or Stalin or Attila the Hun, this is evidently not likely to be the case. Yet there will always be some emotion. The passion may be for the historical period or for the victims of the subject. The driving energy for the book may come from loathing or fear, a need to understand some monstrous career, or a revisionary desire to set the record straight. Over-involvement, either way, can be counterproductive. Biographies written out of uncritical adulation can be as distorted as those that are motivated by punitive or revengeful motives . . . There must be some involvement, but there must also be detachment. (Lee 2009: 12-13)

all testimony with skepticism and care . . . sometimes the truth about a person's life cannot be

accessed" (Lee 2009: 6–7). Lee's discussion on representation is similar to the ever present

debate surrounding insider and outsider positions in ethnomusicology, for which Nettl

discusses the question "should African music only be studied by Africans?" (Nettl 2005:154).

Nettl weighs the merits of insider and outsider perspectives and questions if anyone is ever

really an insider. He concludes with the advice that "the best approach is to reconcile one's

self to being an outsider, providing a limited if unique view. In the end, this is our proper role"

(Nettl 2005:159-160).

      Scope and limitations are also issues in general and ethnomusicological biographies.

Lee states that the scope of biographies varies either by choice or necessity. Many biographies

"choose to dwell on certain key moments in a life . . . total coverage is not an invariable rule"

(Lee 2009: 8).[2] She also acknowledges that a life story is likely to be limited by the data

available on the individual. Hence writers can only claim to present one version of the life

story of the subject: "there is no such thing as a definitive biography" (Lee 2009: 18).[3] Nettl

takes a slightly different stance; he asserts that the ethnomusicological biography has certain

qualities:

> There are of course many ways in which individuals can be sketched so as to
> shed light on their culture; biography is only one. But it's the way in which
> such biographies related individual musicians to their culture and help

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[2] Lee also considers censorship, disclosure, and the current notion that nothing should be omitted or concealed. She notes that "even a biography that appears to be omitting nothing . . . has emerged from a process of choices" (Lee 2009: 10). While acknowledging that the censure of sexual matters is usually regarded as hypocrisy, allowances are made for subjects with still-living relatives.

[3] Lee reiterates this point several times throughout the text:

> For all biography's efforts to place the fish in the stream, to provide detailed material, texture, cultural contextualizing, and social particularity, to go as far as it can in the interpretation of character, there will always, also, be areas of obscurity and absence. Biographers may—and probably ought to — end their work still feeling that there were many things they never discovered. (Lee 2009: 138)

She stresses that "there are no rules for telling a life story. But there are some inevitable conventions . . . the biography will give the truest answer to the question: what was she, or he, like?" (Lee 2009: 124).

provide an understanding of musical culture as a whole that distinguishes them as ethnomusicology. (Nettl 2005: 174)

Nettl discusses the typical content of an ethnomusicological biography. He asserts that the biography is likely to fall into stages that reflect changes in culture. The study should compare the individual's experiences with the norms of his contemporaries; he also advises that the reception of the individual should be considered. Nettl suggests that an ethnomusicological biography should address the following concerns:

> About composers in a society, ethnomusicologists would ask such questions as: What kind of composers are there? Are they all alike in background, training and purpose? Are there types? What are their typical careers? (Nettl 2005: 174)

These questions perform a function which Hermione Lee calls "putting the fish in the stream" (Lee 2009: 138).

Lee also states that the biography should have a conceptual framework; this is necessary because "biography is an investigation of identity" (15):

> Any biographer must give some thought, even if not explicitly, to the relation of nature and nurture in the formation of self, and to the negotiation between interior existence and the self's public performance . . . in the writing of a life-story, some idea of how human beings function and what identity consists of is bound to emerge, though more often than not in an unsystematic or unexamined way . . . Biography is bound to reflect changing and conflicting concepts about what makes a self, what it consists of, how it expresses itself. The idea that there is such a thing as an innate essential nature often vies in biographical narrative with the idea that the self is formed by accidents, contingencies, education, and environment. (Lee 2009: 15–16)

Ideas about the formation of "the self" will influence what is highlighted in the biography, since one objective of the research is to answer the question "how did he get this way?" Based on traditional and current theories of identity, the answer to this question is complex.[4]

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[4] See Appendix A for a chart that outlines four identity theories.

Metaphors in Music Making

Timothy Rice posits that music making usually has a metaphoric significance. He argues that music, or a musical activity, may be functioning as an 'art object'—a text or object; an 'emotional expression'—"the surface manifestation of inner emotions," such as happiness, rage, nostalgia, sorrow, or contentment; a 'social behaviour'—a demonstration of the establishment of a type of relationship, such as intimacy; or as a commodity—a commercial item (Rice 2001: 24). He also contends that the metaphors are always present whenever people gather to make music and at times more than one metaphor is simultaneously at play (24). I make reference to music making as a social behavior in my discussion of Mittoo's career.

Habitus

Pierre Bourdieu's social theory of *habitus* is widely used in the humanities as a framework to explicate a variety of social interactions and phenomena.[5] The term *habitus,* which has its origins with Aristotle, is used to describe *a way of being* that is unconsciously manifested in one's behavior when interacting with others.[6] The tenets of Bourdieu's social theory resonate with the data on Mittoo's social interactions in the centers of JPM production and with the aim of this study, which is to understand how Mittoo navigated his career in the centers of JPM production.

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[5] Henderikus Stam comments on how extensively the term *habitus* is referenced:
> Contemporary appropriations of the concept have expanded, and one might argue diluted, the original import of the term. Applied widely from the "*habitus* of hygiene," the "erotic *habitus*," "the military *habitus*," to the "dot-com *habitus*," contemporary usage has ensured that it has lost some of its theoretical force." (Stam 2009: 708)

[6] I refer to Bourdieu's definition of *habitus* from the following writings: "The Genesis of *Habitus* and of Field" (1985), "Vive la Crise!: For Heterodoxy in Social Science" (1988) and *In Other Words: Essays Towards a Reflexive Sociology* (1990). Additionally, Bourdieu has revisited the definition of *habitus* in a number of his writings (Bourdieu 1985: 13; 1988: 786 fn. 14; 1990, p. 77).Vilhjálmsdóttir and Arnkelsson also use the phrase "social way of being" to describe *habitus* (Vilhjálmsdóttir and Arnkelsson 2013: 581).

There are three terms that are usually present in Bourdieu's definitions of *habitus*: agent, disposition, possessions. My interpretation of these terms is outlined in the chart below (fig. 1.1).

Fig. 1.1   Three Elements of *Habitus*

Habitus has . . .	It is . . .
(1) an acting agent:	the way of being of an individual, a collective, or an institution.
(2) systems of disposition :	a way of being which includes one's perception, appreciation, and action.
(3) possessions:	a way of being that is based on one's cultural, economic, and social capital.

First, *habitus* is the way of being of an 'acting agent' which may be an individual or a field which includes social environments or settings, groups, communities, organizations, institutions, and scenes. The *habitus* of a field refers to the way of being of a group of persons who are interested in identifying with, and who are a part of the field; hence there are references to the "theatre" *habitus*, "music" *habitus*, and so on.[7] An individual may belong to more than one field at a time, which Chandler describes as an agent who is "'multi-socialized, multi-determined' and composed of heterogeneous schemes and stocks of habits" (Chandler 2013: 474). Thus we can speak of Mittoo's own *habitus* (based on his early familial socialization), his music *habitus* (based on his profession), and his Studio One *habitus* (based on his identity as a Skatalite).

Second, *habitus* is a 'system of disposition,' or "way of being."[8] Bourdieu states that it originates with one's family, or early caregivers, and is expressed "through durable ways of

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[7] Edgerton explains that the educated *habitus* is "more than just an instrumental view of education, it includes the desire to be educated and to identify and be identified as such." (Edgerton and Peters 2012: 306)

[8] Bourdieu posits that *habitus* operates at the level of the *unconscious:* we are not even aware of it. This is similar to Freud's psychodynamic theory of personality.

standing, speaking, walking, and thereby of feeling and thinking" (Bourdieu 1990a: 70).

Edgerton explains that in the case of a field, its system of disposition includes the norms and

rules of its members:

> [*Habitus* is] the formal and informal norms within a particular sphere of
> social activity (e.g. art, family, religion, education, politics and economy).
> Fields are characterized by their own particular regulative principles —"the
> rules of the game"—. (Edgerton 2012: 305)[9]

Bourdieu also asserts that the system of disposition is dynamic; it changes over time.[10] In the

case of the individual, the formation of *habitus* starts with the family and is subsequently shaped

by childhood experiences, education, and other significant events (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:

134). I will make reference to this aspect of *habitus* in my discussion of how Mittoo's early

childhood experiences seemed to influence how he pursued his career in the music industry.

The third feature of *habitus* is its 'possession' (Bourdieu 1985: 13). This refers to tangible

and intangible capital, of which there are three types:

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[9] Vilhjálmsdóttir and Arnkelsson emphasize that these rules are unspoken: "the field of theatre or philosophy has a given set of unspoken rules for what can be validly uttered or perceived within it" (Vilhjálmsdóttir and Arnkelsson 2013: 582).

[10] Vilhjálmsdóttir and Arnkelsson provide examples of two conditions that shape *habitus*:
> Firstly, *habitus* changes when a different social trajectory is entered, such as when moving up
> school levels. Consequently, schooling is a process of conversion for people of lower classes.
> Secondly, *habitus* can change via socio-analysis, which is a reflection upon one's social origin
> and how it has affected one's life. (Bourdieu in Vilhjálmsdóttir and Arnkelsson 2013: 583)

Edgerton suggests that an individual's system of disposition also impacts career choices:
> *Habitus* is a class-contingent set of learned dispositions (also rooted in familial socialization) that
> shapes the individual's outlook on the world, including perceptions of what is possible and preferable
> for someone in a particular social position . . . *habitus* develops in childhood as the individual comes to
> understand the availability and probability of various pathways for someone in their social position.
> (Edgerton, Roberts and Peter 2012: 304, 207)

The *habitus* of the recording studio may also be described as class contingent, hence references to uptown vs. downtown studios. The expressions 'uptown and downtown' are loaded terms that imply the presence of certain behaviors within the culture of the organization.

Mark Rimmer proposes a *musical habitus*. He argues that the theory grants an "ontogenetic perspective on individuals' music-social lives, encouraging an examination of the assemblage of dispositions, acquired largely in the early stages of life, which inform subjectivity and hence action" (Rimmer 2010: 259). It is specifically the ontogenetic orientation of Bourdieu's theory that resonates with the data I have found on Mittoo and the JPM scenes. Rimmer adds that "the concept of musical *habitus* grants the scope to recognize the historical dimension of both the field of music, the lives of socially located individuals and the relationships between them" (Rimmer 2010: 259).

- *Cultural capital*: language, manners, dress.
- *Social capital*: who you know; the extent of one's network.
- *Economic capital*: wealth, socio-economic status.

Bourdieu asserts that these three attributes, along with values and attitudes, will influence the behavior and choices of an individual, social group, or organization—the agent.[11] The decisions and actions of the agent usually support and work to preserve these three capitals. When an individual enters a new scene, the members of the scene assess the individual to determine the potential status of the individual within the scene. The members look for signs of *habitus*—also called the symbolic capital—that match the norms of the group. Everything the individual does will be noticed (as signs) and assessed to see if her or his symbolic capital (visible and perceivable way of being, attributes, values, and attitudes) is compatible with the group's *habitus*.[12]

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[11] The agent will not easily make decisions that will result in the reduction of these capitals; instead the agent (individual or field) is likely to make decisions that will affirm or increase their capital, unless they are faced with a crisis (ibid). Vilhjálmsdóttir and Arnkelsson also note that the value of an individual's cultural capital is relative to the field in which the agent is engaged:

> Cultural capital has different values in different fields. In one field, the cultural capital of knowledge in the humanities is of high value, whereas it can be of very little value in another field. (Vilhjálmsdóttir and Arnkelsson 2013: 582-3)

[12] I would like to assert that in some situations there may be flexibility, which is allowed when a person may not show all the desired symbolic capital in a social setting. For example, someone may not have the right physical attributes, but he is well connected. On the other hand some social settings are totally inflexible with regards to symbolic capital of its members, such as the dress code at a wedding.

There are aspects of Bourdieu's theory that have been contested. Thomas Turino cautions against the assumption that the agent is totally unconscious of his *habitus* and proposes that there are individuals who exhibit some consciousness of their *habitus* and symbolic capital; that is, they are aware of the image they project (Turino 1990: 402). I would add that there are individuals who are particularly adept at discerning the "unspoken rules of behavior" of new social settings and adjusting their own behavior accordingly. They may have learned to do so as a survival skill. This is similar to the tension-adjustment concept of "art worlds" suggested by sociologist Howard Becker (1982, 1990).

Becker's concept may be used to discuss the tensions that will occur when people work together. The source of tension may be internal or external, requiring resolution in the form of gradual adjustments. I have argued elsewhere that internal tensions may include situations as diverse as the delivery of lunch at a time that disrupts a recording session, or other internal conflicts between participants of an art world that disrupt the productivity of that world. External tensions may include negative public opinion of an art world, which could lead to the reduction of funding, or public support, for the art world (Cyrus 2014: 33). Resolutions in these situations may involve what sociologist Peter Blau calls "adjustments" that may be major or minor (Blau 2003: 222). More importantly, each of these adjustments help to shape the culture of the art world.

The metaphor of world . . . [refers to] people, all sorts of people, who are in the middle of doing something that requires them to pay attention to each other, to consciously take account of the existence of others and to shape what they do in the light of what others do. In such a world, people do not respond automatically to mysterious external forces surrounding them. Instead, they develop their lines of activity gradually, seeing how others respond to what they do and adjusting what they do next in a way that meshes with what others have done and will probably do next. (Becker and Pessin 2006: 277-278)

Becker's art world is comparable to Bourdieu's field in which agents may have to adjust behaviors for the preservation and posterity of the art world. The tension that the agent faces in a field, and the subsequent adjustments that are made in an effort to resolve these tensions, help to shape the behavior of the agent in a specific field.

This study draws upon aspects of Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* and capital to account for some of the strategies Mittoo used in his career.[13] It is my conjecture that Mittoo had a skill for discerning the rules of the game of social settings and displaying the correct symbolic capital in a variety of situations. This is evident in narratives by and about him as well as in his music. My description of Mittoo's career will employ the tenets of Bourdieu's theory of *habitus* to demonstrate how Mittoo's cultural competence, that is, his ability to understand "the rules of the game," was an important factor in his career and his music.

Borrowing

Borrowing is a multifaceted concept that I apply to my discussion of the culture of musicians in Jamaica and abroad, as well as in my analysis of Mittoo's music. The concept is of interest to many fields of study; writers such as Roger Wallis and Krister Malm (1984) and Raoul Naroll and Rolf Wirsing (1976) discuss types of borrowing, while David Phillips and Kimberley Ochs (2003) and others discuss the process of borrowing. I refer to borrowing in my

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[13] I have found that the term is more clear when it is used with a possessive pronoun—such as his/her *habitus* or one's *habitus*. Its meaning is less clear when it is reified as an autonomous entity.

description of the process of cultural change in JPM and to account for the reception of JPM in the Jamaican Diaspora. I also identify borrowing as an approach to composing in Mittoo's work.

The Contexts of Borrowing

In "Borrowing versus Migration as Selection Factors in Cultural Evolution," anthropologists Naroll and Wirsing (1976) use the term borrowing to describe voluntary cultural change:[14]

> By borrowing, of course, we mean the geographical spread of culture through imitation by the bearers of one culture of the practices of another culture…. By migration, of course, we mean the geographical spread of culture through the mass movement of culture bearers, by their occupation of new territory, thus carrying their old culture with them. (Naroll and Wirsing 1976: 194)

They differentiate "voluntary" borrowing from an involuntary migration or "imposition" of culture. Based on this definition, borrowing is initiated by insiders within their home territory. On the other hand, migration of culture does not involve borrowing; it is imposed on insiders, in their home territory, by outsiders. These two stances, voluntary vs. forced cultural change, are also present in Wallis and Malm's description of patterns of change in the music industries of small countries.[15] They assert that cultural exchange occurs on a "person to person level" on equal terms, which involves borrowing or copying the music of another culture (Wallis and

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[14] Naroll, Raoul and Rolf Wirsing. 1976. "Borrowing versus Migration as Selection Factors in Cultural Evolution." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 20 (2): 187–212.

[15] In *Big Sounds From Small People: The Music Industry in Small Countries* (1984), Wallis and Malm report the findings of a comparative study of recording industries in 12 small countries including Jamaica. They found that there were two similar preconditions in the sample countries prior to the emergence of their recording industries: cultural domination through "an educational system teaching European middle class values and concepts" (Wallis and Malm 1984: 17). Another common factor was the introduction of new technology relevant to the recording industry (Wallis and Malm 1984: 270). These would fall under what Phillips and Ochs call "impulses" for cultural change (270).

Malm 1984: 297). The second pattern of cultural change is top-down due to cultural

dominance: [16]

> The general school systems in all our sample countries teaches music according to a system of norms that reflect what is considered "good" by a ruling or dominant class…. Radio and other mass media can also be instrumental in exerting cultural dominance (Wallis and Malm 1984: 298-299).

In a situation of cultural dominance, the imposed culture is raised to the platform of "good"

above the local traditions. Cultural dominance or migration of culture involves shaming local

traditions. [17] However, cultural dominance can only be successful and result in cultural change

if the bearers of the imposing culture are in a position to dominate. I will show that it is the

difference between voluntary borrowing and forced cultural dominance that accounts for the

evolution of JPM and reggae's reception in Canada, the UK, and the US.

Borrowing in Cultural Change

Cultural change is a process in which voluntary borrowing may play a role. In David

Phillips and Kimberly Ochs' study of educational policy, they outline four stages in cultural

change: impulse, decision, implementation, and internalization. [18] The first stage, impulse,

refers to the conditions that resulted in the need to borrow. This may include "internal

dissatisfaction, systemic collapse and negative external evaluation…these impulses for change

can inspire the search for foreign models which might solve existing or emerging or potential

problems" (Phillips and Ochs 2003: 451–453). The second stage is decision, in which steps

are taken "to attempt to start the process of change" (Phillips and Ochs 2003: 453). The third

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[16] Wallis and Malm describe two other types of cultural processes: cultural imperialism and transculturation.
[17] Naroll and Wirsing stress the difference between borrowing and migration: "From the point of view of participants, however, these two differ markedly. Migration usually involves warlike invasion" (Naroll and Wirsing 1976: 195)
[18] Phillips and Ochs' stages of borrowing seem related to the stages of acculturation (John Berry 1997) and the stages of change models (Prochaska and Di Clemente, 1984).

step is implementation. This refers to the adaptation of the borrowed foreign model, which may occur quickly or gradually. The change will be facilitated by "significant actors" who will either be supported or blocked by members of the target country (Phillips and Ochs 2003: 456). The fourth stage is internalization; this refers to the absorption and synthesis of the borrowed foreign model (Phillips and Ochs 2003: 456-7).

In my discussion of JPM culture I also refer to four stages of cultural change. The stages are similar to Phillips and Ochs' stages. During the first stage the "impetus" for change surfaces. In the second stage there is an "attraction" to a new genre, which may be a result of new technology or as a replacement for (to displace) a genre that is no longer desirable. This is the stage where culture bearers, who are regarded as insiders or "significant actors" of the receiving culture, introduce a new music genre to their society.

Fig. 1.2   **The Process of Cultural Change in JPM**

Change is required due to external or internal reasons such as:
- boredom/lack of interest
- criticism/censorship
- new technology.

'Insider' culture-bearers present new external musical ideas which receive favorable reception.

1. *Impetus* → 2. *Attraction*

4. *Internalization* ← 3. *Duplication*

Churning: Musicians internalize borrowed music using local elements which may include:
-Local rhythms
- Local instrumental force
- Local voices/accents
- Local dialect
- Local issues in the text
- Local melodies

Musicians duplicate the music in its original form. This is a process of learning.

A crucial ingredient in the attraction stage of cultural exchange is that new genres are

presented by approved "insider" culture bearers. In the attraction stage, culture bearers that

possess social and cultural capital (Bourdieu) are more likely to have success when

introducing new genres to their respective social groups. For example, in JPM the culture

bearers for the masses—sound system operators—presented new local music, ska, to the

masses. However, these sound system operators could not penetrate the "upper" classes. This

is evident in the following narrative about ska as told by Byron Lee in Katz (2003):

> Eddie Seaga was the politician in whose constituency ska was. In 1962 he sent us
> down there to study the music. . . . We knew nothing about ska until Seaga sent us
> down there. It was being played down in the Western sound systems, but it was kept
> down in the ghetto and wasn't recognized by the people in mid-town and uptown
> who could afford to buy it and support it. It was not played on the radio stations,
> because they wouldn't accept the quality—the guitars were out of tune, the records
> were hop, skip and jump. When I went down and learned ska, I didn't know about it
> before. We took it along—not with my band alone, but with the people who produced
> it—exposing them to the middle, uptown people who looked down, saying, "That is
> music for the poor people—we don't want to be associated with it." But we crossed
> the barrier and brought it up, because Byron Lee was accepted by the middle, up-
> class [*sic*]. We helped to promote ska. I didn't find it, nor did I originate it, but by
> bringing it out we made it famous. (Lee qtd. in Katz 2012: 56)

 Based on this account and other responses to current JPM genres which I have witnessed,

identity issues play a significant role in cultural change.[19] "Insider" culture bearers are

necessary for successful cultural exchange; however culture bearers for one sector of society

are not necessarily accepted by all sectors of society. Based on the quote above Byron Lee

assumed the role of culture bearer by introducing ska to the upper class. Lee's band was

regarded as an insider by the upper classes; the band possessed the social and cultural capital

needed to gain acceptance of ska by uptown audiences.

I refer to the next stage of cultural change as "duplication"; this correspond to Phillips

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[19] I refer to my study of dancehall gospel (Cyrus 2008).

and Ochs' implementation stage. It is within this stage that borrowing is most evident in music making. During the duplication stage, musicians duplicate or model the foreign/new genre; this is a type of learning. Musicians would perform and record duplicates of foreign songs, such as Manny Corchado's "Chicken and Booze," which was recorded by the Mittoo in 1967.[20] The duplication stage is also evident in the example above: Byron Lee states that he had to learn how to play the new beat to bring the music to the upper classes. The duplication stage may take months, years and even decades, dependent on the availability of instruments, technology and personnel needed to replicate examples of the foreign genre.[21]

The next stage in the process of cultural change is the "internalization" of the foreign genre. I have retained this term from Phillips and Ochs who also call this stage the "localization" of the new model. Internalization occurs when elements of the foreign genre are replaced by local elements. This may include the introduction of local rhythms, local instrumental force, local voices/accents, local dialect, local issues in the lyrics and so on. The internalization of the foreign genre may go through several cycles of change, which I call "the churning"; it is a microcosm of the total model of cultural change. This stage may continue for years. The impetus for each cycle of the genre's internalization may be technology, innovation, or the reception of the audience. It is within this stage that musicians like Mittoo explored approaches to reusing existing music. For example, ska was a product of the internalization of a process that started with the duplication of R&B. In the following quote Byron Lee describes the borrowing and internalizing of R&B by Jamaican musicians:

> At first most of the artists used to copy foreign singers—Marcia Griffiths was Carla Thomas, Bob Marley and the Wailers were Curtis Mayfield and the Impressions, and Jimmy Cliff used to even copy Otis Redding's style of going down on the floor on his

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[20] "Chicken and Booze" is included in the posthumous album *Last Train to Skaville*.
[21] Ska which was from downtown would have been a "foreign" genre for uptown audiences.

knees. Byron Lee and The Dragonaires were sort of a Jamaican Bill Haley and the Comets. Toots and the Maytals really were the first ones to start doing a pure Jamaica music. Eventually everyone started to write their own songs. I saw the transitions as the backing band. At one time we were playing only American music, but it gradually changed until it was a Jamaican sound we were playing. (Lee qtd. in Chang and Chen 1998: 37)

Based on Lees' observation, the duplication of the foreign genre continued until the musicians

started to replace foreign elements with local elements.

I will use this concept of cultural change—with additional references to social capital

(Bourdieu) and cultural dominance (Wallis and Malm)—to frame my discussion of Mittoo's

cultural background.

CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW ON JACKIE MITTOO

There is no monograph, thesis, or dissertation published with Jackie Mittoo's name in its title. Nonetheless, his contribution to JPM is noted in most articles on the emergence of rock steady and reggae.[1] The objective of this literature review is to briefly demonstrate how his career and music have been positioned in popular and scholarly literature. First, I will present what Mittoo said about himself in books and articles. I will then discuss how he is presented in biographical dictionaries, academic studies, newspapers and periodicals, liner notes and record reviews, as well as obituaries and tributes. The purpose of this chapter is to outline the existing knowledge about Jackie Mittoo.

Interviews with Mittoo

There are a few works that are based on interviews with Mittoo by Joan Meredith (1971), Patti Vipond (1975), Lyle Slack (c.1976), Sebastian Clarke (1980), Winston Richards (c.1985), Penny Reel (2003), and I Jabulani Tafari (1988). These interviews include his opinions on a number of topics that impacted his career at various points in time. In *Canadian Composer* there is an article titled "Jackie Mittoo's Music Brings a Touch of Sunshine from the Islands" (1971) by Joan Meredith. The article features a 22 year-old Mittoo, who Meredith describes as soft spoken. He gives an outline of his career in Jamaica and his goals for the future. Four years later, Patti Vipond interviewed a more seasoned 26 year-old Mittoo in "Keyboard King: Jackie Mittoo" (1975) for *Spear,* another Canadian magazine. The title of the article is indicative of his confidence, and the designation "keyboard king" was used in subsequent Canadian articles to describe Mittoo. In Vipond's article Mittoo projected himself

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[1] Gray lists only seven articles on Mittoo from major periodicals; my research reveals a much larger quantity of media.

as an elite musician, identified the "prestige" venues that he would play in Toronto, and named fans which included the renowned Sam "the Record Man" Sniderman.[2] In this article, Mittoo also discussed his alcohol addiction and his attempts at sobriety. The publication of this article coincided with the release of his 1975 album *Let's Put It All Together* on the Canadian Talent Library (CTL) label.

There are brief quotations from Mittoo in articles published from 1976 to 1979. In "Reggae Name May Change – But Not Style" (1976), Lyle Slack interviewed a 28 year-old Mittoo for *the Hamilton Spectator* in support of Mittoo's "first major Canadian concert at the Hamilton Place" (Slack 1976). Slack asserts that Mittoo's name was synonymous with reggae in Canada; Mittoo gave comments on the elements of reggae in this article. Quotations from Mittoo may also be found in Sebastian Clarke's *Jah Music: The Evolution of the Popular Jamaican Song* (1980), one of the earlier publications on the roots of JPM.[3] Throughout the book, Clarke includes quotations from his interviews with a 29 year-old Mittoo; Clarke had interviewed Mittoo in London in July 1977 and 1978. Mittoo gives his opinion of various aspects of JPM (Clarke 1980: 177n.24, 178 n.43, 180 n.1). Mittoo may also be viewed in *Summer Sounds*, a short documentary about Jerry Brown's recording studio in Malton, Ontario. This documentary was produced in 2007,[4] but it was filmed in 1979 when Mittoo

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[2] This article is also posted on the Official Jackie Mittoo page on *MySpace*, which is administered by his family. The article includes a picture with Mittoo sipping a cup of tea to demonstrate his sobriety. Mittoo had an alcohol problem, which has been discussed in popular literature as well as in interviews by those who have seen him perform.

[3] A common expression of Rastafarians is "Jah Rastafari." Clarke coins the term "Jah Music" in the title of his book to signify the ties between reggae music and the Rastafarian faith.

[4] The documentary was produced by *Light in the Attic*.

was 31 years old. It shows Mittoo speaking with Brown as they work on the production of a song for Willi Williams.[5]

I found two articles on Mittoo that were published in the 1980s. "Hail Jackie Mittoo: The Keyboard King" (c.1985) by Winston Richards was published in the *Caribbean Times* in the UK.[6] At this point Mittoo was 37 years old, and in the article he speaks of the problem of copyrights in Jamaica. I Jabulani Tafari's article titled "Jackie Mittoo: In Musical Overdrive" is by far the most extensive interview that I have found. This article is described as an "exclusive interview"; it retains the transcription format, which shows the questions and Mittoo's responses. The interview was published in 1988, when Mittoo was 40 years old. He reflects on various aspects of his career including high school, Studio One, and his successes.[7]

These articles document Mittoo's thoughts about his past and his work. I will use statements from these interviews throughout the dissertation. Each statement will be followed by a "thick" description of his reflection.

Biographical Dictionaries

Short profiles about Mittoo may be found in biographical dictionaries such as *The Encyclopedia of Popular Music, The Encyclopedia of Music in Canada, The Virgin Encyclopedia of Reggae, Caribbean Popular Music: An Encyclopedia of Reggae, Mento, Ska, Rocksteady and Dancehall,* and *The Encyclopedia of Reggae: The Golden Age of Roots Reggae.* The entries are similar in content and they are no more than 800 to 1200 words in length. He is typically described as a prodigy, pianist, and organist, as well as a prolific

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[5] There is also a Soul Jazz Records documentary titled *Studio One Story* (2011), which includes a very short interview with Mittoo. He answers questions about his place in JPM history; however, the interview is not dated.

[6] Richards, Winston. c.1985. "Hail Jackie Mittoo: the Keyboard King" in *Caribbean Times*.

[7] The interview was kindly sent to me by Peggy Quattro, the owner of *Reggae Report*, as the magazine is out of print and no other copy of this issue was available.

composer, arranger, and producer associated with Coxsone Dodd at Studio One. These profiles of Mittoo usually disclose the date and place of his birth, bands he played with, his albums, and the names of some of his instrumentals that have been reused by other musicians. Mittoo's presence in these dictionaries is usually not limited to his own profile. He is also mentioned in the profiles of other producers, instrumentalists and singers. His inclusion in the profiles of other musicians and industry personnel demonstrates his influence and the expanse of his personal network.

There are two common errors in most of these dictionaries and one glaring omission. A number of these profiles state that he was born in Montego Bay or Brown's Town, although he was in fact born in Kingston. Second, they often repeat a story that Mittoo was in a high school band called Jackie Mi-tree with Horace Swaby (Augusto Pablo), which is incorrect. His migration to Canada is only mentioned in *The Encyclopedia of Music in Canada* and his work in the UK and USA is not acknowledged in the profiles and the encyclopedias.

Academic Studies

Mittoo's work is referenced in a few academic studies that examine diverse topics on JPM. These include Michael Veal's monograph titled *Dub: Soundscapes and Shattered Songs in Jamaican Reggae* (2007). Veal highlights Mittoo's contribution to the foundation of reggae and includes the narratives of a number of record industry personnel who relate their encounters with Mittoo. The focus of Veal's monograph is techniques of dub; he analyzes King Tubby's dub remix of one of Mittoo's compositions (Veal 2007: 121).

Keith McCuaig's MA thesis titled "Jamaican Canadian Music in Toronto in the 1970s and 1980s: A Preliminary History" (2012) aims to historicize Jamaican Canadian music. This was the first academic work to dedicate a section of a chapter to Mittoo. McCuaig devoted

one chapter to present short biographies of seven musicians who were active in Toronto in the 1960s and 1970s. In that chapter, he positioned Mittoo as a transnational whose music in Canada was mainly reggae fusion. McCuaig also included an analysis of Mittoo's "Someday Soon" as an example of reggae fusion (McCuaig 2012: 147,100).

John J. Wilson's Ph.D dissertation is titled "King Alpha's Song in a Strange Land: Jamaican Migrant and Canadian Host in Toronto's Transnational Reggae Music Scene, 1973-1990" (2013). Wilson states that his research is partly "a study of the process of migration of one group (Jamaicans) and the migration of music (reggae) as seen from both the migrant and the host's perspective" (Wilson 2013: 5). Wilson identifies Mittoo as one of the twenty musicians who were hopeful that "migrating to Canada would produce or indeed sustain an indigenous reggae market" (Wilson 2013: 116). He recognizes Mittoo's role in the "birth of Canadian reggae" (251-252), and Mittoo's name appears several times throughout the dissertation; however there is no chapter that features his work.

Newspapers and Periodicals

There are a number of newspapers and periodicals in Jamaica, Toronto, New York and the UK with articles that make reference to Mittoo. They include the *Daily Gleaner,* the *Jamaica Observer,* and *Swing* from Jamaica*;* the *Toronto Star* and the *Globe and Mail* from Toronto; *New Musical Express* and *Melody Maker* from the UK; and to a lesser extent the *New York Times.* The archives of these newspapers and periodicals provide details of Mittoo's life and career from as early as 1958. There are also a number of articles in *The Beat* and other periodicals that feature other musicians who talk about Mittoo. These sources helped to provide a time frame of his movements and to describe the trajectory of his career.

Liner Notes and Record Reviews

Another good source of information on Jackie Mittoo may be found in liner notes and record reviews of his albums. The credits and liner notes for Mittoo's fourteen albums provide useful information on various stages of his life. There are also a few record reviews that indicate the reception of Mittoo's Canadian work and point out inconsistencies in the documentation of his music. Joseph Blake (2007) and Steve Heilig (2007) give *Wishbone* mixed reviews. Other reviews are mainly of posthumous releases, such as Rick Anderson's review of *Champion in the Arena.*[8] Anderson reveals that the album contains all the tracks from another album; it "includes the entirety of the *Jackie Mittoo: Showcase* album plus seven bonus tracks" (Anderson 2003). Michael Turner reviews *Tribute to Jackie Mittoo,* a posthumous compilation released by Heartbeat, and comments on the renaming of songs that were really remixes (1995).

Discographies

Most JPM discographies are catalogues that list the performer, the name of the recording, the producer, the label and a matrix number. Discographies may be further divided into three types — essential samples, discrete fields, and online databases.

The first type of discography provides samples and exemplars of JPM. They claim to report the "100 essential" or "key" CDs, albums, and singles of JPM. They include *Reggae on CD: the Essential Guide* by Lloyd Bradley (1996), *Reggae, 100 Essential CDs: The Rough Guide* by Steve Barrow and Peter Dalton (1999), and *Reggae Music: A History and Selective*

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[8] Other reviews include Neil Strauss, who describes two posthumous compilations: *The Keyboard King of Studio One* (Universal Sound) and *Champion in the Arena: 1970-1977* (Blood and Fire). He states that they demonstrate Mittoo's significance as "Jamaica's answer to Booker T" (Strauss 2003).
Chuck Foster gives a glowing review to *Jackie Mittoo and the Soul Brothers' Last Train to Skaville* (Soul Jazz). He states: "This is certainly one of the earliest Mittoo selections currently available . . . the young prodigy plays with an awe-inspiring intensity. . . . A nice selection of early works from a crucial reggae mainstay" (Foster 2003: 14).

Discography by Rick Anderson (2004). These annotated listening guides of JPM usually mention Mittoo at least once; however, they do not support in-depth research of his body of work.

The second type of discography has a discrete field. These discographies report on the catalogue of a specific studio, label, artist, or genre such as *Treasure Isle Time: A Reference Guide To Treasure Isle Productions* by Charlie Reggae and Dr. Watts (2002). Mittoo's work is dispersed among record companies in Jamaica, the USA, Canada, the UK and in Ghana. Therefore discographies that report on the catalogue of a studio or label in these countries, may reveal Mittoo's work, if the credits to their songs are provided. The Studio One discography is especially relevant to research on Mittoo's work, as he once declared that "the whole Studio One catalogue consists of the rhythm tracks, which it was my duty to put together each day" (Mittoo qtd. in Tafari 1988, 25). Studio One discographies include Robert Chapman's *Never Grow Old* (1993) and *Downbeat Special* (Chapman 1996), as well as Roger Dalke's *A Scorcher from Studio One* (1997) and *More Scorcher from Studio One* (Dalke 1997). Unfortunately, these titles are out of print. However, online discrete discographies are available. They include *Downbeat.com*'s discography of LPs issued by Studio One and *RootsArchive.com's* discography of reggae albums. Both provide a list of Mittoo's albums; however, *Rootsarchive.com* provides a list of albums by other musicians that include Mittoo in their credits.[9] The problem with *Rootsarchive.com* is that the dates of release of a number of albums are missing. The online catalogues of record companies such as *Third World Recording, Soul Jazz Records, Heartbeat Records, Blood and Fire*, *Soul Jazz*

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[9] *RootsArchive.Com* also has pictures of Mittoo and a link to *Summer Sounds,* a documentary on a Jamaican-owned recording studio which Mittoo frequented in Malton, Ontario.

Records, Studio One and *VP Records* were also instrumental in finding and clarifying the dates of Mittoo's work.

The third type of JPM discography is comprehensive; it attempts to catalogue all recordings of JPM, such as Robert Schoenfeld and Michael Turner's *Roots Knotty Roots: The Discography of Jamaican Music: Singles, 78 & 45 rpm, 1950—1985* (2004). This discography was published as a hefty 714-page book and it also exists online at www.nghthwk.com. The online version is updated regularly and currently has over 60,000 titles from Jamaica and England. Mittoo is included in "the reggae timeline" that is illustrated in the front matter of the book and the authors have documented 272 singles with Mittoo's name in the credits.[10] There are three limitation of this database. First, it stops at 1985 and Mittoo had recordings that were released after 1985. Second, they only catalogue singles; Mittoo's LPs are not included. Therefore tracks that are on the LPs, which were not previously released as a single, are excluded from this database.[11] Also, they do not include JPM produced in Canada or the USA. Nonetheless, *Roots Knotty Roots* is an excellent resource for JPM research.

The most comprehensive online discography is *Discogs.com.*[12] It is an online marketplace for the re-sale and purchase of all genres and formats of music. *Discogs.com* has an integrated and comprehensive database that lists a wide range of Mittoo's body of work. However, it is limited to what is offered for sale from the general public.

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[10] They incorrectly recorded Mittoo's start date at Studio One as 1964. This may imply that 1964 was the first recording that they found with his name in the credits.

[11] The online database requires a subscription.

[12] All Music.com and I-tunes are also websites that provide a list of Mittoo's recordings. However they have the same limitations in that they are incomplete and have not been updated recently.

Obituaries and Tributes

Obituaries and tributes in periodicals are usually reserved for persons with a certain level of prominence. Tributes were published for Mittoo in the *Toronto Star* in Toronto and the *Daily Gleaner* in Jamaica (Foster 1991). Additionally, the obituaries and tributes of other renowned Jamaican musicians also make reference to Mittoo. They include the obituaries of drummer Winston Grennan, "Jah" Jerry Haynes (Campbell 2007), and Alton Ellis (Massive 2008), among others. The death notices/regular obituaries for Mittoo's family members also provide information on Mittoo. The death notices for his grandparents and other relatives helped to clarify details about his lineage.

Summary

Overall, I found that Mittoo was often cited as a significant figure in JPM but seldom featured in scholarly and popular literature on JPM. The data on Mittoo is dispersed and the need for a project to pull all the information together has been fulfilled in this dissertation. The resources listed in this chapter are not exhaustive; there are reggae magazines that may have had information about Mittoo that were not available to me. They include *Jah Ugliman, Small Axe, Reggae Connection, Judgment Times, The Wire, Seconds, Pulp Magazine, Black Music, Upsetter, More Axe, Reggae Quarterly* (Canadian) and *The Record Mirror* (UK). There may also be other magazines with information on Mittoo of which I am not aware.

CHAPTER 4: CULTURAL BACKGROUND

Jamaica is the largest English speaking nation in the Caribbean. It is located in the northern section of the archipelago that stretches from the south of Florida to the northern tip of Venezuela. The archipelago is divided into two parts: the Greater Antilles and the Lesser Antilles. Jamaica is a part of the Greater Antilles along with its neighbors: Cuba to the north of the island, Hispaniola to the west, and Puerto Rico to the south east. The island is divided into 14 parishes with two major cities: Kingston to the south and Montego Bay in St. James, on the north coast to the west of the island. The feel of these two cities could not be more different from one another, primarily because of the industries that drive their respective economies.[1] Montego Bay is a tourist town, while Kingston is the center of commerce, shipping and manufacturing.

The national motto of Jamaica, "out of many, one people," suggests harmony and unity. However the motto has been challenged as a myth of equality between the various ethnicities that were brought to this Caribbean island to work on sugar plantations during the 18th and 19th centuries. The majority of Jamaica's population are descendants of Africans, along with pockets of East Indians, Asians, and Europeans dispersed throughout the island. Historian Gordon K. Lewis argues that contrary to the motto, which implies social unity and equality, Jamaican society is marked by "racial separatism, undeclared yet virulent, that infects every nook and cranny of inter-personal and inter-class relationships, based on a social

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[1] I experienced this personally, as I grew up in St. Andrew but spent my summer vacations in Brandon Hill and Coral Gardens in Montego Bay.

system characterized by strongly entrenched class colour correlations" (Lewis 1968: 191).[2]

The current motto simply reports a statement of fact about the island's demographics, not an

ideological position. A more fitting slogan is found in title of Brian Moore and Michelle

Johnson's monograph, *Neither Led Nor Driven* (2004). It encapsulates the self-determined

spirit of the people of this post-colonial Caribbean nation, the culture that Mittoo was raised

in, and the platform on which he would establish his career in the early 1960s.

Cultural Capital in the 1940s to 1970s

Scholars from different areas of study have identified issues of class and colour as

significant factors in many aspects of Jamaican life. In his research on education reforms and

the labour force, Errol Miller discusses findings from his survey of classified ads from the

early 1900s to the mid-1980s in the *Daily Gleaner*, the national newspaper. Miller revealed a

"colour bias" which was evident in *The Daily Gleaner's* classified ads from that period:

> Advertisements in the help wanted columns of the *Gleaner* from 1900–1980
> revealed that until 1940 there was an open and explicit colour and racial bias in the
> recruitment for jobs. It was the practice of employers to express a preference for
> white and light-skinned persons to fill certain vacancies. In addition, persons
> seeking jobs advertised their race and colour in the effort to obtain employment,
> particularly females. This practice, evident up to 1940, ceased by 1950 . . . but this
> must not be confused with the actual cessation of a light-skinned bias within the
> labour force. While there may not have been an overt effort to recruit light–skinned
> persons for certain jobs, they may still be observed to hold a disproportionate
> number of top managerial, administrative and technical posts in the labour force in

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[2] In his monograph on Jamaican society, social anthropologist Rex Nettleford also asserts that the problems of
colour and class in Jamaica are far more difficult to deal with than many admit (Nettleford 1970). Based on his
time spent in Jamaica in the 1990s, Japanese DJ Nahki made some insightful observations on current Jamaican
culture:
> The Average people's image [of Jamaica] outside reggae circuit is typically a tropical island where
> everyone can live a laidback, relaxed life with "No Problem." But the truth is "Pure Problem" all over.
> There is no "Unity," that is why they have been singing so many songs talking about "Unity." Rich and
> poor. It is not a racial boundary but a class boundary causing the problem most of all there. You got to
> be really "ruff and tuff" to survive in Jamaica. (Nahki qtd. in Smith 2009)

comparison to their numbers in the population. The white and light-skinned bias in the labour force is still visible, in 1985, 30 to 40 years after the practice of advertising such preferences ceased. (Miller 1990: 285–6)

The legacy of this colour bias persists, and is currently manifested in a preoccupation with skin bleaching and the desire for "brownings" as life partners: that is, persons with a paler shade of complexion (Mordecai and Mordecai 2001: 19).[3]

A paler shade of skin colour was seen as cultural capital; however this was second to competence in British "high" culture according to Moore and Johnson's exposition on British cultural imperialism in Jamaica from 1865–1920:

> British-derived cultural attributes and those who came closest to emulating them were accorded the highest social status. Culture, therefore, supplemented race and color in determining one's social position by the late nineteenth century (Moore and Johnson 2004: 12, 245).

A premium was placed on the acquisition of the 'appropriate' cultural characteristics: speech (the 'queen's/king's English,' not Jamaican creole); Western/British-style dress; Christian beliefs and practices; legal, monogamous marriage and the nuclear family; British customs, ideas, values and morals, sports and entertainment, arts and music, furnishings, societies and associations, and so forth (ibid., 12). This reverence of British culture, together with a continued disdain of the "local" persisted over time.[4] Stuart Hall affirms this in his description of attitudes towards local culture (and in this example the vernacular Jamaican language) during his childhood in Jamaica in the 1950s:

> My entire education, my mother's whole career, had been specifically designed to prevent anybody at all, and me in particular, from reading anything of importance in that language. Of course, you could say all kinds of other things, in the small

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[3] Mordecai and Mordecai state that "elaborate strategies were evolved to 'improve the color' of a son or daughter through the 'right' relationship: marriage or faithful concubinage" (2001: 19).
[4] Maynard-Reid also notes that it is still common Caribbean thinking that "dialect is not spoken publicly by respectable persons" (Maynard-Reid 2000: 144).

interchanges of everyday life, but important things had to be said, goodness knows in another tongue. (Hall 1995: 12–13)

While the attainment of higher education was out of reach for most, the demonstration of British culture was behavior to which the socially mobile could and would easily adapt.[5]

<u>Those on the Outside Looking in</u>

Persons who found themselves outside the norms of British culture were stigmatized. One such group was children born to single mothers: children born "out of wedlock." There were dire consequences for such mothers and their children. An older informant advised that in some professions, such as teaching and nursing, the mother would be immediately dismissed if she was found to be in this situation.[6] Also, until the mid-1970s, unless a newborn's parents were married, adding the father's name to the birth certificate without his consent was not allowed based on colonial law. Therefore it was not unusual that the father's name was omitted from the birth records of children born to single women. This was changed on November 1, 1976 by the Status of Children Act introduced by the People's National Party (PNP) under Michael Manley's administration.[7] The Ministry of Justice in Jamaica described the law as "an act to remove the legal disabilities of children born out of wedlock and to provide for matters connected therewith or incidental thereto" (*Ministry of Justice*).[8]

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[5] Moore and Johnson describe the strategies of "darker-skinned" Jamaicans:
> Many socially aspiring coloreds and blacks did their utmost to acquire the essentials of British culture, to qualify themselves for the social respectability and mobility they so desperately craved in colonial society . . . these Anglophile coloreds and blacks could legitimately be considered part of the cultural elites as well, for they shared the same cultural attributes, and tried (as far as economic resources permitted) to engage in the same cultural pursuits, as upper- and middle-class whites (theatre, opera, music literature, sports and games, religion, and so forth). They literally spoke the same language as the white social elites. (Moore and Johnson 2004: 12)

[6] Telephone Interview with Ita Headlam, November 2014.

[7] The Status of Children Act was commemorated with a song called "The Message" (1976) by Neville "Struggle" Martin. A line from the song "No bastard nuh deh again" is the emic term for this Act. He wrote other political songs such as "Economic Crisis" and later the famous PNP anthem "Stand Firm" (1980). As a child I listened to this and other political songs which were compiled on a PNP album.

[8] http://moj.gov.jm/laws/status-children-act

Moore and Johnson note that efforts to institutionalize British high culture among the Jamaican proletariat were also successful in stigmatizing Afro-Jamaican cultural expressions.[9] It situated Rastafarians, who refused to be engaged in the system, at the bottom of the social ladder (Moore and Johnson 2004: 321).[10] The Rastafarian movement was formed in 1930 in Jamaica. Anthropologist Rex Nettleford describes the movement as a "social awakening of poor Jamaican blacks from amnesia about slavery and social deprivation within a system that requires blacks to accept their lot as inferior while singing the praises of their oppressors" (Nettleford 1970). He adds that Rastafari is the modern embodiment of the historical struggle of the black man against white oppression: "it unearths some disturbing truths about Jamaican society which have been hidden under the social rug for a long time" (Nettleford 1970).

Cultural Dominance in Music

The polarity of British sensibilities versus African retention and related oppositions such as uptown versus downtown, light versus dark, and so on, have continued to be significant in many aspects of Jamaican life, including the consumption and production of popular music. The outward show of "high culture" is evident in the names of musical bands in the 1940s and 1950s with titles that include "orchestra" and "society," such as the Eric

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[9] Olive Lewin discusses Afro-Jamaican cultural expressions such as Kumina, pukumania, revival, and other traditional forms practiced in Jamaica in *Rock it Come Over* (2001).

[10] The main Rastafarian commune, Pinnacle, was situated in St. Catherine. It was raided several times and eventually disbanded in 1954. The Rastas fled to Kingston and created campsites, the most significant for musicians being that of Count Ossie in Warieka Hills. Count Ossie's became a place where a number of musicians would congregate and play side by side with Rasta drummers. Some musicians who joined the movement were fired for 'growing' dreadlocks such as those of John "Dizzy" Moore, who was fired from Eric Dean's dance band when he began growing his (Perrone 2008: 34). Producers such as Duke Reid were opposed to Rasta and would not work with them (Chang and Chen 1998: 111). Bradley asserts that in addition to social reasons, ties to the Rastafarian community persisted possibly because the Rastafarian environment was also a very musical one, and musicians had easy access to it (Bradley 2001b: 83). This gave musicians an opportunity to learn indigenous music genres. Bob Marley influenced the iconography of reggae musicians when he grew locks during his rise to international stardom.

Dean Orchestra and the Glanville Orchestra.[11] These titles distinguished bands that played for

the "upper" classes, from community mento bands for the "lower" classes (White 1998: 12;

Chang and Chen 1998: 16). There was also prestige for musicians who travelled abroad, a

condition that Witmer calls a "colonial mentality," in his description of the music scene in

Kingston, Jamaica in the 1950s.

> There is ample evidence of a lingering "colonial mentality" (contempt for, or
> embarrassment about, local cultural fare and reverence for foreign cultural
> fare) with regards to the relative merits of local and foreign music and
> musicians (Witmer 1987: 16).

Based on the narratives by and about musicians in the 1950s and 1960s, band musicians who

entertained the upper-classes also occupied a place of servitude (Stolzoff 2000: 20–25).

Hedley Jones describes the stigma of being a musician in Jamaican society during his

generation:

> They [musicians] were seen as dropouts and treated as such, because it is only
> when you are a no good in the eyes of the Jamaican middle class that you become
> a musician. Musicians without formal training were seen as an even lower breed.
> Although appreciated as entertainers, members of the musical fraternity were
> unable to rise in the rigid social structure. (Jones, qtd. in Stolzoff 2000: 37)

The mention of formal training in music indicates that there was also a hierarchy among

musicians that was based on levels of training.

The Training of Musicians

In *Arts of an Island* (1970) Ivy Baxter notes that the examinations of the Associated

Board of the Royal Academy of Music were established in Jamaica in 1920 (Baxter 1970:

322). There continues to be a cohort of music teachers who support these examinations and

provide instrumental training to perform Western art music. A description of the achievement

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[11] Many orchestras and society bands used the name of their band leader such as Val Bennett, Eric Dean, Jack Brown, Sonny Bradshaw, George Alberga, Stanley Headlam, Roy White, George Moxie, and Carlos Malcolm among others (Hutton 2007: 29 fn. 3).

of pianist Peter Ashbourne in *Swing* gives an indication of the level of private music instruction available in Jamaica:

> What do you say of a young man who when he was just past eight years old, sat the grade 2 violin exam and received the highest possible number of points in the West Indies; and who got distinctions in all his other music exams including the LRSM? (*Swing* 1972b, March)

The emphasis on Ashbourne's performance in this exam is indicative of the value placed on this type of 'classical' training, which was expensive and not the norm.[12]

References to "elite" musicians in popular literature on the early JPM industry usually refer to persons who received some instruction in playing instruments and spent a number of years playing in "orchestras" and other bands. This included musicians who attended the Stony Hill Industrial School or the more famous Alpha Boys School which had a band class.[13] The bands of the Jamaica Defence Force (JDF) also offered further training; they are The Jamaica Military Band and The Jamaica Regiment Band (Baxter 1970: 339). Trumpeter Bobby Ellis mentions that it was usual to audition for the military bands after attending Alpha (Larkin 1998: 131).

There were other educational institutions that produced musicians who were active in JPM industries. Many traditional high schools fostered musicianship through their music programs, choirs, and the cadet drum core such as Jamaica College (JC), Excelsior College, and York Castle High among others. There have been a number of musicians and music

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[12] Baxter notes that The Jamaica School of Music, which was founded in 1961, also offered advanced study for music students (Baxter 1970: 338). I have not encountered any mention of session musicians who were graduates of the Jamaica School of Music during the early period of the recording industry.
[13] The Alpha Boys School opened in 1892. Alpha is usually identified as the premier music training academy because it had a band program in addition to the vocational trade that each student had to learn. Hutton and White assert that in the early period of the JPM recording industry, the Alpha alumni functioned as arrangers, mentors and tutors to other session musicians. These musicians were also "the underpinning, the discipline base over which hopeful amateur singers would attempt to create music" (Hutton and White 2007: 89)

industry personnel who are alumni of Kingston College (KC) including Mittoo, who was by all accounts encouraged to practice as often as he desired on the school's pianos.[14]

Musicians who participated in the emergent recording industry also benefited from informal learning from "jam" sessions in Rasta communes (Williams 2007: 10; Bilby 2010). Kenneth Bilby asserts that these jam sessions influenced studio musicians:

> Certain important trap drummers, for example, ranging from Lloyd Knibbs to Horsemouth Wallace and Santa Davis, have explained to me specific ways in which they consciously inserted rhythms from traditional African-Jamaican drumming genres such as *burru* or *nyabinghi* into their playing. Many other Jamaican session musicians, including guitarists, bass players, and keyboardists, speak of their ongoing exposure to various kinds of traditional drum-based African-Jamaican music, and the ways, both conscious and unconscious, in which this informal rhythmic education has affected their playing. . . . More importantly, according to several of the musicians I have interviewed—among them Seeco Patterson, Ras Michael, and Family Man Barrett—Bob, Peter, and Bunny all used to sit in on the drums from time to time at Mortimo Planno's yard. (Bilby 2010: 6–8)

However, the association with Rastas was risky because they were viewed as anti-establishment and were routinely persecuted by the police (Moore and Johnson 2004: 321).[15]

Places of Employment

A survey of the entertainment section of the *Daily Gleaner* from the 1950s to the early 1960s reveals that band musicians were in high demand. Witmer summarizes the types of music scenes in Kingston where musicians would be engaged:

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[14] Although not a high school, the Institute of Jamaica gave free drumming lessons during the 1970s and the Salvation Army was also a place of training for musicians.

[15] In her monograph on Rastafarians, Helene Lee reported that the June 16, 1960 appeal of Prime Minister Norman Manley to the public to "'report any unusual or suspicious movements you may see pertaining to the Rastafarians'. . . presented an open invitation to arbitrary detention and violence towards Rastas" (Lee 2003: 260–261).

The scene at midcentury could be summarized as follows. Rhythm and blues was the standard musical fare at sound system dances for rural dwellers and the urban proletariat and underclass. Large American-style "swing" bands played at public dances catering to people of sufficient means to attend; small-group jazz was available to a coterie of enthusiasts with sufficient leisure time or the elitist mentality to cultivate that tradition; local wind bands (and wind band education), traveling American popular entertainers, and—most important—mass media kept a number of popular Euro-American musical styles and traditions within earshot of a broad cross-section of Jamaican society. (Witmer 1987: 16)

Witmer describes the music scene in Kingston during the 1950s; however, Daniel Neely adds that in *rural* areas, local community bands would play local popular music, which was mento and calypso (Neely 2008: 277). Overall the 1950s seemed to be a productive time for musicians. A number of sources state that musicians would find employment in orchestras, bands, as well as in clubs and hotels on the North Coast (Witmer 1987: 16; Stolzoff 2000: 38; Hutton 2007: 29 fn. 3). Pianists were employed for singing contests such as the Vere Johns Opportunity Hour held at the Palace Theatre, the Tastee Talent Contest, the National Festival Competition, and at variety shows (Bradley 2001: 18, 25–6, 207; Katz 2003: 73, 107). Other small bands, such as the Sheiks, were hired for a variety of events including the half hour "On Stage" shows at movie theatres such as the Carib Theatre and the Palace Theatre. These bands would be financed by a local businessman who purchased instruments and other equipment. In return, the financier received a percentage from the band's earnings.

Union Stands

There was also an active musician's trade union prior to the establishment of the recording industry. The Jamaica Federation of Musicians (JFM) was formed in 1955 and registered under the trade union act in 1958.[16] The trade union protected the rights of musicians and had significant power as indicated in the following JFM notices published in

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[16] See <http://jafedmusic.tripod.com/aboutthe.htm> for details

Swing:

Notice 1	Notice 2
The band known as THE MIGHTY VIKINGS has been suspended from the Registered union list of the Jamaica Federation of musicians, for breaking Union regulations, and are not to perform on union stands from Sept. 20th to Sept. 26, 1968 inclusive. Central Executive Committee JAMAICA FEDERATION OF MUSICIANS	The Club Brown Jug, Ocho Rios has been removed from the registered Union Stand List and all members, musicians and bands are informed not to perform at this location until further notice. Central Executive Committee JAMAICA FEDERATION OF MUSICIANS *Sgd. SONNY BRADSHAW, President*

Fig. 2.1   "Two important notices from Jamaica Federation of Musicians"
Swing Sept. 1968, p.31

These notices communicate disciplinary action against one of its members in the first notice and disciplinary action against an employer in the second notice.[17]

Barrow and Dalton suggest that musicians were usurped by sound systems because the musicians took long breaks and ate too much from the food that was prepared for paying guests (Barrow and Dalton 2001: 11). However the JFM's terms of employment included duty meals; therefore the "dinner breaks" were in fact a requirement based on the trade union's collective agreement.[18] The JFM is not usually mentioned in the literature on JPM, because session musicians were not unionized.[19]

Barrow and Dalton's comment about sound systems usurping "swing bands" is significant. Although the union was formed in 1955, it could be viewed as representative of

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[17] The president of the music union, Sonny Bradshaw, was a bandleader and also wrote a weekly column for *Swing*. There were also tensions in leadership of the union, which were also communicated through this magazine; see "Jamaica Federation of Music: Reply" *Swing*. 1972, March p. 21.

[18] JFM outlines terms of employment in the link below:
http://jafedmusic.tripod.com/aboutthe.htmhttp://jafedmusic.tripod.com/aboutthe.htm).

[19] The current president of the JFM, Desi Young, confirmed that recording industry workers were not unionized (Interview with Desi Young 2015). I have written elsewhere that the absence of a union "partly accounts for the abuses that musicians have reported in their narratives. Without a system of check and balance that a union would have provided, the recording industry evolved in a manner that suited managers (the producers) not the workers (the musicians and other industry personnel)" (Cyrus 2014).

the "old order" of society bands, orchestras, and British cultural dominance in the music

industry in Jamaica. The JFM, and all that it represented at that time, stood as a giant in the

field of the music industry in Jamaica. The sound systems operators and their recording

industry represented a "new order" which may have been threatening to the union, as sound

systems could decrease the employment of swing bands. Employers, such as the club

mentioned in Notice 2 (fig. 2.1), would not have to be concerned about being "removed from

the registered Union Stand List" if they simply used a sound system. Sound systems and

sound system producers in the recording industry stood as a threat to the power of the union

and the bands it represented.

The Impetus for Change

Prior to the emergence of ska, mento and calypso bands were popular among the

masses. However, the lyrics of calypso were often sexually suggestive, which was met with

strong disapproval from pious organizations. One such group was the Mother's Union

Council, which was established in 1876 and whose aims and objectives included the

promotion of "conditions in society favorable to stable family life and the protection of

children" and "to promote and support married life" (www.mothersunion.org). Neely reports

on the events that led to the moral uproar against calypso in 1956 by the Mother's Union and

others in the following lengthy quote:

> The first locally pressed records of Jamaican music emerged in the opening months
> of 1955 and changed the musical climate substantially. Although some of these
> records contained innocuous subject matter suitable for the tourist trade, a large
> number of them were risqué. The most notable of these, written by Everald
> Williams and performed by Alerth Bedasse, was entitled "Night Food," about a
> young man being solicited by an older woman through a thinly veiled euphemism
> for vaginal (and not oral, as is sometimes assumed) intercourse. The record became
> an overnight sensation, but not without controversy. Despite a significant amount of
> public support for these records, Tacius Golding, the Member of the House of

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Representatives for Western St. Catherine, introduced a motion into the House (prompted, in part, by a resolution made by the Mother's Union Council and presented at a meeting of the Synod of the Church of England) in early 1956 to ban these records. The motion was quickly supported by religious and political leaders and in April, Wills Isaacs, the Minister of Trade and Industry (in what seemed to be an attack squared directly at Khouri's business) called for a boycott of stores that carried "certain brands of calypso records." Despite what I'm told was robust interest in these rude "hits," growing Parliamentary pressure caused a momentary loss of public confidence in this local calypso music that made producers and artists more careful about the kinds of records they produced. This episode gave pause to those who were employing calypso bands. (Neely 2007: 9–10)

The headlines of the morning and evening newspapers of the Gleaner Company—the *Daily Gleaner* and *The Star* respectively—are consistent with the account that Neely provides above. The headlines gave much attention to the offensive nature of calypso lyrics from March to June of 1956. They included:

"Move to Ban Vulgar Calypso." March 16, p.16. (*Daily Gleaner* 1956)
"Isaacs Seeks Boycott of Lewd Calypsos." April 13, p. 1. (*Star* 1956b)
"Calypsos: The Church Speaks." April 13, p. 1. (*Star* 1956c)
"Lewd Calypsos." June 9, p. 6. (*Star* 1956e)[20]

This disapproval was also articulated by journalist Hartley Neita, who reproved the offending lyrics of calypso in the newspaper:[21]

It is unfortunate that in recent times obscenity has crept into these songs . . . The attention which has been focused on calypsos, recently, has resulted with it being regarded as a dirty word. Anyone who identifies himself with [calypso] runs the risk of being regarded as a public plague, to be shunned by polite society. (Neita qtd. in Neely 2007: 13, fn. 21)[22]

The social pressure to censure calypso had an influence on the production of calypso records in Jamaica. The threat of a boycott of stores that sold a list of offending calypso records

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[20] *Daily Gleaner*. 1956. "Move to Ban Vulgar Calypso." March 16, p.16
Star. 1956b. "Isaacs seeks boycott of lewd calypsos." April 13, p. 1.
———1956c. "Calypsos: The Church Speaks." April 13, p. 1.
———1956e. "Lewd Calypsos." June 9, p. 6.
[21] Neita subsequently became press officer for the first Jamaican prime minister, then press secretary for the next four successive prime ministers.
[22] Neita, Hartley. 1956. "Calypso Contest." *Star*. June 4, p. 7.

eventually resulted in the reduced production of calypso records in Jamaica. By 1958 "Jamaican calypso was not the profitable enterprise it once was…in that year both Stanley Motto and Ivan Chin stopped making records" (Neely 2007: 11).[23]

Neely suggests that sound system producers also helped to displace the popularity and market share that calypso musicians and record producers held:

> It would appear that during this controversy, a small group of sound system owners (which included Studio One owner Clement "Coxsone" Dodd who was a member of its executive committee) organized and vowed to "do their utmost to cooperate with the Church and the public in putting an end to the playing of lewd and highly suggestive calypsos," which were seen as a threat to their livelihood. . . . The timing of this association's founding, coupled with the dates of the first ska records, suggest that a strong anti-calypso/mento stance benefited the sound system owners and fledgling producers who comprised this group. (Neely 2008: 276 fn. 4)[24]

It seems very probable that the earnest efforts at recording local R&B from 1956 onwards were not only to fulfill the demand for new music at community dances (White 1998: 16). Instead, the flurry of activity between Dodd, Reid, and Edwards may have been the manifestation of a concerted effort by these sound system owners to displace the competition from calypso musicians. The sound system owners took advantage of the "momentary loss of public confidence in the local calypso music . . . and an increased interest in American popular genres" (Neely 2007: 10, 11). Thus began the borrowing of African-American genres in the creation of local popular music in Jamaica.

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[23] However, this was not the end of calypso in Jamaica; "a calypso morality code" was instituted through the calypso competitions which had started in 1953 and again in 1956. (Neely 2007: 10; 2008: 170–172). However the lapse allowed other competitors in the music industry to make gains. Neely explains how sound system operators used the controversy to their benefit.
See also: *Star*. 1953b. "Now— A Calypso Band Contest." July 16 p.5
        ——1956. "Island Calypso Contest Coming." April 12 p. 2
[24] Neely based this discussion on an article in the newspaper with headlines that read:
"Vote to Mute: Sound System Operators Form Association"
Star. 1956d. "Vote to mute: Sound System Operators Form Association" June 6, p.1.

Attraction to African American Genres

The interest in African American popular genres among the masses was fostered by sound system operators, who provided music for community dances using turntables with huge speaker boxes from as early as the 1940s (Neely 2008). They would play the latest rhythm and blues (R&B) from the U.S.A. for the masses. Hutton reports on the popularity of sound system dances:

> Thousands of dance goers would turn out weekly, especially from Friday evening to Sunday morning to dancehalls and lawns and other ritualized dance spaces across Jamaica. From an iconic venue such as Forrester's Hall at Love Lane and North Street, Kingston, to the ubiquitous zinc or bamboo, or coconut frond (or any combination of these) enclosed space with or without roof annexed to a rum bar or by itself, dancehalls sprang up in large numbers across Jamaica, signaling the making of a cultural revolution that was to have a profound ontological impact on Jamaica and the world. . . . There was no section of Jamaica that was not touched by the sound system and the movement it engendered; not even in places like Jericho in Hanover that did not have electricity in the 1950s. You see, sound systems tended to have their own source of portable electricity. Systems were powered with batteries and portable generators and were thus able to operate just about anywhere. And so iconic sound systems were played not only in Kingston and St. Andrew and urban centers such as Spanish Town, Montego Bay and May Pen; they could and did play at other venues. (Hutton 2007: 18–20)

There is significance in the way that African American genres were introduced into Jamaican popular culture. It was not imposed on the population, as in cultural dominance (Wallis and Malm 1984; Naroll and Wirsing 1976: 194). The attraction to boogie woogie and jump R&B was just that; it was a voluntary cultural change that was facilitated by "insider" culture bearers: the sound system operators. Witmer notes this in his description of popular music in Kingston prior to 1960:

> It is the unanimous contention of informants and published reports that the music heard at Sound System events during the 1950s was almost exclusively

American rhythm and blues. During the late 1950s and early 1960s, American rhythm and blues records were increasingly supplemented by the products of the fledgling local recording industry. This did not appreciably change the overall complexion of the musical fare of Sound System events: the majority of early (that is, late 1950s and early 1960s) Jamaican recordings were strongly derivative of American R&B. Indeed, it may not be too farfetched to suggest that one of the underlying incentives for the rise of a local recording industry in the late 1950s was to cater to the Jamaican music and dance fans' tastes for an earlier style of rhythm and blues that was by that date no longer being adequately met by the American recording industry. (Witmer 1987: 15–16)

The sound system operators presented their audiences with new music that they would either accept or reject. The operators would then continue to supply music to which the audience responded positively, as a matter of good business sense, in order to stay ahead of the competition (See Stolzoff 2000). For this reason I assert that the introduction of R&B in Jamaica was voluntary, a type of cultural exchange and not caused by cultural dominance.

Duplication and Internalization in the Emergent Recording Industry

Most narratives of JPM suggest that the decrease in supply of R&B recordings from the USA resulted in recording local singers from as early as 1956 by Clement Dodd. Duke Reid started recording local singers in 1958, followed, in turn, by Vincent "King" Edwards (White 1998: 16).[25] Stolzoff asserts that sound system producers' initial efforts at recording locally produced popular music was simply to duplicate African American R&B songs using local singers (Stolzoff 2000: 59). However, the practice of duplicating American genres actually started in the 1930s with swing bands. Witmer explains this:

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[25] The first available sound recording service became available in May 1947; it was owned by Ken Khouri and his first commercial release occurred in August 1951 (Neely 2007: 2–3). Stanley Motta opened his recording studio in November 1950 at 93 Hanover Street; he made "38 records between 1953 and 1955; 18 of these records were exclusively for the hotel" (Neely 2007: 8). Khouri and Motta are predecessors to what Neely call the "entrepreneurial producers": Dodd, Reid, and King Edwards, as well as Prince Buster (Neely 2007: 2–3). However, I would prefer to use the term "sound system" producers for Dodd, Reid, and Edwards; other producers who did not have a sound system, but had cash to fund a recording project, would be the "entrepreneurial" producers.

Considering the apparent pervasiveness of the American swing band movement in Jamaican urban popular music culture, it is not surprising that local popular singers also came under the influence of American models associated with the swing tradition. During the 1940s and 1950s, band singers 'were usually compared with and given the names of well known international stars. Julian Ilfa was the local Perry Como and Buddy Ilner was the local 'Frank Sinatra' The practice dates back to at least the late-1930s, when Denzil Laing 'was billed as the local Bobby Breen . . . then an internationally famous singer.' (Witmer 1987: 11–12)

Thus, duplication was the first step in borrowing R&B in Jamaica's recording industry. The next stage in the evolution of JPM, based on Phillips and Ochs' model of cultural change, was the process of "internalizing" the foreign genre. The internalization of R&B started with the use of Jamaican voices and accents instead of mimicking the vocal aesthetics of North American singers as described above. Chang and Chen note the changes to popular music recordings in the late 1950s:

Jamaican music of the late 50s 'proto-ska' period did not merely imitate R&B. Many songs of early artists . . . were clearly in the mento and Jamaica revivalist stream. Even when an R&B format was used, a very strong indigenous element is heard. (Chang and Chen 1998: 22)

The internalization of R&B also included changes in the accompaniments of songs. The accompaniments were "localized" with indigenous rhythms. Stolzoff notes that "by the end of the 1950s, the local R&B sound had shifted into something uniquely Jamaican. It was combined with several different Jamaican folk idioms, most notably mento music, to create a new genre called *ska*" (Stolzoff 2000: 59). A clear example of the use of folk idioms is the use of *burru* drumming in "Oh Carolina," produced by Prince Busta in 1960 (Katz 2003: 33). However, an earlier and more significant instance of the "internalization" of R&B was "Easy Snappin'" which was recorded in 1956 (Katz 2003: 23).

"Easy Snappin'" brings to our attention the role of technology and the collaboration between musicians that resulted in many of the innovations in JPM. Close listening to this song

will reveal a division of labour, a close interplay, between the bassist and the piano player; together they perform the boogie shuffle beat in the accompaniment of the song. The bass player, Cluett Johnson, played a slow walking bass pattern of four notes descending, one note per beat. The piano player, Theophilus Beckford, then played a chord, short and detached, after each of Johnson's bass notes; together, they more or less mimic the boogie shuffle. [26]

Beckford was also miked for singing, which required the positioning of the mike near his mouth and the piano. The position of the mike would have resulted in the prominence of the piano in relation to the other instruments. Therefore the sounds from the piano—the offbeat— was accented due to the mike. The prominent "off beat"—an accent after each beat in quadruple time—was subsequently copied by other musicians in other recordings, and eventually grew into a genre. [27] Thus, "Easy Snappin'" is usually described as a transitional song between boogie woogie and ska (White 1998: 18).

Cluett Johnson and His Blues Blasters have received little recognition for their contribution to ska in JPM popular literature. Instead, the Skatalites (formed 1964, disbanded

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[26] A peer of Beckford, Bobby Ellis, states that Beckford accented the offbeat because he couldn't accurately play the boogie woogie beat and that the song is really a slow-motion boogie (Ellis qtd. in Peter I "Mr. Hornsman"). This is similar to Garth White's comments on this:

> I must give a humorous thing that we used to say about Theophilus Beckford. We used to say that the reason why "Easy Snappin'" is so slow was that although Theophilus Beckford was a fairly accomplished player, he had difficulty in coordinating that right hand playing the chord with the left hand playing the bass. So that is why you have that space in "Easy Snappin'" because he is playing the ska. He is the main man playing it. (Hutton and White 2007: 88)

Indeed, a comparison between "Boogie in my Bones", a precursor and "Girl I've Got a Date" a standard ska song, reveals that "Easy Snappin'" does sound more like the former. The song's close resemblance to the boogie shuffle resides in the relationship between the piano and the bass, which seems to share the shuffle/boogie beat. Also, in jump blues the pianist uses the left hand to play the walking bass, and the right hand to play the chords; this may be heard in Louis Jordan's "Ain't Nobody Here But Us Chickens."

[27] Other features of ska include a large band with horns, organ or piano, lead guitar, rhythm guitar, bass, drums, congas and percussion reminiscent of the big band era. There is often a subdued variation of a walking bass in common time such as on "Happy Go Lucky Girl" and "Tougher than Tough." However as the genre matured, the walking bass, a residue from boogie, was abandoned. A feature which many ska songs also retained from big band/jazz tradition is a solo section for horns such as can be heard on "Hard Man Fe Dead." There are also a number of instrumentals of which the most popular are "Eastern Standard Time," "Man in the Street" and "Guns of Navarone." The tempo in "Easy Snappin'" is a moderate pace, however; as the genre developed it became predominately quick.

1965) are usually heralded as the creators of ska. However, a contemporary of Johnson and a former Skatalite, Johnny Moore, admits that Clue J and His Blues Blasters are more significant to the evolution of ska than many realize:

> "I wouldn't say that the Skatalites invented ska. The Skatalites made an enormous contribution to its development. Ska appeared with Cluett Johnson and the Blues Blasters" . . . praising the shuffle-boogie group who recorded for the producer Clement "Coxsone" Dodd in the late fifties. The Skatalites replaced the Blues Blasters as Dodd's house band at Studio One, but they graduated to issuing singles under their own name (Perrone: 2008).

Moore's remarks are in tandem with Tommy McCook, the band leader of the Skatalites, who admitted that ska was in vogue before he returned to Jamaica in 1962 (Foster 1999: 11). The members of Clue J and His Blues Blasters included Cluett Johnson, Ernest Ranglin, Roland Alphonso, Theophilus Beckford, Ken Richards, Rico Rodriguez, and Arkland "Drumbago" Parks among others. They were a part of the first generation of studio musicians in Jamaica's emergent recording industry.[28] The first generation was more active before and during the *emergence* of ska (c.1957–1961); these men were born during the 1920s to mid-1940s (Bradley 2001:193, 230).[29] The second generation, born after 1945, became active during the emergence of rock steady (1966 to1967) and early reggae (1968 to mid-1970s). Exceptions to this were musicians who started working when they were minors, such as organist Jackie Mittoo, who was born in 1948 but became active in the recording industry (part time) c.1962 at age 14.

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[28] This list was obtained from *The Virgin Encyclopedia of Reggae* (Larkin 1998: 63). However, *Discogs.com* lists other musicians who recorded with Clue J; they include: Aubrey Adams, Bobby Gaynair, Dennis "Ska" Campbell, Dennis Sindry, Don Drummond, Ian Pearson, Johnny Moore, Joseph A. Gordon, Keith Stoddart, Ken Williams, Lester Sterling, Lloyd Brevett, Lloyd Knibbs, Lloyd Mason, and Tommy McCook.

[29] A number of women participated in the recording industry as singers, and there was one female producer, Sonia Pottinger. However, there is no mention of female session musicians in recording credits, archives or in popular literature. This may be partly due to the fact that the training institutions for musicians were for males; this includes the Alpha School for Boys and the bands of the Jamaica Defence Force. From my own experience, career choices for women instrumentalists in Jamaica are limited to teaching, playing cabaret in hotels, jazz bands, churches, and choirs.

CHAPTER 5: CAREER BIOGRAPHY

Jackie At Home

In 1988 Mittoo was asked about his position on change and new technology in JPM:

> **Tafari:** As a musician you no doubt find some of the new electronic equipment like the electronic keyboards and the drum machines to be a great creative tool when you are designing new compositions. How do you view this creative aspect of the new technology compared with the fact these machines could take away your work and make you redundant?
>
> **Mittoo:** Well you must have changes. You have the original acoustic instrumental and you have modern technology bring in electronic instruments with computer work. Each one, if used carefully can give a special effect. But the electronic age is now and you have to accept that.
>
> **Tafari:** Which sound do you prefer?
>
> **Mittoo:** I specialize in both actually. (Mittoo qtd. in Tafari 1988: 24)

A necessary component in change is an aptitude for change. In this section I will show that Mittoo's flexibility and fearlessness of change was developed in his childhood, due to the circumstances of his birth and the environment in which he was raised.

<u>1948–1960: The Formative Years in Tobolski</u>

There are variances in JPM literature concerning the details of Mittoo's birth and childhood.[1] Keyo states that Jackie was born in Euton Square in Kingston, while other sources state his place of birth as Brown's Town or St. Ann, or Montego Bay. However, the Jamaican Government's records of births and deaths at the Registrar General's Department clarify a number of issues.[2] Jackie Mittoo was born Donat Roy Edwards on March 3, 1948.[3]

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[1] In this chapter I do not adhere to the convention of using last names only in some citations. I use first names, by necessity, to differentiate one Mittoo from the next.

[2] Mittoo's birth certificate is very scant; his father's name is not given.

[3] His father's family name was likely Edwards. Jackie's ex-wife, Barbara, and the mother of his youngest son,

He was born in the Belizario Nursing Home on Upper West Avenue in Newton Square, Kingston. The nursing home seemed to be a popular birthing centre and it was operated by Nurse Agatha Belizario in the 1930s and 1940s.[4]

Dorothy Mittoo returned to her parents' home in Tobolski, St. Ann with baby Donat. However, Dorothy would call him Jackie in addition to his official name of Donat, which is of Latin/Celtic origin meaning "given." Dorothy explains why she chose to call him Jackie before his birth: "I said to myself I didn't know whether it was a girl or boy, so I got a name that I could call him whether it was a girl or boy."[5] Marlene Simpson, the mother of Jackie's youngest son, states that "Jackie used to laugh about his own name. I would ask, 'why did your mom call you Jackie?' And he laughed and said, 'because she thought I was going to be a girl'" (Interview with Simpson, 2014). Dorothy remained in Brown's Town until an opportunity to study nursing at the University College of the West Indies (UCWI) pulled her away to Kingston in 1952, when Jackie was four years old.[6] She graduated from UCWI in 1954, and remained in Kingston until 1961 during which time she married and then migrated to the USA, where she still resides (Interview with Mittoo-Walker, 2013).[7] Jackie remained in Tobolski under the care of his maternal grandparents—Joseph Wordsworth Mittoo and Leila May Mittoo nee Bodden—until he lived on his own. Mittoo's profiles invariably mention the

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Marlene, attests that Mittoo eventually met his father (Interviews with Tourigny 2014, and Simpson 2014).

[4] Nurse Belizario was listed quite frequently in the *Daily Gleaner* as being in attendance for a number of births and she also provided health advice in the paper. The term 'nursing home' may connote a place for palliative care for the elderly; however in Jamaica that was not its sole function. There are still nursing homes in Jamaica that offer services as a birthing center.

[5] Telephone interview with Mittoo-Walker, Dec. 2013

[6] Jackie's ex-wife, Barbara, states that when Jackie was younger he yearned for a close relationship with his mother: "He used to talk about his grandmother and grandfather, how nice they were. They were the only parents that he knew. When the grandmother died [in 1983] it was very devastating for him" (Interview with Tourigny, 2014).

[7] This information was garnered from a newspaper article that named Dorothy as a nurse graduand and the recipient of an award for her studies. Source: "Nurses Again Asked to Stay at Home." *Daily Gleaner*. July 28, 1954.

influence of his grandmother, therefore a look at their lifestyle together provides some insight

into his primary or initial *habitus*.

The Grandparents

Joseph and Leila Mittoo seemed to have had some status in Jamaican society, based on

the attention given to this couple in the *Daily Gleaner*. Their marriage announcement was

published in the newspaper in December 1923. This was followed by an article titled

"Wedding at Duncans" on December 14, 1923, which described their wedding ceremony. The

article provides details that indicated their status in Jamaican society. Indeed the presence of

this article in the newspaper was itself a sign of their status, according to Moore and

Johnson's description of wedding customs of the elite in Jamaican society in the early 1900s:

> The normal pattern was for Jamaican elite (including Jewish) weddings to be
> extravagant affairs. Some of these were reported in the local press with full
> descriptions about decorations, dress, gifts, and so on. Some persons also
> announced their weddings in the press. . . . Elite bridal parties were usually very
> elegantly and expensively attired for these occasions. . . . At the weddings of the
> elite, the bride was normally "given away" by her father or, in his absence the
> closest adult male relative (Moore and Johnson 2011: 61-64)

The details of the Mittoo's wedding that were reported in the *Daily Gleaner* included the

background of the couple, intricate details of the dresses of the bride and her bridal party, and

the credentials of distinguished guests.[8] The article also provided some information on the

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[8] Below is an excerpt from the article:
    A very pretty wedding was solemnized on Wednesday afternoon last at the Kettering Baptist Church.
    The contracting parties were Mr. Joseph Wordsworth Mittoo of Fullersfield, Westmoreland and Miss
    Leila Bodden of Kettering. Mr. Wendell Bodden acted as groomsman and Miss A. Bodden as bridesmaid.
        The ceremony was performed by the Rev. A. W. Meredith, assisted by the Rev. D. D. Parnther,
    B. A. Mrs. F. Ferreira presided at the organ and Mr. M. Saunders of Balaclava accompanied on the violin.
    The church was tastily decorated for the occasion. The bride looked charming as she entered the church,
    leaning on the arm of her father, Mr. James Bodden, who gave her away. She was attired in a very pretty
    dress of white crepe satin, with a richly headed tunic of silk crepe de chine, latest of Paris. The train was
    of white satin trimmed with orange blossoms, and was carried by Miss Ruby Isaacs. On her head she
    wore a white coronet, beaded in diamonds and trimmed with orange blossoms, and a beautifully flossed

background of the bride and groom; it stated that Joseph was the chief sugar boiler of The

Jamaica Sugar Estate in Duckensfield and that Leila was a resident of Kettering.[9]

Joseph was of East Indian heritage; his parents, Robert and Frances Mittoo, were from

Paul Island, Westmoreland.[10] He eventually became a sugar chemist and his activities and

influence in the community are noted in the *Daily Gleaner*. This includes an article that he

wrote for the newspaper,[11] a notice of his return from a vacation in November 1947,[12] and a

paragraph about his brother visiting from New York in the society column of the paper,

among others. Dorothy Mittoo-Walker states that her father, Joseph, was "very quiet and God

fearing; he never raised his voice" (Interview with Mittoo-Walker, 2013).

Leila's parents were James and Emma Bodden of Kettering, Trelawny. Kettering was

one of the "free villages" established in 1844 by missionary William Knibbs of the Baptist

church in Jamaica. Free villages were established on land purchased by churches "to alleviate

the harsh period of the apprenticeship after the abolition of slavery in 1838" (Hall 1992: 255).

It is also the opinion of historians that free villages were occupied by the "Browns" of

Jamaican society, who were favoured to occupy positions of leadership in their communities

(Hinton 1847: 465–466).[13] On September 24, 1932, a notice of Leila's appointment as acting

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tulle. In her hand she carried a bouquet of Eucharist lilies and maiden hair ferns. The train bearer was dressed in lemon silk crepe de chine, trimmed with radium, lace and hat to match.

    The chief bridesmaid, Miss Aytle Bodden wore a dainty dress of lemon silk crepe de chine, trimmed with radium lace, and rose buds, a hat to match and a brooch presented by the bridegroom. The cushion bearers were the Misses G. and W. Ogilvie. The girl was Miss Erna Saunders who looked very graceful in her dress of lemon silk. The bouquet carriers, the Misses Nesta Bodden and Agnes Miller wore dainty dresses of peach crepe de chine, trimmed with radium lace and beads. Other flower bearers were the Misses Minel and Elsie Miller, who were also attired in peach crepe de chine. As the bride and bridegroom left the church they were sprinkled with a shower of petals by Miss C. Franklin. ("Wedding at Duncans." *Daily Gleaner*. Dec 14, 1923. p.22)

[9] Source: "Wedding at Duncans." *Daily Gleaner*. Dec 14, 1923. p.22

[10] Source: the death notice of Cecil Mittoo. *Daily Gleaner*. Nov. 11, 1916. p. 2.

[11] "Letters to the Editor: Further Views Expressed." *Daily Gleaner*. March 18, 1940 p.8.

[12] *Daily Gleaner*. November 1, 1947 p.14. This would have been 4 months before Jackie was born.

[13] James Bodden was frequently mentioned in the activities of the Baptist church in the *Daily Gleaner*. He was a

headmistress of an infant school was advertised in the *Daily Gleaner*.[14] In a period when

women were often marginalized, and twelve years before universal adult suffrage in Jamaica,

Leila had a career in early childhood education.[15] Dorothy Mittoo-Walker explains that her

mother had much influence in her community as an educator, and that she worked in a

number of schools around the island.[16]

Joseph and Leila's work life seemed somewhat nomadic. They both had careers that

required them to work in various parts of the island for extended periods of time. Mittoo-

Walker states that at times the care of their children was left to Leila's parents, James and

Emma Bodden.[17]

> We stayed in different places according to where she worked. We lived in Falmouth,
> Stewart Town, Alexandria, Duncans, and anywhere she worked. We lived with the
> grandparents when mama had to work in schools where there were no
> accommodations for us. They [grandparents] lived in Duncans. . . . It was when I was
> a teenager, that I started living in Brown's Town. We settled down there in a place
> called Tobolski, miles out of Brown's Town. (Interview with Mittoo-Walker, 2013)

Travelling seemed to be a way of life for this family. Career advancement in the Mittoo

family required moving and boarding for the adults and the children; everyone had to

sacrifice, and grandparents helped when they were needed. Joseph and Leila eventually

settled with their daughters, Dorothy and Gloria, in a house on a hill in Tobolski, Brown's

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lay preacher in the church as well as a fisherman.

[14] *Daily Gleaner*. Sept. 24, 1932, p.2.

[15] Buddan, Robert. 2004. "Universal Adult Suffrage in Jamaica and the Caribbean since 1944." *Social and Economic Studies* 53 (4): 135-162.

[16] Telephone interview with Mittoo-Walker, Dec. 2013.

[17] Dorothy Mittoo-Walker describes the time spent with her grandparents:
> Growing up we had to go to church in the morning, then to the big service they had for everybody, then at 4 o'clock to the service for young people, and then in the night we had to go to night service. We went to church all day. We went to church 4 times a day because my grandfather was a lay reader and he would preach in the big service. We had to go to church. She [Emma Bodden] was a very quiet person. She didn't go out very much. She was always at home, with her papers, like a queen at home. They lived across from the church in Duncans. (Interview with Mittoo-Walker, Dec. 2013)

Town.[18] Dorothy describes the physical environment of the house in which Jackie was also

raised:

> The home was around three miles from the town center in an area called Tobolski, and there were only a few other houses around. It was a four-bedroom house with a garden on the property. There were orange trees, pimento trees and they also grew bananas and yams; laborers were hired to farm the land. Jackie went to Brown's Town Government School where his grandmother worked. She would teach him at the school, and then they would walk home. He was a very intelligent child. They would call him a little wise old man; he was always making profound statements. (Interview with Mittoo-Walker, 2013)[19]

Dorothy describes a very tranquil, unrushed environment surrounded by nature that she

witnessed before leaving Tobolski, when Jackie was four years old. After Dorothy went to

study in Kingston, Mrs. Mittoo accepted a position to teach in an all age school in Linton

Park, which was some distance away from Tobolski.[20]

Jackie Lives the Boarder's Life

Mrs. Mittoo found accommodation for herself and Jackie with the Harris family in

Linton Park; therefore Jackie came to experience some of the nomadic lifestyle his mother

had known as a child. Godfrey Harris-McLean, who lived in the home where Jackie and his

grandmother boarded, relates his time spent with Jackie:

> Our school was in the Baptist church up in the country and so he [Jackie] would be there with his grandmother. The school was kept in the Baptist church; the government rented the church to run the school. She [Mrs. Leila Mittoo] was a teacher in Linton Park in St. Ann. Tobolski is in walking distance, that was where Dorothy grew up, and that was where Mr. and Mrs. Mittoo lived. In the early 1950s Mrs. Mittoo came to teach and so she boarded at the Harris's house. She boarded for quite a few years . . . Jackie was with her because his mother was away at school. He was like my little kid brother. He was a nice guy; he liked to play with the kids around. . . . I remembered her [Mrs. Mittoo] so much because she mothered me and

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[18] Melva Harris, a school friend of Jackie at Linton Park describes it as "an ordinary house on a big parcel of land. It was built from red earth and white lime . . . the roof had cabling." (Telephone interview with Melva Harris, May 2014)

[19] Telephone interview with Dorothy Mittoo-Walker, December 2013.

[20] Telephone interview with Godrey Harris-McLean, May 2014.

she was a bit strict. She was a disciplinarian and she was a very good teacher. Everybody in that district respected her. You don't do things in front of Mrs. Mittoo. (Interview with Harris-McLean, 2014)

Godfrey explained that Tobolski was actually in walking distance from the school, but they boarded during the week because the distance would have been difficult for Jackie to walk to and from Tobolski every day.

Thus Jackie learned to live as a boarder, which differs significantly from residing in one's own home. The boarder's life means understanding how to be a good guest and learning the rules of the host's household, which may be different from one's home. Not all children grasp the difference. The boarder's life also means becoming comfortable with leaving behind belongings and travelling light, with only what you need. The fact that they were able to board there for "a few years" meant that Mittoo behaved and adapted appropriately. The skills learned in living the life of a boarder would serve Mittoo later as a transnational musician who travelled extensively.

Godfrey also states that Mittoo "liked to play with the kids around." This may have been an incentive to go to Linton Park and a welcome change from Tobolski where, as Dorothy reports, "there were no other children around" (Interview with Mittoo-Walker, 2013). Melva Harris, a school friend of Jackie's at Linton Park recalls his popularity among the children at Linton Park School:

> We were at school together where his grandmother was a teacher at Linton Park School. He used to board with Godfrey. In the early 50s everybody were friends and because his grandmother was the teacher, they used to idolize him. You know, as a teacher's child. We would play together but most of the time the grandmother would have him around the piano. He was a brilliant student. (Interview with Melva Harris, 2014)

In this social setting Jackie was popular and he had his keyboard; he may have been high on the social ladder among the children. Harris's impression of Mittoo's academic aptitude is

also significant, because for many of the school's alumni, Linton Park was the only formal education they would receive.[21] Based on Harris's report, Jackie excelled at this school and he enjoyed popularity as the "teacher's child"; this may have given him great confidence at that time.

Early Musical Training

Mittoo's flexibility with keyboards may have been a result of his early musical training, which was on two instruments: the piano and the organ. All profiles of Mittoo state that his grandmother taught him how to play the piano at age four, and there is always a stress on the "classical" aspect of his training. The stress on the "classical" nature of his training may have been to indicate that he received some instruction, which differentiates him from musicians who were self-taught.[22] The Mittoo family had a piano in their home in Tobolski, and Jackie would receive lessons from his grandmother there. Dorothy recalls that from an early age Jackie was eager to learn:

> He was determined to play. Mama always told him that when he had to play a new piece she liked to sit with him from the very beginning to see that he played it right. So this day he got a sheet with "O Promise Me" and started playing it. So mama came and said to him "wait a minute until I can get to sit with you and see you play it." But he didn't want that, he wanted to play it right then. However she was busy and told him to stop playing until she had the time to teach him the piece properly. Jackie was upset, because he wanted to play the piano, so he sat with his back to the keyboard obediently. However, he rested his chin in one hand and with the other hand he played the song perfectly with his back still turned to the piano. (Interview with Mittoo-Walker, 2013) [23]

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[21] The all age school is revered by its alumni, who call it Linton Park University; in fact there was one student who boasts that in the 1960s he went from Linton Park to enroll in a University in the United States (Facebook: Linton Park Crew).

[22] The typical markers of classical training for pianists in Jamaica, even during this period, are the graded exams of the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music (ABRSM). The Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music started administering exams in Jamaica in 1832. Musicians who take ABRSM exams usually mention the grades that they completed, such as Michael "Ibo" Cooper and Stephen "Cat" Coore who Moskowitz refers to as "formally" trained (Moskowitz 2006: 69–70).

[23] Telephone interview with Dorothy Mittoo-Walker, December 2013.

Dorothy states that it was at this point that her mother decided that she would need to "pay attention to his training . . . she was the only one to teach him" (Interview with Mittoo-Walker, 2013).

Godfrey Harris-McLean also took lessons with Mrs. Mittoo at Linton Park, however the instrument on which he was taught was an organ. Harris-McLean describes the classes:

> Mrs. Mittoo taught us both to the play the organ and it was the pump organ. She gave me lessons on the organ in the church. She gave lessons to anyone who wanted. She was very good at the organ. She taught me how to play the organ from a book called *Smallwood.* She would stay after school [for the lessons]. It was not a very structured session; students would come for lessons if they wanted. (Harris-McLean 2014)

The iconic yellow *Smallwood's Piano Tutor* used to be a very popular book for piano lessons in Jamaica. The use of this book for an organ class indicates that they were learning to play the keyboard of the organ and not the foot pedals. Furthermore, the pump organ has only one manual (keyboard) and no foot pedals. The feet are used to pump pedals which push air into the mechanism of the instrument to produce sound while playing. This may explain why Mittoo did not play the foot pedals. Based on these two accounts Mittoo received instruction on the piano while in Tobolski, and his lessons in Linton Park were on an organ.

Lessons on the piano and the organ would have helped Mittoo to develop his technique for both instruments. Although the piano and organ are both keyboards, in my experience the approach to playing these two instruments differ. The piano requires a different technique, or "touch," in playing because of the resistance of the keys and the "action" of the piano. The sound from the piano is produced by a hammer striking strings; the sound then starts to fade immediately after the keys are struck. This differs from the organ; its keys have less resistance and the sound produced by the organ is sustained indefinitely, until the finger is lifted from the key. The difference is realized in Mittoo's repertoire: the organ is

used to play the lead melodic line in most of his recordings, while the piano is usually used to play chords, or what the credits in his liner notes call a piano "shuffle" (Liner notes for *The Jackie Mittoo Showcase*. 1978. Sonic Sounds).

Jackie's Change of Name

A significant event in the life of the average Jamaican child, post-1957, was taking the Common Entrance Examination.[24] Between the ages of 10 and 12, children in Jamaica take the Common Entrance Exam to compete for a "free" place in a high school. This rite of passage may have been even more significant for Jackie because the process required proof of age. His grandmother would not have needed to show his birth certificate to any school administrator before this point, because he attended the schools where she taught and therefore his last name —Edwards— and legal status would not have been detected. However, either taking the exam or registering for the high school would have required official birth documents, which would reveal that Jackie was born out of wedlock. It may have been for this reason that on March 27, 1958, a few weeks after Jackie's 10th birthday, Dorothy applied for his change of name. A public notice of his change of name and deed poll was advertised in the *Daily Gleaner* on April 24, 1958.[25] The deed poll emphasized that Jackie could not revert to the use of Edwards, hence the reason that the name "Edwards" is not listed anywhere in JPM discourse or in any literature. In fact, the notice in the *Daily Gleaner* is the only public mention of Mittoo's birth name—Donat Roy Edwards.

There is no mention of what prompted the change of name; however there may have been several advantages in doing so. A change of name was not necessary to attend high

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[24] The examinations started in 1957; the examination is currently called GSAT.
[25] "Notice of Change of Name" *Daily Gleaner*. April 24, 1958, p.25

school, however Jackie was known in his community as a Mittoo,[26] and there may have been a concern that producing another surname would bring unwanted questions about the legal status of the child. The name change may have been welcomed by his grandparents, since they only had girls and no boys to carry on the Mittoo name from Joseph's line. The name change also gave Jackie a unique identity; it averted confusion with another popular Jamaican singer of the late 1950s and early 60s named Jackie Edwards. Whatever the reason for the change of name, this would have been a significant event in the life of any ten-year-old child, and overall it seemed to be advantageous for Mittoo's standing in Jamaican society and for his career.

This major event may have instilled a sense of self-determination in the boy, that he could make decisions about himself and by himself. He also had to learn how to keep a secret, and based on the comments of his ex-wife Barbara, Mittoo adhered to the terms of the deed poll: "He never spoke about the change of his name. In his mind he was a Mittoo. That's how he grew up, with his grandparents' name" (Interview with Tourignay, 2014). The importance of self-agency and privacy were early lessons for Mittoo as a child.

1960–1962: High School

In this section I will discuss other formative influences that may have impacted Mittoo's attitude towards music making while still in his childhood, from around age eleven to age thirteen. In the quote below he mentions the two high schools he attended and the bands that he played with:

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[26] This is based on my interviews with his childhood friends and associates.

Tafari:	When you started to play music yourself, which set of musicians did you start off working with?
Mittoo:	There were bands from school days.
Tafari:	Which school you went to?
Mittoo:	You had the York Castle High School in Browns Town (St. Ann) in Jamaica. And you had Kingston College as well. So from school bands to the Rivals on the road. Bands like The Vagabonds, The Vikings, all the pirate names you can find in the line of bands dem time deh. But eventually studio work became my sort of every day occupation. (Tafari 1988: 25)

York Castle High School

Most profiles of Mittoo do not acknowledge that he attended York Castle High School; instead they only mention Kingston College. [27] However, Jackie attended York Castle High School for one or two years before moving to Kingston at age 13. Singer Ernie Smith, who attended York Castle for 5 years from 1958 to 1963, remembers Mittoo being there:

> He [Jackie] came to York Castle for a while, but he didn't stay long. Maybe a year or two, I'm not sure exactly how long. I was a little ahead of him at the school. I only remember him on the piano and outside the piano room. I just remember the smile on his face; he was a pleasant person. . . . He was good on the piano. He played for a couple of concerts. I remember him getting hairy while still wearing short pants; I think he went to KC when he left York Castle. (Interview with Ernie Smith, 2014)[28]

Arnold Bertram also remembers seeing Mittoo at York Castle High; he was performing at a school function:

> My sister and brother attended York Castle [High]. I remember the first time I went there; I went to the prize giving. To play at your prize giving means you have some

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[27] KC is a high school for boys that is renowned for its choir and its significant output of singers and music industry personnel. They include Keith Rowe, Norris Weir, Howard Barrett, Dobby Dobson, and Clive Chin among others.

[28] Telephone interview with Ernie Smith. March 2014.

standing in the school. I don't think he [Mittoo] could have been in more than third form at the time. For prize giving you normally select your best students to perform; so that means he already had some standing there. And I remember the piece he chose to play; "The theme from *A Summer Place*" which means from that early age he had an exposure. The "Theme from *A Summer Place*" is from a movie; it's not the regular everyday thing you hear on popular radio channels. And he did well, he did very well. (Interview with Arnold Bertram, March 2014)[29]

Jackie's performance may have left an impression on Bertram because the movie was released only shortly before, in 1959. In those days worldwide releases of movies were not simultaneous; movies took some time to reach Jamaica. Furthermore, the vinyl version of the theme from the movie was issued in 1960. This information helps to place Mittoo at York Castle in 1960. Bertram may have only just seen the movie, hence the fact that he states that it was not on the radio and the marked impression that Mittoo's performance had on him. This observation also indicates that the 12 year-old Mittoo was playing by ear, a skill that he would have needed for his gigs and his studio work. It also indicates that at York Castle playing the piano brought Jackie favorable attention.

Some sources claim that Mittoo started performing publicly at age 10 in Brown's Town and that he played with a band. His mother, Mittoo-Walker, contests this; she asserts that there was no opportunity for performance in Brown's Town other than Mittoo playing for his grandfather. However, in an interview with Sebastian Clarke in 1977, Jackie informed Clarke that he had a band called "Jackie Mittoo and the Ragtime Band." Mittoo stated that their repertoire included ragtime as well as straight R&B (Clarke 1980: 67; Hawke 2005). Jackie would also play at school functions as witnessed by Bertram and Smith. Additionally, Smith reported that Mittoo found opportunities to play on the North Coast:

He was gigging, playing at night on the North coast when he was 12 or 13 at a club called Alterry in Priory. He was playing down there at nights, probably to

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[29] Telephone interview with Arnold Bertram. March 2014.

earn some pocket money. I'm not sure if it's [the club] still there. Alterry is in Priory in St. Ann, a few miles out of St. Ann's Bay. (Interview with Smith, 2014)[30]

Playing for his grandparents and school events brought admiration and affirmation for the young Mittoo, it made him special within his community. However, the chance to make money at age 12 would have been magnetic enough for a boy to defy his elders about working in a club. Based on Smith's account, Jackie caught the gigging bug.

The Move to Harbour View

In 1961 Joseph and Leila, who had both retired, moved to Sirius Rd in Harbour View, Kingston.[31] The move to Kingston would allow Mittoo to attend Kingston College and— unknown to his grandparents—provide opportunities to work with bands.

A neighbor and childhood friend of Mittoo, Stafford "Fredlocks" Elliot, recalls the atmosphere of the Harbour View neighborhood:

> Harbour View was a middle-class community. People came from different areas...people who wanted to own their own place, who were paying rent. So this was a kind of family community, everybody know everyone after a while. When we came to Harbor View in 1960 the houses weren't finished. There were no fences; you had to build your own fence. Mittoo came to Harbour View after myself because where he lived was built after the section [housing scheme/development] where I lived was built. (Interview with Elliot, 2014)[32]

The Mittoos moved from a rural area to a more densely populated urban area. This particular community surrounded Mittoo with other families that had musical instruments. Elliot explains that the community was home to a number of musicians over time:

> Tommy McCook lived on Riverside Drive, Sunny Bradshaw lived on Mars Drive. Tony Gregory, The Viking family band related to Tessanne Chin, The Vagabonds:

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[30] Telephone interview with Ernie Smith, March 2014

[31] Locals pronounce the name of the road /sai.rus/. This is the address given in the obituary of his grandfather in the *Daily Gleaner* March 23, 1969. Keyo also mentions that the Harbour View housing scheme was a new housing development "east of Kingston at the Palisadoes roundabout" in the liner notes of *Tribute to Jackie Mittoo* (1995). In "Social and public architecture in Kingston, Jamaica" Jacquiann Lawton (2005) mentions that the development of this housing scheme started in 1960.

[32] In the mid 1980s Mittoo lived on the same street with Fredlocks Elliot on Driftwood Drive.

Sonny and Victor Wong . . . and Edmond Jarrett was the drummer. "Computer" Paul, Phillip Sherlock, The Flames with Lovindeer, Kirk Salmon, Glen Ricks, and Oswald Douglas was based in Harbour View. Sagwa Bennet a jazz musician him live on Mortello drive. Margarita Mahfood was on Coral Way. . . . Lloyd Knibb was on Driftwood. On every street you would find someone in music. It was a middleclass residential area that was peaceful for people like musicians. (Interview with Elliot, 2014)

Other persons from Mittoo's Harbour View neighborhood described the area as an "artists' commune". This is consistent with comments that Mittoo made on his first impressions of Harbour View:

In Kingston, it was the first time I start to feel proud of the piano because when you walk around and look into somebody's house, they had a piano too. Then you would stand and listen to see how good somebody was, and over my house we would listen to the latest tunes. (Mittoo in Keyo 1995)

The ability to observe other households with pianos was a new experience for Mittoo; Tobolski, Brown's Town was less populated than Harbour View. The mention of feeling proud implies that he found fellowship with kindred spirits. The Elliot boys made it a routine to call on Jackie and then explore the community with him.[33] Elliot recalls his exploits with Mittoo and his brother, Levi George Elliot, in Harbour View:

My brother and Jackie were good friends like "bench and batty." I used to go over there with my brother and his mother [grandmother] would come out an we would say hello to her. [However] his house was not one where you would go inside unlike my house, when him come and he could sit in. He [Jackie] wouldn't stay home, once you call him, him come outside and we start walk. They used to go to a house on Reel Ave and Dorado Drive that belong to a policeman name Hines. They called it "house of wax." We would pass there all the while and one day we were passing and we hear the piano playing. His son was Neville Hines, who eventually played in Byron Lee's band. Jackie hear him a play piano inside the house and Jackie say "wha?" Jackie crazy when him hear them things; and we stop and holler out to who is in there, to see if he would come out. Jackie call him out and say "Me can play piano too, yuh know!" Him [Neville] seh we can come in and me and my brother go in and him [Jackie] start play. Neville could have been a little older and we started going down there, although the father was a

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[33] This community in Harbour View was special for Mittoo; Elliot states that Mittoo returned to live in Harbour View briefly in the mid 1980s. (Telephone interview with Fredlocks Elliot, March 2014).

police, because his son play and we neva look like no ragamuffin, he would allow us to come in there and Jackie would play some tune and I would sing. A youth name Ervine lived next door, a half white youth, and through that him get close to we. (Interview with Elliot, 2014)[34]

Mittoo seemed to have blossomed in the Harbour View community; he was eager to explore and not afraid to reach out to others. However, Mittoo reached out in a unique way: he used the piano to make links with others. It's not surprising then that Mittoo would become animated whenever he saw or heard a piano as Elliot describes, which is consistent with other sources. Mittoo seemed to have learned that people were more open to him when he played, and he welcomed the opportunity to forge those links; hence playing the piano was partly a social behavior, as it enabled him to make acquaintances and become integrated into the community.[35]

Early Bands

The Rivals, Sheiks, Vagabonds, and Vikings are named as the bands that Mittoo joined when he came to Kingston. These bands provided informal training for Mittoo and immersed him in the network of musicians in Kingston.[36] These associations would be an important asset in his career.[37]

The first band that Mittoo joined after arriving in Kingston was The Rivals. This band was based in Harbour View. Elliot recalls some of the members of the band:[38]

Jackie and my brother [Levi 'Leroy' Elliot] were in the Rivals with Honeyboy

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[34] Elliot adds that Mittoo would never call him Fredlocks: "he called me 'Leroy little bredda'" (Telephone interview with Fredlocks Elliot, March 2014).

[35] Elliot felt that their dress was also important in being accepted by the policeman.

[36] Mittoo assesses the bands: "either The Rivals or The Sheiks became big name groups; they were all playing light music" (Mittoo in Clarke 1980: 68).

[37] Ellis in *Studio One Story*, 1960s chapter 11: Mittoo

[38] The patrons of these smaller bands were usually businessmen with resources to finance the purchase of instruments and other expenses of the band. Mittoo discloses the sponsor or manager of the band in Clarke (1980): "The Rivals was formed by Ansel Smart, a man who had money to buy an organ and bass guitar but could not play either" (Mittoo in Clarke 1980: 67–68).

Martin. The band was formed around 1961. I used to attend the rehearsals, my brother was a guitarist, Jackie was on keyboard, there was about five of them. I don't remember all their names. It was a Chinese man, who was managing them and actually got the band together. Most of the time, the band rehearsed in this section of Harbour View. Jackie would come and check my brother and leave from my house and go to the rehearsal beside Harbour View School . . . on Cove Avenue. They used to rehearse a lot and they did some club gigs in the Harbour View community, and the man would get other gigs for them in the corporate area at clubs in Kingston He was a rich Chinese man and I don't remember if anyone occupied the house, the living room area was where the band rehearsed, and you wouldn't see anybody in the place . . . he provided the house strictly for the rehearsal. Once we finished they would lock up. (Interview with Elliot, 2014)

Businessmen would invest in bands by purchasing instruments and equipment; in return the businessmen would receive a percentage of the band's earnings from gigs.[39] This type of patronage no doubt assisted aspiring young musicians. In the case of Mittoo, the Rivals provided training in leading and performing with a band, as well as exposure.

Singer Norma Frazer was a contemporary of Mittoo; she recalls that she first saw Jackie circa 1962 performing with the Rivals at the cinema: "Jackie was standing up and pounding his piano, while he was giving directions to the other band members. . . . He was always conscious of the other musicians and what the audience was up to, and he was always giving cues" (Frazer qtd. in Keyo 1995). Band performances at the cinema would be advertised in the *Daily Gleaner* simply as "On Stage" below the featured movies.[40] The performances were typically a half hour's duration, between 8:00 and 8:30 pm.[41]

Elliot recalled that after a few months, the band broke up when Mittoo left to join another band: "Jackie was so great that someone saw him and took him away to join the

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[39] Elliot mentions a Chinese manager, however, there is a report that the Rivals was financed by Ansel Smart (Hawke 2005).

[40] The genesis of this musical scene is explained in Witmer's description of musical life in Kingston: "the coming of moving pictures in the early twenties had created a demand for theater orchestras to play before shows and to accompany silent films" (Witmer 1987). Long after the arrival of sound films these orchestras and bands were retained to provide entertainment between shows.

[41] Many 'uptown' bands, such as Byron Lee and the Dragonaires, would perform at these venues.

Skatalites…the Rivals didn't go any further when Jackie left and Honeyboy Martin migrated."

This is consistent with Mittoo's own account that the Rivals was short-lived (Mittoo in Clarke 1980: 68). This is in agreement with Elliot's account that the band was together for less than a year. However Mittoo did not join the Skatalites immediately; he left the Rivals to join the Sheiks.

The Sheiks: The Rivals provided exposure for Mittoo, but his involvement with the Sheiks c.1962 developed his personal network. Mittoo's eulogy provides details on the other members of the Sheiks:

> Mittoo first began to attract island wide attention in late '62 when he was playing with the Sheiks band, which was managed by Ian Jones. The Sheiks included Lloyd Spence on bass, Nearlin "Lynn" Taitt on guitar, Lloyd Knibb on drums, Roy Sterling and Johnny Moore on trumpets, Headley Bennett and Bobby Gaynair on saxophone and Lloyd Wilks, Norma Frazer and Honey Boy Martin on vocals. (Keyo 1995)[42]

Some of the musicians mentioned here also performed with Cluett Johnson, whose band also worked at Federal Studios. The Sheiks had engagements at movie theatres as well as in clubs. According to Norma Frazer, the Sheiks played every Sunday between shows at movie theatres throughout East Kingston, such as the Majestic, Johnson's Drive in, Gaiety, Tropical, Rialto, and the Ambassador. They also played at clubs such as the Sombrero and Gunboat (Keyo 1995).[43] However, the importance of this band in Mittoo's career was that it immersed him in the network of record industry musicians.

There are some variances in the literature on the outcome of this band. Keyo writes that "within a year of forming, the Sheiks re-emerged as The Cavaliers Orchestra, under the

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[42] Other members of the Sheiks at various points in time included Ken Lazarus, Lloyd Wates, Dobbie Dobson (vocals) and Tony Blessed (keyboard). Winston Wright was also an organist in that band (Katz 2012: 79; Larkin 1998: 80).

[43] In his eulogy other musicians mentioned that he also played at the Carib Theatre in 1961.

management of Bill Gentles" (Keyo 1995).[44] It is more likely that the band split, with some of

the members performing under the name the Sheiks and the others formed a new band, the

Cavaliers. After the split, the Sheiks went on a tour of Toronto where they decided to stay

rather than return to Jamaica.

The Cavaliers: During 1963 while still at KC, Mittoo would play with the Cavaliers in

a club above the Regal Theatre on Sunday afternoons (Dalton and Barrow 2001: 40; Hawke

2005). Lynn Taitt recalls the circumstances surrounding the formation of the band: "A

gentleman named Lloyd Spence, who played bass, got to know that I am an arranger, I could

arrange and so we left the group [the Sheiks] and started our own group, The Cavaliers" (Taitt

qtd. in Keyo) [45] The Cavaliers' first concert was August 1963 and Taitt states that the band

only lasted around a year.[46] Mittoo continued to perform with both the Sheiks and the

Cavaliers until the Sheiks went on tour in 1963 (Katz 2012: 3; Dooley 2004). Eventually the

Cavaliers would begin touring as the Skatalites (Dalton and Barrow 2001: 40; Hawke 2005).

Mittoo's Showmanship

Mittoo made himself seen and remembered through his performance style. The

earliest recollection of Mittoo's performance style was by Arnold Bertram, who saw him

playing at a prize giving ceremony at York Castle High School c.1960. Bertram describes

Mittoo's performance style:

He was outgoing, nothing conservative about him. When he sat down at the

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[44] See also Dooley, Jim. 2004. "Rock Steady Legend Lynn Taitt." The Beat 23 (5). pp. 44–47
[45] A Tribute To Nearlin "Lynn" Taitt. Tallawah.com
[46] The band included Lloyd Spence and his father Trent Spence (drummer). Taitt states that "Spence knew two persons from Negril and they financed the start of the Cavaliers. That band was around for a year or so. Spence's father was the drummer Trenton Spence" (Tallawah.com). The Cavaliers Orchestra was described in a late 1963 article in the *Gleaner* newspaper as, "the only co-operative orchestra operating locally. Each member has a share in the band and the profits are divided." Norma Frazer recalls the Orchestra's first concert on August 1, 1963 in Kingston "as a festive affair, we knew we were going to be big". (Keyo 1995)

piano, he's just confident. He has no doubt that he's going to play and play good. No shyness at all. He played with energy; nothing laid back at all. (Interview with Arnold Bertram, 2014)

His performance practice is also mentioned by Alton Ellis, who recalls the first time he saw

Mittoo:

> I was at Treasure Isle Studio and I went to do a show in Harbour View for the government. It was some holiday . . . I was the lead vocal for Supersonic on that night in Harbour View, an open air show, and there was a little school band, who [*sic*] played before us. The school band went on and played; I see this little guy yuh kno', all over the piano, upside down, on 'im foot an' 'im head! So, I run backstage and seh "Yow, unno come here, come here! Watch dis little yout' here; and the yout' was all over the keyboard like is nothing! That was Jackie Mittoo yuh kno'. It was Jackie Mittoo. (Ellis in *Studio One Story*)

The occasion that Ellis describes above may have been in 1961 when Mittoo was 13 years old

and still involved with The Rivals, since Ellis states that he was in "a community after-school

band which was based in Harbour View" (Ellis in *The Studio One Story*). Ellis's statement

was used to introduce the section on Mittoo in *The Studio One Story*; it was probably chosen

because his performance style was what people usually recalled about his stage shows. Norma

Frazer saw Mittoo playing in a different venue, at a movie theatre in Kingston c.1962. She

states that "Jackie was standing up and pounding his piano" (Frazer in Keyo 1995). Frazer's

description gives the impression of a lot of movement in Mittoo's performance. Mittoo

maintained this style of performance as an adult.[47] In 1988, an article in the *Daily Gleaner*

described Mittoo's performance at a show in Kingston. The observation was: "Jackie Mittoo

was his usual self, clowning around with the organ, which he handles so easily, it seems more

like a toy" (*Daily Gleaner* 1988). Mittoo's standard movement was bobbing, however the

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[47] There is a video on YouTube that shows Mittoo performing at the 1984 Reggae Sunsplash in London. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=l7NsfSWJScU). There is also a channel on YouTube with a very interesting performance by a Japanese man who attempts to mimic the gestures of Mittoo's performing style (Mi3: Ghetto Organ).

climax was the use of his foot as described in the following article that outlines the highlights

of Reggae Sunsplash 1988:

> An added treat was the appearance of Jackie Mittoo, the original Studio One keyboardist and original member of the Skatalites who is credited with creating the Studio One sound. Lean and wiry, Mittoo skanked onstage and took his place behind the keyboards. Once he was in place behind the keyboards all I could see was his purple hat bobbing above the DX-7 synthesizers. At one point, Mittoo removed his right shoe, threw it across the stage and proceeded to play with his foot! I don't know what this accomplished musically but the crowd went wild for his antics. (Singer 1988: 31–32)

Michael Williams met Mittoo at *Much Music* in 1988. Williams respected and admired

Mittoo; he remarked that Mittoo was the consummate performer who gave his all in his

performances (Interview with Michael Williams, 2013). Mittoo's son Marlon defends his

father's performance style:

> The things that he could do on that keyboard were phenomenal. For someone to call him a "ham" or take a negative connotation towards his showmanship…his showmanship was his showmanship, and he had the skill level and possessed the skill level to back it up ten-fold…he could play circles around anybody. (Interview with Marlon Mittoo, December 2013)

Marlon emphasized that his father's performance practice was a part of the show, a visual that

added to the experience of the music and defined the Mittoo "brand".

The End of High School

Kingston provided an environment where Mittoo could blossom and grow as a

performer. The first place where this occurred was in his community in Harbour View and the

next was at High school—Kingston College (KC). In popular literature on JPM there are

usually two stories about Mittoo at KC. One anecdote is that Mittoo was always practicing on

the pianos at KC. VP Records executive Donald Davidson, a school friend of Mittoo, recalls

that Mittoo, who was usually quiet, would play music by Fats Domino on a piano in a room

next to the chemistry lab and in the assembly hall. Davidson states that those performances

made him popular at KC:

> I entered Kingston College in 1958 . . . Jackie Mittoo was a year or two after me.
> How I met him was that during the lunch time there was a piano that was next
> door to the chemistry lab and he used to go in there and play. While he was
> playing he attracted a lot of people, students who were looking in amazement.
> Then they moved the piano upstairs into the assembly hall. His friends used to
> block the door to the assembly hall while he is playing there and collect money
> to go in to listen to him. (Interview with Donald Davidson, 2013)

Davidson adds that school administration did not reprimand Mittoo for this. [48]

Another prevalent anecdote is that Mittoo was in a band at KC with Tyrone Downie

and Horace Swaby (a.k.a. Augusto Pablo) called the Jackie Mi-tree; this story is a myth. In an

interview with journalist Roger Steffens, Downie describes the time spent with Swaby at KC

and he does not include Mittoo as a contemporary:

> Augustus Pablo was going to the same school, Kingston College…every break
> time, every recess, he'd be in the chapel banging away the latest hits by Jackie
> Mittoo or Desmond Dekker, or God knows who . . . he even played "Mission
> Impossible!" (Downie qtd. in Steffens 1989)

The reference to "latest hits by Jackie Mittoo" indicates that they were not at school at the

same time.[49] Furthermore, Swaby was born in 1954 and attended KC in 1966, at which point

Mittoo had long dropped out of school. Swaby did not attend high school at the same time as

Mittoo. In a subsequent article titled "A tribute to Jackie Mittoo: Interpretations and

Improvisations," Downie again denies the frequently repeated story about him performing

with Mittoo in a group at KC called the Jackie Mi-tree:

> I never knew him (Jackie) while I was at KC. Jackie dropped out of school the
> year I started at KC. And funny, when I was at KC, then headmaster, Douglas
> Forrest, one day told me how I reminded him of Mittoo. And I asked why, he said

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[48] Telephone interview with Donald Davidson, 2013.

[49] Mittoo recorded "Mission Impossible" in 1967 (*In London*).

> he (Jackie Mittoo) dropped out of the same class I was in. So the headmaster
> called me Jackie Mi-Tree. (Downie in Walters 2004)

By this account Mittoo did not perform with Augusto Pablo in high school. The nickname

"Jackie Mi-tree" has its origin as a nickname given to Tyrone Downie by the principal of the

school.

Downie also mentions that Mittoo dropped out of high school; this detail is significant

because of what it reveals about Mittoo's resolve with regards to performance. Other than the

choir and the cadet drum core, there was no specific music training program at KC similar to

the band program at the Alpha school.[50] All of his gigs up this point were stage performances

with the aforementioned bands. Although Mittoo had demonstrated much talent in playing, no

reason is given for his choice to become a session musician. Nonetheless his gigs provided

some of the training that Mittoo needed for his chosen vocation (Keyo 1995).

Mittoo's next move was to find work in a recording studio. His foray into the field of

studio work took the route of most musicians who were new to the recording business: he

hung out at recording studios. There is an anecdote from Cornel Campbell who states that

Mittoo approached Randy's Studio for work:[51]

> Jackie Mittoo came there one day looking for a job and he asked me if I could ask
> my boss, Randy, if he could do recording with him. I asked him if he could play
> and he said, "Yeah man!" so I gave him the piano and he could play better than
> me. He really could play—trust me! So I said to him, "Show me a B chord" and he
> showed me. Then I went to Randy but he had his own musicians already and didn't
> need any more musicians for now. And then Jackie Mittoo went to Sir Coxsone
> Downbeat and in no time he was doing "Hot Milk" and some big tunes he played.
> Jackie Mittoo saw me there and said, "Cornel—you no remember me?" and I said,
> "No—who are you again?" and he said, "You no remember me, Jackie Mittoo, the
> guy who a check you and tell you fi tell Randy about me?" and I was like
> "Raaaaaah!" He got famous after that. (Campbell in Taylor 2010b)

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[50] Nonetheless, KC provided an environment which encouraged Mittoo's talent and inserted him into a network
that would prove significant in later years.
[51] Randy's refers to Vincent "Randy" Chin who founded VP Records.

Mittoo did not find work at Randy's, but his strategy of hanging out with the musicians at

Federal Studio would prove fruitful. It is well documented that Coxsone Dodd used Federal

Studio and he first met Mittoo there (Alleyne 2012: 270).[52]

There are variances on when Mittoo met Dodd; some accounts state that they first met

at Federal Studio as early as 1959.[53] However, it is more likely that in 1959 an 11 year-old

Mittoo was still in Brown's Town prior to moving to Kingston in 1961 at age 13 (Mittoo in

Clarke 1980, 67). The documentary, *Studio One Story,* helps to clarify the date of Mittoo's

association with Dodd and Studio One. In the documentary, Dodd stated that he asked Mittoo

to replace his regular pianist, Monty Alexander, who had migrated to the US.[54] Alexander

migrated to Florida at the end of 1961 with his family (*www.montyalexander.com*). This is

consistent with Keyo, who states that Mittoo's interest in session work started between 1961–

1962:

> In 1961 and '62, Jackie would skip, or skull school to go play at Federal Studios. Or he
> would sneak out at night to play with The Rivals or The Sheiks. It was at Federal that
> Mittoo first met producer Clement "Coxsone" Dodd, who had use for him one day
> when a piano player didn't show up for a session with Delroy Wilson. (Keyo 1995)[55]

Keyo also mentions that Mittoo was still attending school; therefore, it is likely that Mittoo

started working with Dodd on a part time basis in 1962. Davidson, recalls that Mittoo's extra-

curricular activities clashed with regular school hours, which proved problematic:

> Jackie would come to school then disappear. The headmaster found out that he
> was leaving school so he approached him and said it was either music or school so
> he decided to leave school. . . . He was there for about two years. (Interview with
> Donald Davidson, 2013).

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[52] This was a recording facility owned by Ken Khouri and used by producers who did not have their own
recording facilities (Hawke 2005).
[53] Discogs.com
[54] *Studio One Story*. 2003.
[55] The liner notes for *Tribute To Jackie Mittoo.*

Faced with a decision to either abide by the regular hours of school or work at the studio, Mittoo dropped out of high school in 1963 at age 15.[56] He chose to pursue his vocation by joining the staff at Studio One on a full time basis.[57]

Mittoo's decision to exit the educational system at age 15 was not uncommon at that time in Jamaica. In 1958 the first level of secondary education, called 'post-primary,' ended at age 15 (Miller 1990: 154–5). The purpose of post-primary schools was to offer vocational training for poor students from ages 11 –15 years, after which they were expected to find vocational jobs. Jackie's primary caregiver, his grandmother, may have been sympathetic with his decision to leave school at age 15. Leila Mittoo, who was retired by this time, had completed a long career in education, specifically in all-age schools. In the all-age school system, prior to 1957, free education was provided up to age 14 (Miller and Munroe 2014: 228).[58] Leila had taught Jackie in an all-age school; he would have been aware of his options. However, Mittoo-Walker states that Jackie's involvement with the bands, the recording studio, and his decision to drop out of school, was kept a secret from his family:

> My mother didn't even know that he was playing out. . . . They did not know that Jackie was sneaking out to play with bands. It was a surprise to them . . . I didn't even know that he dropped out of school. Mama didn't worry me about that. I don't think mama knew about that either. (Interview with Mittoo-Walker, 2013)[59]

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[56] Howard Campbell mentions that Mittoo left Kingston College while in fourth form, grade ten, to join the Skatalites (Campbell 2006). In Jamaica, the first form (or year) in high school is grade 7; students graduate from high school at the end of grade eleven (fifth form).

[57] Mittoo's irregular attendance would have come to the attention of the principal due to the fact that high schools in this period were provided funding based on the attendance of students along with other factors; they were called "grant-in-aid" schools (Miller 1990: 150; Whyte 1983: 38, 40).

[58] Miller and Munroe outline the characteristics of the school system that Leila Mittoo would have taught in; the school system changed after the 1957 education reform:

> The colonial era had produced two main public educational institutions: the all-age schools providing free elementary education for the mass of the population up to age 14 and the high school, which was fee paying, highly biased to the middle classes and small in its overall capacity. (Miller and Munroe 2014: 228-9)

[59] Telephone interview with Dorothy Mittoo-Walker, December 2013.

Mittoo-Walker stressed that the teenaged Mittoo initially kept his activities with the recording

industry covert. This would not be for long, as eventually the culture of the industry, and that

of Studio One specifically, would become manifested and have a lasting impact on his life.

1963–1968: Studio One

There is some uncertainty about Mittoo's initial role at Studio One; a number of

accounts suggest that he was hired to run the studio.[60] Indeed, Mittoo's own description of his

responsibilities at Studio One seems to imply that he was always in charge:

> Yeah well, my work at Studio One, at Coxsone, was to really put all songs together, like rearrange everything. Audition every artist. Create all the bass lines, create all the rhythm patterns. That was my job. . . . If you say Studio One, the whole Studio One catalogue consist of the rhythm tracks, which it was my duty to put together each day. (Mittoo qtd. in Tafari 1988: 25)

This account of his duties is actually a summary of his role at the end of his tenure at Studio

One. It does not account for his first years as a session musician and the learning curve that

most people have when they enter a new role or job. It also does not acknowledge the

presence of anyone else, which would not be accurate. There were seasoned musicians—such

as Ernest Ranglin, Roland Alphonso and Don Drummond—who had been working with Dodd

for a number of years when Mittoo joined Studio One in 1963.

Alton Ellis provides clarification on this, in his recollection of Mittoo's first year at

Studio One. Ellis states that Mittoo came to the studio and worked part time in his school

uniform for about a year—that would have been from 1962 to 1963 while he was still

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[60] Keyo states "Mittoo so impressed Coxsone Dodd that he was asked to run the sessions at Dodd's Studio One facility at 13 Brentford Road in Kingston when it opened in October 1963." This is incorrect, Dodd stated that Studio One opened in 1961 in an interview (Studio One Story) and Dodd's Worldisc label was being used from as early as 1958.

attending high school.[61] During this part-time stint, Mittoo was not in charge of the studio. Alton Ellis states that when Mittoo stopped wearing his uniform, it signaled that he had dropped out of school; after that he joined Studio One as full time staff.[62] There is no doubt the piano skills that Mittoo had when he was first hired were sufficient for performance and basic arranging; however there were other skills particular to the recording industry that he would have learned over time and with the help of others.

The Little Brother at Studio One

Mittoo's age, in relation to the other Skatalites, is usually mentioned in popular literature to convey his outstanding talent. In an entry in the *Encyclopaedia of Popular Music*, Colin Larkin lists the birth dates of the members of the Skatalites. Most of the members were born in the mid-1920s to the early 1930s, which indicates that Mittoo was on average 18 years younger than his colleagues.[63] Mittoo also discussed his age in relation to the other members of the Skatalites:

> Well as the youngest member, I got along fine with everyone else, because the others wanted to help me in the line of whatever it is around the group, because they loved what I was doing. Y'know, because it was hard to find a piano man who could retain the songs and they really liked me for that. So I really had a great relationship with each and everyone, even including Don Drummond . . . [It was] A great experience to work with a set of musicians, who could be grandfathers to me at the time actually. (Mittoo qtd. in Tafari 1988: 25)

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[61] Ellis in *Studio One Story*, 1960s chapter 11: Mittoo.

[62] Elliot recalls this period in Mittoo's life:
> Him [Mittoo] come to our house one day, like is school him come from. He just put his book and tie and him leave them in the house and I don't see him come back for them. That mean that him stop go school. Him leave his books and his tie in our living room and after awhile we put them in the passage locker. When he just left KC it was like he was a part of our family, it was maybe just years ago they were cleaning out and throw away Jackie things that was here for years. (Interview with Fredlocks Elliot, 2014)

[63] The date of births of the other band members are: Don Drummond (b. 1932), Roland Alphonso (b.1931), Tommy McCook (b. 1927), Jerome "Jah Jerry" Hines (b. 1921), Johnny "Dizzy" Moore (b. 1938), Lester Sterling (b. 1936), Lloyd Brevett (b. 1931), and Lloyd Knibbs (b. 1931). "Skatalites." *Encyclopaedia of Popular Music*, 4th ed. Ed. Colin Larkin. *Oxford Music Online*. (Accessed 19 Jun. 2012)

Mittoo's age may have been a sign of his great talent; however, the social dynamics of being a child in an adult environment is rarely acknowledged in literature on Mittoo. When Mittoo was hired as full time staff in 1963, his age may have also been a source of discontent for the other session musicians.[64] Lynn Taitt, who worked with Mittoo in the Sheiks and the Cavaliers commented on Mittoo's age and his initial lack of experience:

> The instruments, specifically that bass and the guitar are out of tune. Jackie Mittoo as the arranger should know that and he should correct that. That's part of the reason that Coxsone and I can't get along. Things were not done right musically. Instruments have to be in tune if you're recording. Yes, Coxsone do the most recording, but he's not a musician and as much as he love music, he can't tell when an instrument goes out of tune or he doesn't care. That's why he have Jackie Mittoo as his arranger. Jackie was a genius but he was just a boy and Coxsone give him his first job as arranger. He don't have experience arranging anywhere else. I did the arrangements for The Sheiks and the Cavaliers, not Mittoo. He was the cheapest guy Dodd could get too because he's new to it. Myself and Baba Brooks get extra pay for arranging and Dodd not willing to pay much extra. Dodd have a brand new studio and he could use an experienced arranger but he use Jackie, a 15 year-old boy. (Taitt in Keyo)

Taitt identifies some of the skills required for the job beyond playing, and suggests that there may have been some unease that the more experienced musicians were bypassed for the position of arranger (Bradley 2001: 102). Bunny Lee recalls how some of the older musicians would treat the young Mittoo:

> When Jackie jus' started out, when 'im did come an' play with Skatalites, before them did even name Skatalites, as a school youth. Beca' them big man them, all Brevett an' all them man, jus' use to say, "Shut up, bwoy!" When'im talk, them used to cow 'im down. Jackie was cool an' good fun. (Lee qtd. in Reel 2003: 13–14)[65]

The reality was that for all his talent, at age 15, Mittoo was a child in an adult environment. Dealing with resentment was one struggle; another challenge was coping with the working environment in the studio. Singer Horace Andy describes the atmosphere at Studio One:

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[64] The organizational structure of the recording studio from top to bottom was producer, music director, arrangers, and band members.

[65] Liner notes for *Champion of the Arena*. 2003.

You could smoke weed there. By now, Rasta was getting big in reggae and musicians want to build a spliff while they're working; Studio One was the only place where you could do that. You couldn't do it in Dynamic, or Federal or Duke Reid. (Bradley 2001b: 223)

This is consistent with Lynn Taitt's description of Studio One. Taitt declared that he preferred working there rather than with a society band such as Byron Lee and the Dragonnaires:

I had fallen [*sic*] in love with the Skatalites band. I had just done my first sessions with them before Byron asked me. That was spring 1964. I wanted to play music with Skatalites and be able to drink and cuss as much as I wanted to and smoke a big spiff as long as your arm (laughing). I couldn't do any of that if I played with Byron's band, so I say no thanks to Byron. (Taitt qtd. in Keyo)

One of Mittoo's predecessors in Dodd's session band, pianist Monty Alexander (b.1944), revealed how he coped with Studio One. Alexander migrated at the end of 1961 and Mittoo replaced him in 1962 on a part time basis. Although Mittoo was four years younger than Alexander, both were teenagers and in the same position of being the youngest among the session musicians. The following is a transcription of an interview with Monty Alexander, in which he was questioned about the impact of Studio One's culture upon him as a young person. Alexander's response provides some insight into the environment that Mittoo was in:

Question: [66] Regarding being a young man in that world, you said that they accepted you. One of the angles that I want to get at, is that you were *so* young, and you're playing one of the critical, the key instruments to the music, especially at that time. You have the ganja, the rum, the girls . . . tell me how you bridged that kind of gap?

Alexander: Well, I guess it's good things you learn at home, and at school, and you remember that if you went too far off the path, somebody will take the cane and whoop your bottom. You know what I mean. So you had the righteous hand of righteousness to keep you on the path and thank God, I attribute it to the creator, because some of us drift, you know, some of us are able to walk the line. Among the guys in that studio there were enough paternal positive influences in Aubrey Adams, and in Roland Alphonso. Whereas one of the other guys were busy messing his life up, because he don't know when to stop. And I was able at an early age to discern— Boy, I admire that guy, but I don't want to do that. And I mean really, I had good influences, and when you have good upbringing whether its church or parents that

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[66] The interviewer was not identified.

are going to help you stay away from that, because we're all like leaves in the wind when we're little children. But I was very impressionable, very vulnerable, but I had this light on me, and I've had the light all through my life that spared me from those problems. In that gathering of those guys who had such a ball together, because when musicians get together, and we're doing this thing that we love so much, we become like little children, and we're just laughing together. And even though I was young, I was grateful that they embraced my being there. And I didn't back up because I was confident in what I was doing, and when it come to dropping a rhythm I was just confident then as I am now. I mean I loved it so I'd like to think that I didn't hold them back. (Monty Alexander interview on *Reggeavibes.com*)[67]

Alexander reveals some of the risks that any unsupervised teenager would have faced in an adult environment. In Alexander's situation, it seems that the fear of his parents' punishment weighed heavier than the need to fit in with the studio's culture; thus Alexander states that he did not adopt the bad habits that were on display in the studio. Not so with Mittoo; he did not escape unscathed. Dorothy Mittoo-Walker stresses that no one knew that Jackie was involved with the studio, which implies that he was unsupervised and was not held accountable to anyone but himself. In his teenager's mind he may have thought that he needed to "fit in" and prove that he was equal to the older men by partaking in their recreational activities. There were consequences.

Mittoo had to shed some of his youthful veneer soon after his unsupervised immersion in the recording industry. In 1963 he dropped out of high school and joined the full time staff at Studio One. A year later in 1964, Mittoo had his first child at age 16. The environment of the studio also impacted his health; Mittoo developed a drinking problem that followed him to his death. His addiction to alcohol is mentioned by a number of his colleagues who report that he would always have a glass of rum and a spliff [marijuana] when recording or performing.[68]

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[67] "Interview with Monty Alexander." Reggaevibes.com on *YouTube*

[68] Many of Mittoo's colleagues and close friends have stated that he was an alcoholic. Leroy Sibbles discusses this in an interview with Peter I titled "Leroy's Gonna Fight". The interview is published online at *Reggae-Vibes.com*

Fredlocks Elliot, who recorded five songs with Mittoo at Studio One, mentions the presence

of alcohol in Mittoo's work routine:

> Him [Mittoo] always smoke nuff herb and drink up nuff rum when him a go record
> or go on stage. . . . When him play at Studio One him form an A with the keyboard
> and the piano. Him smoke a big chalise and a glass of rum then him would say
> "Drummy red I?" he didn't say "ready" [re.dI] but "red-i" [re.dai] and the
> drummer would roll off. (Interview with Elliot, 2014) [69]

Clement "Coxsone" Dodd also described after-work planning sessions that he had with

Mittoo, which involved the consumption of alcohol: "Sometimes after session when

everybody gone, we would be here having a couple of drinks and planning. 'What's the next

group for tomorrow?'" (*Studio One Story 2011*).

Mittoo's Musical Influences at Studio One

A musician's influences and education come in different forms: formal training is one

source, mimicking is another, and the influence of the musicians one collaborates with serves

as informal learning and social modeling. Ads in the *Daily Gleaner* reveal that many of

Mittoo's contemporaries at Studio One were also considered jazz musicians in Kingston. For

example, on September 6 and 9 in 1962 an "On Stage" show was advertised as "Don

Drummond's 'Benefit Jazz Show'" (*Daily Gleaner* 1962b, 7). The show listed Drummond,

Roland Alphonso, Ernest Ranglin, and Tommy McCook among the "local jazz giants" who

would perform. Another ad at the end of September 1962 listed Ranglin and McCook as

featured musicians at an "Anniversary Jazz Festival" which was hosted at 13 Brentford Rd,

the address of Studio One (*Daily Gleaner* 1962c, 17).[70] Mittoo's colleagues at Studio One

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[69] Telephone interview with Fredlocks Elliot, March 2014.
[70] The other musicians featured in the advertisement were Billy Cooke, Baba Motta, Rupert Anderson, Taddy
Mowatt, Don Jarrett, Totlyn Jackson and Karl Mcleod, and Bertie King.

were jazz men. It is not surprising therefore, that Mittoo emphasizes jazz as his musical influence:

> Well I really love jazz and I specialize in jazz musicians. I listen to music from nursery rhymes to classics but jazz has been my favorite. Y'know, Thelonious Monk and Jimmy Smith were two keyboard people who I really did love. As opposed to everyone else; in the line of Jimmy McGriff, Jack McDuff, Shirley Scott, John Coltrane. But Jimmy Smith and Thelonious Monk were the two keyboard wizards that sort of give me a jazz lift at an early time. (Mittoo qtd. in Tafari 1988: 25)

Jazz was clearly an influence for Mittoo.[71] One method of informal learning would be listening to the recordings of the jazz musicians that he names, a more significant influence would be performing with the jazz musicians that worked at Studio One.[72] In Mittoo's eulogy,

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[71] A jazz master is a musician that has made significant stylistic contribution and innovations in jazz. The incredible Jimmy Smith (1928 – 2005), as he was sometimes called, was an innovator. He completely transformed the jazz organ and helped create what became known as soul jazz. The Hammond B-3 organ is not an easy instrument to play as it requires, as drummers say: an 'independence of limbs' to simultaneously work the keys and the wooden foot pedals. Smith's innovativeness lies in the sounds that he procured from the organ and a reassignment of roles within the jazz band. Smith did not apply a pianistic method in playing the organ; instead he duplicated bebop horn playing. This may be heard in his solos in one of his major hits, "The Sermon." This recording also has one of his favorite musical remarks: sustaining one note during his solos to build tension (Sustained note 4:09: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vqSLoxwkCYE. In the movie *Get Yourself a College Girl* he plays that same sustained note "When Johnny Come Marching Home" at 2:10 – 2:20. This clip also shows his approach to interpreting a standard http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=99DpjjJ22UA). Under Jimmy Smith, the jazz band was even more contracted with roles reassigned. In his organ-trio format, which consisted of organ, drums and guitar, the guitar would vamp and comp and the organist assumed multiple roles. Smith used his left hand and foot pedals to substitute for a bass, his right hand to comp, along with his voice and other objects for effects. In one performance of "Midnight Special" Smith slaps the organ keys with a towel, producing a sound that complements the music (The towel slap may been seen on this link: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Aeq3LilYR-M at 6:15) .

 There are jazz elements in Mittoo's music. Many of his instrumentals are formulaic with predictable patterns that seem jazz derived: introductions taken from another piece; jazz frameworks of 12 or 32 bar forms to build his arrangements; rag piano shuffles that seemed to support the strum of the organ; and piano figures and passages similar to vamping and comping in jazz. Some examples are: "Rocking Sensation" (*The Keyboard King* 1977), "Earthquake" (*In Cold Blood* 1976), "Hot Milk" (*Evening Time)*, and "World of Love" (*The Keyboard King* 1977). Mittoo was an excellent keyboard player but he did not seem have Smith's technical capabilities to play the walking bass with his foot and left hand while comping with his right. An additional guitar was needed to compensate for the fact that he was not playing a walking bass on the organ. The bass guitar's domination of the bass line gives rock steady and reggae its distinct feel as well as the shuffle of the organ. See Appendix G for details.

[72] The following is a transcription from an interview in the mid 1970s where Mittoo talks about the roots of reggae and his respect for jazz:

  Question: As you are one of the first people, one of the pioneer keyboard players in this development, can you tell us possibly where it began, if this was really the place?

Coxsone Dodd stated that he admired Mittoo's willingness to learn (Reid 1991). Noel

Alphonso, son of Roland Alphonso, talks about Mittoo's development among the men at

Studio One:

> Jackie Mittoo was like a child genius so when he was coming to Studio One them time, he was under the tutelage of people like my father and Don Drummond. Mr. Dodd recognized his talent from early. When he was coming there, he was bright but people direct him, people like Ernest Ranglin and my dad; he was like one of the young ones that come up. That's how come later on in life he could come up to be like one of the directors there. (Interview with Noel Alphonso, 2014)

Carol Dodd, daughter of Coxsone Dodd, also mentioned the coaching that Mittoo received in

his early years at Studio One:

> Jackie Mittoo was a younger person that came on. He could play but if it were not for the grace of people like Roland and the older ones that were there before . . . because before Jackie Mittoo, there were a whole bunch of other musicians that were there. When he came in as a younger person, he would learn additional skills from these people. They groomed him to a certain level and his talent took him to another level to where everyone knows that he could hold his own. (Interview with Carol Dodd, 2014)

Noel Alphonso explains the leadership at Studio One during the early 1960s:

> Roland Alphonso was the first musical director of the studio. Those original bands like the Soul Vendors and the Soul Brothers attributable to pops. The Skatalites was a studio band. Later on they named themselves the Skatalites because of so many hits. They had a meeting and they chose [the name] Tommy McCook and the Skatalites; that was just like the title. He [McCook] was not the musical director or anything like that; it was just a title for the band on the outside. For the studio, pops [Roland] was in charge. Ernie Ranglin was also there. Later on in the years when them man leave and them start the rock steady thing later on, Jackie at one time was the musical director. That is way way down, I mean like, after like the thing start get rolling. There are different eras, but for the most part most of the early song them and everything that spring off

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Mittoo: Well a lot of people have a lot of different places in mind you know, but personally my feeling is, the whole atmosphere of where I am right now, is where everything was sort of created around what's happening for reggae today. . . . Well, most people know that people who really are associated with real good music, like jazz music . . . jazz lovers, mostly they know exactly where the roots of other types of music come from in Jamaica. (Mittoo in *Studio One Story.* The interviewer was not identified)

of that, it was Mr. Dodd and papa. (Interview with Noel Alphonso, 2014)

Noel stresses that Mittoo was most active during and after the rock steady era. This is partly

in response to statements in popular literature that assert that Mittoo was responsible for the

emergence of ska.[73] The song that many say led to the emergence of ska was "Easy Snappin";

it was recorded c.1957–1959 when Mittoo was still in school, in Linton Park, St. Ann. Tommy

McCook himself states that when he returned to Jamaica in 1962, the genre was already

established (Foster 1999: 11). Reel posits that Mittoo may have played on most of Studio

One's recordings after 1962; however he only played solos on three songs during the ska

period: "Killer Diller", "Hanging Tree" and "Ska Shuffle" (Reel 2003: 9). Mittoo's social

skills, his loyalty coupled with a willingness to learn, were no doubt endearing, and made him

the right person to fulfill the vision that Dodd had for his studio.

Mittoo grew into his role at Studio One. By1968 he had earned a reputation among the

singers and musicians as a hit maker and trainer. Many Jamaican singers from that era credit

Mittoo with hits that were important to their careers; other musicians are never mentioned in

this way in popular literature on JPM. For example, singer Ken Boothe consistently states that

Mittoo helped him to gain international fame with his cover of Sandi Shaw's "Puppet on a

String":

> You know how I get to do "Puppet on a String", the first song that took me internationally? I was in Studio One deh, Jackie Mittoo. . . . He used to make a riddim ahead of us and then he would choose who him think the riddim suits. So one day I was leaving the studio . . . I saw Jackie Mittoo runnin' down the street saying 'Ken come here. I have something for you.' I go back, it was the ridim "Puppet on a String." (Boothe qtd. in Foster 1999: 26)[74]

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[73] Lloyd Bradley describes Mittoo as "one of a loose collective of master musicians who changed and determined the feel of ska . . . and one of the hungry young players keen to prove they had chops . . . they usurped the stalwarts such as Drumbago" (Bradley 2001: 94, 100).

[74] See also Katz 2012: 82.

A number of singers relate similar stories including Sugar Minott, Willi Williams, Dawn Penn, Ken Boothe, Lloyd "Bread" McDonald, Little Roy (Earl Lowe), Mikey General (Michael Taylor), the Silvertones, the Abyssinians, and Lloyd "Matador" Daley among others.[75] Marcia Griffiths says Mittoo also provided backing vocals and determined the overall shape of her hit song "Feel Like Jumping" (Katz 2012: 102). Salewicz notes that the tune for the Wailers hit "Simmer Down," was "arranged to an extent by Lee Perry but largely by Jackie Mittoo" (Salewicz 2001: 82). Dalton and Barrow state that "Simmer Down" was actually recorded in late December 1963 and stayed at the top of the charts for two months in 1964 (Dalton and Barrow 2001: 40). However, Ernest Ranglin takes the credit for arranging the song in Katz (2003, 52).

It is frequently mentioned that trained and experienced musicians tutored and guided the emerging talent in the recording sessions, a practice that was maintained into the 1980s (Stolzoff 2000: 62). It is for this reason that Studio One is affectionately referred to as "The Studio One University" and "The Studio One Music School" by those who benefited from training there (Bradley 2001b: 222). Dodd admits that Mittoo did a lot of in-house tutoring (Larkin 1998: 83): "He had played a great part in bringing and tutoring a lot of our current

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[75] Sugar Minott acknowledges Mittoo as his maestro: "Jackie Mittoo is the teacher, that's the man . . . 'My Love is True' Jackie gave me that rhythm from Studio One" (Katz 2012: 334).
Willi Williams refers to Mittoo as a "head cook and bottle washer" and describes his extensive role in Jamaican recording history:

> He was one of the foremost persons who was instrumental in shaping the sound of Studio One and the sound of reggae from the transition stage of ska until it came to reggae...[It] was a full compliment and honor to work with someone like that, because I haven't seen anyone or heard anyone who has replaced Jackie Mittoo's importance in the music so far . . . "Armagideon Time" came together during 1979. Jackie Mittoo and myself were working on some projects, and we went to New York and met up with Sir Coxsone [Dodd]. (Williams qtd. in Van Pelt 2003)

Lloyd "Bread" McDonald of the Wailing Souls states that Mittoo featured on much of their Studio One recordings (Katz 2012: 156). Mittoo is also named in the profile of the Silvertones who scored a hit after many unsuccessful recording efforts (Larkin 1998: 269). Earl Lowe began his career at Studio One with Jackie Mittoo as the producer, initially recording "Cool It" (Larkin 1998: 172). Lloyd Daley's first hit was "Dark of the Sun," produced by Mittoo. It was recorded at Studio One (Katz 2012: 133).

artists today" (Dodd in Keyo 1995). He contributed to the reputation of Studio One as a

"musical college." Mittoo recalls his role there:

> Studio One was like a college. I can vividly remember working with all the artists
> who passed through that place. I used to run auditions and choose which acts I
> wanted to work with. (Mittoo qtd. in Richards 1985)

In *Solid Foundation: An Oral History of Reggae* (2012) David Katz also states that Mittoo

was "one of Coxsone's strong musically inspired individuals who drew the best from the

talent he located" (Katz 2012: 47). Mittoo's role as a "tutor" is confirmed by a number of

singers and musicians such as Horace Andy, who also uses the term "college" to describe

Studio One:

> Studio One was for learning. The people there, like Jackie Mittoo, loved their music
> and what they did so much that they enjoyed helping other people . . . it was like a
> college. That was down to the musicians and the experienced singers there, not down
> to Mr. Dodd himself—he wasn't there much by then. (Andy qtd. in Bradley 2001:
> 222)

Other musicians who benefited from the in-house training at Studio One include Leroy

Sibbles, who consistently admits that Mittoo got him involved with Studio One and taught

him how to play bass (Bradley 2001: 215, 217–8; Katz 2012: 125–6; Alleyne 2012, 105-6;

Magni 2011; Dooley 2006). Vincent Morgan of the Soul Defenders stated that he learned how

to play by observing and from receiving encouragement from Mittoo (Morgan qtd. in Dooley

2006). Musicians who refer to Mittoo as a teacher and mentor include Sly Dunbar, Steely

(Wycliffe Johnson) and Clevie (Cleveland Brown), and Ras Michael among others.[76] Studio

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[76] Sly Dunbar heaps acclaim on Mittoo: "I was really a Studio One fanatic—like everything I owned…Jackie
Mittoo and Lloyd Knibbs were the ones who really inspired me" (Potash 1997: 101–102).
In *Reggae Routes* Mittoo is mentioned in Steely and Clevie's profile; Steely names Ranglin and Mittoo as one of
his major influences (Chang and Chen 1998: 194). Potash reports that Steely (Wycliffe Johnson) and Clevie
(Cleveland Brown) honor the late Jackie Mittoo as a mentor of theirs. (Potash 1997: 197; Katz 2012: 318) see
also "Cleveland Browne Biography." http://www.vprecords.com/index.php?page=artistBioRuz&a_id=618
Leroy Sibbles states that Mittoo introduced him to the bass. (Jim Dooley "Leroy Sibbles: Mr. Bassie" *Reggae
vibes.com)* Ras Michael first recorded at Studio One as a percussionist with Mittoo and Soul Vendors in

One personnel, such as sound engineer Sylvan Morris, attest that Mittoo was a professional

and a great influence (Katz 2012: 128). Justin Hinds, of the group Justin Hinds and the

Dominoes, names Mittoo as "one of the greatest" in the recording industry (Katz 2012: 62).[77]

The Ups and Downs of the Skatalites at Studio One

An important part of Mittoo's time at Studio One was his stage work with the

Skatalites. Bassist Lloyd Brevett describes the early days of Studio One and the genesis of the

band, which was formed in June 1964:

> Well, at Studio, y' know, Studio One. We was workin' together and so the group
> formed. Tommy McCook was the leader. There was Roland Alphonso, Don
> Drummond, so we was very good in the studio making the tune dem. Ca' the
> people around Jamaica want to know the band that really make these tunes, we
> decide to form up the group, I and Tommy, Lloyd Knibbs was there, we name the
> group the Skatalites—Tommy McCook really name the band, 'The Skatalites'.
> (Brevett qtd. in Peter I, "The Almighty Bassline")

Brevett portrays the Skatalites as a show band separate from their work in the studio; this is

consistent with Mittoo's differentiation of session musicians who were "in the studio and then

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exchange for studio time (Larkin 1998, 239).

[77] Although many heap accolades on Mittoo, not all comments are as glowing as those above. Nettl found that in some instances contemporaries of a musician will provide accolades or criticism based on motives and/or orientation (Nettl 2005: 180-1). Thus the assessment of Mittoo's significance and brilliance is dependent on who was being interviewed and how much benefit they derived from him. Singers and novice musicians were grateful to him because he helped their careers. However, for instrumentalists who considered themselves his equal, Mittoo was not necessarily a genius. Musicians such as Bradshaw, Lindo, McCook, and Taitt recognized Mittoo's position in JPM history, but were not as generous about his skill as a musician. For example, in an interview with a journalist from the *Beat*, Earl "Wya" Lindo, keyboard player for the Wailers, gave his opinion of Mittoo. To the question, "Was Mittoo an inspiration?" Lindo responds:

> I don't want to say anything bad about him still, but to me he wasn't so impressive because they
> brought me in to re-do some of his stuff, like "Evening Time." I spent two whole evenings doing
> overdubs. That's like a high point to me . . . a high point. (Lindo qtd. in Gorney 1998)

This quote seems somewhat contradictory. Lindo states that he was not impressed, yet the opportunity to re-do Mittoo's playing was a "high-point." This quote brings attention to Mittoo's status as a composer, which is understated in JPM literature. Mittoo's name in the title of some albums has the same significance as Bach's name on a CD; it is Bach's music, but he is not actually playing on the tracks; this may have been the reason that Lindo was unimpressed with the recording. There are albums with Mittoo's name in the title; however the credits reveal that the keyboard/organ/piano were played by other musicians. For example the credits of Studio One's *Jackie Mittoo-Showcase* state that the keyboards were played by Pablov Black; Mittoo is only listed as the arranger. This is discussed further in chapter 9 in General Characteristics.

you have added musicians" (Tafari 1988: 25). The "added musicians" played with the

Skatalites. Rather than belonging to Dodd, the Skatalites was created by the members of

Dodd's staff to perform at stage shows.[78] A survey of ads in the entertainment section of the

Daily Gleaner from 1964 to1965 reveals that the band was usually called "Tommy McCook

and the Skatalites."[79] The band was formed in May 1964 and their last performance was in

August 1965 (Larkin 1998, 274; Barrow and Dalton 2001, 44).

There are different versions of the breakup of the Skatalites, and like the blind men

describing the elephant; they may all be a version of the truth. Some sources attribute the lack

of pay as the primary source of discontent, and assert that the collapse was due to Mittoo and

Alphonso leaving the group (Chang and Chen 1998: 97; Larkin 1998: 274). Brevett's version

of the break-up is slightly different and provides more details:

> The band jus' stay together for a year . . . Johnny Moore, me and Tommy quarrel,
> so the band break up. We let the band break up. The man from Studio One decide
> to form a group, he take some of us and decide to form a group with Johnny Moore,
> me myself, and Roland Alphonso. (Brevette qtd. in Peter I)

Trumpeter Johnny Moore also mentions a falling out:

> The Skatalites lasted only one year, disbanding because of bad blood between its
> members. McCook had a well-publicized falling out with Moore, with whom he
> remained bitter enemies for nearly three decades, and who has consistently blamed
> him for the band's breakup. "He refused to work with me and *Jackie* (*Mittoo*, the
> band's keyboardist)," recalls Moore. "He said I was too feisty and Jackie was a
> thief." (Moore qtd. in Campbell 1998).[80]

Both narratives mention an internal tension among the members. Campbell, who interviewed

Moore, is more specific as he makes reference to a public quarrel between Moore and

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[78] It is also conspicuous that Brevett does not mention Mittoo in the line-up of musicians above. This omission is
an error on Brevett's part since a survey of ads in the entertainment section of the *Daily Gleaner* from 1964
to1965 affirms that Mittoo was listed as the pianist of the Skatalites

[79] On the Skatalites' website, they list McCook as a former leader of the band. http://www.skatalitesmusic.com

[80] The comment "Jackie was a thief" probably refers to Mittoo's reuse of existing music.

McCook, the leader of the band. Was an internal quarrel sufficient reason for the band to

break up? It seems that there were other personality clashes in the group as noted by Katz:

> When the Skatalites split, Malcolm declined an offer to play with the Soul Brothers
> and instead joined the Supersonics. "Roland Alphonso wanted me to come and play
> drums with him, but he was a kind of ignorant band leader and we couldn't wrap
> too tough—I got some ways he didn't like, and he got some ways I didn't like."
> (Malcolm qtd. in Katz 2003: 77-78)

In yet another narrative, singer Fredlocks Elliot recalls an incident where Alphonso blamed

Mittoo for the breakup:

> When I went to America in 1979 to live, it could have been the year after, in 1980
> my group wanted to have a reunion at My Father's Place in Roslyn, Long Island.
> Jackie Mittoo played with the band because he knew all the songs. Roland
> Alphonso was playing something wrong and Jackie Mittoo said: "Hey, mind wha
> yuh a do" and Roland responded "a you mash up bloodclaat Skatalites because yuh
> think you know it all!" (Interview with Elliot, 2014)

From all indications the band seemed to have suffered from internal strife. However, Mittoo's

version of events was that the band broke up because it was losing prestige (Mittoo qtd. in

Clarke 1980: 68).

Mittoo's explanation of the breakup of the Skatalites is feasible. In the case of a show

band in Kingston in the 1960s, prestige would have been a combination of social and cultural

capital: where they were from (uptown or downtown), who they were connected to, and how

they looked and behaved. The level of prestige that a band attained would impact how many

jobs the band would get and the profile or status of the job. A survey of the entertainment

section of the *Daily Gleaner* reveals that the more high profile events/gigs went to Byron Lee

and the Dragonaires; the Skatalites did not have the status to compete with the more

established show bands of the day. Another indicator that the Skatalites did not earn an

"approving nod" from Jamaican society was that the band was not chosen to perform

Jamaica's local popular music —ska— at the 1964 World Fair in New York (Katz 2003: 54;

Stolzoff 2000: 69, 70).[81] Mittoo asserts that the band was not chosen "because the Skatalites smoked ganja" (Mittoo qtd. in Chang and Chen 1998: 36).

Another blow to the reputation of the Skatalites was the incarceration of one of its members, trombonist Don Drummond, for the murder of his common-law wife in January 1965 (Katz 2003: 62; Augustyn 2013: 140-148). The "final straw" may have been an article in the *Daily Gleaner* which gave the Skatalites further bad publicity in April 1965. The writer, Stanley Moss, made scathing remarks about ska and the Skatalites:

> Time was, of course, not so long ago, when a select group of jazzmen under Billy
> Cooke's leadership were to be heard nightly at the now defunct nightspot, "the End";
> but alas, the band dispersed when the club folded. Some of its members, like Billy
> himself formed small combos; others, like Tommy McCook and Ernie Ranglin,
> regrettably sold themselves to the Ska [*sic*]. Inevitably, it will be the small groups,
> having retained their names and individuality, which will survive the demise of Ska. But
> the others, having become identified with an ephemeral craze, might well come to regret
> their readiness to jump on the ska-wagon. (What, for example, will the word "Skatalite"
> [*sic*] mean to the average Jamaican in a few years' time?) (Moss 1965: 6, 21)

By all indications, Mittoo's assessment that the band broke up because of a lack of prestige was correct. In the shadow of the shunning of the calypso musicians in 1956, the threat implied in this article would have caught the attention of musicians for whom the approval of society mattered, especially the men who were named in the article, McCook and Ranglin.

McCook had attained much prestige in his career. He stood out as a leader in the JPM industry based on his prominence and frequency in advertisements in the entertainment section of the *Daily Gleaner* from as early as 1953. The band was usually advertised as "Tommy McCook and the Skatalites" in the *Daily Gleaner* which may have been a strategy for the band to benefit from the reputation of McCook. However, McCook's association with

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[81] Although the studio had been in operation for many years, the Skatalites was formed as a show band in June 1964. This was in the same year as the World Trade Fair. The newness of the group as a show band probably reduced their chances of being chosen.

the Skatalites was a blow to his own public status, as Moss' berating implies and delivers. In 1965 McCook left Studio One to work with the more "straight laced" Duke Reid, who had built his own recording studio in 1964 (Stolzoff 2000, 62). When McCook quit Studio One, the name "Skatalites" was retired.

Forming a show band may have seemed like a good idea at the time: performing with the band would provide extra income for the session musicians as well as marketing support/promotion for the studio, because of the association of the band with the studio. Thus the Skatalites was formed; however, the show band was a good idea that failed. Unfortunately at that time, not even a high profile band master, such as Tommy McCook, could redeem the stigma that the band had, due to its ties with a recording industry and a recording studio that was regarded as "ghetto" during that era. The *habitus* of the 'field' of show bands in Jamaica in the 1960s venerated the values of the upper class. The Skatalites, as a newcomer to the field of show bands, did not have enough prestige to compete with the uptown society bands and orchestras that were already on the scene. In principle, a show band associated with a record label was a good idea but the Skatalites did not work; Mittoo was right, the brand name had lost too much prestige. [82]

There were also other logical reasons why abandoning the name "Skatalites" may have been desirable at that time. Although the band is now renowned as an icon of the ska era, in 1965 the name of the band was representative of a genre that was going out of fashion. To remain competitive, a new identity was needed for Studio One with a more flexible and timeless name; hence the "soul" franchises were created.

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[82] The members of Skatalites were reunited in the mid 1980s and they have continued to tour worldwide from that time to the present. Currently on the band's website, they state that the incarceration of Don Drummond caused the break-up of the Skatalites (*Skatalites.Com*).

Negotiating Pride and Managing Prejudice

Guitarist Ernest Ranglin, who was also named in Moss' article, has commented in a

number of his interviews that "it would really hurt my career to go uptown to play ska"

(*Reggae: The Story of Jamaican Music*). In another forum, Ranglin explains why he had to

hide his association with the genre:

> I didn't want to front it. . . . It was ghetto music and in Jamaica they used to put that
> music down. . . . This music was rebel music even then, the way society looked at it
> and at themselves; they treated it like it was against the idea of society. It was like we
> were the outcast who played that music . . . there were so many tunes I was
> responsible for but I didn't go in front of them because I also had to be playing up at
> the society functions and the hotel dances, and there they would be looking down on
> me. Maybe I wouldn't get enough work. You had to walk the line. (Bradley 2001:
> 54–55)

The threat that Ranglin alludes to was very real for a number of 'first generation' musicians

who had jobs with society bands. To cope with this tension, musicians who wanted to work in

the recording industry, but did not feel free to do so, would opt to perform anonymously in an

all-star band or with aliases.[83] Thus there were two types of work arrangements for

instrumentalists in the recording industry in 1960s: contracted work in a house band, and

casual work in an all-star band.

An all-star band was essentially a temporary session band that was formed by a

producer for a recording project. The name of these temporary bands usually included the term

"all-stars." For example, Prince Buster would call his all-star bands Dakotas All Stars, Kingston

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[83] Individuals would choose aliases, and there was the unique situation of producer Herman Chin-Loy of the
Aquarius label, who used the alias "Augusto Pablo" for all his keyboard players (Thompson 2002: 200). Chin-
Loy's biography on *AllMusic.com* explains his practice:
> Chin-Loy had been releasing instrumentals, mainly organ-led affairs by Upsetter acolyte Glen Adams,
> and crediting them to an invented name, Augustus Pablo. When the young Horace Swaby (Pablo's real
> name) arrived on the scene, Chin-Loy saw no reason to change the credit, and so Horace Swaby became
> Augustus Pablo. (*Allmusic.com*)
It has only been with the safe distance of time that musicians like Ranglin admitted their association with the
emergent JPM recording industry.

All Stars, as well as Vietnam All Stars among others. The producer would choose any combination of musicians he desired for his all-star bands as indicated in fig. 3.1.

Fig. 3.1 **The Names of All-Star Bands**

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                    ┌──────────┐
                    │ Producer │
                    └──────────┘
         ┌──────────┬──────┴──────┬──────────┐
         ▼          ▼             ▼          ▼
    ╭─────────╮ ╭─────────╮  ╭─────────╮ ╭─────────╮
    │ All-star│ │ All-star│  │ All-star│ │ All-star│
    │project #1│ │project #2│ │project #3│ │project #4│
    ╰─────────╯ ╰─────────╯  ╰─────────╯ ╰─────────╯
  ┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
  │  a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, j, k, l, m, n, o, p, q, r, s, t, u, v, w, x, y, z │
  │                Workforce of Musicians              │
  └─────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
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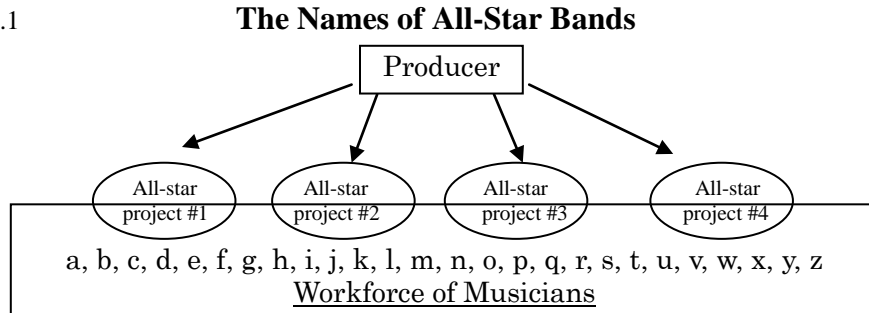
The name of the all-star band was controlled by the producer and the musicians were not always the same. Producers had their favourites, or "first calls" who, over time, would form the core of an all-star band with whomever else was available. Among the core of all-star bands were musicians who formed partnerships with other musicians who played complementary instruments, such as the drum and bass duo—Sly and Robbie, or keyboard and drum combo—Steely and Cleevie.[84]

The prevalence of the all-star work arrangement created a culture of casual work within Jamaica's recording industry in the 1960s; this situation had its pros and cons.[85] One advantage was that it helped to increase the income of some musicians who would work with several producers at the same time.[86] Another significant advantage was that the prevalence of

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[84] Some cores went on to form their own band, production companies and so on. Many of these partnerships lasted a lifetime.

[85] Elsewhere I have stated that the casual work status, coupled with anonymity, precluded unionization, leaving the session musicians without protection from unfair practices at the workplace. Mistreatment and abuses would go unchecked because the session musicians were not unionized; if they complained, they were simply not "called" again (Cyrus 2014: 21).

[86] Clement "Coxsone" Dodd states that musicians were employed by him, but he sympathetically overlooked the musician's breach of contract in recognition of the fact that his main competitor, Duke Reid, paid a higher fee. Katz reports that Dodd was powerless to stop Reid from offering better money to these musicians:

> Whatever it cost, Duke would find the money. Even if I had a contracted artist, Duke would still insist and use them...after a while you realize the man is a musician and that's the only way he could really earn, so you let him play (Dodd qtd. in Katz 2003: 60).

all-star session bands resulted in a larger workforce than would have occurred in a situation where musicians had exclusive contracts and only played with a one session band or producer. Casual work created a loose framework that distributed skilled labour among a number of producers, which enabled new investors—entrepreneurial producers—to enter the industry.[87] The influx of new producers resulted in the recording of more songs and additional (casual) work for session musicians (Cyrus 2014: 52).[88] It was this system that seemed to fast track the process of borrowing and cultural change described above, and facilitate the growth of Jamaica's recording industry.[89]

A long term disadvantage of all-star band anonymity was that it resulted in the omission of the names of those musicians from the documented history of JPM. However, not all musicians chose to hide in the shadow of anonymity; musicians such as McCook, Mittoo, Alphonso, and others, would not surrender their intellectual property for the sake of status.

Although an employment contract implies more consistent work than casual work, musicians were not satisfied with the pay. All-star bands allowed instrumentalists to seek work wherever it was offered and maximize the amount of money they could make. Conflict of interest did not seem to be an issue.

[87] This is evidenced by a large number of all-star bands in existence from the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s (Cyrus 2014: 45).

[88] I have described this system elsewhere:

The quantity of music required to create a genre is either generated by a small number of bands over a long period of time, or a by large number of bands in a short period of time. The emergence of ska, rocksteady and reggae occurred in a relatively short time in a period that witnessed the participation and collaboration of instrumentalists from diverse musical backgrounds… The following conditions supported the productivity of the JPM workforce:
1. There was a ready supply of trained and skilled workers at the start of the recording industry.
2. Remuneration for labor encouraged musicians to enter the profession.
3. There was manpower to support a busy recording schedule through all-star bands, which was necessary to meet the large demand for recording sessions from an increasing number of producers.

The ongoing training of musicians, both formal and informal, supported the work force. Access to training allowed those interested to enter the industry. This ensured a steady supply of manpower, creative energy and helped to tap the creative potential of novices. (Cyrus 2014: 51-52).

[89] Witmer mentions the rapid evolution of JPM in his discussion of the music scene in Kingston:

A survey of the popular music emanating from Kingston's recording studios in the brief period 1962-1970 reveals an incredible creative outburst, and the establishment in quick succession of three distinct popular music styles (ska, rock steady, and reggae), the features of which have helped shape and inform Jamaican popular music to the present . . . there is documentary evidence, via records, that Kingston's musicians were, in fact, creating and maintaining styles of their own. (Witmer 1987, 18)

Another disadvantage of a job market that only offers casual work is that it would have been

discouraging for musicians who wanted the stability and security of a permanent job. Bradley

comments that Studio One was therefore unique because Dodd offered musicians contracts

and permanent positions:

> Dodd took the unprecedented step of putting a nucleus of the island's best musicians
> on wages, rather than hiring them as 'n' [*sic*] when, and paying them per side cut. His
> reasoning was that this would allow the players the chance to explore and be genuinely
> creative, and then to make sure they'd got it right. It's an indication of exactly what
> such an opportunity meant that, in spite of these wages being pitifully low, many of
> the best bandsmen in Jamaica took him up on his offer (of course, Dodd was buying
> their time, not their exclusivity, so they still supplemented their income by working
> elsewhere). (Bradley 2001b: 99 –100)[90]

Bradley claims that the wages were low, however in the documentary *Studio One Story* Dodd

states that musicians were attracted to working in his studio because the wages from recording

studios paid better than wages in hotels.

> After we got things going, I started a weekly arrangement with the band they worked
> from 10am to 4 or 5 in the evening. They liked it. Why that went over strongly was
> that the only place that was hiring musicians steadily was the hotel, and what they was
> making here they were happier, because the hotel wouldn't pay that kind of money.[91]

Dodd provided a rare opportunity that the young Mittoo could not pass. An added bonus was

that the job would also allow and support the formation of a show band.[92] During Mittoo's

employment with Studio One (1963-1968) he was not a casual worker in the JPM recording

industry and was not a part of a core as defined above. He worked closely with bassist and

singer Leroy Sibbles in 1968, but they never worked together again after moving from

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[90] Although the recording industry had a large percentage of casual jobs, these permanent positions were
important. The musicians and technical personnel who held these positions supported the growth and stability of
the recording industry in the ways described above.

[91] *Studio One Story* (DVD). 2011. Soul Jazz Records

[92] The Skatalites was controlled by the musicians, not Dodd, but they probably received support from the studio
in the form of use of instruments and other audio equipment.

Jamaica, even though they both migrated to Toronto.[93] Mittoo formed alliances with singers, they were his core; they included Willi Williams and Lord Tanamo in Canada, then Sugar Minott in the US. This was very strategic on Mittoo's part, as it guaranteed that he would be included in their recording projects.

The Soul Brothers and other "Soul" Configurations at Studio One

Mittoo worked with most of the "soul" bands at Studio One; they were the Soul "Brothers," "Vendors," and "Agents".[94] The name changes of the bands at Studio One were not unique occurrences; they reflected practices in the JPM industry. Within the JPM industry a band that employs more than one name may be using a "variation" or an "alias." A new name may also be the result of a "split" or a "retirement."

Discogs.com differentiates between the variation of a name and an alias. A variation refers to a simple name change, where the root of the name remains the same. For example, "Clue J and His Blues Blasters" is a variation of "Clue J and His Orchestra," and so on. On the other hand, an alias projects a completely different identity. The chart titled "The Significance of Band Names" (fig. 3.2) demonstrates the two types of names that a band would assume. The show band, represented by the large circle, may decide to use their own name, a variation, or an alias to disguise the group's identity. The choice would be dependent on the type of engagement and if they want to be publicly identified with the host of the gig. Regardless of name, the band members are the same and the group may use both names

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[93] Sibbles was under the shadow of Mittoo in Jamaica. In Canada Sibbles was a star in his own right. There was probably no desire to resume the social dynamic that Sibbles was under in Jamaica, due to Mittoo's position and status in Jamaican society and in the recording industry respectively. The distance between these two men was probably compounded by the lawsuit that Sibbles brought against Mittoo. This will be discussed further below.
[94] Also Sound Dimension. The Soul Agents included Clement Dodd on vocals. See Keyo "From The Aces to the Zodiacs, a Primer in Jamaican Rock Steady."

simultaneously; for example, the band may record as X in the day and perform as Y in the nights.

Fig. 3.2   **The Significance of Band Names**
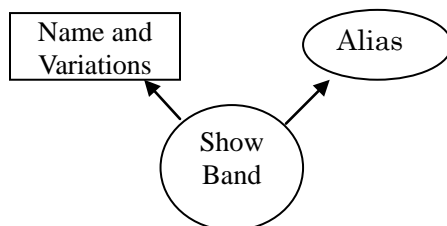
The name change of a house band or show band may also be indicative of a split in the membership of the band: that is, two groups are formed from a single band. A split could also include a configuration where the old name is retained by some members and the other members form their own group with a new name. This differs from the *retirement* of a band's name where the band members stay together, but cease using one name in favour of another. The retirement of a name may happen for a variety of reasons, including: avoiding litigation, bankruptcy, or refreshing the image of the band.

The Skatalites provide an example of a group that split and then retired their old name (fig. 3.3).[95] The Skatalites had a split with one half becoming the Soul Brothers and the other half the Supersonics, led by band leader Tommy McCook.[96] Then the Soul Brothers name was retired in favour of a new name, the Soul Vendors. No explanation is given for the change of name from the Soul Brothers to the Soul Vendors in JPM literature, other than that Soul Vendors was used for touring.[97]

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[95] There is a very detailed account of the Skatalites' history in Thompson (2002: 262-6).

[96] Supersonics was the session band for Duke Reid. It has been difficult to ascertain the regular members for the Supersonics. The way the musicians are presented gives the impression that the Supersonics may have been an action set, with McCook as the core. Chang and Chen state that the members were "Taitt, Ernest Brown and other great names" (Chang and Chen 1998: 111).

[97] The change may have been for practical reasons as *Soul Brothers* was the name of an album by Ray Charles which was released in 1958.

Fig. 3.3	**Name Changing of Studio One's House Band**		
	Skatalites 1964	Soul Brothers 1965	Soul Vendors 1967
Tenor Saxophone	Tommy McCook	Dennis Campbell	Roland Alphonso
Saxophone	Lester Sterling Roland Alphonso	Roland Alphonso	
Trombone	Don Drummond	_____	_____
Trump	Johnny Moore	Bobby Ellis	Johnny Moore
Organ	Jackie Mittoo	Jackie Mittoo	Jackie Mittoo
Bass	Lloyd Brevett	Bryan Atkinson	Lloyd Brevett
Guitar	Ernest Ranglin/ "Jah Jerry" Haynes	Harry Haughton	Errol Walters
Drum	Lloyd Knibbs/	Joe Isaacs	Hector "Bunny" Williams

The leadership of the Soul Brothers seemed uncertain. Some sources state that the band was a collective.[98] Other writers state that Mittoo co-led the studio band with Alphonso (Chang and Chen 1998: 97; Katz 2012: 73; Larkin 1998: 10). However, on the band's first album and in an article in the *Daily Gleaner*, trumpeter Bobby Ellis was credited as the session band leader; he also identified himself as band leader in a newspaper article (*Daily Gleaner* 1966). However, a survey of the entertainment section of the *Daily Gleaner* from 1965–1966 revealed that the band was usually advertised as "Roland Alphonso and the Soul Brothers" with annotations that Alphonso directed the band. Additionally, Clarke's description of Studio One, which was informed by Mittoo, states that initially Alphonso was director of the in-house band:

> When the Skatalites broke up in late 1965, Dodd quickly formed a new studio band, Soul Brothers, under Roland Alphonso's direction. Alphonso became responsible for

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[98] Liner notes for *Last Train to Skaville* (2003). No author.
   See also Keyo's article, "From the Aces to the Zodiacs, A Primer in Jamaican Rock Steady."

all the horn arrangements, while Jackie wrote the music for all the singers who recorded with Studio One. Though Jackie was not credited with co-authorship at the time, he in fact played a seminal role in the music's development. He would give the bass player his lines, write out the chords for the guitarist, play keyboards himself, arrange and produce the records. (Clarke 1980: 79)

Mittoo was very active as an arranger for all of Dodd's artists at Studio One during this period; but all indications are that he was not the initial leader of the Soul Brothers.

1967–1968: The First Tours

Tafari: So going into rock steady now. You did some tunes like "Drum Song" and *The Jackie Mittoo: In London* LP and "Darker Shade Of Black."

Mittoo: '67…[was] when those songs came about. That's when Coxsone felt that after me playing and accompanying everyone. Why don't I have an album of my own as well? We decided to put some instrumental melody lines to some of the rhythm tracks which I had already created for the singers to sing on. Plus some original rhythms tracks. '67 we went to England. The first group ever to leave Jamaica that way…Soul Vendors, to England, and while in England I put a couple of more songs together which eventually became *The Jackie Mittoo In London* album. With a single which everybody know well called "Ram Jam." The album had "Darker Shade Of Black" as well. *Jackie Mittoo: In London* was the first one and the follow up was *Evening Time*.

Tafari: Did those albums do well for you?

Mittoo: They did well for Studio One and for Coxsone, yeah. They did give me publicity. (Mittoo in Tafari 1988: 25)

In the musician's world, economic capital is gained by selling recordings. However, fame is achieved through publicity. This section looks at Mittoo's first steps, beyond the role of a session musician, towards establishing himself as a recording artist in Jamaica.

The liner notes for *Jackie Mittoo in London* (1967), *Evening Time* (1968), and *Jackie Mittoo: Anthology* (1978) attribute Mittoo's ascent to stardom to "Ram Jam." "Ram Jam" was Mittoo's instrumental cover of a Heptones song titled "Fatty Fatty" (see also Clarke

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1980: 202; Hawke 2005; and Katz 2012: 104, 105; Magni 2011).[99] Mittoo's liner notes for

Jackie Mittoo: Anthology state that it was after the release of "Ram Jam" in 1966 that Mittoo

started to gain attention in the media.

> Jackie Mittoo became well known after his first hit "Ram Jam" in 1966. Prior to
> 1966, Jackie has been a musician with various island groups: The Rivals in 1963, and
> The Shick [*sic*] in 1964.Teaming up with Coxsone Dodd, Jackie became his "ear" for
> new artists from 1965 to 1970. During this time, Jackie was also a member of the
> Skatalites until they split up. (Liner notes for *Jackie Mittoo: Anthology* 1978, n.a.)[100]

The liner notes are correct in saying that it was after "Ram Jam" that Mittoo became

popular.[101] Prior to 1966, Mittoo was not usually featured when marketing the band; this is

evident in the entertainment section of the newspaper. The Skatalites band was usually

advertised as "Tommy McCook and His Skatalites" or as "Tommy McCook and the

Skatalites." After the breakup of the Skatalites in 1965 and the formation of the Soul

Brothers, the later was advertised as being led by Bobby Ellis or Roland Alphonso. Mittoo

was named as a member of the band, but not featured as its main artist. This was to change

after "Ram Jam," which was released in 1966.

At the end of December 1966 Mittoo's stage performance with the Soul Brothers at

The Ruins, Ocho Rios, was complimented in the *Daily Gleaner* entertainment column titled

"Merry Go Round." The writer compared Mittoo with Jimmy Smith and stated that he

displays "potential" (*Daily Gleaner* 1966).

> The setting is The Ruin[s], advertised as Jamaica's oldest new attraction, and the
> band is the Soul Brothers led by trumpeter Bobby Ellis…a highly listenable
> vocalist, Lascelles Greenwood, and the Soul Brothers' dynamic organ grinder,
> Jackie Mittoo. Last-named Mr. Mittoo is of the Jimmy Smith school of organ
> virtuo [*sic*] and displays the kind of potential that will probably take him far from

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[99] "Ram Jam" reuses a phrase from "Poinciana," which was a popular standard in the 1950s and 1960s.
[100] The date of Mittoo's work with the Sheiks contradicts another account that Mittoo worked with the band from
as early as 1962 (Keyo 1995).

our shores in the near future. (*Daily Gleaner* 1966, Dec. 30 p. 6)

In 1967, the Soul Brothers released two albums. The first was *Hot Shot*, followed by *Carib Soul*; Bobby Ellis was listed as leader of the band on *Hot Shot*. In the fall of that year, the band went on a four month tour to the UK as the Soul Vendors with singer Alton Ellis to promote Studio One (Katz 2012: 94). Meredith wrote that "Ram Jam" went to number 4 on the BBC pop charts during this period (Meredith 1971: 18). After the UK tour in the fall of 1967, Mittoo recorded his first album, *Jackie Mittoo: In London*.

Mittoo Steps Out on His Own

1968 was the final year that Mittoo worked full time at Studio One. The year started with a two-week tour of the Bahamas in February. A notice of his departure to the Bahamas states that Mittoo was the leader of the band (the Soul Vendors) and that he was assisted by Roland Alphonso (*Daily Gleaner* 1968, p.2). On his return from the Bahamas, Mittoo recorded *Evening Time* and formed the Jackie Mittoo Trio with Leroy Sibbles and a number of drummers including Winston Grennan and Wayne Anton.[102] The band played at the Tit for Tat club on Red Hills Road; it was owned by Dickie Wong. The Tit for Tat club is often mentioned in profiles on Mittoo (Cooke 2006; Magni 2011; Barrow and Dalton 1997: 73). One account is that he played there every Friday for a few months before migrating to Canada (Van Pelt, *Reggae-vibes.com)*. However, an advertisement in the *Daily Gleaner* reveals that he played there more than once per week (*Daily Gleaner* 1968, April 19, p.6).

Based on my search of the *Daily Gleaner*, the Tit for Tat ad was the first time that Mittoo was the featured artist in an advertisement for a gig in the newspaper. Mittoo had achieved enough renown, and prestige to step out on his own with a band under his name for

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[102] He was also featured on a number of tracks on another album, *Ride Mi Donkey* in 1968.

the first time after joining Studio One. In addition to his international hit "Ram Jam" in 1967, and two instrumental albums to his name. Mittoo's name is present in Swing's pop charts; in May 1968 Mittoo's "Evening Time" placed No. 9 and in June 1968, his "Race Track" is listed as "up and coming" (Blake 1968a; 1968b). He was established as a recording artist and had been on at least two international tours with the Soul Vendors. However, all of that work and achievement was under Studio One's auspices. Mittoo may have felt confident that a regular gig at the Tit for Tat club would help to promote his recording efforts and build a community among his fans. The club would be a space where his fans could have regular access to Mittoo and where he could receive their feedback. It was a good idea.

Band leader Sonny Bradshaw may have been curious about Mittoo because he decided to visit the young Studio One star at the Tit for Tat club. At that time Bradshaw was president of the musician's union—the Jamaica Federation of Musicians (JFM). The union represented the "old order" of society bands and British cultural dominance in the music industry in Jamaica, as aforementioned. Bradshaw had a high status in the music industry: among musicians as a band leader, and as the union head. His position was further buttressed with the "power" of the pen: he was also a regular columnist for *Swing*, a trade magazine for Jamaican musicians which was distributed in Jamaica, London and Toronto. As Bradshaw sat to listen to The Jackie Mittoo Trio at the Tit for Tat club, it was a meeting of the old and the new. His performance review of Mittoo was not generous:

> The "in-spots" swung last weekend as *Swing* went on the town. First stop. Tit for Tat with the Jackie Mittoo Trio worked up a storm from early evening the stand playing mostly rock steady with Wayne Anton on drums and Leroy Sibbles (leader and lead singer of the Heptones) on bass. Jackie doubles on piano and organ. And while this is a different small group sound there doesn't seem to be any color in their playing. Believe it or not Jackie is still endeavoring to "push" live his recent recording of "Tropic Island" which was composed by Jackie Estick. One would imagine that these

small lounges would prefer more sophisticated sounds and groups should make some attempt to organize their wares. Musically nothing was happening except a bold attempt at "Ode to Billy Joe." (Bradshaw 1968: 7)

The review was published in June 1968 in a weekly column titled "Make Music Mine" in *Swing* (Bradshaw 1968: 7). The review communicates a thinly veiled contempt for Mittoo's music. However, this commentary may have been due to the loss of power that the union suffered, since what should have been a union stand was now occupied by non-unionized musicians. Bradshaw mentions "sophisticated sounds" that small lounges should have preferred; this refers to the repertoire of the society bands and orchestras that once dominated the live band scene. As an "offspring" of Studio One, The Jackie Mittoo Trio embodied the sound system operators and their recording industry, which was the bane of the musician's union in the 1960s and 1970s. Not only did the sound systems usurp their positions in dances, but this new generation of non-unionized small ensembles that emerged from the recording industry now encroached upon union territory in the "small lounges" to which Bradshaw refers.

Bradshaw's bitter performance review contrasted with the recent warm reception that Mittoo experienced while on tours in the UK and in the Bahamas in 1967 and 1968 respectively. Indeed, Mittoo was accustomed to adulation in response to his performances thus far. This review was reminiscent of the resistance that the Skatalites faced because of their ties to the recording industry. It may have influenced Mittoo's decision to explore other opportunities and to expand his career beyond the confines and constraints of Jamaican society. By the end of 1968, Mittoo placed his young family in his grandparents' care in Harbour View,

then got on a plane and left Jamaica.[103] Leroy Sibbles, who played bass with Mittoo at Studio

One and at Tit For Tat, states that Mittoo left out of frustration (Sibbles qtd. in Magni 2011).[104]

Mittoo leaves Jamaica

In total, Mittoo worked full time at Studio One for five years; at the end of that period

he had recorded two LPs in his name and arranged an unknown number of singles for singers.

The following excerpt from the liner notes for *Evening Time* summarizes Mittoo's career in

Jamaica:

> There are very few musicians of any style of era, whose appeal is such that it is safe
> to recommend them to anyone for enjoyment in personal performance or on a record.
> Jackie Mittoo is such a musician. Jackie "Soul" Mittoo's musical talents became
> apparent at a very early age. By the time he entered high school, Jackie was already
> semi-professional. Jackie came to the attention of recording executive, Clement S.
> Dodd, in Kingston, Jamaica, and while still in school, he worked as a staff musician
> for Coxsone records, appearing as a "side man" on many recording dates for that
> label. It became obvious that one day Jackie would be ready to record under his own
> name. Several months ago, Jackie's first recording session was set, and at that date,
> Jackie recorded "Ram Jam." The rest is recorded history. Next step was for Jackie to
> record a long playing album, *Jackie in London*, which enables him to reach out and
> bring his own way of playing a variety of tunes. During his appearance with the
> Coxson's Rock Steady Revue in England last September ('67), the British fans were
> quick to acclaim Jackie and the Soul Vendors. (Liner notes for *Evening Time*, 1968)

Mittoo left Jamaica during a high point in his career. However, he did not burn his bridges

with Studio One; he returned to work there periodically for two months at a time, while in

residence abroad.[105] Therefore, rather than saying that 1968 marked the end of Mittoo's time

in Jamaica, I would say that it marked the beginning of a global career. With two albums to

his credit, a major hit with "Ram Jam," and multiple recordings on the pop charts in Jamaica,

Mittoo had earned a reputation that would open doors for him abroad.

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[103] Interview with Marlon Mittoo 2013.
[104] In "Leroy's Gonna Fight" written by Peter I, Sibbles also describes his time at the Tit for Tat Club and gives his opinion of Mittoo's reason for leaving Coxsone's and Jamaica. (*Reggae vibes.com*).
[105] Telephone interview with Carol Dodd. 2013.

Jackie Abroad

In his interview with Tafari in 1988, Mittoo stated that he spent a significant number of years in Canada:

> I did probably 17 or 18 years in Canada. All over Canada. All kinds of different engagement. With Johnny Nash, everybody. Lord Tanamo, Joe Isaacs, Willi Williams a whole lot of work in Canada. (Mittoo qtd. in Tafari 1988: 40)

The seventeen-year period that Mittoo mentions in the quote represents the time he spent working abroad. However, Mittoo does not reveal that this period also includes time spent in the UK and USA. This section describes Mittoo's efforts at recording and performing during the last twenty-two years of his life from 1968–1990; the data will be divided into five sections: 1968, 1969–1973, 1974–1980, 1981–1985, and then 1986–1990. These five periods correlate loosely with his activities in Toronto, the UK and the USA.

Travelling continued to be a major factor in his career. He went wherever there was work and he was not the primary caregiver of his children, which is consistent with what he observed and experienced his childhood. His lifestyle was essentially nomadic; he did not really settle anywhere for longer than 5 years. The most identifiable constant during this period was that wherever he was, he looked for opportunities to record (studio work) and perform (stage work).

1968: Migration Story

The year that Mittoo migrated to Canada was the most difficult date to ascertain. There are various dates given in biographic dictionaries and in the liner notes for his albums. The liner notes for Mittoo's third album, *Keep on Dancing*, which was issued in 1969, state that Mittoo was already "Canadian based" in 1969.

> *Keep on Dancing* is a new Jackie Mittoo [album] which is power packed with Soul. Reggae the new beat has been given the Mittoo touch. This production by Coxsone

for the Canadian based Mittoo is excellent in quality and is a worthy successor to *Evening Time*. (Liner notes for *Keep on Dancing*, 1969)

This date differs from the liner notes for *Jackie Mittoo: Anthology* (1978), which state that he moved to Canada in 1971. Fortunately, Merlene Finikin, the mother of Mittoo's eldest daughter, was able to provide details of his first months in Canada:

> He came up on a visa to do some touring . . . Quite a few of them came up and some of them went back home and he stayed . . . he didn't go back home. When he came he didn't know anyone . . . When I first know where he lived; he used to live on Keele Street. He used to rent a room, a walk out, on Keele Street, just opposite Eglinton . . . He lived alone there. Then he moved to live closer to WIF. He played Friday, Saturday and sometimes Sunday night. The WIF club sponsored him, so he was working at WIF . . . down at Brunswick and Bloor. The band that he used to play with, the lead guitarist was Lynn Taitt; he was from Trinidad. They were quite a few of them. They used to play at WIF together . . . they rented a flat together near Dupont and Bathurst Street. (Interview with Merlene Finikin, 2014)

Although the year is not mentioned in the quote above, it is a fact that Finikin and Mittoo's daughter, Marcia, was born in the spring of 1969. This places Mittoo in Toronto in the fall of 1968.[106] Additionally, Finikin was able to describe Mittoo's place of residence, which indicates that he was actually living in Toronto, and not merely visiting.

Finikin also mentions that Mittoo came to Toronto on a tour; this is significant as the migration stories of a number of Jamaican musicians started with a tour that brought them to Toronto. Indeed, the most noteworthy instance of migration after a tour was the resettlement of the Sheiks. Journalist Catherine Dunphy names the Sheiks as the first set of Jamaican musicians to relocate to Toronto in 1963:

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[106] In *Swing* there is a performance review of The Jackie Mittoo Trio in Kingston. The review was published in June 1968, placing Mittoo in Jamaica at that time (Bradshaw 1968: 7). An article in the October 1968 issue of *Swing* comments on Mittoo's work at Studio One sometime earlier that year:

> The scene is the studios of Coxson [*sic*] on Brentford Road. The occasion is a recording session, and there are eight musicians doing their stuff. The beat is the regular rock steady, and Jackie Mittoo on piano is doing his bit. Suddenly the conga and bongo drummer has added an off-beat effect to fill a gap he hears. Jackie picks it up with his left hand, and away we go – the rege [*sic*] beat is on. (*Swing* 1968f)

> The Sheiks won a competition at the State Theatre in Kingston (beating out Byron Lee & The Dragonaires) and were invited on a 32-state tour of the U.S., as well as Canada and Mexico. . . . The tour ended in Canada with extended gigs in Toronto at the King Edward Hotel, Ottawa, and the Esquire Showroom in Montreal, where they were held over for eight months opening for the likes of James Brown and Percy Sledge…Mullings and some of the band liked Toronto and its enthusiastic audiences so well, they decided to stay. (Dunphy 2005)

The Sheiks' migration was important not only because of the number of musicians that decided to stay, but the impact that their arrival had on Toronto. Jay Douglas names the members of the Sheiks who located to Canada:

> The band, the Sheiks, visited Canada. It consisted of Norris Redgard, who played trumpet and was a former member of Byron Lee's band. He was also the trumpeter on the Blues Buster international hit, "Behold." Other band members were guitarist Val Ben, Dizzy Barker on keyboard; and vocalists Eddie Spencer, and the late Jackie Opel . . . Karl Mullings was the manager of the band. Jay Douglas joined the Sheiks here in Toronto as a young man in the late 1960s. (Douglas qtd. in Grant 2012)

It was the beginning of a vibrant Jamaican music scene in Toronto in the 1960s due to the efforts of the band's manager, Karl Mullings. Mulling either featured directly or indirectly in a number of migration stories of musicians. From 1964 to 1968 Mullings operated Club Jamaica, the WIF (West Indian Federation) Club, and the Caribana Club (Dunphy 2005). These business ventures created opportunities for more Jamaican singers and musicians to migrate to Canada, such as Jackie Mittoo.[107]

Mullings was not the only person who recruited artists from Jamaica nor was he the first; an ad in the *Daily Gleaner* titled "Acts Wanted" indicates that there was a demand for Jamaican musicians to tour abroad from as early as 1962. However, Mullings was influential

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[107] This was the case with Wayne McGhie who often worked with Mittoo:
> McGhie and Douglas had both practised doo-wop harmonies in the late 1950s at the Montego Bay Boys' Club and played the local Palladium Theatre with their respective groups. Douglas left for Toronto in the early 1960s, but McGhie stayed, attracting the attention of people such as Jo Jo Bennett, who performed on the Montego Bay hotel circuit. Bennett later relocated to Canada in 1967 and set up a house band at Toronto's West Indian Federation Club. He then asked McGhie to come to Toronto to play with him. (Dixon 2004)

in starting tradition of Caribana in Toronto in 1967, and it is noted that he found Canadian

bookings for a steady stream of Jamaican musicians (Dunphy 2005). Journalist Guy Dixon

names some of these musicians in an article that describes the music scene in Toronto in the

1960s and 1970s:

> Leaving the island was a constant option, and Delpratt took up an offer from a club
> owner to come to Canada. He had been living with some Canadians in Kingston and
> was less interested in going to the U.S. or Britain. The Jamaican musicians who
> migrated to Canada in the sixties and seventies included Jackie Mittoo, Alton Ellis,
> Johnnie Osbourne, Bob Williams of the singing duo Bob and Wisdom, and Lloyd
> Delpratt in 1967. (Dixon 2006)

Mittoo's migration story also involved Karl Mullings. Brian Keyo states that Mullings

approached Mittoo's grandmother, Leila Mittoo, in 1968 to encourage her grandson to migrate

to Canada (McCuaig 2012: 99).

The Background of Jamaican Musicians in Toronto

Finikin stated that the musicians who worked at the venue where she met Mittoo

consisted of Jamaicans and Trinidadians.[108] However, the Jamaican musicians in Toronto

were not a homogenous group in the 1960s and 1970s.[109] A number of articles highlighted

that Jamaican Canadian musicians in Toronto consisted largely of persons from Montego Bay,

not Kingston. In an article titled "The Soul Survivors," journalist Murray Whyte describes

Toronto as "home to a thriving soul music scene, courtesy of a group of new Jamaican

immigrants." The assumption of this writer is that all the musicians were from Mobay:

> There's Terry Lewis, Everton "Pablo" Paul and Jay Douglas, all in their 50s, who
> played bass, drummed, and sang, respectively, in the late 1960s Toronto soul group,
> the Cougars. . . . They all came to Toronto from Jamaica as young musicians in the

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[108] One such Trinidadian was Lynn Taitt.
[109] This challenges the assumption of McCuaig on "the shared goals" of Jamaican musicians in the 1960s and
1970s. McCuaig asserts that "one thing that unites all of these figures [musicians] is their desire and passion to
bring reggae music to new people and places" (McCuaig 2012: 96).

late '60s, before reggae was born, when American soul and Jamaican rock steady
were fusing in the clubs of their hometown Montego Bay. (Murray 2006)

Another article in the *Toronto Star* titled "Those Were the Days: From Jamaica to Toronto's

Cast of Characters" makes the same claim about the background of Jamaican musicians in

Toronto:

> They all grew up with the music club culture in Montego Bay, Jamaica, where, in the
> late '50s and early '60s, the frantic rhythms of ska had given way to the mellower
> rock steady beats, which then fused with classic American soul. (*Toronto Star* 2006)

The assumption by the media about the dominance of Montegonians in Toronto's music scene

in the 1960s partly explains why Mittoo's place of birth is sometimes erroneously identified

as Montego Bay in Canadian articles.

Jamaican Canadian musicians from Montego Bay also differentiated themselves

from Kingston musicians. Differences that were often mentioned by the Montegonians

included the training of singers, their musical influences, their experience in the music

industry, and the music they would perform. In "The Hidden Jamaican Soul of Toronto"

(2006), Guy Dixon discusses the background of Jamaican musicians who migrated to Toronto

in the 1960s. Jay Douglas, who Dixon calls "a fixture in Toronto's Jamaican music scene,"

describes his experience of music education in Montego Bay schools:

> I'm from Montego Bay as well as Bob and Wisdom . . . the Mighty Pope was from
> not too far away. A certain discipline was instilled in us with the music, the art, from
> kindergarten right up through the public-school system. Music was part of the
> curriculum. In the afternoon, after lunch, we were taken outside under the mango
> tree, in the open air, and the teachers made us sing. They'd put their ears to our
> mouths to hear if we were singing in tune. . . . Then we were getting the music from
> the United States because we were at a resort. . . . We were exposed to Jackie Wilson,
> Solomon Burke, Chuck Jackson, James Brown, music from Louisiana way before
> ska and reggae came. So when we came here, we had that North American influence.
> (Douglas qtd. in Dixon 2006)

Douglas highlights the emphasis placed on musicianship in his early training and stresses that

his influences were not based on local Jamaican genres. He also comments on the regional

difference in Jamaica's popular music industry in another interview:

> In Jamaica, the music in Montego Bay was really influenced by a lot of Americans.
> People in Kingston dealt mostly with Jamaican music—the ska and the rock steady
> [precursors to the late 1960s and 1970s roots reggae]. But people in Montego Bay
> dealt mostly in American music. So it was a kind of vibe that came naturally, ya'
> know? (Douglas qtd. in Dixon 2004)

Dixon argues that the difference between musicians from Mobay and Kingston was evident in

the music produced by these musicians in Toronto: ". . . the Montego Bay scene in particular

added something extra to Toronto, soul and funk" (Dixon 2004).[110] This resulted in a unique

sound in the JPM in Toronto in the 1970s which was distinct from Jamaican music produced

in other diasporas in the 1970s (McCuaig 2012: ii). For example, a number of tracks on

Mittoo's first Canadian album *Wishbone* reflect the influence of soul and funk at that time,

such as "Grand Funk."

Bob Williams, another Jamaican Canadian musician, also differentiated himself from

Kingston musicians when interviewed. Williams mentions influences and appearance as

markers that distinguished the two groups:

> Coming from Montego Bay—I mean, reggae wasn't invented back then, but we were
> always into R&B...we played in a nightclub called the Yellow Bird Club. It was
> primarily supported by tourists. So we were in the [R&B] genre already...It was just
> music. It was after that people started labeling this stuff. We didn't even know what it
> was. . . . It was way before the Rasta thing started happening. We stood and sang on
> stage with Bob Marley way before he became a dreadlocks. (Williams's qtd. in
> Dixon 2006)

Williams is careful to distance himself from reggae and the "Rasta thing." His reference to

Rasta is significant, as this group occupies a special place in the history of Montego Bay. The

late 1950s to mid-1960s marked a time of dire persecution of Rastas in Jamaica at the hands

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[110] The article discusses the career and downfall of Wayne McGhie, a singer who is described as "a leading light
of Toronto's vibrant 1960s soul and funk scene before he disappeared." (Dixon 2004)

of the police, which was sanctioned by the Jamaican Government. The most significant incident was the "Holy Thursday Rampage" in April 1963, otherwise called the Coral Gardens Massacre.[111] The 1963 Coral Gardens massacre refers to an incident in which a number of Rastas were killed in a standoff between Rastafarians and the police. After the Coral Gardens incident, the Jamaican government ordered the police to round up all Rastafarians; many were arrested without cause, beaten and their dreadlocks—a symbol of their faith— were shaved by the police (Lewis 1994: 16; Bradley 2001: 85). Coral Gardens is located in the suburbs of Montego Bay. The public was not sympathetic with the Rastas and symbols of Rastafarians were eschewed; this included roots reggae at that time. Hence Williams's comment about the "Rasta thing" contrasts with the sympathetic attitudes towards Rastas in Kingston; especially at Studio One. Mittoo was now among musicians, singers, and an audience who had a different perspective on music making from those in Kingston.

The Kingston vs. Montego Bay polarity is evident in narratives by and about Jamaica Canadian musicians in the 1970s; it seemed to be an extension of the uptown vs. downtown and other related oppositions that characterized the divide in Jamaican society. Among Jamaican musicians in Toronto, the divide manifested as the purist reggae artist vs. the cabaret musician. The purist reggae artist resisted cultural assimilation as an immigrant, while the cabaret musician tried to assimilate into the new culture of the host country. There is a quote from Mittoo on his music orientation and allegiance, with regards to his position as a reggae purist. His response was: "I am not prepared to sacrifice my years of hard-earned music experience to project political aspects into focus" (Vipond 1975: 27-8).

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[111] The 1963 'Coral Gardens massacre' refers to an incident in which a number of Rastas were killed in a standoff between Rastafarians and the police. After the Coral Gardens incident, the Jamaican government ordered the police to round up all Rastafarians; many were arrested without cause, beaten and their dreadlocks— a symbol of their faith— were shaved by the police (Lewis 1994: 16; Bradley 2001: 85).

Taking sides would involve a sacrifice in both scenes. If Mittoo had dedicated all his efforts to the purist camp of roots reggae, he would have had to sacrifice the progress he had gained in the cabaret circuit outside of his ethnic silo. On the other hand, letting go of his association with the reggae scene to focus on cabaret work would also mean sacrificing the popularity he had gained in Jamaica. Mittoo had the skills to straddle both worlds; he worked the cabaret circuit, and he also did studio work. His choice was to try to be present in both scenes, as a transnational musician.

Initially, Mittoo's studio work involved returning to Jamaica to record at Studio One and with other producers. However, when he was in Canada, his repertoire included reggae fusion and funk. Howes notes that Mittoo would accept any opportunity to practice his craft and he would perform a variety of styles: "Musically nothing was off limits. Reggae, jazz, soul, calypso, latin, R&B, ballads and a helping of rock fleshed out his repertoire" (Howes 2006b: 1).

Places of Work in Toronto

Jamaican instrumentalists in Toronto found work in two types of locations: clubs and restaurants. In "Reggae Roots Run Deep" Nick McCabe-Lokos names specific venues where Jamaican musicians worked:

> There was a tight-knit Jamaican community in the College St. area near Shaw St., and the music scene was small. But there were many clubs around town where reggae musicians played—Room at the Top at Bloor St. W. and Lansdowne Ave., Club Jamaica on Yonge St., the WIF Club on College St., and the old Bamboo. (McCabe-Lokos 2003)

Dixon also names a number of other places where musicians would play: "once in Toronto, many settled into the flourishing Yonge Street and Yorkville scenes, gigging everywhere from

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Club Jamaica to Ronnie Hawkins' Hawk's Nest" (Dixon 2006). The primary audience in some of these clubs in the 1960s consisted of Jamaican women who worked as domestics (Interview with Douglas, 2013). Douglas explains that on their days off these women would have nowhere to go; the WIF Club was a refuge for them.[112] The restaurant opened as early as 11:00 am, and at night there was dancing upstairs.

Finikin and singer Jay Douglas both concur that when Mittoo arrived in Toronto he was immediately hired to play in the restaurant at the West Indian Federation Club (WIF), which was owned by Karl Mullings.[113] Finikin adds that Mittoo was actually sponsored by the WIF. Some reports claim that Mittoo also joined the Cougars when he first arrived (McCuaig 2012: 120; Dunphy 2005).[114] However, Douglas, who was the lead singer of the Cougars, asserts that although Mittoo would occasionally play with the band, he was never a member of the Cougars. Douglas revealed that Mittoo had his own band and they played in various clubs on Yonge Street (Interview with Douglas, 2013).[115] There are classified ads in the *Toronto Star* that reveal that Mittoo's band was called the Jackie Mittoo Quartet.

The Elusive Record Deal

Although Jamaican Canadian musicians found work in the club circuit, they complained that they were not getting record deals. Douglas mentions how difficult it was to attain a recording contract:

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[112] There were also "basement" parties; however they featured sound systems and not bands (McCabe-Lokos 2003).

[113] Telephone interview with Jay Douglas. 2013. Telephone interview with Merlene Finikin, 2014.

[114] The Cougars were financed by Kinsley Lyn and Kermit Lyn.

[115] The Cougars were formed from a split of the Sheiks, the band that Mittoo played with in Kingston. Douglas states that the members of the Sheiks were Bizzy Barker (piano), Everton "Pablo" Paul (drums), and Jo Jo Bennett. When the Sheiks migrated to Canada in 1963 then split c.1965, the half that retained the name "Sheiks" went to play at Club Jamaica; the other half became the Cougars.

In those days, it was very hard to get any record company or any big-time record producer to look at an artist, unless something really grabbed that producer or owner of a record company. (Dixon 2004)

Drummer Everton "Pablo" Paul complains that there was a preference for black American musicians, hence Jamaican musicians had little success in attaining record deals.

I was talking with Jay Douglas just recently, and I said, "You know, Jay, we should have left Toronto and went to the U.S." We might have had a chance. I'm sure race played a part of it. Because in Toronto, they were bringing in American black groups. People were going to see them and buying their records. I said, "Why can't we be accepted in the same manner? Is it because we're black Jamaicans, and these people aren't ready, or they figure they can't make money off of us?" So we never really had any offers for any deals, any recordings or tours, not even an opening act for a big band that was playing in Toronto. (Paul qtd. in Dixon 2006)

In an effort to compete with their American counterparts, some Jamaican musicians in Toronto performed and recorded African American genres, such as funk and soul. Dixon sums up the style and outcome of this group of musicians:

The sixties and seventies were about blending into North American genres, rather than the Jamaicans staking their own inalienable claim. Maybe the sound got lost in the fact that it was so heavily into soul and funk, with the island influences woven in more subtly than out-and-out reggae. (Dixon 2004)

In *Jamaica to Toronto: Soul Funk and Reggae 1967–1974,* Kevin Howes (aka Sipreano) presents a representative sample of singles recorded by Jamaican Canadian musicians. Howes includes music by The Cougars, Lloyd Delpratt, Noel Ellis, Jo Jo and the Fugitives, Wayne McGhie, Jackie Mittoo, Johnny Osbourne, The Sheiks, Eddie Spencer, and Bob and Wisdom.[116] A survey of the recordings of each of the musicians listed above reveals that Mittoo, Osbourne, and Ellis were the more prolific recording artists.[117]

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[116] This list is not exhaustive; there are musicians in the Cougars and the Sheiks who also recorded on their own.
[117] Wayne McGhie and Leroy Sibbles each recorded an album.

Singer Bob Williams complained that the recordings of Jamaican Canadians was not being played on the radio in Toronto and admits that his generation of musicians gave up on the idea of recording because of discouragement:

> We actually took it [a recording] to CHUM, and the guy told me that he wouldn't play it. I said "Why?" And he said it was the best version he had ever heard, but he wouldn't play it because we were black. Straight up. So we kind of got despondent about it. And we just continued to do live shows and stuff, you know? We didn't bother with recordings because there was no outlet for it. So it's ironic that after about 30 years, it has made a resurgence. (Dixon 2006)

The lack of distribution was a problem faced by all the musicians at this time. The Jamaican musicians who recorded roots reggae in Toronto did not fare any better than the Montegonians.[118] In an article in the *Globe and Mail,* Paul McGrath discusses the reception of reggae in Toronto and reveals that the musicians who recorded roots reggae did not have a strong following in Canada, even among the Jamaican diaspora (McGrath 1981). He asserts that nostalgia for earlier genres such as calypso and ska took precedence over reggae.

The Jamaican Canadian musicians' response to the common problem of lack of distribution seemed to correlate with the orientation of these two groups of musicians: the cabaret musicians versus reggae artists. By their own admission, musicians from Montego Bay became resolved to playing live shows for lack of any other outlet. On the other hand, Kingston musicians in Toronto—who were more exposed to studio work—continued recording songs of social protest, which were then marketed in New York and the UK.

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[118] There was also a recording studio called Summer Records in Malton, owned by Jamaican Jerry Brown. Summer Records attained a reputation for itself as a hub of recording activity in Canada:

> Malton was also where producer Jerry Brown set up a recording studio, Summer Records, regularly attracting the likes of Jackie Mittoo, Stranger Cole and Leroy Sibbles—and, occasionally, U-Roy and Toots Hibbert. . . . The studio was a hot spot . . . there was so much musical activity there; it was where Willi Williams wrote and recorded his "Armagideon Time," which The Clash later covered and made famous. (Jennings 1993)

However, this polarity did not apply to Mittoo; he had the aptitude and attitude to pursue both

courses of action.

 1969–1973: Breakthroughs

1969 was a year of mixed emotions for Mittoo's family. The year started with the

birth of his daughter; then, one month later in April, Jackie's grandfather Joseph Mittoo died.

He was buried on April 28 (*Daily Gleaner* 1969b). After the funeral, Mittoo's grandmother,

Leila, moved with Jackie's first born son from Harbour View to Montego Bay to live with her

daughter in Paradise Acres, Montego Bay (Interview with Marlon Mittoo, 2013).

Mittoo's popularity in Jamaica was at its peak in 1969. A significant advantage to

Mittoo was that he was returning to the island as an expatriate. This position gave him more

status in Jamaican society; hence the fact that his new Canadian residency is mentioned in the

brief liner notes for *Keep on Dancing,* which was released in 1969. Mittoo also returned to

Jamaica in March 1969 for the Musical Scorcher show. The ad for the show was significant in

a number of ways.

Fig. 3.4   *Daily Gleaner* March 23-25, 1969, p. 6

It was the first ad that had Mittoo's image on it, which was an indication of his increased celebrity status, further signified by the stars around his name. The size of the ad in the newspaper was also quite large; comprising 1/6th of the page, it made Mittoo's image very visible. It advertised a show that had hopes of becoming an annual affair, hence the yearly marker '69. The title of the show, "Musical Scorcher," was actually a hit song for Studio One in 1969. Indeed, all the artists' names that surround Mittoo's image had hit songs that were arranged by him at Studio One. The ad was created in anticipation of a huge response, and for this reason there were two shows, one at 7pm and again at 9pm in two locations: Seville Theatre in St. Ann, and Tropical Theatre in Kingston. After the Scorcher show in March, Mittoo went on a two-week tour of the Bahamas with the Soul Vendors to support Delroy Wilson in April 1969 (*Daily Gleaner* 1969a). This was Mittoo's second tour of the Bahamas. In November 1969 Mittoo was once again returned to perform at the Tit for Tat Club.

In 1969, Mittoo was not only busy on stage; he was also doing work in the studio. He recorded the tracks for *Keep on Dancing* and recorded "Mule Jerk" for Winston Francis at Studio One; it was released on the Pama label in the UK. During this time, his instrumental recording "Who Done it?" rose to number 7 in the *Swing* pop charts in Jamaica (Swing 1969a; Swing 1969b).[119] Other singles, "Hi Jack" and "Black Onion," were also in the top ten pop charts of the *Daily Gleaner* in June and October respectively (*Daily Gleaner* 1969c, 1969d, 1969f). In November 1969 Mittoo also performed at the Tit for Tat club.

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[119] The *Swing* pop charts in June 1969 listed Mittoo's "Who Dunnit" at number 20; by September it rose to number 7.

A Melancholy Affair: Mittoo's Canadian Recording Debut

1970 was a breakthrough year for Mittoo in Canada. A headline in the entertainment section of the *Daily Gleaner* read "Mittoo Turns Businessman Abroad" (*Daily Gleaner* 1970). The article announced the opening of "The Record Nook," Mittoo's record store in Toronto.[120] This year was also significant because it marked Mittoo's entry into the Canadian recording business. Toronto veteran music director Howard Cable[121] explained the genesis of Mittoo's first Canadian album, *Wishbone*: The story starts with an automobile show:

> All of the automobile shows in the 50s and 60s were put together with General Motors and Display Services . . . They [Display Services] were working at the location; they were decorating the building for the exhibition—they would decorate the whole building, put the cars up on pedestals . . . Display Services was a fairly active company and they wanted to get involved with theatre and recordings . . . when the Japanese cars started to come in.[122] They figured that they'd better broaden their scope so they decided to do theatricals and recordings. I did a season in Gravenhurst with Summus, the summer season, and we did four recordings. Jackie Mittoo was one. (Interview with Howard Cable, 2014)

Summus was new to the recording business, and they may have banked on Mittoo's popularity to help establish their place in the recording industry. Therefore Mittoo's debut in the Canadian recording industry was not with an established recording company.

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[120] However, sources revealed that he had at least four partners: Karl Mulling, Lord Tanamo, and two others (McCuaig 2012: 102), and that Mittoo's involvement was nominal (Marlon Mittoo, 2013). Jay Douglas recalled that Jackie and Lord Tanamo ran the place; however the business didn't last long, because they were not businessmen (interview with Douglas, 2013).

[121] *The Canadian Encyclopedia* describes Cable as a conductor, arranger, music director, composer, scriptwriter, radio and television producer (Orford, Emily-Jane 2007)

[122] Cable explains why Display services decided to venture into music recording:
> They [Display Services] didn't work for anybody but General Motors…[however] General Motors was dropping their assignments; [because] they were losing in the game of selling cars…The tide quickly changed when Toyota and Honda, Hyundai, all these people came in. The idea of 60% of the market for General Motors was wishful thinking for the 70s…General Motors stopped doing the big shows when the Japanese invasion came in, they backed off the big shows. (Interview with Howard Cable, 2014)

Cable stated that Mittoo was recruited by Summus's A&R man Carl DeHaney, who

was the chief accountant for Display Services. DeHaney was also a Jamaican Canadian. Cable

explained that it was DeHaney's idea to record Mittoo in the summer of 1970.

> DeHaney was CFO [Chief Financial Officer] of Display Service which became Summus for [its] theatrical [and recording projects] . . . He [DeHaney] didn't do music. He was an A&R . . . We ended up recording Jackie Mittoo because Carl DeHaney convinced his boss to do the recording . . . Carl DeHaney was a Jamaican who knew Jackie Mittoo and he said that reggae music was heating up, and that we should get into it. I hadn't heard about it; I didn't even know about reggae music until I met Carl DeHaney and he introduced me to Jackie Mittoo. . . . Carl DeHaney was the instigator of the whole thing. He was the one who talked to his boss and I don't know what ever happened to Carl. I haven't heard about him since the seventies. But he was gung ho, and he talked his boss into several things, which of course lost money and it spoiled his career too. (Interview with Howard Cable, 2014)[123]

During 1971, Mittoo's Canadian singles "Soul Bird" and "Wishbone" were released on the

Summus label (*Billboard* 1971). Other singles by Mittoo that were released by Summus in

1971 included "A Groovy Spirit" and "Right Track."[124] These tracks were compiled and

released on an album titled *Wishbone* in 1972.

Opinions on the reception of "Wishbone" vary. Canadian radio disc jockey Carl

Banas of CKFM Toronto stated that "Wishbone" was a hit:

> It's ironic that Carl DeHaney, producer on Jackie' first Canadian release, "Wishbone," should have asked my opinion before releasing it. After one listen I told him it was a winner—could I have first play? (It's always nice to be first to introduce a hit.) (Banas 1972)

The song may have been a hit; however, sources such as Howes and McCuaig state that

Wishbone (the album) was not a success due to a lack of distribution (Howes 2006b; McCuaig

2012: 147, 100; Keith Goetzman 2007).[125] Nonetheless, there is evidence that an effort was

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[123] This clarifies the issue of Cable's role in Summus. He makes it clear that he did not own Summus. This is contrary to McCuaig's account of the Toronto music scene in his thesis (McCuaig 2012: 46, 99).

[124] Meredith's article noted that Mittoo also sang the vocals on "Right Track" (Meredith 1971, 17).

[125] The problem was not the quality of Mittoo's work; he was willing to use other approaches in his arrangements to suit the Canadian market. In "Wishbone," Mittoo reused the main theme from "Carry That Weight" by the Beatles, against a very light rock steady groove with additional accompaniment performed

made to market Mittoo's music, such as an article that promoted the release of the single in

Canadian Composer. Mittoo was "introduced" to the readers of *Canadian Composer* through

this article. He was described as soft-spoken and ambitious with goals to start his own group

with Canadian and Jamaican talent, to open a club above the record store, and to attend the

Juilliard School to learn advanced arranging (Meredith 1971: 18). The article included

pictures of Mittoo with Carl DeHaney and Howard Cable, whose presence might have been

an endorsement. Unfortunately, the article was not enough to increase the demand for this

album.[126]

Cable also agreed that *Wishbone* did not do as well as they had expected (Cable

2014). He described Mittoo's disappointment:

> I saw him two or three years after the recording and he was disillusioned with
> the recording and the fact that it hadn't picked up his fan base. I guess he
> expected more from the Caribbean community than he got. Reggae was going
> big then at that time, you know we're talking about the very early seventies,
> and reggae was coming in like Bossa Nova. Bossa Nova lasted about 15

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with horns and the string timbres of a synthesizer. The additional accompaniment is more complex and pronounced than what Mittoo created for his previous instrumental recordings. The process of writing the arrangement was also different from Studio One. Whereas an entire album would be produced in a day at Studio One, DeHaney reports that it took weeks to complete one song at Summus (DeHaney qtd. in Meredith 1971, 18). Following this experience, Mittoo humbly admitted in Meredith's article that he would like to go to the Juilliard School "to learn advanced arranging" (Meredith 1971: 18). This recording was never reissued as a single; no doubt, the reuse of the Beatles song may have been a problem with regards to copyright, but there is no mention of this in JPM literature.

[126] There were other marketing ploys to increase the appeal of this album, such as a statement that the recording "included a 32 piece orchestra made up of members of the Toronto Symphony" (McCuaig 2012: 99; Blake 2007). McCuaig and Blake repeat this story in their writings on Mittoo; however, they are incorrect. Cable's account of the recording session contradicts that claim. Cable states that Mittoo arranged all the music and that no musicians, other than Mittoo's band, were brought in:

> Jackie did the writing and I supervised it; I cleaned it up. He hired the musicians—they were his musicians; we didn't do studio recording. Jackie seemed to do it all and I looked over it and I changed a few things. . . . His orchestra was his own gang. I don't remember bringing outside people for Jackie Mittoo . . . I was in the booth; we did several takes of everything. It was very friendly and congenial; we had a lot of fun doing it. (Interview with Cable, 2014)

This is consistent with the credits of the 1972 album; no musicians are credited and DeHaney is listed as the producer, not Cable. Close listening to the recording reveals that there is no symphony orchestra; the instrumental force is similar to a ska band, specifically the inclusion of horns. This is consistent with the liner notes for the 2006 reissue of *Wishbone*; Kevin Howes notes that the other studio musicians who played on the album included Joe Isaacs and members of Fab 5, a Jamaican show band (Howes 2006; see also Blake 2007 and Goetzman 2007).

minutes. Reggae lasted much longer than that but it was swept away and I think disco did a lot of damage to it. . . . He was a natural musician. He was very good. Good at presenting himself as a performer. He played well and he sang well. He was definitely a talent. No doubt about that. It just so happened that it didn't happened to catch on. It was a surprise for everybody. . . . He didn't get that [the support of the Caribbean audience] and it's probably because the Caribbean nation in Toronto is too busy with just existing . . . and Jackie was very disillusioned; he was disillusioned by it. . . . He decided not to stay around, he went back home; he got called back to his homeland. (Interview with Cable, 2014)

Mittoo returned to Jamaica in 1971 to record *Macka Fat* and other reggae singles at Studio One, including "Keep On Moving" with Lord Tanamo (*Discogs.com*). This was one of Mittoo's many trips back to Jamaica. His ex-wife, Barbara Tourigny, asserts that he seemed to harness his creative energy from simply being in Jamaica:

He made most of his music in Jamaica, because that [was] what he liked. He'll say "Man you can't feel the music in Canada it's too cold. I have to go to Jamaica to really feel the music" . . . He would stay maybe around a week to week and a half; sometimes he would just go down for a couple days, finish what he has to do and come back up . . . He always found Canada very cold. Sometimes he wore three pants. He would say: "People might think that I'm fat, but I'm fat with clothes." It was a better life in Canada, but for the music it was still in Jamaica that he would make all his music. You can't feel the music in Canada. If you listen to some music here and you go to Jamaica and listen to it and then come to Canada and listen to it, it sounds different. (Interview with Tourigny, 2014)

Mittoo no doubt found trips to Jamaica encouraging and affirming, because in Jamaica his instrumental recordings were performing well, which may have helped to soothe his disappointment with the sales of "Wishbone." However, the album would serve another purpose; over time *Wishbone* and his other work would help to establish Mittoo's visibility in Canada and buttress his status as a Canadian recording artist.

The Tide Turns

After the disappointing reception of "Wishbone," Mittoo did not give up entirely on Canada; he returned with a different strategy. Rather than working only in the Caribbean

community, Mittoo found opportunities to do cabaret work, which took him outside his ethnic silo. Mittoo also joined The Composers, Authors and Publishers Association of Canada (CAPAC), which seemed to facilitate his inclusion in trade magazines such as *The Canadian Composer.* However, Jay Douglas suggests that it was cabaret work that helped to open doors for Mittoo in the early 1970s:

> Mittoo was lucky, he was playing at different lounges and he became very popular. He penetrated the "white" scene because of the gigs he had and that exposure got him the job at Canadian Talent Library. (Interview with Jay Douglas, 2013)

Reaching out beyond the Caribbean community helped to increase Mittoo's network. However, it was the Canadian Talent Library Trust (hereafter called CTL) that turned the tide for Mittoo in Canada.

The CTL was a very large and significant "door" for Mittoo. In an article on the CTL, John Kraglund explains that the organization was created to increase Canadian content on the radio as well as to provide employment for Canadian musicians (Kraglund 1963).[127] Journalist Liam Lacey describes CTL as a "jazz- and middle-of-the-road-oriented" record publisher whose mandate was to promote Canadian artists and increase Canadian programming on radio. Lacey describes the support system of the CTL:

> [The CTL] was supported by the Standard Broadcasting System [*sic*], which owns two giant stations, CFRB in Toronto and CJAD in Montreal. More than 250 radio stations and cable TV companies subscribe to the CTL. . . . Radio stations support Canadian talent to help meet the Canadian content quotas imposed by the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission. (Lacey 1985)

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[127] *The Canadian Encyclopaedia* also provides a description of CTL:
> Canadian Talent Library Trust (CTL) was a non-profit trust that produced a major series of recordings 1962–85 by Canadian artists and of Canadian compositions. It was conceived by Lyman Potts and initiated by the Standard Broadcasting Corporation-owned radio stations CFRB (Toronto) and CJAD (Montreal). Potts, a broadcast executive, was director of the CTL from 1962–78...Its offices were located in Toronto. (Moogk)

The influence of the CTL was vast. 250 radio stations, TV companies, and a government

quota to fulfill for Canadian content meant that a record produced on the CTL label stood a

very good chance of success in Canada. This differed significantly from Mittoo's experience

with Summus, which did not have the marketing and distribution resources of the CTL.

From 1972–1976, Mittoo received a number of contracts from CTL to work as a

studio musician (Caudieron and Miller 1992). Rick Wilkins, who also worked on projects

with Mittoo at the CTL, described the work arrangement at the company:

> It [CTL] was started by Lymond Potts—he worked at CFRB. It was his brain
> child to have more Canadian music represented on the radio at the time...He
> would send the records to all the stations that were signed up to be a part of the
> CTL. At the CTL musicians were contracted when needed. The CTL did not
> have musicians on staff. They were an office that worked out of CFRB radio
> station. Every project required a different size band and music. The music
> director would choose a leader who would hire other musicians. We would turn
> up on the date and make the record. If they were successful, they would be
> called back to do some more records. (Interview with Rick Wilkins, 2014)

Mittoo's job at the CTL provided access to recording studios and resources that he needed in

order to record instrumental albums. More importantly, as a major "culture bearer" within

Canada, the CTL facilitated Mittoo's integration into the pop music scene in Canada. For

example, radio broadcaster Ted Boothroyd reported that he used one of the tracks from

Mittoo's *Wishbone* album, "The Rattler," as the closing theme on his world music radio show

in the 1970s (Boothroyd 2006). Mittoo was also featured in CFRB 1010's advertisements in

the *Toronto Star* in 1973 as one of the musicians that they played regularly.[128] In 1973 there

was also a weekly column in the *Globe and Mail* titled "Dining around the Town with Mary

Walpole"; it advertised places for fine dining around Toronto and consistently mentioned

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[128] *Toronto Star*, Oct 24, 1973. E17

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Mittoo as the entertainment for an upscale restaurant at the Bristol Place Hotel.[129] The ads

described him in either one of the following ways:

> Another tempo might be high up in Dr. Livingstone's; the bar with
> the distinctive atmosphere and décor and a glorious view with the
> sound of swinging dance tunes by Jackie Mittoo and his group who
> will play from nine o'clock and on and on. (*Globe and Mail*, Dec.15,
> 1973 p. 34)
>
> or
>
> High up in Dr. Livingstone's unique and sophisticated bar you will enjoy the
> view, the mood while you dance to Jackie Mittoo and his group from 9:00
> pm. (*Globe and Mail*, Dec.22, 1973 p. 27)

Mittoo's cabaret work provided access to other communities and social networks. Articles

often named prominent fans of Mittoo, two of whom included Sam "The Record Man"

Sniderman and George Semkiw, a renowned recording engineer at RCA Records, a recording

studio on Mutual Street in Toronto (Brown 1992).[130] The newspaper ads for Mittoo's music

and cabaret work indicated that there was confidence that Mittoo would attract customers,

whether on the radio or in the restaurants. These ads indicated a measure of acceptance of

Mittoo's music by an audience outside of the Caribbean community.

   Mittoo's son, Marlon, remembers his father working at the CTL and comments on the

impact that the experience had on Mittoo's career:

> The CTL was one of the more credible sources and relationships that he had in
> terms of creating exposure for him as a musician here in Canada. He had a five to
> ten year association with the CTL. (Interview with Marlon Mittoo, 2013)

Barbara Tourigny asserts that his music received attention in the media because of the CTL:

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[129] The band members working with Mittoo at the Bristol hotel included Tanamo on hand drums, Joe Isaacs on
drums, and Wayne McGhie on lead guitar. They would at times play requests in all genres. (Brown 1992)
"Jackie Mittoo–the Man Who Invented Reggae" is a newspaper article written by Alexander Brown; it is posted
on the *Official Jackie Mittoo MySpace Page*.
[130] The significance of RCA Records is described by Daniel Dale (2010) in "Demolished building was site of
Toronto music history." *thestar.com*

They (CTL) had him on contract to do music. You would hear his music on the elevator and the TV on the news channel—a program called "Music from the CTL." CTL was not somewhere where he went everyday to work. He had nice things to say about them. He didn't make anything a big deal. He just wanted to make sure that the music he did would last. (Interview with Tourigny, 2014)

Mittoo acknowledged the value of the opportunity to work at the CTL:

I did some work for the Canadian Talent Library, which gave me a lot of recognition on all the Canadian stations. The Canadian Talent Library is an organization which is like a pool up between the radio stations to see to it that mostly Canadian content is played on their radio stations. At the time I had qualified for Canadian content because I'd already lived there for about four years. So I did one album for them called *Reggae Magic*. Being as it was instrumental it got favorite radio play. They didn't have to put up with lyrics and all that, but them was still getting reggae. And so that became the favorite reggae album in Canada. This is in 1972. Financially, it was a non-profit thing. But I could have never financed the amount of advertisement that I got from these people. It gave me good recognitions over Canada and I got good engagements because of the publicity on this project. (Mittoo qtd. in Tafari 1988: 25, 40)

During this period Mittoo recorded his second Canadian album, *Reggae Magic* (1972); it was also released on the Studio One label. A strategy that Mittoo employed to ensure the success of this album was to seek advice from a Canadian "culture bearer" on the selection of songs for the album. Radio disc jockey Carl Banas revealed in the liner notes for *Reggae Magic* that he suggested the songs for the album (Banas 1972).

Another advantage of working at the CTL was the opportunity that Mittoo had to expand his network of musicians outside of his ethnicity. Mittoo was still working at the CTL when he met Welsh Canadian Vic Franklyn (also known as Lyn Evans) who had a recording contract with CTL.[131] Mittoo produced a number of reggae styled tracks for Franklyn's albums, starting in 1973 with *Shangri-la* (1973). In subsequent years he also worked on tracks for other albums for Franklyn, such as *After All is Said and Done* (1974), *Friends* (1976), and

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[131] Franklyn sang the theme song of the 1980s TV sitcom *Love Boat*.

Leave Tenderly (1976). On these albums Mittoo is listed as producer and reggae arranger. In 1973, Franklyn scored a number of hits through his collaboration with Mittoo, including a cover of Alberto Domingues' "Perfidia." Jay Douglas recalls that "Perfidia" was a huge hit and that it was released at a time when reggae was just arriving on the music scene in Toronto (Interview with Douglas, 2013). Other songs by Franklyn and Mittoo included: "Highways," "Again," "Save the Last Dance for Me," and "99 Miles From LA", among others.[132] Mittoo's effort to facilitate the adoption or "borrowing" of reggae in Canada through Vic Franklyn's recordings was one step towards the "internalization" of reggae in Canada.[133]

The Personal

On the home front, a major event occurred in the fall of 1973; Mittoo wed Barbara Tourigny (Interview with Tourigny 2014). She had migrated to Canada in 1968 and met Mittoo in 1969. Barbara describes how she met Mittoo:

> It was through the WIF club . . . those were the good old days. I met him through a cousin of mine, she went down to the WIF club. He was back at her place and she called me over. They all got together to have a drink and things developed since then. (Interview with Tourigny, 2014)

Jackie's mother, Dorothy, came to Canada for the wedding. She recalls that one of the songs Jackie played at his wedding reception was "I Can See Clearly Now." Dorothy confessed that it was the first time that she heard him play in public (Interview with Mittoo-Walker, 2013).

At the end of this period Mittoo may not have achieved all his goals mentioned in Meredith's article (1971), such as opening a club or attending The Juilliard School, however his music introduced Toronto to a genre that integrated Jamaican and Canadian talent. The

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[132] Vic Franklyn's "Highways" is a cover of "The Highways of My Life" by the Isley Brothers. Mittoo subsequently recorded an instrumental of Franklyn's version of "Highways."

[133] Borrowing and internalization are a part of the process of cultural change as outlined in Chapter 2.

reggae fusion that Franklyn and Mittoo recorded was timely as it provided a unique sound at a time when broadcasters were trying to fulfill quotas for Canadian content on radio.

1974–1980: Settled

This period started with a significant event in the early spring of 1974: Mittoo's wife, Barbara, gave birth to a daughter. Mittoo travelled extensively during this period between Jamaica, Canada, the US and the UK, but he would always return to Canada because of his family, commitments to the CTL, and residential gigs at several prestigious locations.[134] In 1975, Journalist Patti Vipond interviewed a more seasoned Mittoo after his first six years in Canada and with a fair measure of success behind him. In "Keyboard King Jackie Mittoo" (Vipond 1975), Mittoo was no longer the soft-spoken 23 year-old that Meredith interviewed four years before in 1971; instead, the 27 year-old described himself confidently:

> I am not an ordinary musician who has to perform on a night-to-night basis just for a living . . . I want to complement the atmosphere which my records have established on air. I cannot afford to play dive gigs, the common nightclub atmosphere wherein you play here one night and there tomorrow night. You just get common and cannot demand anything financially substantial or prestigious in terms. Also, it is an advantage because the people I perform live for enjoy what I do, because they haven't seen it for a long while. (Mittoo qtd. in Vipond 1975: 21)[135]

At this stage of his career, Mittoo seemed selective of his gigs. In the article, he acknowledged that his recordings supported his stage work. He also discussed his addiction to

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[134] His regular gigs included the *Boulanger* in the Manulife Center in Toronto and Dr. Livingston's at Bristol Place, which are described as prestigious hotels and clubs. See Appendix B for details.
[135] The haughtiness that is projected here runs contrary to what many said about Mittoo. For example, Michael Williams avows that Mittoo was funny, warm, humble, and that he encouraged everyone's talent (Telephone interview with Williams, 2013).

alcohol.[136] The article included a picture with Mittoo sipping a cup of tea to show his

sobriety.

Problems and Adjustments

The pride that Mittoo projects in the 1975 Vipond interview is soon overshadowed by

a growing dissatisfaction about the credit and royalties he should have received for his early

recordings.[137] Bunny Lee used the term "bitter" to describe Mittoo's response to the waning

attention to his music in the mid seventies:

> How he an' I actually start workin' now, he went to Canada an' he was there
> for a long time. I go Canada an' meet 'im again and say, "Wait, wha' 'appen,
> Jackie! Wha' you up here a waste time, old man?" An' 'im was a very bitter
> man, because nobody mention 'im, an' all a these great work 'im do in a
> Jamaica. Me say, "Well Jackie, the wors' t'ing them can say about a man, is
> 'im dead, an' so you no a fe bitter. Me 'ave some rhythm weh me carry back
> from England, mek we go a studio, go do something, mek the people them
> hear you." An' we go a studio an' jus do an album name *The Keyboard King*.
> (Lee qtd. in Reel, 2003)[138]

The Keyboard King was released in 1975; therefore this conversation would have occurred c.

1974 and it alludes to the state of affairs in the reggae world at that time. In the early to mid-

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[136] Owen Gray recalls the friendship Charlie Babock had with Mittoo. According to Gray, Babcock and Mittoo were drinking buddies.
Gray: [Babcock] and Jackie Mittoo always clowning together and lickin' down the waters. 'Cause Jackie was... yeah man, Jackie was a waterman now.
Question: *"Drink like a fish."*.
Gray: More than a fish (chuckles). He drink more, a fish can only take in so much, yunno.
("A Question Of Recognition"–Interview with Owen Gray... by Peter I. 2004 http://www.reggae-vibes.com/)
[137] This is mentioned frequently in literature on JPM of all the singers and musicians in the industry. The following is from an article about singer Alton Ellis:
> Ellis formed an association with a young keyboard player, Jackie Mittoo, to record a brace of songs
> between 1965 and 1967 for both Coxsone's Studio One label and Arthur "Duke" Reid's Treasure Isle
> imprints, which would transform Jamaican pop and further predispose the development of various
> genres across the globe. Unfortunately for Alton (and Mittoo), fame as innovator of Jamaica's
> cataclysmic Rock Steady genre did not lead to fortune as unfortunate publishing arrangements meant
> they received only meager financial benefits from their extensive hit catalogue. (Massive 2008)
Mittoo is often cited as a musician that suffered from this. For example, Bob Andy complains of exploitation in the JPM industry and mentions Mittoo:
> …his old colleagues like *Jackie Mittoo* who were "thrown to the wolves" while they were creating
> symphonies from nothing that made others rich and them dying in poverty. (Heilig 2007b)
[138] The credits in the liner notes for *The Keyboard King* (1976) do not acknowledge Lee as the producer; Mittoo is credited as the producer. However, in 1995 Lee released an album titled *The Keyboard Legend.*

1970s, Bob Marley and the Wailers enjoyed great acclaim with three successful albums and a number of songs. *Catch a Fire* and *Burnin'* were released in 1973, "I Shot The Sherrif," which was covered by Eric Clapton in 1974, and there was a third successful album *Natty Dread* in 1974. With the marketing support of Island Records, the mid-1970s was all about Bob Marley on the local and international stage. Jimmy Cliff also enjoyed international acclaim with the film *The Harder They Come* in 1972. Mittoo was no longer in the spotlight.

The early 1970s was also a period of technological innovation in some recording studios in Jamaica: the increased prominence of drum and bass in JPM recordings. Michael Veal explains the significance of drum and bass in his monograph on dub:

> During the early 1970s, engineers like Errol Thompson and King Tubby began to exploit a new aspect of the mixing process. Prior to this, "versions" had generally been alternate vocals, instrumentals, or rhythm versions. Around 1972, however, engineers began to produce "drum & bass" versions, as they came to be known. These minimalist mixes reflected a significant shift in several musical values in reggae. Using the earlier "rhythm versions" as their point of departure, these new mixes stripped tracks even further, decreasing the emphasis on the horns, guitars, and keyboard instruments, while increasing the emphasis on the electric bass line and drum set, which now provided the main musical interest . . . the success of a dub mix is at least partially dependent upon the inventiveness of the riddim and the bass line in particular. . . . As such, drum & bass patterns were fundamental to dub. (Veal 2007: 57, 59)

Veal adds that the resource that was used to propel this innovation was the stock of Treasure Isle and Studio One releases. This trend in JPM would have caught the attention of Mittoo, based on his claim that he created all of the bass lines at Studio One (Tafari 1988: 24).

Mittoo was not against the changes in musical innovation in JPM, although he declared that it "was a tragic period when you didn't hear music vocals or instrumentals. But it was time for the DJ as well" (Tafari 1988: 24). The fact that they were reusing his music was not unusual after all, that was the *modus operandi* of Studio One. The problem was that

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they were reusing his music without acknowledging the source or offering any compensation.

Mittoo complained about this in his interview with Tafari in 1988:

> **Mittoo**: It's just that certain people don't understand what's happening. They don't know how it feels for someone like me, who create some bass lines from the 60s and in the 70s hear another set of people use the same bass lines. In the 80s hear another set of people use the same bass lines, which I personally created. Put yourself in my position. You created it in the 60s and even now in the 80s you hear someone else use it as a support for their new song. And you can't even claim anything because it's not a melody line. But it's going to come together soon. By the time you have meetings and everybody realizes that you can use a bass line and claim copyright on it as a melodic bass line. That's why if you ask me "where is my finances," it's all in everybody else's songs via my bass line.

> **Tafari**: Don't you feel bitter about that?

> **Mittoo:** More than bitter, because the only time I ever get any recompense is if I go out and get a lawyer or get some kind of real strong support to claim. And it doesn't really feel pleasant to go trying to claim and tell people, "I'm the one who did this." And the whole industry knows that Jackie Mittoo created those bass lines. (Mittoo qtd. in Tafari 1988: 40)

Mittoo's upset may have turned into bitterness because he did not seem to have legal recourse to collect royalties in Jamaica. As he mentioned, there was need for a copyright law at that time which could addressed the special nature of JPM, such as the melodic bass line. However, that was only one aspect of the problem.

Mittoo also mentions the unpleasantness of pursuing his royalties. In North America, this task is usually done through a music publishing company, a lawyer, a manager, or, as Mittoo expressed, "a strong support." Dr. Ron Standler was named as Mittoo's personal manager in a listing of US artists in *Billboard* in 1980 (*Billboard* 1980). However Mittoo's mother stated that his association with Standler was brief for a project, she had no recollection of a manager (Interview with Mittoo-Walker, 2013). Mittoo's eldest child, Marlon, was

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adamant that Mittoo had no manager or agent (Interview with Marlon Mittoo, 2013). The

absence of a manager weakened Mittoo's career; there was no "team Mittoo." Some of

Mittoo's business problems were therefore unavoidable. He tried to self-manage his career,

and by all indications he did not have the personality or training required to effectively cope

with the unpleasant tasks in the music business, such as negotiating fair contracts, enforcing

terms, and demanding payment.

Marlon also stated that his father conducted his business in a very informal manner.

He remembers that his father would barter his work for studio time:

> It was all about the music and less about the financial rewards. In some instances he would work with them in terms of collaborations and they would offer musical credit and there were cases where he would turn that down to get studio time instead. (Interview with Marlon Mittoo, 2014)

Mittoo's ex-wife Barbara Tourigny stated that Mittoo was so focused on making music that he

neglected the business side:

> There were some things that Jackie would go and do and he would just do it because he loved doing the music. Some of the things he didn't think about getting paid for it, and then people would take advantage of that. A lot of people would take advantage of him. He thought about money last, music first and the money part last. He didn't think about the money part of it, he just thought about making good music first. (Interview with Tourigny, 2014)

Mittoo's creative work was all-consuming; coupled with his drinking problem, it would have

been difficult to fulfill both business and creative roles with excellence.

Mittoo's eldest daughter, Marcia, witnessed the distress that Mittoo felt when he

reflected on the lost income from his work:

> My father cried. He was sad in his life because of that. He wasn't getting his recognition; he wasn't getting what he should get. A lot of times my father kept his pain inside. He didn't really talk. He wasn't a man to be angry; he was soft spoken. He was angry and in pain with how people have dealt with him. (Interview with Marcia Mittoo, 2014)

Mittoo recorded a song about his lament. The song titled "Nobody Knows" was an expression of the abundance of his heart. However, he did not stop there. A solution to his loss of royalties and control of his work was suggested by producer Bunny Lee (Hawke 2005).[139] Lee stated that he encouraged Mittoo to reissue his work as a solution:

> Me and Jackie do a lot of work. I went to Canada and said "Jackie what's happening—nothing out man?" and Jackie was a sour man because him start these things and the people forgot him. All of what Jackie do at Studio One, we do it over. We do an album named *Keyboard King*, that's the album that brought back Jackie. *Keyboard King* album come out and tear down the place man! (Lee qtd. in Veal 2007: 121)

Lee claimed that he could revitalize Mittoo's career by releasing albums that were compilations of his previous recordings; the purpose was to assert ownership and recoup the copyright (Lee qtd. in the liner notes for *Champion in the Arena)*. Lee produced two albums for Mittoo that were compilations of remixed recordings: *Hot Blood* (1977) and *In Cold Blood* (1978).

Reissuing his previous recordings was one of many projects that Mittoo had during this period.[140] His association with singer Willi Williams pulled him into the roots reggae scene in Canada as they worked on *Messenger Man* during 1978–1979.[141] Mittoo was also involved in the production of a musical titled "Reggae" in 1980. The music director of the show was Michael Kamen and Mittoo is listed as one of many contributors to the music of this show. It opened March 27 and ran until April 12, 1980 at the Biltmore Theatre, New York,

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[139] In the liner notes for *Jah Rock Style* (2005)*,* Harry Hawke discusses Mittoo's partnership with Bunny Lee in the 1970s and Sugar Minott in the 1980s with Black Youth Promotion (Harry Hawke. Liner notes. *Jah Rock Style,* 2005). *Jah Rock Style* was produced by Bunny Lee.
[140] See "Mittoo's Work Schedule: 1974-1980" in Appendix B.
[141] Williams describes the time frame in the liner notes for *Messenger Man* (1980):
    "Messenger Man" was written with Jackie Mittoo and myself, a progression we used to work with for a long time…"Messenger Man" was kind of a stage for "Armagideon Time," which I hadn't written as yet. "Armagideon Time" came together during 1979. (Williams qtd. in Van Pelt, 2005)

N.Y., for 21 performances and 11 previews (*Worldcat.com*).[142] The musical received a very

poor review in *Variety*:

> "If they'd throw away the book and expand the brief concert scene at the end of
> the show into a full evening, "Reggae" might attract enough customers for
> Broadway survival. But as it stands, last Thursday (27) [*sic*] arrival at Biltmore
> Theatre is a poorly conceived and badly executed show that doesn't meet
> professional requirement. Maybe someone will yet figure out how to transplant
> contemporary pop music into a theatrical context, but the creators of "Reggae"
> are woefully lacking in even fundamental musical legit knowhow." (Humm
> 1980)[143]

Marlon Mittoo accompanied his father during the running of the play. He recalls that the

music of the play was not pre-recorded; there was a band that played each night and his father

played the organ during the show. After the play, they would go to the studio to record the

tracks (Interview with Marlon Mittoo, December 2013).

The Personal

On the home front, 1978 was a significant for Mittoo's family; his second son was born

in the summer. In the following year they bought a home on Chesterleigh Blvd in

Scarborough.

In a feature titled "Happy Holidays: 18 CAPAC members wish you all their best," the

Canadian Composer lists the Christmas wishes and New Year's resolutions of 18 CAPAC

members including Mittoo. The following is what Mittoo says at the end of 1978, going into

1979:

> I'd give Canadian composers publicity, encouragement and inspiration. The
> encouragement will be in writing songs, while the inspiration will come

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[142] The credits for *Reggae* in the catalogue of *worldcat.org* state: music and lyrics by Kendrew Lascelles, Stafford
Harrison, Ras Karbi, Michael Kamen, Max Romeo, Randy Bishop, and Jackie Mittoo; book by Kendrew
Lascelles and Melvin Van Peebles; Rastafarian dialogue and patois by Stafford Harrison; concept by Michael
Butler.
[143] Humm. 1980. "Shows on Broadway – Reggae." *Variety* (Archive: 1905-2000) 298.9 (Apr 2, 1980): 88.
www.proquest.com

from wherever one can get it. The composer should also be in proper contact with what's happening by listening to other musicians, records and the radio as well as every type of music from nursery rhymes to the classics. My New Year's resolution is to write a reggae million seller. (Mittoo qtd. in *Canadian Composer*, 1978)

Mittoo's wishes also indicate his own aspirations and strategies for his career: he needed publicity, encouragement and inspiration.

Overall, Mittoo seemed to have had measured success in the face of most of the challenges that other Jamaican Canadian musicians encountered in Toronto during this period. At this point he had secured three record deals in Toronto. He was represented on the radio and maintained a presence in the studio as well as on the cabaret circuit. He was able to survive as a full-time musician in Canada. At the end of this period, in 1980 Mittoo received great encouragement in the form of an award. Mittoo won the 1980 Canadian Black Music Award for the best keyboardist, and he was inducted into the Canadian Black Music Hall of Fame.[144]

1981–1985: Mittoo in the UK

This period contained times of joy and trials for Mittoo. In 1981 his eight-year marriage to Barbara Tourigny ended. Tourigny explains that the break up was partly because of his complete dedication to music at the expense of family commitments:

He would get up early in the morning like three or four o'clock and start to write some background music. I'd go to work and come back and he's in Jamaica and he'd say "oh yeah, I did this song with Alton . . . listen to this!" He was all about his music. He was very serious about his music. He can be a very loving person, but don't mess with him and his music. . . . If we make arrangements to go out, like on New Year's Eve night, and if he had his music to do he is gone to do his music . . . maybe as he got older he probably changed. (Interview with Tourigny, 2014)

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[144] "Jackie Mittoo makes his discs in Britain." *Canadian Composer*, Nov. 1981 pg 42/165
Alan Niester. 1980 "Sibbles, Bey sweep awards." *The Globe and Mail*. Dec 1, P.16

Tourigny left Mittoo and moved out of province with the children. Mittoo's mother came to

visit and as they drove alone in his car one day, she suggested that he should get counseling

for his drinking. Mittoo-Walker recalls that when Mittoo returned home he said "Mommy,

call the man for me." She continues:

> Immediately I called him and within 15 minutes the man came right away and
> both of them went outside and had a conversation. Afterwards Jackie
> announced that he would start the program and that he would leave Canada and
> go to London. For five years he did not drink, but when he came back to
> Canada I don't know what happened but gradually he started drinking again.
> (Interview with Mittoo-Walker, 2013)

In 1981 Mittoo went to the UK. Dorothy states that he was there for five years, although my

data shows that there were intervals when Mittoo traveled to Jamaica and the US for gigs,

such as for seasonal reggae festivals.[145] However, those trips were relatively short. Based on

his activities that were documented in UK periodicals, Mittoo spent most of his time in

London working in recording studios.

New Field, New Rules

The music scene of the Jamaican Diaspora in London was significantly different from

Canada or the US. The elements of JPM culture in London were very similar to those of the

homeland.[146] In *Sounds Like London: 100 Years of Black Music in the Capital* (2013) Lloyd

Bradley describes a scene that included sound systems, producers, instrumentalists and

singers which supported and promoted reggae production and consumption in London.

London had another advantage: the audience of JPM and its subgenres in the UK was more

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[145] See "Mittoo's Work Schedule: 1981-1985" in Appendix B.

[146] In *Wake the Town*, Stolzoff (2000) identifies basic elements of the JPM scene which included DJs, singers, producers, instrumentalists, sound systems, recording facilities, record outlets, the audience, and a space where the community meets. I would add to this a quick and reliable method of getting feedback from the audience on new songs.

diverse; it included West Indian communities, university students, and white youths such as the mods and skinheads (Bradley 2013: 217).[147] London was a hub of JPM production from the mid-1970s to the mid-1980s, second only to Jamaica.

Similar to Jamaica, sound system producers played a pivotal role in the distribution and establishment of JPM in UK.[148] Sound systems functioned as disseminators of JPM, which was necessary because the radio (BBC) would not play the music (Clarke 1980: 140; Bradley 2013: 213). There were sound system parties that provided a safe space for the West Indian community to meet. These parties created a demand for JPM music—the first of which was ska (Bradley 2013: 215). The UK was therefore an attractive and lucrative market for JPM producers because of its potential for record sales (Clarke 1980: 140).[149] Producers such

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[147] In *Ska: An Oral History* (2010), Heather Augustyn presents profiles of some of the musicians and singers of Ska in Jamaica and the "reggae" scene in the UK. Augustyn discusses the musicians that developed subgenres of British reggae among the White Britons, which made the audience for JPM more diverse. She starts with Alex Hughes a.k.a. "Judge Dread" whose music was called "Dread Rock" or "white reggae" or "cockney reggae"; he was a favourite of skinheads (Augustyn 2010: 75). Hughes was born in 1945 and grew up in Brixton where he was involved in the Jamaican music scene. Hughes states that his "first quarter of a million records were actually sold to the West Indians, because they all thought I was black" (Augustyn 2010: 76). Augustyn also discusses "English ska," otherwise called "two-tone" which signifies the integration of the bands: white and black musicians and singers performing together. These include The Specials, The Beat, The Selector, Madness, and Bad Manners.

[148] Bradley describes the role of sound systems in London:

> London's first Jamaican-style sound systems were built not long after the first Jamaican sound system operators arrived in the 1950s . . . at first they played R&B and jazz imported from the US, and calypso recorded in London; then, once the Kingston recording scene got going, they switched to mento and JA boogie brought in by sailors, friends or relatives. These soundmen swiftly instituted an underground circuit of blues dances, house parties and shebeens that became a vital aspect of West Indian social life in London . . . a few London pubs welcomed Caribbean customers and engaged sound systems on the weekend, but with outright racial hostility never far from the surface, much of the city's nightlife was effectively closed off to black men. For most ordinary black Londoners, [who were] routinely refused entrance to just about all the capital's regular dancehalls, the only options were unlicensed, pay at the door dances in basements, empty houses, and school halls. (Bradley 2013: 214–215)

[149] Caribbean music produced in London was initially released through the Melodisc Recording Company on a label called Blue Beat (Clarke 1980: 139; Bradley 2013: 217). The term ska became synonymous with Blue Beat.

Another early label was Sonny Roberts' Planitone Records, established in the early 1960s (Clarke 1980: 141). Chris Blackwell entered the market next with Island Records (Clarke 1980: 142-3). Island Records usurped Planitone's position in the industry (Clarke 1980: 142–3). However, Blackwell soon diversified into other genres

as Chris Blackwell, Lee Goptal and Clement Dodd hired personnel to develop the market for

JPM and protect their business interests there. Personnel involved in the sales and marketing

of JPM in England included promoters, booking agencies, pluggers, and salesmen (Clarke

1980: 151). Some of the personnel hired by Island Records also worked as journalists with

major trade magazines such as *NME* and *Melody Maker* (Clarke 1980: 157). This ensured that

reggae was well represented in the print media.

Clement Dodd hired Junior Lincoln to distribute and promote his records in the UK.

One of Lincoln's marketing initiatives was arranging a UK tour for the Soul Vendors in 1967

(Clarke 1980: 145).[150] This tour is frequently mentioned in Mittoo's profiles. Clarke describes

the outcome of the tour:

> Lincoln, in his attempt to popularize the music in Britain, collaborated with
> Dodd in bringing over the Soul Vendors, along with Alton Ellis and Ken
> Boothe, to England in 1967. When he approached Island and Trojan to support
> the tour financially (as it would help them to promote the acts that they were
> releasing on their licensed labels), both Blackwell and Goptal refused.
> Blackwell is reported to have said to Lincoln that it was mad to do so and it
> would be a financial loss. There were eight musicians and two singers. The tour
> was not well publicized and both Lincoln and Dodd who financed and
> promoted the tour lost money, and ill-feelings were harboured by the artists,
> who thought they had been ripped off. (Clarke 1980: 146)[151]

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because of a lack of radio support. Clarke states that "by 1970 Island's involvement with Jamaican music was peripheral" (Clarke 1980: 144). Dalton and Barrow also describe Blackwell's Island label as fledgling (Barrow and Dalton 2001: 385).

A fourth label to come on the market in 1968 was the most significant: Trojan Records, owned by Lee Goptal in partnership with Blackwell. Goptal was previously a salesman for Melodisc. He went to the various communities selling records out of a van to local shops. Trojan distributed for a number of significant producers such as Bunny Lee and Lee Perry (Clarke 1980: 143).Trojan produced 40 records per week in its heyday (Augustyn 2010: 76). However, Clarke asserts that Trojan's downfall was that the company grew too big too fast (Clarke 1980: 152–3).

In the 1970s there were also a number of independent labels including Ethnic-Fight Records owned by Larry Lawrence, Shelly Records/Third World Records owned by Count Shelly (Ephraim Barrett), Atra Records owned by Brent Clark, and DIP International and Eve, which were both owned by Dennis Harris. DIP International is not to be confused with DEP international (aka the Abattoir), owned by UB40.

[150] Lincoln started the Bamboo label to manage the distribution of Studio One releases (Clarke 1980: 146).

[151] Lincoln subsequently formed Ashanti Records and is remembered for organizing the first Charity show among black musicians. The proceeds of that show were to aid famine victims in Ethiopia. (Clarke 1980: 146-7)

The 1967 UK tour is usually mentioned in Mittoo's profiles; however, this is the only report

of the business side of the tour that I have found in JPM discourse. This expedition may have

exposed Mittoo to the favourable reception that UK audiences usually gave Jamaican

musicians; it may have also showed Mittoo the possibilities of a career outside of Jamaica.

Black Genres in the UK

The UK has had a significant number of "Black" music scenes over time including

calypso, steel pan, jazz, afro-rockers, funk, jungle, and more recently, dubstep. However, the

genre most relevant to Mittoo's work in the UK was lovers rock, which Barrow and Dalton

describe as "Philly/Chicago soul ballads played over fat reggae bass lines" (Barrow and

Dalton 2001: 385).[152]

Instrumentalists in the UK's JPM Scene

Initially, British musicians did not master reggae. This created a distinction between

British-produced reggae and Jamaican-produced reggae and a bias for records produced in

Jamaica. In *Jah Music: The Evolution of the Popular Jamaican Song*, Sebastian Clarke asserts

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[152] Initially lovers rock was dominated by female singers; it was intended as an expression of second generation black girls who were removed from the politics of Jamaican life. Janet Kay, who started recording lovers rock in 1977, explains the significance of the genre: "so many of us loved reggae music, but didn't feel part of the Rastafarian movement, of roots and back to Africa. I understood what it was about, but I didn't feel it related to my life and my surrounding." (Bradley 2013: 219) Barrow and Dalton also mention the divergence that lovers rock provided: "For teenage black girls, whose dreams of escape were more likely to involve marriage to a caring man than repatriation to Africa, lovers rock 45s presented a welcome alternative to the diet of militant roots being presented by many UK sound systems" (Barrow and Dalton 2001: 400). This contrasted with its analog in Jamaica: roots reggae. Dennis Bovell, the bass player of Matumbi explains the need to find an alternative to roots reggae for the West Indian community in London:

> Reggae had become hard—it was all Rastafari and dread and I and I, which is all right, but with that it had become introverted and was all about Jamaica and all about men. The whole vibe at reggae dances in London was changing; it got darker and oppressive, and as the music become more about roots an' rockers it became very macho and male-dominated. Women used to talk about "Rasta-for-*him*, not Rasta-for-I", and dances used to be full of a whole heap of man and jus' two gal . . . what woman wants to spend two hours in front of a mirror getting ready to go and stand in some dark sweaty basement?" (Bradley 2013: 228)

This is an example of the music defining the space; video documentaries on UK roots reggae reveal scenes of dances filled with men.

that when Chris Blackwell started Island Records in London, he almost put Planitone out of business due to the fact that Planitone's records were produced in England and the sound was deemed inferior to releases on Island Records (Clarke 1980: 143). A short term solution was to have Jamaican musicians work in London studios.[153]

Bradley asserts that Jamaican reggae artists wanted to work in the UK, especially in London, because they were likely to earn more money than they would in Jamaica (Bradley 2013: 249).[154] The presence of Jamaican musicians in England is also mentioned by Augustyn:

> Many Jamaicans tried their hand in England where their music had appeal with the West Indian immigrants and blue collar youth, either traveling to perform for a few months at a time, or relocation altogether." (Augustyn 2010: 75)[155]

This partly explains the presence of Mittoo in London. Bradley posits that Jamaican musicians came to London to learn to play lovers rock. He identifies the Jamaican musicians who would frequent recording studios in London:

> A lot of Jamaican musicians came to learn what we were doing, and some actually put down roots here, because there was more opportunity to play more music. Then there were singers like Dennis Brown, who moved here and set up his own record label. And Gregory Isaacs who practically lived here, and Johnny Clarke and Johnny Osborne both recorded here. Sugar Minott found his groove within lovers rock here, so did Barrington Levy. It was the only time that reggae in the UK was in charge, and it felt good that they were coming to

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[153] Rico Rodriguez left Jamaica in 1962 to settle in London.

[154] Booking agencies such as Creole (1967) provided a way for singers to come to the UK. The most significant artist that they brought over was Desmond Dekker (Bradley 2013: 249).

[155] Eventually, British bands mastered the JPM styles; Barrow and Dalton describe this:
> Much of the 1960s UK output was less accomplished than the Jamaican originals, but by the mid-1970s talented musicians and singers had emerged from the expatriated communities to form strong self-contained bands . . . musical styles were developed over much longer periods and shaped by the need to play lengthy sets before a variety of audiences—from dreads to (predominantly white) university students. (Barrow and Dalton 2001: 385, 389-90)

The more prominent British reggae bands in London included the Cimarons, which was established in 1967, Matumbi (1971), Black Slate (1974), Steel Pulse (1975), Aswad (1975), Misty in Roots (1977), Reggae Regular (1977), and Capital Letter (1978). (Barrow and Dalton 2001: 390–6) Another significant band was UB40 (1978) (Barrow and Dalton 2001, 389-90).

us and taking what we'd invented back to Jamaica. (Bradley 2013: 248)

Interestingly, Bradley also names Mittoo as one of those musicians who came to London to learn the elements of lovers rock:

> Jackie Mittoo, probably the greatest reggae organist ever, came over to learn our playing and shuffles, and his vast knowledge of organ playing was very welcome of course. He practically lived in East [*sic*] Street Studios, where a lot of lovers rock was made—so many of those tracks on the Lovers Rock label have actually got Jackie Mittoo playing organ. (Bradley 2013: 248)

I challenge the notion that Mittoo went to London to learn reggae fusion. Mittoo's experience with reggae fusion started as early as 1971. His expertise in reggae fusion would have been valuable for this genre and for British reggae in general, which Bradley describes as reggae "sweetened" with strings or "'stringsed-up' reggae—tracks imported from Jamaica, then remixed to add strings and other sweetening" (Bradley 2013: 217, 230). Bradley's description of "sweetening" or "stringsed-up" reggae with strings is similar to the reggae fusion that Mittoo arranged and recorded in Canada from as early as 1971 (see McCuaig 2012: 73). Therefore, it was more likely that rather than going to learn lovers rock, Mittoo was sharing his knowledge of reggae fusion—the inclusion of strings and other "sweetenings"—that became the distinctive feature of this genre. Mittoo fulfilled the need for experienced Jamaican musicians for reggae production in London.

When Mittoo returned to London in 1981, he did not arrive as a newcomer, but in a position of authority within the reggae scene.[156] His movements were diligently followed by journalist Penny Reel and other reporters at the magazines *New Musical Express* (*NME*), *Melody Maker*, and *Variety*. Articles in *NME* and *Melody Maker* revealed some of the singers and groups that Mittoo worked with in London. They included Janet Kay, Caroll Thompson,

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[156] Other references to Mittoo's presence and contribution to lovers rock can be found in UK trade magazines of the 1970s.

Winston Reedy, Sugar Minott, Alton Ellis, and groups such as Musical Youth and UB40.[157]

All of these singers and groups recorded hits with Mittoo. UK magazines consistently

reported on the discomix records he produced for a number of singers, as well as on a few of

his own. The following details of his work in England were mentioned in the *Canadian*

Composer in Nov. 1981:

> Jackie Mittoo, who won last year's Canadian Black Music Awards best
> keyboardist award and was inducted into the Canadian Black Music Hall of
> Fame, has recently released a record in the UK. *These Eyes* an extended 45 rpm,
> backed with "Wall Street" and "Killer Thriller" was mixed at England's Easy
> Street Studios with Sugar Minott on vocals and released on the latter's Black
> Roots label. Mittoo has been working at the Easy Street Studios on sessions
> backing British recording artist Eddie and John, Errol Gentle, Wilson Price, the
> Chosen Few, and others, with fellow Jamaican musicians Horsemouth Wallace
> (the drummer who starred in the film *Rockers* and Ras Elroy. (*Canadian*
> *Composer,* 1981)

Although the article only mentions Easy Street Studio, Mittoo also worked at other studios in

London including the Rock Studio, and DEP International Studios. Access to these studios

provided Mittoo with an opportunity to work on his own projects by "bartering" his services

for studio time. Marlene Simpson, Mittoo's partner in London and the mother of his youngest

son Joel, alludes to one way that musicians would get studio time for their own projects:

> There were lots of people who were trying to make it for themselves, who
> were doing a lot of "piggy backing." . . . Studio time becomes very
> precious and then you don't always have that money coming in you still
> have to be finding studio time in order to do your work, that's what I

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[157] Kay, Thompson, Reedy, Musical Youth and UB40 are British; Minott and Ellis were visitors. Barrow and
Dalton mention that Alton Ellis also produced a number of hits for Janet Kay starting with "Loving You" in
1977: "This was followed by several more reggae chart singles including 'I Do Love You' and 'Silly Games'
which peaked at #2 in 1979" (Barrow and Dalton 2001: 399). Barrow and Dalton state that Sugar Minott was
also very prominent within this genre:
> Although lovers rock was very much a UK phenomenon, one Jamaican singer who had no problems
> adapting to its demands was Sugar Minott. In 1981, the Studio One graduate celebrated the form with
> a track called "Lovers Rock" recorded at the Easy Street Studio in London, and dueted [*sic*] with its
> then reigning queen, Carroll Thompson. (Barrow and Dalton 2001: 400)
Mittoo knew Minott and Ellis from Studio One days. Therefore, it is not surprising that Mittoo was involved in
the production of their music.

meant by "piggy backing." (Interview with Marlene Simpson, 2014)

A Wish Granted: The Million Dollar Songs

Mittoo's 1978 wish to have a million dollar song was indirectly realized on two platforms. He gained immense success with Musical Youth and their international hit "Pass the Dutchie" in the fall of 1982. Then in 1983 he worked with UB40 on their mega hit "Red, Red, Wine." Mittoo describes how he came to meet and work with UB40:

> I was doing a project with Musical Youth . . . this hook up got me involved with Birmingham and I was introduced to the UB40 group. Right there, the first day after being introduced, we went in studio. We did a whole album, they were doing an album called *Labour of Love* and they asked me to play on that, for about 6 songs, including the "Red, Red Wine." (Mittoo in *Soul in the City*)[158]

1983 was also the year that the Skatalites reunited for Reggae Sunsplash in Jamaica. The reunited Skatalites would also result in subsequent tours in the UK and the US.

Mittoo's wish for publicity was a double-edged sword. It was during this time that he was sued by Leroy Sibbles for royalty payments for "Full Up" which was used in Musical Youth's mega hit, "Pass the Dutchie." An article titled "Pass the Dutchie Royalties Escrowed" announced the lawsuit in 1983:

> Sibbles who is represented by Stewart Rosenhill takes legal action against Mittoo on Sibbles' behalf. The Performing Rights Society in England will not comment on how much money is being tied up while attorneys attempt to thrash out an out-of-court settlement between Jackie Mittoo, who was credited with the melody, and Jamaican session musician Leroy Sibbles, who contends that the tune is identical to his 1968 instrumental composition "Full Up." (*Variety* 1983: 67)[159]

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[158] Transcription of "Reggae Keyboard Legend" Interview on *Soul in the City*, (n.d.) Canada. *YouTube.*

[159] Robbie Lyn claims that when Mittoo left, Studio One locked down production . . . it was revived and at that time Robbie Lyn would play the organ and Richard Ace was the lead keyboard player (Katz 2012: 131). Robbie Lyn claims that he was the one who played on "Full Up" (Gorney 2005). Walker states that Mittoo and Sibbles did "Full Up" (Walker 2005: 158). Other accounts state that Mittoo and Robbie Lyn created it. (Alleyne 2012; Foster 1999: 228; *Variety* 1983).

In an article titled "Reggae's Legends Dazzle the Rastas," McGrath discusses the "Full Up"

lawsuit between Mittoo and Sibbles:

> Mittoo and Sibbles were until Wednesday spatting [*sic*] in what promised to be
> a long and complex legal suit over the ownership of the music to "Pass the
> Dutchie," the most universally popular reggae tune of the past 10 years, a song
> that has already made more money for Fred Waite's kids than Waite ever saw
> in Jamaica. . . . Back in the dim past of the ska era, Sibbles and Mittoo, both
> working in recording studios owned by pioneer reggae producer Coxsone
> Dodd, put together a song which, after many revisions and additions, became
> "Pass the Dutchie." When it came time, almost 20 years later, for the money to
> roll in, Sibbles found he had not been credited on the 1983 recording which
> would undoubtedly push things along for him in Canada, where he is still
> building a following. So Sibbles and Mittoo, the two colleagues from the pre-
> reggae era, did the only logical thing in a business that is based on periodic
> shouting matches followed by smooth reconciliations. They let their lawyers do
> the shouting and the gesturing and then they sat down quietly here and made a
> deal. They won't tell a soul what the agreement is until they get home (Sibbles
> to Toronto and Mittoo to Birmingham, England) for a chat with the lawyers.
> (McGrath 1983a)

This article is especially useful because there is not much detail on the "Full Up" lawsuit or

its outcome elsewhere in JPM literature. In 1985 Mittoo took the opportunity to defend his

position in the dispute about the royalties for "Full Up" in an article published in *The*

Caribbean Times in the UK:

> The "Full Up" rhythm, it was my arrangement. The media have been misled
> there is enough money in a successful musical composition to be shared
> honestly by all those who took part. (Mittoo in Richards 1985)

His statement about "all who took part" refers to sharing the royalties with band members at

Studio One.[160] He described his experience in claiming royalties for "Pass the Dutchie" with

Tafari:

> **Mittoo**: My most recent successful claim was for "Pass the Dutchie," which was
> one of our instrumentals from Studio One. The (Mighty) Diamonds

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[160] This refers to a riff between himself and Leroy Sibbles, which has been the subject of a few articles on
Mittoo. Sibbles discusses this in an interview with Peter I titled "Leroy's Gonna Fight." The interview is
published online at *Reggae-Vibes.com.*

were very complimentary, because hadn't it been the Diamonds, who did the first rendition of a melody on top of our bass line which was an instrumental called "Full Up" hadn't the Diamonds done that ("Pass The Kutchie") then there'd be no song. And while I was in England I was working with the young kids called The Musical Youth and eventually they made a rendition of the same thing (singing instead) "Pass the Dutchie." I had something to do with the bass line. And that bass line was played by Leroy Sibbles, Robbie Lyn played a keyboard and myself played a keyboard. We all worked at Studio One.

Tafari: You made this claim in England.

Mittoo: Yes; had it been Jamaica, like we know, I probably would have had no claim at all, but in the high courts of law in England, something like that is pretty legal if you can prove that you had anything to do with the material. (Mittoo qtd. in Tafari 1988: 40)

Having learned the hard way about the consequences of poor documentation in a legal proceeding, Mittoo is careful to mention to the media his input in the production of songs for a number of singers and groups in London whenever he was interviewed. Thus he complained about not receiving full credit for work done on an album titled *Crossover* (1985) by Winston Reedy:

No, I was only credited on "Romantic Girls" and I did not receive any for "Ambition". I have also produced his [Winston Reedy] current project, a rendition of Elvis Costello's "Everyday I Write the Book." (Mittoo qtd. in Richards 1985)

In 1985 Mittoo went on tour with Musical Youth to Ghana. The trip to Africa was a highlight of his career; his children mention this trip with great pride. During the tour with Musical Youth he recorded at Black Note Recording Studio in Accra, Ghana with Musical Youth and several African musicians (Keyo 1995). The recordings were released posthumously in an album titled *Jackie Mittoo in Africa* on the Quartz label (*Discogs.com*).

Within the same year, Mittoo continued his efforts to regain control over his early recordings. In 1985 journalist Winston Richards wrote that "Mittoo is having to revitalize his

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old classics in order to copyright his original works, as this was not done when they were first released" (Richards 1985). Mittoo's plan to regain the rights to his work involved the establishment of a record label— JAKKI. The first issue on this label was an album featuring versions of the previously released "Hot Milk."

The Personal

A survey of Mittoo's activities in London indicates that he was there for periods of three to six months on each visit.[161] Although London provided opportunities for work, living there was challenging. Without support it would have been very difficult for Mittoo to stay in the UK for an extended time. However, Mittoo met Marlene Simpson in 1981 and received support and encouragement from her. Simpson recalls when she first met Mittoo:

> We were doing a local community radio and we had the opportunity to interview Sugar Minott. It was a program with Radio Sheffield called "back a yaad"; we would go on at various times to talk about what was going on in the community and they were here on tour, so that's how that happened. Jackie was here with Sugar Minott and all of those guys. . . . I had got an album from previous years where Jackie is on this album and he's got this big afro and he looks as if he's pulling his hair out and I can't remember if its "Darker Shade of Pale" . . . or one of those. And I thought that he had the most beautiful but the most saddest eyes in my estimation; and I thought that I'd love to meet this guy, I wonder what's behind those eyes? Then I got the opportunity to meet him and it was just that . . . he was always a joy to be around. But sometimes I think that musicians and artists live for the moment. (Interview with Marlene Simpson, 2014)

Mittoo's relationship with Simpson was a source of support during his time in the UK.

Cyrus**:** Would you say that you provided support for him?

Simpson**:** In terms of emotional support, somewhere to stay . . . What do I say . . . if I were eating, he would eat. And if his friends came around they would eat. But then equally, if Jackie had it in his pocket he would always care for you . . . He also had some good friends around the Musical Youth era and they

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[161] See "Mittoo's Work Schedule: 1981-1985" in Appendix B.

would jam together, he'd stay there. When he was in Birmingham, Bedfordshire, and Yorkshire he would stay by me . . . but for Jackie it was really the music. (Interview with Simpson, 2014)

Simpson also commented on the living conditions of visiting Jamaican musicians; they had a difficult time in London. They would reside in the studio for days at a time, for want of somewhere to stay:

> He was in England, he worked with Musical Youth, Sugar Minott, Carol Thompson, Janet Kay, he spent a lot of time at Easy Street Studio. I personally hated it . . . that lifestyle was really not for me. I love music but the way they lived, in a lot of cases and especially Caribbean musicians, when they came here they had nowhere to stay really. So they'd stay "here or there" or they may know someone who had a flat somewhere and they would jam there for a while. The idea of being in the studio for two days without a shower doesn't thrill me. Their lifestyle was very different from the Europeans and the Americans; it was a struggle for Jackie. He was a great person but had a lot of struggles. (Interview with Simpson, 2014)

This is similar to Dennis Harris' comment that "Mittoo basically lived at Easy Street Studio" (Bradley 2013: 248). More than just dedication to work, the recording studio was at times temporary accommodation for visiting musicians such as Mittoo. This is consistent with Marlon Mittoo's comment on some of the hardships that his father endured: "His life wasn't always glamorous—non-stop working, traveling, hotels and sleeping on studio couches and all that kind of stuff, there's a lot to it" (Interview with Marlon Mittoo, 2013).

1986 – 1990: Mittoo in the US

By the end of 1986 Mittoo turned his attention to studio work in the USA. Simpson, Mittoo's partner in London, confirms that 1986 was indeed the last time that Mittoo was in the UK (Simpson 2014).[162] JPM production in the United States is not as clearly defined or documented as the JPM scene in London or Canada. In the 1970s the focus of reggae

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[162] Telephone interview with Marlene Simpson, January 2014.

production in the USA seemed to be initially on the sale of records and stage shows.[163]

Reggae artists would tour the US, and producers such as Clement Dodd had record stores

which supplied the Jamaican diaspora with records.[164] In the 1980s a number of small studios

in Florida and New York recorded reggae artists. The triangular link between Jamaica,

London, and the USA was nurtured by bearers of JPM culture: singers and musicians who

travelled between these centers, such as Mittoo.

Mittoo at SKD Records

Between 1986 and 1988 Mittoo could be found working in Florida in at least two

studios: New River Studio in Fort Lauderdale and SKD Records in Miami. Tafari reports

Mittoo was "in and out of The New River Studio" working on a project for Little Roy (Tafari

1988: 24). However, Mittoo was actually employed by SKD Records (ibid). SKD Records

was owned by Mandeville businessman Kenneth Black. The record company's name and

label was SKD; it is an abbreviation of Mr. Black's alias: "Skeng Don" (*Daily Gleaner* 2010).

The recording studio opened in 1985 and Tafari noted that it was a state-of-the-art studio:

> Nowadays the reggae keyboard wizard can be found in Northwest Miami at the
> SKD studio, where he's the new in house hands-on musical arranger and
> director. Jackie has been using SKD's high-tech, solid state 45-track studio to
> digitally mix and remix albums by Sugar Minott, Gregory Isaacs, The Tamlins
> and Leroy Smart. One of Jackie's next major projects will be a new
> instrumental LP by himself on the SKD label. (Tafari 1988: 24)

The article, which was published in Peggy Quattro's *Reggae Report* magazine, includes

pictures of an elated Mittoo in the studio. A survey of *Discogs.com* reveals that Mittoo is

listed in the credits of many of the singles produced there. He is listed as "conceptual

arranger" in the credits of singles for Gregory Isaacs, Cocoa Tea, Leroy Smart, Echo Minott,

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[163] See "Mittoo's Work Schedule: 1986-1990" in Appendix B.
[164] Musicians who were able often assimilated into the jazz scene, such as Monty Alexander.

Earl Sixteen, Frankie Paul, Horace Martin, and Junior Delgado among others.[165] All the

singles on the SKD label with Mittoo's name in the credits were issued in 1986. However, the

Skeng Don discography that is available online does not list an album for Mittoo.[166]

Mittoo at Bullwackies

By the end of 1988, after the interview with Tafari, Mittoo relocated to New Jersey

where he started working in one of the studios of Lloyd "Bullwackie" Barnes. David Katz

identifies Wackies as the hub of JPM record production in New York and names some of the

singers and musicians who were present there:

> Well the first seed of New York's thriving reggae and dancehall scene goes back
> to the pioneering sound system operator and record producer, Lloyd
> "Bullwackie" Barnes. It's crucial to the whole development of the reggae scene
> in New York. . . . You have a lot of important artists establish sort of residencies
> at Bullwackie's studio, based in the Bronx—he's had more than one recording
> studio in more than one premise, but the "flagship store" up on White Plains
> Road is where a lot of people like Sugar Minott ended up making significant,
> very innovative music there. For example, Minott cut an album called *Dancehall
> Style*, which was a "showcase" LP where every song was immediately followed
> by a dub version. You also had Leroy Sibbles from The Heptones becoming a
> mainstay at Bullwackie's. Members of the band Chalice were there and so on. So
> I would say Bullwackie was a really integral force. (Katz qtd. in Baird 2013)

Although Katz does not mention Mittoo, it is documented that he recorded there (Larkin

1998: 21; Keyo 1995).[167] Additionally, in an interview Barnes attests that Mittoo started

working there on a project in 1988 until he fell ill (Hurford and Moore 1996). Mittoo's last

studio work was an album titled *Wild Jockey* (1990). It was recorded at Wackies in New

Jersey, which was also the site of Mittoo's Japan connection.

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[165] www.discogs.com/skd
[166] The URL for the Skeng Don discography is http://regaelicious.pbworks.com/w/page/8822145/Skendon#LP
[167] Wackies discography reveals that Sugar Minott recorded there regularly in the 1980s. It is possible that Sugar
Minott was the initial link between Mittoo and Wackies. See Wackies discography at
<http://www.jahtari.org/magazine/reggae-history/Wackies%20Discography.htm>

The Japanese Connection

The New Jersey branch of Wackies was also the home of Japanese-American Sonny "Sabwackie" Ochiai, who had a recording studio in his home in Englewood, New Jersey.[168] In New Jersey Mittoo would encounter DJ Nahki Yamaguchi, a protégé of Sugar Minott.[169] Nahki and Mittoo were working on separate recording projects at Ochiai's studio. According to Nahki, Ochiai was the co-producer for Wackies Productions at that site.

Ochiai was also in partnership which Tachyon Co. Ltd. (Minoru Hatanaka) in the production of Japansplash, the analog of Reggae Sunsplash (Nahki qtd. in Smith 2009). Nahki states that he and Ochiai would "book and capture artists for Japansplash" (ibid). Mittoo was working with the Skatalites in Bunny Wailer's Liberation Tour of the USA, when he was approached by Ochiai and Herbie Miller—manager of Peter Tosh and owner of the Blue Monk Jazz Gallery in Kingston—to go to Japan in April 1989.[170] His performance in Shiodome, Tokyo would be his final international gig.

The Personal

Marlon recalls that his father was getting ready to go on another tour after Japan when he became ill:

> He was away and he had come back and he was getting ready to go and tour somewhere, and all of a sudden he fell ill. . . . The best way for me to describe it, is that it was perplexing at the beginning to understand what it was…it hit hard and it hit fast. Within approximately a year or less from the point that he started being ill, to not knowing what the cause of that was, to then subsequently getting checked out, then finding out, then dealing with everything and then being hospitalized and then passing. . . . Everything

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[168] As noted above, Wackies has more than one recording studio (Katz qtd. in Baird 2013).

[169] Nahki and Minott met in Tokyo when Minott was on tour there in 1984 (Nahki qtd. in Smith 2009).

[170] The performance and interviews with the band members were recorded during this tour. The footage was used to produce a documentary titled *A History of Ska and Jamaican Popular Music: The Skatalites* (1989) by Spec Studio.

happened in a very short time, within a year. He was bedridden for a few months. (Interview with Marlon Mittoo, 2013)

Marlon also mentions that during this period Mittoo was living in Mississauga with Carol, the mother of his youngest child, who looked after him during his illness. Willi Williams also remained close to Mittoo during his illness; he would pick Mittoo up from the hospital and stay at his place for the weekend (Interview with Tourigny 2014). Marcia, his eldest daughter, shares more details of his illness:

> He got sick in June 1990; he said he had a pain in his shoulder from exercising. He was doing some exercise which he hadn't done for a long time, so he didn't really take it seriously. He went to a doctor friend and it was diagnosed that he had a tumor and they told him not to worry, everything will be fine, they would just go in scrape and everything would be fine. But it didn't go so easy. Very quickly my father started to deteriorate. I would visit him in the hospital. He and I read the Bible together, and prayed together. (Interview with Marcia Mittoo, 2014)

His last words are unknown; however, the last words that he may have read were Psalms 27, which Marcia said was his favorite:

> The Lord is my light and my salvation; whom shall I fear? The Lord is the strength of my life; of whom shall I be afraid? When the wicked, even mine enemies and my foes, came upon me to eat up my flesh, they stumbled and fell. Though a host should encamp against me, my heart shall not fear: though war should rise against me, in this will I be confident. One thing have I desired of the Lord, that will I seek after; that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life, to behold the beauty of the Lord, and to enquire in his temple. (Psalm 27:1-4 KJV)

Jackie Mittoo died on 16th December 1990, on a Sunday, at the Princess Margaret Hospital in Toronto. A number of memorial services were held for Mittoo in Canada, the UK, and in Jamaica.[171] Mittoo-Walker discovered that Mittoo had a birthmark in the shape of a world map on his arm. For her, the mark indicated that Mittoo was destined for the life of traveling

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[171] A memorial service was held at the Jamaican Canadian Centre with plans for benefit concerts (*Toronto Star* 1991).

that he had (Interview with Mittoo-Walker, 2013). His body was laid to rest beside his grandmother, Leila, in St. James; this was Mittoo's last wish (Marlon Mittoo 2013).

Mittoo's story does not end there. Posthumously he continues to be recognized through the narratives of the singers and musicians who he helped. His name is forever inscribed in popular culture through the song "Me and You and Jackie Mittoo" by Superchunks; and through the sharing culture that exists in JPM production, his music lives on.

CHAPTER 6: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION OF PART ONE

Mittoo was a prolific musician who seemed to rise above the constraints faced by other Jamaican musicians at home in Jamaica and abroad when he migrated from Jamaica. My thesis was that the strategies that Mittoo employed in his career arose out of attitudes formed during his early social development: from his childhood and adolescent experiences. The questions that guided the career biography were: What were the early influences in Mittoo's social development? What were the challenges faced by session musicians during the emergent period of the JPM recording industry? Which strategies did Mittoo employ in his career in response to these challenges? To answer these questions the career biography outlined many significant events in his life that revealed behaviours that seemed to help Mittoo advance his career.

My research reveals that Mittoo was adept at reaching out to others, building bridges and gaining acceptance in new situations. This stemmed from his self confidence and his interpersonal skills. He also gained acceptance in many social fields because of his piano skills; music making as a way of reaching out to others. He was decisive; his sense of self-agency seemed to have developed from an early age, and he was not afraid of change or ambiguities. Traveling also seemed to be a trope in his personal life and in his career; he was always moving on and he would seize opportunities available to him. The following chart summarizes my findings:

Fig. 4.1 Thesis, Behaviours and Principles

Thesis

The strategies that Mittoo employed in his career arose out of attitudes formed during his early social development.

I locate the origins of Mittoo's social and career strategies in his family, childhood and adolescent experience. I identify manifestations of these strategies in his career (p.3).

Basic piano skills and attitudes are from his grandmother and early experiences.

Age 0 – 13 years

Specific skills relevant to the recording industry are from training and influences at Studio One.

Age 15 years

He learned:

(C) Confidence

(I) Interpersonal skills

(SB) Music making as social behavior

Behaviors and Principles

Reaching out to others, building bridges, gaining acceptance.

(B) Skills to live on the road as a boarder

Not afraid of change or ambiguities, seizing the moment and opportunities, decisive.

(SA) Self-Agency ⟶ Making decisions on his own.

(T) Desire to travel ⟶ Not afraid to move on.

He learned:

Arranging

Reusing music

Ensemble skills

Producing

The chart above indicates two sources of influences in Mittoo's career: his family and Studio One. The influences from Studio One are relevant to his work in the recording industry; they will be discussed further in Part Two. Influences from his family have been coded "C" for confidence, "I" for interpersonal skills and so on. These traits are evident in the narratives on Mittoo's formative years in Jamaica and in his responses to the challenges that he faced abroad. I will indicate the traits that are most apparent in the following summary of his career at home and abroad.

Jackie At Home: the formative years

(SA) Self-Agency: Mittoo was focused on his craft from an early age; he did not waver on his desire to work in the music industry. This is demonstrated in the anecdote of him playing the piano as a child with his back defiantly to the keyboard. The antics described in this anecdote seem to foreshadow the "gymnastics" which defined his performance style on stage. His focus on music resulted in at least one idiosyncrasy; Simpson describes it: "He was a perfectionist with his music. . . . He was very particular about his ear; you couldn't touch his ear [lobe]. Everything was about his hearing; he was so particular about the music" (Interview with Simpson, 2014).

(SB) Music Making as Social Behaviour: Mittoo played to the audience; the objective of his playing was to entertain his audience. This is a strategy that Mittoo used in his formative years, as witnessed by Norma Frazier and Alton Ellis. Mittoo maintained this approach throughout his adult years. Also, in *Summer Sounds: Rocking Universally*, a short documentary about Jerry Brown's recording studio in Malton, Ontario, there is a scene where Mittoo makes suggestions to change some elements in the music to better suit the audience.

> I have a riddim, I have a new song and I want Brother Willi to sing it for me yuh know . . . "Rocking Universally." The first thing you can do for me is turn on the riddim box, and we'll get a better idea of how to construct the structure of the tune . . . turn up the [tempo] just a shade faster so that the fat ladies them can . . . yuh know you have to have them in mind. (Mittoo in *Summer Sounds*)

Mittoo asks the producer to increase the tempo of the riddim track to suit the dance moves of his target audience.

(B) Not Afraid of Drastic Changes and Ambiguities. His childhood experience of living as a boarder may have affected his perspective of what "home life" meant. The change of his name at age ten was a significant event that may have prepared him to accept the radical changes and uncertainties that accompanied a transnational career. This attitude carried over into his music; in his 1988 interview he stated:

> You must have changes. You have the original acoustic instrumental and you have modern technology bring in electronic instruments with computer work. Each one, if used carefully can give a special effect. But the electronic age is now and you have to accept that. (Mittoo qtd. in Tafari 1998: 24)

This answer was in response to a question about feeling threatened and redundant among the new technology and electronic instruments in 1988.[1] Mittoo was in a position to accept change because his early training on the piano and the organ allowed him to be flexible with both types of keyboard instruments. However, his positive attitude towards change is most apparent in his reggae fusion recordings, and in his willing assimilation into and performance of any style that was considered the popular music in a given scene.

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[1] Tafari's question to Mittoo was:
> As a musician you no doubt find some of the new electronic equipment like the electronic keyboards and the drum machines to be a great creative tool when you are designing new compositions. How do you view this creative aspect of the new technology compared with the fact that these machines could take away your work and make you redundant? (Tafari 1988: 24)

(SA) Self-Agency. Mittoo put music first. This included eliminating all distractions that conflicted with his aspirations to work in the music industry—including high school. This tendency seemed to carry over into his personal relationships when he was older. His marriage to his first wife, Barbara, disintegrated partly because of his complete dedication to music at the expense of family commitments (Interview with Tourigny, 2014). Marlene Simpson, the mother of his youngest son, remarks that "music was Jackie's *real* woman" (Interview with Simpson, 2014).

(I) Interpersonal Skills: Mittoo immersed himself in the community of session musicians wherever he was. This resulted in work opportunities and the expansion of his social network. One strategy that he seemed to use to integrate himself within a music scene was helping and teaching others. Mittoo may have been modeling his grandmother's informal style of teaching piano, which is described by Harris-McLean: "She [Mrs. Mittoo] gave lessons to anyone who wanted... She would stay after school. It was not a very structured session; students would come for lessons if they wanted" (Interview with Harris-McLean, 2014). Mittoo would have observed this style of teaching throughout his childhood. In fact, Harris-McLean's description of Mrs. Leila Mittoo is very similar to Tourigny's descriptions of Mittoo's interactions with others:

> He was very friendly and always trying to teach something. He wasn't a "me me" person . . . and when he is doing [helping] for people like that, he don't think about the money, the money part is last. I would ask: "well didn't you get money" he would say "No, I never even thought about that. I just think about the music, the money will come later." (Interview with Tourigny, 2014)

It was his disposition of helping others, coupled with his hit-making gift that made him prominent among his peers.

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(T) Moving Forward: The move from the sleepy area of Tobolski, Brown's Town to Kingston may have taught him that relocating results in personal and professional growth. Additionally, boarding or migrating for work was a normal part of the family life that he witnessed as a child. His grandparents both had jobs that required travelling, so he may have heard stories about their travels and adventures. His mother also had to move away in order to attend nursing school when he was a toddler. Furthermore, the late 1950s and 1960s was generally a time of mass migration from Jamaica. Therefore within his family and in the society at large, he witnessed and experienced migration as necessary for personal growth and career advancement.

Jackie Abroad: the new field

The difficult reception that Willi Williams and early reggae musicians in Toronto have reported in the media is actually consistent with Phillips and Och's theory of cultural change. Whereas JPM developed through a process of voluntary borrowing in Jamaica, reggae was brought to Canada by "outsider" culture bearers, which was met with resistance. This is demonstrated in singer Willi Williams' efforts to introduce reggae in Toronto:

> What has happened is that most of the people who were here, was still trying to impress, by playing Americanized music. When I came here I wanted to introduce reggae music but it was very hard because most of the people here who came from Jamaica, right, they were like they wanted to play like Ohio Players or Blood Sweat & Tears or . . . the funk thing, y'know. And I came here with a burning desire to introduce reggae, and the only person who was really playing some kind of reggae was Jackie Mittoo. He was playing like the string thing now, the Toronto Symphony. So we had like 32 strings behind a reggae band . . . incidentally—we were just living like next door, and we didn't know (laughs)! So, we started a band, with Joe Isaacs, the drummer, and Bryan Atkinson, the bass player (both founders of the famed Soul Vendors band). These people were like original Studio One players, and Lord Tanamo, percussions. So we had quite a number of people here (laughs). We started doing

gigs, y' know, and introduced reggae to the mall. We used to go to the mall and play reggae at the mall. We scared them, like they thought we were kinda strange (laughs)! (Williams in McGrath 1981)[2]

JPM was not immediately successful or sustainable in Canada, because it did not complete the process of borrowing as outlined by Phillips and Ochs, and the process requires time. Based on the model of cultural change, for reggae to be accepted beyond the novelty stage—towards institutionalization—insiders of the host culture would have had to start "borrowing" the genre, that is duplicating and then incorporating the music within their own music-making. Therefore the main problem was that the music was not readily duplicated in Toronto by an adequate number of "insider" culture bearers.

(SB, C, B) Music Making as Social Behaviour; Confidence; Not Afraid of Change or Ambiguities, Seizing the Moment and Opportunities: Mittoo embarked on an international career equipped with flexible musical skills gained from his experience on stage and in the studio in Jamaica. Mittoo spent his first five years in Canada establishing himself; his time was divided between performing on stage and in the studio. Mittoo also joined recognized "insider" associations such as CAPAC and worked in the cabaret circuit which exposed him to the insiders and helped to increase his social capital outside his ethnic community. This resulted in opportunities to record with the CTL.[3] At the CTL he established further connections with singers and musicians such as Howard Cable, Vic Franklyn, and Rick Wilkins, thereby building his social capital.

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[2] "No Supper Tonight." Interview with Willi Williams. Peter I. http://www.reggae-vibes.com/
[3] Jay Douglas states that Mittoo got the CTL opportunity through the exposure he gained playing cabaret. (Telephone Interview with Jay Douglas, 2013)

(SB) Music Making as Social Behaviour: Mittoo's efforts to facilitate the process of borrowing included applying what Richard Peterson called the "hard core, soft shell" strategy to his Canadian compositions, in the form of reggae fusion.[4] The "hard core, soft shell" strategy technique is similar, in principle, to playing to the audience—making music to suit the audience. A commentary on his musical style in 1975 indicated that Mittoo wrote music with his audience in mind: "He claims they love peppy, fast music and would rather hear up-tempo music than the slow beat of the Caribbean" (Vipond 1975: 21). Mittoo's reggae fusion recordings may have been an effort to present his music in a style that Canadians would be open to, rather than impose a purist "reggae" style on the Canadian market. However, Mittoo was criticized for this; McCuaig reported that his music was put down as "background, elevator reggae" (Harvey qtd. in McCuaig 2012: 99). Mittoo's first attempt at reggae fusion was facilitated by fellow Jamaican Carl DeHaney, who helped Mittoo produce his debut album in Canada. This album gave Mittoo a voice as well as representation in Canada.

(I, SB) Interpersonal Skills, Music Making as Social Behaviour: In Canada, Mittoo applied strategies that he had used during his formative years: immersing himself in the target culture and playing to the audience. Mittoo's work with the insiders of Canadian culture—Summus, CTL, and Vic Franklyn—as well as his use of musical elements that were familiar and appealing to a general Canadian audience, was consistent with his approach to music making in general. This strategy helped to promote Mittoo's music and career in Canada (Barrow and Dalton 2001: iv). A survey of the *Globe and Mail* archives reveals that Mittoo

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[4] The "hard core, soft shell" dialectic is one of four categories in Peterson's description of the process involved in the creation and stasis of culture (Peterson 1997). The dialectic occurs when music of an established "hard core" genre is adapted with familiar elements—a soft shell—to suit the taste of listeners of another culture. This creates a "crossover" sound (Peterson 1997: 229). The other categories of Peterson's model are the generational dialectic, authenticity and institutional mechanisms. (Peterson 1997: 232).

received steady exposure on at least two radio stations. His name is included in the newspaper advertisements which list musicians featured on the scheduled programs of these radio stations.

(T, SA) Not afraid to move on, Self Agency: In spite of all the support from the media that he received in Canada, Mittoo was not satisfied with his progress there. Reggae was not "borrowed" by musicians in Canada quickly enough for Mittoo. A combination of this disappointment with his own personal trials may have led Mittoo to look for opportunities in other countries.

(SB) Music Making as Social Behaviour: Based on narratives by and about Mittoo, music making was often a social behavior for Mittoo. He used it to "break the ice" and "build bridges"; it was a way of making new acquaintances. Simpson describes this:

> He loved music you know, he'd meet somebody in a shop and the person would have a mouth organ and Jackie would have a concert. I remember one concert with Sugar Minott. On tour the Hammond organ wasn't working and he got something that looked like a child's toy [a melodica] and he had a whole performance with this . . . thing. Jackie was just that kind of a person. He was a fun loving very special person, but not always the happiest of persons. . . . And Jackie was all for the music . . . give him a keyboard and he was in seventh heaven. He could produce something out of absolutely nothing: a clap, a whistle, the wind blowing and Jackie could play something. That's what he lived for . . . he was an extremely creative person. (Interview with Marlene Simpson, 2014)

Performing was one way for Mittoo to make connections and gain acceptance in new social spaces throughout his lifetime. During his childhood and at various stages in his career, Mittoo's performances brought him the attention, adulation, and affirmation that he may have needed at each stage of development. However, stage work was not always a priority for Mittoo. Tourigny asserts that his preference was studio work:

> He did not like to go and perform on stage. He did that to make money for a

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living, like we all have to do. His main job that he liked, his main thing was to do studio work. He would do the stage work but that was not what he liked to do. He liked to be in the background doing the organizing. Doing albums was what he liked. (Interview with Tourigny, 2014)

Although his performances were useful for making connections in new social settings, the benefits of his recordings may have been more valuable during the later stages of his career. Tourigny states that Mittoo spoke of creating a legacy through his recordings; she paraphrases his philosophy toward music making:

> I just want to be free to make my music and make a good one and make a lasting impression that when I die they can remember me. . . . I might be dead and gone but my music will always be there for people to remember me. (Interview with Tourigny, 2014)

Mittoo may have been lured by the enduring nature of a recording; it created a "permanent" documentation of his creative work, which would represent him in places he could not reach. For example, Canadian radio disc jockey Carl Banas mentions how he met Mittoo: "I first met Jackie on a record label. I had taken keen interest in playing Byron Lee's 'Ram Jam' and noted it was written by a 'J. Mittoo'" (Banas 1972). The assistance of Banas, an "insider" culture bearer, was an important ingredient in Mittoo's integration into the pop music scene in Canada, and this was facilitated by a cover of one of his recordings. At the same time, Mittoo's recordings in Jamaica were still performing well on the pop charts; they kept his name in the media in Jamaica, although he was not there.

(I, B) Interpersonal skills; Not afraid of change or ambiguities, seizing the moment and opportunities: A significant factor that helped Jackie Mittoo's career in music was his soft skills: his willingness and ability to change as the music scene required, and his skill at networking when he entered a new scene or "field." These are skills that he learned during his

early years as he travelled with his grandmother on her job assignments. During his early career in Jamaica, he immersed himself in the community of musicians. Although his ability to arrange was important for studio musicians, his willingness to help and encourage others expanded his network and provided opportunities; this was a lesson that he may have learned from observing his grandmother in her role as a teacher. As an immigrant in a new country he had the willingness and skills to assimilate into the musical culture of host countries. His already large network, reputation, and people skills facilitated the creation of new networks in other countries. By all accounts he was able to find support wherever he went, which resulted in new families at various stages of his life.

Mittoo possessed two qualities that benefited him during his transnational career: a reputation that opened doors for him, and a friendly countenance. These qualities helped to build his personal network. Dorothy Mittoo-Walker, his mother, alludes to these in the following statement: "Those who knew Jackie well, will remember his bulging side pockets which contained a telephone book with names and addresses of friends around the world, and in the other a *New Testament Bible*, which he read constantly" (Grant 1995).[5] The imagery that Dorothy uses in this statement indicates the asset that was most advantageous to Mittoo's career abroad: his social capital. The image of "bulging side pockets" that Dorothy so poetically describes gives the impression of a great number of contacts in his telephone book. Simpson also mentions these items in regards to Mittoo's ability to make friends easily:

> I remember that it [the Bible] had a red cover and it had everything in there. It had little notes it had phone numbers everything in there. It was always on him. . . . He was amazingly friendly and very accepting of people. I don't know how

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[5] Mittoo also wore a chain with a cross pendant which his grandmother gave to him. (Mittoo-Walker telephone interview, December 2013)

much accepting people were of him, but he was very accepting of people. He got on with anybody. . . . He's a guy that loved to laugh . . . he was all heart . . . a little misguided sometimes, but you know...life happens, and I think that when you're a musician as well and on the road, there's an awful lot that happens and sometimes you get swept along. He was an extremely creative person and a warm and tender person. But Jackie lived for the moment; so if he was here in England, he was all over you. If he had a relationship in Canada when he got there, he'd be there. Trying to tie somebody who was free spirited, but not free, if that makes sense, would not have been an easy thing. I think people didn't quite understand that in him. (Interview with Marlene Simpson, 2014)

Simpson's description of Mittoo encapsulates what others have said about him. Based on the narratives of musicians who worked with Mittoo, when he met someone, he developed the relationship immediately by acting upon ideas proposed. He lived for the moment. This is demonstrated in the following story that Mittoo tells about his first meeting with UB40:

I was doing a project with Musical Youth . . . this hook up got me involved with Birmingham and I was introduced to the UB40 group. Right there, the first day after being introduced, we went in studio. We did a whole album, they were doing an album called *Labour of Love* and they asked me to play on that, for about 6 songs, including the "Red, Red Wine." (Mittoo in *Soul in the City*)[6]

There are a number of steps missing between, "I was introduced" and "the first day after…we went in studio." It is likely that someone made a suggestion about Mittoo's working on the album and he said yes—not a "polite" yes, but a "let's do it!" yes. In fact, a number of anecdotes from singers, musicians, and producers demonstrate that Mittoo did not waste opportunities; he made the best of chance meetings. Dorothy and Marcia both talked about his "bulging pockets." Marcia stated that as a child she thought that his bulging pockets were full of money. She would later discover that in one pant pocket he had a telephone book, and in the other there was a Bible.

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[6] "Reggae Keyboard Legend" Interview on *Soul in the City*, Canada. YouTube

(T) Not Afraid to Move On: Dorothy also mentioned "addresses of friends around the world"; this includes the four countries Mittoo frequented most: Canada, the UK, the USA, and Jamaica. He travelled to wherever JPM was being produced, and as an established authority on JPM, he was always welcome to lend his expertise. Mittoo worked in the four major centers of JPM production in the 1970s and 1980s—Jamaica, Canada, London, and the USA—thereby ensuring his presence among the catalogues of diverse record labels.

The Personal: Mittoo and His Family

The role of Mittoo's mother and maternal grandparents was central in Mittoo's family. They looked after the children when one or both parents moved away for work. His mother, Dorothy, and her sister lived with their maternal grandparents, James and Emma Bodden, when their parents, Leila and Joseph, worked in other parts of the island. When Leila became a grandmother, she looked after Jackie while Dorothy went to study in Kingston and later migrated to New York. When Jackie migrated to Canada he placed his young family with his grandmother in Harbour View. In Mittoo's world, grandparents played an active role in enabling their adult offspring to pursue their careers by assisting in caring for their grandchildren. In a family where travelling seemed to be central to career advancement, grandparents offered stability for the family unit when possible. However, this was not unique to the Mittoo family. Many families were separated when one or both parents migrated from rural areas to Kingston, and from Jamaica to cities abroad.

My interviews with some of the mothers of Mittoo's children reveal that he was delighted to be a father, although he could not always be present with his children. Merlene Finikin recalls his response to the birth of his first daughter:

When I told him I was pregnant, he said that he wished it was a girl. He was working at WIF when Marcia was born. The Thursday night he knew I had to go in to hospital. He said when I have the baby I should have the nurse call. They called him and the first thing he asked is if it were a girl and the nurse said yes and the nurse said you could hear him screaming he was happy that he had a daughter. I had no idea why he wanted a girl so much. He was so excited about having a daughter. (Interview with Finikin, 2014)

However, Simpson opines that his unstable family life was a source of discontent:

He was a fun loving guy, but at times sad. When I met Jackie he had already had three major relationships. . . . And I think that if he could have had his way, he would have wanted to stay in a permanent place with his children, if he'd had his way. But it wasn't like that for him. (Interview with Simpson, 2014)

In many ways Mittoo was just like any other father with hopes, expectations, and ambitions for his children. Simpson describes Mittoo with his youngest son:

The first couple of toys that he went out and bought for Joel was a pair of maracas and a little keyboard . . . I think he would have relished the thought that some of his children would play them but none of them played. (Interview with Simpson, 2014)

He expected them to be honourable in how they spoke and how they carried themselves.

Marcia recalls his sage advice:

I lived my life in a certain way because of him. My father always said: "Don't give anyone anything bad to say about you," and "carry respect in one pocket and manners in the other, and you will get far." (Interview with Marcia Mittoo, 2014)

Tourigny stressed that he wanted his children to be educated:

Make sure the kids finish their school, make sure they always go to school and don't let anything stop in their way; and always [encourage] them to be a believer, let them know that there is a God. Spiritually, he was a great believer. He used to talk about the Bible, and say things from the Bible. Even his Bible that he had at his side, it was in pieces, the way he read it. Lydia inherited that. He had a number of scraps of paper and put in his book with elastic around it. (Interview with Tourigny, 2014)

Simpson recalls his pet peeve, which was poor speech:

> You always had to speak proper and say the right words for Jackie; he'd be quick to correct you, and he would be *amazed* if you got a word out of context. He'd say: "you know that was the wrong word." . . . He liked words. (Interview with Simpson, 2014)

This trait was likely the outcome of growing up with his grandmother, a school teacher. The comment above is very similar to one made about his grandmother:

> I remembered her so much because Mrs. Mittoo mothered me and she was a bit strict. She was a disciplinarian and she was a very good teacher. Everybody in that district respected her. You don't do things in front of Mrs. Mittoo. (Interview with Harris-McLean, 2014)

Mittoo's children remember the physical frame of their father, and their mothers remember his temperament. Marlon Mittoo describes his father as being of a very slight built; very slim. When Marlon was a teenager, his dad would fit in Marlon's clothing.

> He was around 5'8". He had a big afro and as he got older the style changed. . . . There is an album cover (CTL) . . . with a blue and white Chevy pickup truck there's a picture of him on the tailgate; that was his truck. The pickup truck seems kind of odd but it allowed him to transport his organ on his own. (Interview with Marlon Mittoo, 2014)

This image is the "adult Mittoo" that is most typically portrayed. Marcia his eldest daughter remembers him differently:

> He was very small bodied. I was afraid of him because he had this big beard...it used to scare me. He was so kind and so gentle and his body was small; and no matter where you saw him, his two front pockets had a big bulge. . . . When I was 16, I spent some good time with him and I found that one was a Bible and the other was a phone book. (Interview with Marcia Mittoo, 2014)

Mittoo's ex-wife, Barbara, recalls that he was very quiet:

> He could be very quiet. He was not one where it's "I'm in the room and it's all about me." He was more of a thinker. He would sit and think about things. He's not one to get rowdy. I would say that he was more on the quiet side. (Interview with Tourigny, 2014)

This is similar to Finikin's description of Mittoo's temperament:

He never spoke loudly and he never raised his voice. He read his Bible a lot. He liked yellow roses. When he died, when I went to hospital he was clutching his Bible on his chest. He was never without a Bible. (Interview with Finikin, 2014)

The *New Testament Bible* that he kept in his pocket may have been a symbol of a belief system which was ever-present during his adult life. His eldest son Marlon observed this: "Later on in his life he was a spiritual person. He never went anywhere without that Bible. He always had a Bible with him" (Interview with Marlon Mittoo, 2014). Marlene Simpson, the mother of his youngest son, recalls that Mittoo had the Bible in the UK: "I remember that it had a red cover and it had everything in there. It had little notes it had phone numbers everything in there. It was always on him" (Interview with Simpson, 2014). Mittoo's eldest daughter, Marcia, also mentions the Bible that he would carry. Her impression was that "his favorite thing was to read the Bible. Psalm 27 was his favorite Psalm" (Interview with Marcia Mittoo, 2014). The Bible may have represented a belief system that was based on family traditions and Jamaican culture. It may have reminded him of the past with his grandparents, specifically his grandmother's father, James Bodden, who was a lay preacher.

Women formed the core of a support system that enabled Mittoo to pursue his career in music, both as a child and an adult.[7] Simpson states that Mittoo "had strong women in his corner. He consistently thanked her [Leila] for taking the time to teach him" (Interview with Simpson, 2014). Indeed, all of Mittoo's profiles acknowledge the role that his grandmother played in his career as a child. At the same time, Mittoo's partners and the mothers of his

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[7] Dorothy says that there were other things that Jackie wanted to achieve in his life; there were two things that he didn't get to do:

> He wanted to go to Juilliard and he wanted to play the organ in Radio City. He wanted to have a scholarship for children. He wanted to go into gospel music. He was going to make a record for me, with all the music I like. (Interview with Mittoo-Walker, 2013)

children also enabled Mittoo to pursue his career through their support at various periods in his life.[8] Simpson also comments on the inner struggle that she perceived in Mittoo:

> Jackie had several families, so it would have been hard, but he was a great guy. He always wanted to be happy, but he wasn't always happy. Life for musicians and for a Jamaican musician wasn't always great . . . it was quite difficult. . . . What Jackie did, he did for survival or what he knew really and none of it was to make his children or their mothers unhappy. Really, I firmly believe that. He was a good guy, but it just wasn't planned . . . a lot of what happened really, it would seem like a good idea and so Jackie went with it. I think he had a great desire to be in a family unit, very much so, I believe that. (Interview with Simpson, 2014)

There are certain contradictions in Mittoo's life story which may be attributed to reasonable and expected nuances between one's private life and one's public image. For example, Mittoo is consistently described as a very friendly, giving person with a large network of friends and associates. However, the home life that he had was very private, both as a child—Fredlocks reported that they would never go into his house—and during his marriage. Tourigny explains:

> Jackie had a lot of people around him, but he never really kept a lot of friends, there were just a very few friends. Like, even to come to the house, he would not have a lot of people at the house maybe one or two. Willi for sure and Tanamo. With Tanamo, if you see one, the other is coming behind. He would be out there and be around a lot of people, but when he came home he didn't have a lot of people. He liked that quietness too, he liked that quiet time to think. (Interview with Tourigny, 2014)

After his first attempt at married life and establishing a home, he seemed to live the rest of his life as a boarder, passing through, never really settling anywhere. Nonetheless, Jackie Mittoo lived a life in overdrive, hurrying to do what most never achieve.

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[8] Unfortunately I was unable to interview at least two of his partners, Hyacinth—the mother of his first child, Marlon—and Carol, the mother of his youngest child, Krystal.

PART TWO

CHAPTER 7: MUSICAL NEGOTIATIONS

In JPM literature there are reports which indicate that Mittoo was obliged to record

an inordinate number of songs at Studio One. Bob Andy, a singer who was a contemporary

of Mittoo, makes reference to a quota that Mittoo had at Studio One: "We were herded in

and herded out of the studio, because Jackie Mittoo had to record 12 songs per day. That's

why Coxsone have such a stockpile, you know" (Andy qtd. in Turner 1995a: 31). Former

Studio One drummer Joe Isaacs also claims that they would make 12 tunes every day, and

mentions that Mittoo wrote bass lines for the arrangements:

> One man who was key in the whole Studio One experience was Jackie Mittoo. A
> lot of people, even those that revere him, don't really know the extent to which
> he has contributed to the establishment of Studio One and by extension in,
> Jamaica's music. In our time, we used to make 12 tunes every day and this man,
> Jackie Mittoo, was the driving force behind it all. He was the man who most
> times told the bassie (bass guitarist Bryan Atkinson) what to play, told me (the
> drummer) what to play and when to roll. He was the man who created all these
> rhythmical patterns that are now branded as classic Reggae, but nobody knows
> that. (Isaacs qtd in Walters 2003)

Trombonist Vincent Gordon also recollects the hectic work and recording schedule of

Studio One.

> In Studio One we used to work so hard. We used to do about fifty or forty songs
> for the day. All these people from all over Jamaica came down there. They came
> down and audition on a Sunday and then Mr. Dodd would say, 'You come
> tomorrow, you come tomorrow,' and five or six of them would come tomorrow
> and they'd get Jackie Mittoo to make the bass line an he'd tell you what to play
> and he'd just get these guys on the track you know? . . . We used to do forty
> songs a day, and it was disciplined. We'd have to punch a clock to come in and
> we used to punch a clock to go out, because Coxsone Dodd was very smart. He
> wanted us to be like a family there, that's why the music sound this way today
> from Studio One. Coxsone wanted everybody to be a family so he made sure he
> pays us salary. He treats you like you working in a factory. That's why he get so
> much music because he wanted to know that your mind was on the music.
> (Gordon qtd. in Augustyn 2013: 83)

Gordon's numbers are much larger than Andy's and Isaacs', and it is not clear whether the

40 or 50 songs he mentions refer to auditions or recordings. He states that Mittoo wrote the

bass lines for five or six persons per day, which is more conservative than Andy's and

Isaacs' reports. Ethnomusicologist Michael Veal suggests the most conservative recording

quota in his monograph on dub: "the keyboardist [Mittoo] allegedly agreed to compose

five new riddims per week—theoretically totaling thirteen hundred 'riddims' during his

five-year stint at Studio One!" (Veal 2007: 97).[1]

Whether the true figure was twelve songs per day or five songs per week, the large

quantity of recordings that these figures suggest has ensured the ubiquity of Mittoo's name

in JPM narratives.[2] His body of work includes his own instrumentals, as well as songs he

arranged in his tenure as music director of Studio One and as an arranger for other

producers in Canada, the UK and the US. Thus, Mittoo's acclaim can be partly credited to

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[1] This number is based on information in the liner notes for *Tribute to Jackie Mittoo* (Keyo 1995). I asked the family member who manages Mittoo's portfolio about his total number of recordings; she declined to provide the number.

> A "riddim" is the instrumental accompaniment, or backing track, of a recording. Howard Dennis explains this in his description of dancehall music:

>> [Reggae] employed arrangements with horns, guitars, percussion and harmonies, the new dancehall music had none of these embellishments…Early dancehall beats were created by recycling backing tracks derived from previously recorded songs to create what was referred to in the Kingston music scene as 'riddims.' Riddims are identified by name and a given riddim may be used as the backing track in numerous songs, resulting in an entire compilation album of recordings that utilize the same backing track or accompaniment. (Howard 2014: 253)

[2] Although the interviews with Andy, Isaacs, and Gordon occurred at an average of 10-year intervals, they all use words that depict a factory environment. Andy mentions the creation of a "stockpile" and being "herded in and out." Isaac and Gordon describe a division of labour among the band members. Gordon's account of Studio One also seems dire: working so hard, punching a clock, and being controlled. This is not surprising as Studio One was, in fact, a production plant. Based on these accounts of studio life, there were likely no romantic notions of music making as "self expression" for workers who had to perform 40 songs a day and produce 12 recordings per day. These production quotas seem high, however, by all reports Mittoo was able to deliver. His work resulted in successful hits for a number of singers such as Dawn Penn, Marcia Griffiths, Alton Ellis, and Delroy Wilson in Jamaica; Vic Franklyn, Willi Williams and Noel Ellis in Canada; Winston Reedy, Janet Kay, and Musical Youth in the UK, as well as his own instrumental recordings.

the number of his recordings.

My interest lies in the creative process, and the thinking behind the creative

process, that enabled Mittoo to produce the large body of work that is suggested by Andy,

Isaacs, Gordon, and Veal.

Narratives About Mittoo's Creative Process

The approach to composing that is most frequently mentioned by Mittoo and his

colleagues in JPM literature is the reuse of existing songs: borrowing. This method of

composing is not new, nor is it exclusive to JPM. It would have been an efficient method

of creating songs to meet the studio's recording quota. Indeed, borrowing (also called

covering) North American songs, then adding a ska, rocksteady or reggae groove—which

Jason Toynbee (2008) calls "translation"—was the *modus operandi* of the early record

industry in Jamaica. It is no secret that a large percentage of JPM recordings from the

1950s to 1980s were "cover translations." In an article titled "Straight From Strikers

Head," Peter I [*sic*] interviewed producer Bunny "Striker" Lee, who claimed that Coxsone

used Mittoo and Alphonso to copy tunes from Mongo Santamaria.[3]

In an article about Studio One, Carter Van Pelt states that Mittoo, "…openly

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[3] Bunny Lee reveals the source of other Studio One covers:
> Coxsone use' to get some Santa Mango (Mongo Santamaria) record an' give Roland an' Jackie
> Mittoo dem to play over an' dem copy them an' give them different name inna the dancehall. All
> "Exodus", a Dizzy Gillespie tune. "Something Special," him sound play them an' (Count) Matchuki
> the deejay seh 'This is something special!' All "Sir Coxsone's Hop," a no so the tune name', but
> Matchuki jus' call a foreign tune 'paaahh daa dap ta dap daaah' an' seh "This is called "Sir
> Coxsone's Hop!" An' them scratch off the name offa the record, so yu jus' haffe know it by that.
> (Peter I "Straight From Strikers Head," p.3)

acknowledged that he borrowed themes from contemporary popular music when

composing at Studio One" (Van Pelt 2004).[4] An example of Mittoo's openness about

reusing existing music appears in the liner notes for *Jackie Mittoo: Champion of the Arena*

by popular music journalist Penny Reel. Reel recounts an interview with Mittoo, who

described his method of composing:

> Coxsone have all the new albums from the US and when they come over I usually listen to them, and if there is a bass line on a record I like, I might get the guitar player to play this, and then take a piano phrase from another tune and use it as the bass riff . . . Marcia Griffiths' "Feel Like Jumping" comes together in this way. Adapting melody lines from the Marvelettes [*sic*] "Don't Mess With Bill" and the Squire's "Get On Up" for the rhythm section and using a vocal scat from Maytals lead singer Toots Hibbert as the blaring opening horn part. (Mittoo in Reel 2003: 7)[5]

There are two important details about Mittoo's creative process in this quote. The first is

that some of his musical ideas are sourced from a variety of existing songs; therefore, to

recognize the reuse of existing music the listener would need to have a level of familiarity

with the original songs. Second, Mittoo describes different ways of reworking borrowed

musical ideas. The implication for analysis is that his use of musical ideas from pre-

existing songs may not be obvious. This was noticed by studio engineer, Sylvan Morris,

who recalled what he witnessed of Mittoo's reuse of musical ideas:

> There's another thing that Jackie Mittoo did, I haven't seen anybody do until now. If he was to use a bass line that became a hit, he would turn the bass line backwards. So he would play the same bass line but he would play the back to

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[4] Carter Van Pelt discusses copyright and mentions Mittoo in his discussion of sampling as a collectivist approach to music making in Jamaica:
> In general, it can be argued that Jamaican popular music developed without the same attitudes toward individual ownership of ideas typical in Western societies. Keyboardist Jackie Mittoo, for example, openly acknowledged that he borrowed themes from contemporary (Western) popular music when composing at Studio One (Van Pelt 2004).

[5] Marcia Griffiths states that Mittoo "provided backing vocals and determined the song's overall shape" in her account of the production of "Feel Like Jumping" (Katz 2012: 102).

the front, instead of the front to the back. (Morris in *Studio One Story*)[6]

Morris describes a form of "retrograde" which *Grove Dictionary* defines as "a succession

of notes played backwards, either retaining or abandoning the rhythm of the original"

(Drabkin). Morris does not disclose which works contained these retrogrades; if Mittoo did

indeed use retrogrades, or any type of inversion of lines, they would not be discernible by

casual listening.

Singer Fredlocks Elliot recorded five songs with Mittoo; he recalls advice that

Mittoo gave him on writing melodies:[7]

> If a person can't sing and you make a song simple for them, so that they can
> sing with you, they'll feel good and love your song quicker. . . . It makes them
> believe them can sing too. Simplify it, don't make it too complicated. The
> melody must be catchy; don't give the people too much things to sing about.
> People seem to gravitate to simpler things. When you give people anything that
> is simple to them, it's like them feel them can sing your tune; they'll feel better
> about it, and the tune become a part of them easier. If a big singer sings a tune
> and it hard to sing, nobody won't want to sing that, because they can't follow
> that. (Interview with Elliot, 2014)[8]

Mittoo's advice of simplifying melodies implies that there is a correlation between a

song's accessibility and its positive reception. Simplifying melodies through the reduction

of rhythmic and melodic complexities is also one way to bring uniformity to the structure

of an arrangement. Based on my survey of Mittoo's work, the advice to keep things

simple—using only two or three phrases, simplifying rhythmic and melodic structures—

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[6] "Jackie Mittoo." *Studio One Story*, Soul Jazz Records. 2011 (DVD).
[7] This account is consistent with most accounts in JPM discourse that musicians would guide the singers at Studio One, which became known as a place of learning (Stolzoff 2000: 62; Bradley 2001: 222).
[8] Another well known popular music device is the use of hooks. However, this description of simplifying a melody is slightly different from a hook.

is indicative of his own approach to bringing uniformity to his compositions.[9]

The compositional strategies and devices that are mentioned in the quotations from

Mittoo, Morris, and Elliot provide clues about Mittoo's creative strategies.[10] However,

Mittoo's recordings provide hard evidence of his creative process. Based on an exploratory

analysis of 50 of his instrumental recordings, Mittoo's reuse of existing music is the most

notable feature of his work and it is the focus of this section of my dissertation.

Unfortunately, I have not encountered a catalogue that delineates his original compositions

from those that were created from existing music. Without a guide it is difficult to identify

those songs that are original; however, this is not my primary concern. I am more

interested in the type and nature of the relationship between his instrumental recordings

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[9] Fredlocks Elliot also mentioned that Mittoo expressed concern for the listener; he counseled Elliot to compose his songs with the listener in mind: keeping it simple with the "end user" in mind. The concept—playing to the audience—is present in a number of narratives by and about Mittoo. For example, Singer Norma Frazier relates her first encounter with Mittoo prior to his tenure at Studio One; he was with the Rivals band playing at the Carib Theatre in 1961: "Jackie was standing up and pounding his piano while he was giving directions to the other band members. . . . He was always conscious of the other musicians and what the audience was up to, and he was always giving cues" (Frazier qtd. in liner notes for *Tribute to Jackie Mittoo*). Frazier suggests that the thirteen-year-old Mittoo was responding to the audience even while directing the band. Fourteen years later, in 1975, Mittoo's comment on music making was: "Music should be adapted to suit the area it is being played in" (Mittoo in Vipond 1975: 27). The "area" that Mittoo referred to in this quote is the audience. In this interview, which took place in Toronto, he also commented that Canadians like "peppy, fast music and would rather hear up-tempo music than the slow beat of the Caribbean" (Vipond 1975: 21).This quote has been used elsewhere to explain Mittoo's decision to record reggae fusion in Canada (McCuaig 2012: 100).The comment suggests that the objective of Mittoo's music making was service to others, hence the need for the music to be suited to the audience.
    In 1979 Mittoo expressed a similar notion—that music should be adapted to its audience—in the documentary *Summer Sounds: Rocking Universally.* In one scene, Mittoo, then 31 years old, is shown in a recording studio with producer Jerry Brown and singer Willi Williams. Brown turns on a rhythm track and asks Mittoo if he approved of its tempo. Mittoo responds: "[Make it] just a shade faster so the fat lady them can...(he bobs his shoulders)...y' know? Yeah, you have to have them in mind" (Mittoo in *Summer Sounds*). In this quote he suggests adjusting the music to suit the physical characteristics of his target audience. Mittoo's primary concern in the examples above was making music that matched the needs and abilities of his intended audience; this seemed to be one of his strategies for a successful recording. The strategy that Mittoo employed was to simplify music in order to make it accessible to his audience.
[10] See chart titled "Examples of References to Mittoo's Creative Process in JPM Discourse" in Appendix C.

that reuse existing music and their sources. This investigation of how he reused music in his recordings should provide insight into Mittoo's creative process, which enabled him to cope with the very demanding quota at Studio One.

Methodology

My research of Mittoo's music consisted of three stages: an exploratory analysis, transcription, and a formal analysis. The exploratory analysis was conducted at the preliminary stage of my research. This included detailed listening, performing, and contextualizing in order to collect data and thereby gain an understanding of the general nature of Mittoo's instrumental recordings. The objective of the exploratory analysis was to identify general and distinct features of his work. Six elements were examined in the exploratory analysis of fifty instrumental recordings credited to Mittoo. I identified consistencies in the following elements: instrumental force, structure, melody, texture, time feel/pulse, and tempo. It was at this stage that I discovered the prevalence of borrowed music in his body of work.

Transcription: Nicholas Cook describes transcription as an intermediary step that transforms a sonic event into an analyzable form (Cook 1987: 229). Converting the sonic event into a two dimensional "picture" may be necessary if further analysis is required to investigate a distinct feature of the music. Transcriptions provide a type of "internal" examination of the music that may reveal more information than detailed listening. The

transcriptions included in this study were written by hand, after repeated listening and

performance. I used Western notation and they are my subjective interpretations of the

music. The transcriptions show the top voice only, as their purpose is to facilitate the

description of melodic and rhythmic nuances between Mittoo instrumentals and their

sources.

Formal Analysis: The initial research question for this study of Mittoo's music was:

"Which approaches to composing and arranging did Mittoo employ in response to a very

product-oriented industry?" Exploratory analysis revealed that his reuse of existing music

was a dominant feature of his music. This led to my second research question: "How did he

reuse existing music in his instrumentals?" Further analysis revealed four types of

arrangements and or compositions that made use of borrowed music: straight covers,

covers with multiple sources, paraphrases, and remixes.

Limitations: The distinct feature of Mittoo's instrumental recordings is the reuse of

existing music. I also noticed that some of these recordings were issued using titles that

were at times different from their sources. This imposed a serious limitation on

differentiating his original compositions from music that was based on borrowed music. It

would be folly to code works as original, then later discover that it was indeed a cover or

otherwise based on an existing work. Consequently, this study of Mittoo's work is limited

to instrumental recordings for which the source or sources have been identified.

Mittoo's instrumental covers usually retain the harmony of their sources; he does

not usually change the harmonic progression of his covers. For this reason my description

of the elements in his covers will not include a harmonic analysis.

Selection of Representative Works: I chose fourteen instrumental recordings that

demonstrate Mittoo's approach to arranging his covers, paraphrases, and remixes. The

works selected had the following criteria: Mittoo played the lead instrument in the

recording, and the origin or sources used in the cover were identified.

Organization of Part Two

The ensuing chapter presents an overview of terms related to borrowing as a

strategy in composing. I will then present the findings of an exploratory analysis, which

outlines the general characteristics of Mittoo's instrumentals. These findings will be

referenced in subsequent chapters that discuss four types of covers in his body of work.

The chapters on straight covers, covers with multiple sources, paraphrases, and remixes

use the same approach. First, I outline the elements that have been retained from the

original recording as well as the alterations made to the reused music—whether it is

duplicated or modified—on each layer of his instrumental arrangements. I then describe

the structure of Mittoo's instrumental arrangements and summarize the main strategies

used to create the type of cover being discussed.

CHAPTER 8: LITERATURE REVIEW
Borrowing as a Strategy in Composing

The reuse of musical ideas is simply called "borrowing" in the *Oxford Dictionary of Music.* It is an umbrella term used by scholars of Western art music to describe a number of techniques that composers have employed when reusing existing music in their compositions from as early as the 15th century. Western art music scholars have continued to use and create a variety of synonyms for reused music and the process of borrowing. The terms "model" and "quotation" are used by Becker (1982) and Meconi (1994) to describe reused music. Other words that refer to borrowing are nuanced and based on the research interest of the writers. They include artistic connections (Geiringer 1950: 366), music resemblance, stereotyped motifs, and filiations (Karp 1962), loose correlations (Browner 1997: 269), recurring melodies (Smith 1988), acculturated music (Thomas 1981), compositional resources (Lambert 1990), reworking melodies (Carroll, 1978; Plumney 2003), esthetic borrowing and the sharing of melodic ideas (Zimmerman 1966), interrelationships (Burkholder 1994), and my favorite: transformative imitation (Winemiller 1997).

This literature review will show that many of the terms that result from research in borrowing offer nomenclature to more precisely describe what the composer does when he borrows existing music. First I will discuss attitudes towards borrowing and the study of musical borrowing. I will then outline recent trends in describing borrowing in Western art music and popular music by James Burkholder and Serge Lacasse respectively. I will also review terms that describe where reused ideas are located in a composition that is created from existing music. This will be followed by a discussion of disclosure. These ideas on borrowing

create a framework that I use in my discussion of strategies that Mittoo seemed to use in creating his instrumental recordings.

Stances on Musical Borrowing

The synonyms for borrowing that have been used in musicology reflect different attitudes toward the practice of reusing existing music. There are scholars who write in defense of the "art" of borrowing, such as Franklin Zimmerman. Zimmerman, an American musicologist and Purcell scholar, refers to the treatise of Aristides Quintilianus in order to indicate the longstanding tradition of borrowing in music:

> As early as the first century A.D. for instance, Quintilian held it "a universal rule that we should wish to copy what we approve in others," then explained criteria for careful selection both of authors to imitate and notions to borrow. Once these procedures were sorted out, said Quintilian, the artist ought to "improve upon the good things and vie with the original in the expression of the same thoughts." . . . To anyone who has studied Baroque musical borrowing practices (especially Handel's) this has a very familiar ring indeed. (Zimmerman 1966: 485)

Zimmerman examines how various composers "copied an idea worthy of approval" then improved on it; he calls this "esthetic" [*sic*] borrowing (Zimmerman 1966: 489). This is in tandem with George Buelow who writes favorably about Bach's reuse of musical ideas:

> When a composer has the ability to see in a given musical concept new musical potentialities, indeed new frontiers to be explored, then the new work must be said to have been created with the same musical genius distinguishing any original composition. (Buelow 1991: 43)

Here Buelow positions borrowing as a part of an evolutionary process in music where new ideas are built on previous work. Another scholar, Yolanda Plumley, asserts that making such a connection with the past was actually the norm in fourteenth-century chanson.[1]

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[1] Medieval authors were especially sensitive to intertextual play, given the importance attached to the authority of the past and the tradition of reworking earlier texts . . . by explicitly alluding to the work of past masters, Machaut did not merely pay homage to his predecessors in the craft of poetry but also placed himself within this tradition. (Plumley 2003: 358)

On the other hand, borrowing undermines the notion of genius for scholars who exalt originality. John Winemiller's research of the reception of Handel's borrowings demonstrates this. Winemiller asserts that many were disappointed and struggled to understand why a founding father of Western art music would ever borrow:

> Writers from the early nineteenth century up to the present have suggested that Handel borrowed because of illness or because he was morally derelict; that he borrowed in order to salvage imperfect musical ideas, like an alchemist turning lead into gold, or because he was perhaps more of a "great arranger" than a great composer; or, that he borrowed for the sake of expediency, owing to insufficient compositional impetus (the failure of his "starter engine," in Winton Dean's memorable formulation), or owing to a deeper poverty of melodic invention. One early twentieth-century scholar, Percy Robinson, even went so far as to deny Handel's borrowing altogether. Handel's borrowing, it seems, needs to be justified, excused, or otherwise explained—and sometimes explained away. (Winemiller 1997: 444)

Overall Handel's borrowings are excused, with a measure of sympathy, due to his status. On the other hand, writers such as Charles Carroll (1978) and, more recently, Charles Rosen (2000) have taken a moral stance on borrowing. They outline boundaries between acceptable borrowing and plagiarism in music compositions. Carroll describes a type of hierarchy in borrowings:

> There are three kinds of musical borrowing: the first is borrowing from oneself, the second borrowing from another but in a civilized or acceptable fashion, and the third is simple larceny. Or to use a more common term, stealing. (Carroll 1978: 12)

Carroll's views are in tandem with current attitudes towards "borrowing" in the West. The numerous instances of litigation against infringement of copyright are indicative of a general intolerance of borrowing among musicians. However, the sharing of musical ideas forms the foundation of many Western popular music genres including JPM. Nonetheless, musicians and their representatives guard their intellectual property as they strive to protect and secure

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potential income. Kevin Holm-Hudson expresses a similar view in his discussion of the legal implications of digital "sampling," which is a common practise involving borrowing in popular music:

> "Funky Drummer" is so frequently sampled that Polydor Records employs two legal executives for the sole purpose of "tracing and dealing with instances where James Brown discs have been plundered". Obviously, artists and publishers will seek to protect their ownership of intellectual property, either out of principle or for the prospect of extra income. (Holm-Hudson 1997: 21)

Holm-Hudson notes that litigation in the music industry escalated with the advancement of digital technology.[2] Those who borrow in this context are not just frowned upon; in the current Western music industry culture, unlawful borrowing is likely to lead to legal action.[3]

The reuse of musical ideas has been a longstanding practice among musicians both great and small. However, attitudes toward musical growth, notions of genius, and money seem to influence the responses to musical borrowing which range from tolerance, to moral indignation, and, in the Western commercialized music industry, intolerance. Nonetheless, musical borrowing is extremely widespread and has become the norm in many genres including those of JPM.

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[2] In her research on sampling in hip hop music, Amanda Sewell describes the borrowing capabilities that technology now allows:

> More recent technology permits stripping sonic layers from the sampled material and isolating a single layer. DJ Bobcat explains: "Say there's a record and they're singing on it and everything, but we love the bass. But there's not a place on the record where they stop singing. But we still love that bass. So we'll filter out the singing. We'll take out all the highs and muffle it to the highest level where nothing is left but the [bass]. Now you've got your bass." Thus, producers can extract a single element from a multilayered texture. Producers will isolate the drums—or bass, guitar, or horns—from a passage that originally contained multiple instrumental layers. (Sewell 2013, 37)

[3] Based on Holm-Hudson's observations, the response towards digital sampling is quite stringent:

> In recent years, attention to digital sampling has focused primarily on the legal ramifications of sampling practice. Considered from the perspective of the law, sampling is a type of sonic plagiarism and is therefore illegal. (Holm-Hudson 1997: 24)

The Study of Musical Borrowing

There have been efforts to define and delimit musical borrowing as a discreet field of study. However, research on musical borrowing remains an interdisciplinary subject. In musicology, popular music studies, and jazz studies, research on the reuse of musical ideas is usually concerned with *terms*—classification systems—to describe the practice such as those of James P. Burkholder (1983, 1994), Serge Lacasse (2000), and Amanda Sewell (2013) among others. There is also concern about the *methods* of analyzing borrowings. These studies include the writings of scholars such as Allan Moore (1983, 2012), Richard Middleton (2000), Kent Williams (2000), John Covach (2003), Mark Spicer (2010), and Jason Toynbee (2008) among others.

The objectives of research on musical borrowings are varied. Some scholars explore musicians' skill in reusing music in a particular way, such as paraphrases in the case of jazz studies. Some researchers discuss the degree to which a composition that is based on borrowed music may be considered a "new" work. Other objectives of research may be to discuss how reused music in a song or composition establishes connections with other musical genres and cultures. There is also an interest in issues of copyright related to the use of borrowed ideas in popular music.

Describing Types of Borrowing in Western Art Music

The terms used to describe music created from existing works have changed over time; for example c*ontrafactum* was used to describe the practice of adapting a new poem to an existing melody during the middle ages (Lingas, *Oxford Music Online*).[4] More recently,

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[4] Lingas states that the practice of *contrafactum* was common from as early as the 12th and 13th centuries (Lingas). There are two types of *contrafactum*: the regular, which uses the exact melody and the irregular in which melodic or metrical structure are not duplicated exactly (Falck and Picker).

musicologist James P. Burkholder has made great efforts to compile the various ways that composers of Western art music reuse existing work in his Ph.D dissertation titled *The Evolution of Charles Ives's Music: Aesthetics, Quotation, Technique* (1983) and in a subsequent monograph *All Made of Tunes: Charles Ives and the Uses of Musical Borrowing* (1995). A significant focus of Burkholder's writings has been defining terms used to describe types of borrowings. He asserts that his classifications are crucial since exact terms facilitate a more detailed description of compositional strategies. However, he also cautions that music that makes use of borrowed material may fit into more than one category— such as modeling, paraphrasing, quoting, and quodlibet—for most categories are not mutually exclusive. However, Burkholder's use of the word modeling does not match the other terms related to borrowing. A paraphrase, a quote, and a quodlibet are identifiable sonic events; however, modeling is an action that does not fit neatly as a sonic event.

Burkholder may have retained modeling as an essential concept in the process of borrowing to draw our attention to a well known fact among educators: modeling is the way that most skills, in many fields, are learned. A basic premise in his study is that modeling through emulation is one way that composers learn their skill.

> [Emulation] is an old and reliable method for learning how to compose. In the 15th and 16th centuries, students are known to have composed new continuations for the opening bars of existing models as an exercise in counterpoint and composition. (Burkholder 1983: 222)

He asserts that most composers model their music on an existing work, "…assuming its structure, incorporating a small portion of its melodic material, depending upon it as a model in some other way" (Burkholder 1983: 216–217). Burkholder stresses the prevalence of modeling in Western art music; he does this to legitimize borrowing as a *de facto* method of

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composing and to validate the music of Charles Ives, who frequently reused existing music in his compositions. I would like to suggest that modeling occurs in popular music genres through "covers": a reproduction of an existing song.[5] Modeling includes all the various ways that songs are covered, in addition to the process of learning how to compose and arrange.

Although Burkholder's focus is on Western art music, his findings are transferable to popular music. In addition, his validation of Charles Ives' body of work, provides a precedent that supports my focus on Mittoo's covers as a legitimate subject of investigation. Burkholder's study of Ives' music demonstrates that a study of borrowing as a compositional resource does not diminish the importance of the composer, such as in the case of Mittoo and the significance of his body of work in JPM history.[6]

Articulating the Details of Borrowing in Popular Music

Describing the Types of Reuses in Popular Music

The term "cover" is often used to describe borrowed music in popular music studies. Robert Witmer and Anthony Marks define types of covers in the *Oxford Dictionary of Music*:

> [Cover is] a term used in the popular music industry usually for a recording of a particular song by performers other than those responsible for the original recorded version; it may also be applied to a re-recording of a song by the original performers (generally using pseudonyms) for a rival record company. . . . A cover can simply be a

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[5] Burkholder does not include the term "cover" in his discussion because the performance and or recording of existing Western art music, such as a Bach prelude, is not referred to as a "cover." Neither is the person "covering" a Mozart sonata referred to as a composer, or his rendition of the Mozart sonata referred to as a new composition. Rather, the reproduction or "cover" of Western art music is regarded as an *interpretation* of an existing work.

      Another word that I use as a synonym for a cover is "version." However, I would like to acknowledge here that this term has a unique meaning in Jamaican parlance, it is the side B of a 45 single record. The version side of a 45" has the lead vocals removed; the term that I use for this is "rhythm track," "bed track," or "riddim." Therefore I will at times use the term "version" in a general way to refer to an adaptation or new edition of an existing recording.

[6] There are a number of scholars who have written about the reuse of existing music. They are too numerous to be included here; they include Zimmerman (1966), Winemiller (1997), and Payne (2006).

straightforward copy of the original song, or a more radical reinterpretation of it. . . . In the 1980s reggae artists used the term "version" for dub remixes of their own songs, in which they altered the sound of the original by adding delay and other electronic effects. (Witmer and Marks)

Witmer and Marks identify three types of covers: the straightforward, the reinterpretation, and remixes. Stolzoff notes that changes in the types of covers in JPM were attributable to technological progress in Jamaica's recording industry:

> One of the first innovations to emerge in the late 1960s was brought about by the introduction of two track recording technology. Since the beginning of the recording industry, studio bands and singers copied or slightly modified other records in their recordings. These records were known as cover versions, or simply versions. With two-track technology, studio engineers were able to create versions by bringing in a vocalist to record over an instrumental track that was recorded earlier. Thus began the process of altering earlier recordings by separating the instrumental (known as the *riddim*) from the vocal tracks to form a new record—the "cut-n-mix" technique. (Stolzoff 2000: 91)

Stolzoff describes two types of covers above. In the first process, a session band would perform a copy/duplicate of the accompaniment of an existing recording. The second process became possible after two-track technology was introduced in Jamaica. Some producers would use a previously recorded backing/bed track to accompany a singer, rather than employ a session band to record a duplicate of the existing accompaniment, or a new track in the studio. Serge Lacasse (2000) uses the terms *allosonic* and *autosonic* to describe how borrowed music is integrated into a new work; they correlate with the performed or previously recorded copying of accompaniment that Stolzoff identified in JPM.[7]

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[7] In "Intertextuality and Hypertextuality in Recorded Popular Music," Lacasse uses the term "allosonic" to refer to a performance or recording where the borrowed music is performed by musicians at the time of recording or performance. Lacasse argues that the terms *allosonic* and *autosonic* may be used to classify all types of popular music and ". . . offer a new perspective when looking at and listening to music" (Lacasse 2000: 57).

Lacasse also asserts that there are two broad categories of borrowed music: intertexts and hypertexts; terms which are derived from literary studies. Intertextual practices refer to inserting one text within another, such as quotations and sampling. On the other hand, hypertexts refer to a new text created from a previous one; he refers to the original text (or model) as the *hypotext*. Lacasse uses the term hypotext to refer to the source and hypertext to refer to the new work.

Performed and pre-recorded methods of borrowing may also be found among Mittoo's instrumentals. Mittoo's instrumental recording titled "World of Love" (1977) borrows from the melody of Nat King Cole's "Lazy Hazy Crazy Days of Summer" (1963). Mittoo plays the opening phrase of Cole's song in the refrain of "World of Love"; this borrowing is performed or *allosonic.* The converse, pre-recorded or "autosonic" borrowing, occurs when parts or all of the lead track or the accompaniment (also called the bed tracks) of an existing recording is reused in a new recording, such as the reuse of backing tracks in dub music.[8] For example, Mittoo's "Loving You" (1968)[9] 'autosonically' borrows the bed track of Dawn Penn's "You Don't Love Me" (1967).[10]

Witmer and Marks also explain that there are covers which are a reinterpretation of an existing song; this refers to a paraphrase. Kent Williams discusses the process of paraphrasing in "Oscar Peterson and the Art of Paraphrase: the 1965 Recording of 'Stella by Starlight'" (2000). He calls the original song the "head"; the paraphrase is an improvisation based on the harmony or the melody of the "head." Techniques of paraphrasing used by Peterson include ornamenting and or simplifying a passage using devices such as call and response, shortening, delaying and elaborating upbeats, use of arpeggios, octave replacements, syncopation,

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The focus of Lacasse's paper is hypertextual practices, which he asserts "constitutes the foundation of a large number of today's recorded popular songs" (Lacasse 2000: 37). Lacasse asserts that hypertexts include all compositions that use "*Patische*"—practices of imitation—such as a tune/song family; this is similar to what Burkholder identifies as modeling. This includes the use of an attractor (stylistic elements, hooks or motifs) to resemble other works. Hypertexts include covers, medleys, remixes, paraphrases, reconstructions and translations (of languages e.g., French to English). The terms that Lacasse offers are attractive because they articulate exact procedures in borrowing. However, the use of too many new terms in a study may be distracting, rather than helpful for the reader. In this study I will occasionally use the term hypotext as a synonym for an original recording, or source, of a cover.

Another intertextual practice that Lacasse mentions is an "allusion"; this refers to mentioning the titles of other songs in performance.

[8] An autosonic borrowing may be used as is, or altered.

[9] From the album *Evening Time* (1968).

[10] This was actually an instance of self-borrowing since Mittoo created the arrangement for the original recording. This will be discussed further below.

replacing dotted rhythm with triplets, and augmentation of triplets (Williams 2000: 33).[11]

However, paraphrases are not limited to improvised music. Richard Sherr provides a general

definition in *The Oxford Dictionary of Music;* he defines paraphrase as a process whereby "a

pre-existing melody is subjected to rhythmic and melodic ornamentation, but is not

obscured."[12]

The next level of improvisation in jazz occurs at the level of the "chorus"; here the

improvisation is based more on the harmonic framework rather than the original/head, which

becomes hardly recognizable (Williams 2000: 6).[13] An extreme form of a chorus can be

called a "reconstruction." Reconstructions may be regarded as "new" works (Middleton

2000b, 66-67).[14] To ascertain whether a work should be regarded as original, Henry Martin

examines and compares the sections in each chorus to the original (Martin 2000). He notes

that there is usually an adherence to the typical 32-bar chorus and the framework of harmony

provided by the original song.[15] There may also be an inclusion of melodic motifs that make

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[11] Williams' analysis of Peterson's improvisation starts with a discussion of the structure of the original text and how the form relates to the harmony as well as the devices used in each section. He includes graphs, partial and full score transcriptions and uses piano roll notation to show frequency of melodic contours.
[12] Sherr, Richard. "Paraphrase." *Oxford Music Online*. www.oxfordmusiconline.com (Accessed August 2, 2013).
[13] Williams explains his methodology further:

> Recognizing jazz paraphrase involves comparing events in an improvised chorus with events of the theme or "head." Comparison is facilitated if two events occur at analogous locations in their respective choruses. In fact, I would assert that this condition is a requisite for jazz. If the improvised melody replicates one or more distinctive features of the head at that location, then paraphrase has occurred. (Williams 2000: 6)

See also "Head." *The New Grove Dictionary of Jazz*, 2nd ed. *Grove Music Online*. www.oxfordmusiconline.com.
[14] In "Work-in (g) – practice: configurations of the popular music intertext" (2000) Richard Middleton presents a structural analysis of Bill Laswell's album titled *In a silent way*. The album has only one piece on each side of the album: "Shhh/Peaceful" and "Its About That Time." Middleton describes the two works as reconstructions and mix-translations of pieces by Miles Davis and Bob Marley respectively. Middleton considers Laswell's remixes to be a new 'work' in itself because of his use of digital technology to separate sounds from the master tract to reconfigure the instrumental sounds that are more prominent – an alteration of form. Middleton asserts that the remix should be regarded as a new work.: "when an individual takes so much trouble to produce both a particular emotional effect and a coherent formal shape, we are surely tempted to think of them not only as a remixer but also as a composer (Middleton 2000b, 66-67)
[15] Although paraphrasing is likely to occur on the lead melodic line, there may be some modification of the additional accompaniment.

the borrowed melody recognizable. His analysis includes a transcription that shows the development of each chorus simultaneously.

Describing the Location of Reused Music

Amanda Sewell's dissertation titled *A Typology of Sampling in Hip Hop* (2013) offers new terminology to more accurately describe the placement of borrowed music otherwise called "samples" and "intertexts" in hip hop music.[16] Her identification of the location of and types of intertexts within the "layers" of a recording resonates with my description of Mittoo's covers.[17]

Fig. 5.1   The Layers of an Arrangement

Location	Description and Function
1. Lead melodic line	• The melody
2. Accompaniment: - Auxiliary	• a countermelody • brief figures that interact with the lead line through echoes or antiphony • melodic or rhythmic figures that complement the groove • environmental sounds that complement the theme of the piece
- Groove	• this has a time keeping function; it may include riffs/ ostinatos

Sewell suggests that there are three basic types of samples—structural, surface, and lyrical (Sewell 2013); they correlate with three layers of a recording: the groove, the auxiliary

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[16] Intertextual practices refer to inserting one text within another. A significant study in intertextuality is "Pangs of History in Late 1970s New Wave Rock" (2003) in which author John Covach adds to the discourse on intertextuality in his discussion of how musicians reference other styles. He calls these references "musical cues" and "musical worldings." He explains his rationale for identifying musical cues: "the music analytical task is to tease out the connection to other works in any given work, situating it in the richest possible network of relationships in hopes of coming to terms with how a piece creates meaning" (Covach 2003: 179–180).

[17] Burkholder (1983) refers to levels while Moore uses the term layers (Moore 2012: 20). Although Sewell's typology was formulated for digital sampling, some of her concepts may be used to describe Mittoo's borrowings which used analog technology. See Appendix D for an explanation of Sewell's terms.

accompaniment, and the lead melodic line respectively.[18] Hence, reused elements may be perceived as being situated either on the lead melodic line, or in the accompaniment as indicated in fig. 5.1. The lead melodic line is equivalent to the melody of a song, and the accompaniment consists of the groove and auxiliary accompaniments.

My study of Mittoo's borrowed music includes a comparison of the layers of the cover—the lead melodic line and the accompaniment—with the layers of its source. The lead melodic line of the "straight" cover is likely to be similar and easily identifiable with its source, although the title may not be the same. The groove may include riffs or ostinatos that are continuous throughout the recording. Jason Toynbee (2008) uses the term "translation" to describe the style change of the groove of a cover from its original recording. Thus, he describes a song as being "translated" to reggae or another genre. Style translations are a common feature of JPM covers. The ska/reggae/rocksteady groove that is borrowed for a "translation" may be further described as being performed (allosonic) or retained from a pre-recorded source (autosonic).

Auxiliary[19] accompaniments do not have a continuous riff; instead they are likely to be melodic or rhythmic figures that augment the groove, or a counter melody which interacts with the melody on the lead melodic line.

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[18] Sewell draws on Bowman's (2010) discussion of grooves in defining the structural level of hip hop music, a genre which was derived from JPM. The concepts that are most relevant to this paper are her descriptions of structural and surface samples and their subtypes. However, Sewell uses terms that replace simpler vocabulary that may be used to describe the placement and location of samples in an arrangement. There is no doubt that her terms are very specific, exacting, and that they offer useful synonyms for writing. However the use of more than one new term in an essay may detract from, rather than enhance, clear writing. Therefore, in this study I will use the phrase "accompaniment" to refer to what Sewell calls surface and structural layers.

[19] I sometimes use "additional" as a synonym for auxiliary.

The Disclosure of Sources

An important factor in the study of covers is the identity of the original song. The source of a cover is only easily identifiable when all, or a significant portion of the melody is used or if the title of the original music is retained and is recognized. The identification of music as a cover is simple when the name of the source or its composer is placed in parenthesis under the title of the cover; however in some cases the source is not identified.[20] The level of disclosure of the sources of covers has been mentioned by Jason Toynbee in his discussion of copyright issues in the JPM industry:

> First, there is the re-use of an existing song—what would be termed in rock, the cover. . . . A second type [of cover] uses the same title, but then deviates far from the musical form of the original. . . . In a third type of cover, a different title is used from the original, however either the whole song or its melody is adopted. (Toynbee 2008: 8)

Toynbee highlights the relationship between the type of cover and the level of disclosure of the source through its title.[21] There are three types of titles. First, there are covers that use the same name as their source; this is the highest level of disclosure of the source. This usually occurs when the source is very popular or well known. The second category —*retitled*— describes a cover with a new title that has no obvious connection with its source; they have the lowest level of disclosure. A third type of title is *allusive*; this is a new title that signifies the

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[20] This is especially relevant to JPM due to the historic practice of scratching off labels and renaming songs, which started in the days of sound system rivalries in the 1950s. In an interview with Sebastian Clarke, Mittoo describes how producers would also change the original title of a song to increase its market appeal: "The producer would change the title if he felt like it. Sometimes it would be a very treacherous title, sometimes a very cool title. It depended on what he thought he could sell" (Clarke 1980: 89).
The practice of changing the title of sources makes it difficult to correctly identify JPM covers.

[21] Toynbee also refers to one of Mittoo's instrumentals in this paper as an example of a cover with a different title to the original:

> "Darker Shade of Black" released as a Studio One single in 1967. The artists credited on the original single are Sound Dimension, the group of session musicians led by Jackie Mittoo at that time . . . the melody taken by Mittoo's organ consists in the verse part of the Lennon and McCartney tune, "Norwegian Wood." . . . As recently as 2007 Chuck Fender employed the riddim on the single "So Many Girls." Indeed, the online directory *ReggaeID* lists a total of 183 recordings up to that date based on "Darker Shade of Black." (Toynbee 2008)

title of the source in some way. This type of title points to the source by using words that are similar to those used in the title of the source. The objective of using an allusive title may be to show the relationship between the cover and its source. For example "Wire Higher" is a paraphrase of "Barb Wire" and "Loving You" is a paraphrase of "You Don't Love Me." These three descriptors of titles—same name, retitled, and allusive—facilitate my discussion of Mittoo's instrumental covers.

Summary

Each example presented in the following chapters seeks to answer the question: "How did Mittoo create this type of cover?" Burkholder, Lacasse, Sewell and Toynbee offer terminologies to describe four aspects of musical borrowing. Burkholder and Lacasse describe *types* or categories of reused music. Lacasse also describes *method*: how the music is reused. Toynbee describes *disclosure*: the type of titles given to reused music. Sewell describes the *location* of samples in covers. Together they indicate the areas of discovery that are pertinent to this study and they are outlined in the chart below (fig. 5.2).

Fig. 5.2   **Descriptors for Reused Music**

Source of reused music	**Types** of reused music	**Disclosure** of source in title	**Location** of the reused music	**Methods** of reuse
- Recorded song (local and foreign) -Instrumental recordings (local and foreign) - Traditional tune (local and foreign)	- Straight Covers - Covers with multiple sources - Paraphrases - Remixes	- Same name - Retitled - Allusive	Layers: - Lead melodic line - Auxiliary Accompaniments - Groove	Performed Pre-recorded

To these four I have added a fifth descriptor: *the source* of reused ideas of which there are at least six possibilities. Musical ideas may be borrowed from local recorded songs or recorded

songs from another country—"foreign" recorded songs. Local and foreign instrumental recordings and traditional tunes may also provide stimulus for composing. The five descriptors of reused music outlined in the chart—source, types, disclosure, location, and method—will guide my discussion of four types of covers in Mittoo's body of work: straight covers, covers with multiple sources, paraphrases, and remixes.

CHAPTER 9: GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

An exploratory analysis was used to identify the general characteristics of Mittoo's music. Seven elements were identified in an exploratory analysis of fifty instrumental recordings credited to him. I was able to identify consistency in his treatment of the following elements: instrumental force, structure, time feel, tempo, melody, articulation, and texture. I will also discuss his recording output and outline some challenges in creating a discography for his music. I end this chapter with notes on the reception of his reuse of music.

Instrumental force

The size of the bands used in his instrumental recordings range from as large as thirty instruments to as small as two instruments. The typical larger band consists of horns, organ, piano, lead guitar, rhythm guitar, bass, drums, and percussion; this was used for many of his earlier works produced at Studio One in Jamaica and those produced by the CTL in Canada. Many of his recordings in the late 1970s and 1980s typically used a smaller band of 4 or 5 instruments: keyboard, lead guitar, rhythm guitar, drums, bass, and percussion.

The largest ensembles were used in his Canadian recordings: *Wishbone*, *Reggae Magic,* and *Let's Put it Together,* as well as music for Vic Franklyn. The accompaniment for these Canadian recordings included strings and horns. However, Rick Wilkins disclosed that Mittoo's band and the orchestra did not record together.

> Once they recorded that tape then the people sent the tape to me to figure out what I could add to it. I added horns and string in a lot of it. I wrote the arrangements at home here and we hired an orchestra and I went in and conducted the sessions. It was mixed into the full album and that's what you hear now. . . . If there's horns and strings on those, it would have been the same type of operation. He would have gone in and recorded his own band, and I did what they call sweetening, we added horns and strings to it and remixed it . . . they would hire a string orchestra to play, maybe not a huge one, maybe twelve people or so. The musicians were never together, unless there was a concert. (Interview with Wilkins, 2014)

Wilkins speaks of "sweetening" as the process of adding the strings and horns. The term "sweetening" is still used by recording personnel to describe the overdubbing of orchestral instruments in popular music recordings.

The recording that has the smallest ensemble is Mittoo's instrumental cover of the Beatles' "Eleanor Rigby," which is on the album *Now* (1970). In Mittoo's straight cover of "Eleanor Rigby" there seems to be just three instruments; he is accompanied by two hand-drummers. The style of drumming is similar to the *nyabinghi* drumming of Rastafarians; it is also called *burru* drumming in JPM literature.[1] The credits of *Jackie Mittoo Showcase Vol. 3* (1977) and *The Jackie Mittoo Showcase* (1978)[2] acknowledges only one hand drummer, Skully "Zoot" Simms, and the hand drums are described as *ketta* drums.

There are also a number of recordings that sample the entire pre-recorded accompaniment from an existing recording, such as "Loving You," and "Mission Impossible."

Keyboards: Most of Mittoo's instrumental recordings feature organ timbres in the lead melodic part; however, the organ that Mittoo played was not necessarily the Hammond B3. In the liner notes for *Evening Time* there is mention of a Farfisa, which is an electronic keyboard.[3] He also used synthesizers that would produce organ timbres, particularly in his later recordings and during performances.

The organ and synthesizer have a number of features that Mittoo used in a consistent way for contrast and variety.[4] At times he played more than one type of keyboard or organ

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[1] Katz makes reference to *burru* drumming in "Oh Carolina" (1960) (Katz 2003: 33).

[2] The former was produced by Mittoo (Abraham label) and the latter was produced by Neville Lee (Sonic Sounds).

[3] An image of the Farfisa is on the cover of the *Evening Time* LP. Farfisa is the name of a manufacturer who made various models of electronic organs, and synthesizers.

[4] The foot pedal is a unique feature of the organ; it allows the organist to play bass notes, omitting the need for a bass player. However, Mittoo admitted in an interview that he did not use the pedal keyboard: "I always had this

timbre in his recordings, which provided contrast. For example in "Mission Impossible" a contrasting keyboard timbre was used as an emphatic figure that marks the introduction and other sections in the piece.[5] Also, in his straight covers of songs he typically repeated phrases an octave higher or lower for contrast. For example, he shifted from one octave to the next when playing successive repetitions and sections in his arrangements of "Can I Change My Mind" and "Lazy Bones."[6]

Another feature of the organ is its two levels of vibrato, the chorale and the tremolo;[7] the latter produces more vibrato.[8] The tremolo provides a "mechanical vibrato," which has more pitch fluctuation than the chorale setting (Theroux and Kernfeld). The chorale setting produces a tone that is similar to a sine wave frequency.[9] At times he played the chorale settings in his arrangements and then shifted to the tremolo for effect. For example, in "Ram Jam"[10] the first melodic idea was played with the tremolo, and the second was played with the chorale setting.[11] When used in his accompaniments, the organ was played in one of two ways. Sometimes he used the string timbre of the organ to play a long sustained note that had

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dream of becoming a good organ player, playing a Hammond organ with foot pedals." (Mittoo qtd. in Keyo 1995, *Tallawah.com*). Since Mittoo did not play the foot pedals, it may have been necessary to appropriate this role to a bass guitar or an upright bass.

[5] "Mission Impossible" is only on some editions of *In London* (1967). "Stereo Freeze" from *Now* (1970) also employs a variety of timbres.

[6] They are both from *Keep On Dancing* (1969). "Can I Change My Mind" is the straight cover of a song of the same name by Tyrone Davis (1968) and "Lazy Bones" is a paraphrase of a Tin Pan Alley song of the same name written by Hoagy Carmichael in 1933.

[7] This is caused by two settings for the spinning of the horns in the Leslie speaker of the Hammond Organ. The fastest spin produces more vibrato, called the tremolo; the slower spin produces less vibrato, called the chorale. These effects are mimicked on the synthesizer. This knowledge is based on my own experience with playing a Hammond organ.

[8] Examples of the tremolo are in "Winchester Cathedral," "Soul Finger," "Can I Change my Mind," and "Hang 'Em High." In these pieces he uses the organ tremolo timbre to play the entire piece.

[9] The "mechanical" vibrato is due to the rapid pitch fluctuations caused by the spinning horns of the Hammond's Leslie speakers. I played a Hammond in a church band for two years and witnessed the spinning horns and experienced the sonic differences that I have described.

[10] From *In London* (1967).

[11] "Hot Milk" (*Evening Time* 1968) also provides an example of his use of contrasting timbre.

a harmonic function as in "Best by Request."[12] Mittoo also played a rhythmic shuffle on the organ as a part of the accompaniment; however this was usually mixed at a very low volume.[13]

When Mittoo recorded with a large band there was some dialogue, or interaction, between the organ on the lead line and the other instruments in the accompaniment.[14] This "dialogue" between the lead and instruments in the accompaniment was either antiphony (call and response) or echoing (repeating). An example of this type of interaction is in "Summer Time," "Hip Hug" [*sic*].[15] In cases where there is a countermelody in his cover, the countermelody is usually borrowed from the source; examples of this are in "Too Late to Turn Back Now," and "Whiter Shade of Pale," and in most of his CTL recordings [16]

The Piano: "Evening Time" is one of the few instrumental recordings that has the piano as the lead instrument.[17] Occasionally, Mittoo also played the piano in his introductions, as in "Dancing Groove," and "Chicken and Booze."[18] Typically the piano is usually confined to the accompaniment when in Mittoo's arrangements; the piano was used to play a "shuffle" that is similar to a guitar strum; the similarity of the guitar strum and the

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[12] This is from *Evening Time* 1968.

[13] The term shuffle is used by Ehlrich; however in popular literature the organ shuffle in reggae is called the "bubble." This shuffle is a defining element of reggae (Bradley 2001: 201). It is similar to gap triplets in jazz parlance.

[14] There is usually no dialogue between the organ and drums in the groove.

[15] "Hip Hug," from *Evening Time* 1968, is a duplicate (not translated) straight cover of "Hip Hug-Her" by Booker T and the MGs.

[16] This is from *In London*. This is a straight cover of a song of the same name by Procol Harum, a British rock band.

[17] "Full Charge" also features the piano as the lead instrument. Both instrumental recordings are on *Evening Time* (1968); "Full Charge" may be an original of Mittoo; I have not identified a source.

[18] "Dancing Groove" is the paraphrase of a local song titled "Dancing Mood" (1966) by Delroy Wilson. "Dancing Groove" is not simply a version (side B) of "Dancing Mood", which would entail the removal of the track with the lead vocal line. In this recording Mittoo replaces the vocal lead with his instrumental lead. "Chicken and Booze" is the cover of a foreign instrumental recording by Manny Corchado.

piano shuffle is evident in "Ram Jam."[19]

Luke Ehlrich mentions the piano shuffle in his discussion of reggae arrangements. He acknowledges the acoustic similarity of the piano shuffle and guitar strum, to the extent that their parts are usually merged and at times the piano replaces the guitar in reggae (Ehrlich 1982: 55). Examples of the piano shuffle are in the groove of "Dancing Groove," "Best by Request," "Midnight Special," "Loving You," and "Who Done It?"[20]

Drums: Two types of drums were used in Mittoo's recordings: a drum set and a hand drum. These two drums had different functions within his accompaniments. The drum set was usually a part of the groove; it helped to establish the style elements of the instrumental cover. The style elements were either duplicates of the song being covered or—more frequently—he used a ska, rock steady, or reggae groove that converted the music to a JPM genre.[21]

The hand drummer did not usually play a riff; instead he improvised in the style of *burru* drumming on *ketta* drums. This was very effective in giving the instrumental cover a "native" feel. This style of drumming may be heard in "Darker Shade of Black," "Nature Boy," "Napoleon Solo," "Evening Time," "Elenor [*sic*] Rigby," and in some versions of

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[19] There is also a marked difference in the resistance of the keys of the organ and the piano. The resistance of the piano is greater, mainly because of the action of the piano; the "action" refers to the mechanical parts of the piano such as the strings, dampers and so on. The organ, an electronic instrument, requires a softer touch for playing a shuffle and some aspects of improvising. The organ also offers very little resistance for arpeggios and glissandos, which Mittoo used quite frequently in his solos, such as the glissando at the end of "Winchester Cathedral." The shuffle of chords on the organ would at times be faint in the background.

[20] "Midnight Special" is from the album *In London* (1967); it is a cover of "You'll Want Me Back" by the Impressions. "Best by Request" (cover of "Why Did You Leave" by the Heptones) and "Loving You" (cover of "You Don't Love Me" by Willie Cobbs) are from *Evening Time* (1968). "Who Done It?" is from *Evening Time* (1968); it is a cover of "Who-dun-it?" by Monk Higgins.

[21] Kindly note that not all of his instrumental covers employ rock steady or reggae style elements; some retain the style elements of its source. For example "Soul Finger" from *In London* duplicates the style elements of the original song of the same name by the Bar-Kays. Also "Hang 'Em High" from *Keep On Dancing* (1969) is a duplicate of "Hang 'Em High" by Memphis Black (1969) — not the version by Booker T and the MGs (1968).

"Drum Song," among others.[22]

Acoustic Effects: The sound effects in his earlier works included environmental sounds, such as the bird sounds in the various remixes of "Drum Song" in 1967. There seemed to be more use of echo chambers and environmental sound effects in his recordings released after 1978. Many of Mittoo's recordings with extensive acoustic effects after 1978 were produced by Bunny "Striker" Lee.

Guitars: When a larger band was present, there was a lead guitar as well as a rhythm guitar and bass. The guitars are usually a part of the groove and occasionally featured on the lead line.[23] The bass is always a part of the groove.[24] "Ram Jam" provides a clear example of the role of guitars and bass in the accompaniment of many of his instrumental recordings. In "Ram Jam" the lead guitar plays an ascending three-note riff, a rhythm guitar strums and the bass plays a repeated note riff. In those arrangements when the rhythm guitar was absent, it was substituted intermittently with a piano shuffle, which sounds similar to guitar strumming as mentioned above.

Vocal Samples: Brief vocal interpolations were sometimes included in Mittoo's instrumental recordings. These vocal interpolations were usually in the straight covers of songs that were very successful. Some vocal interpolations were performed and others were pre-recorded samples. For example there are performed vocal interpolations in "Totally

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[22] "Darker Shade of Black," from *In London*, is Mittoo's straight cover of The Beatles' "Norwegian Woods." "Nature Boy" is a straight cover of "It Was a Very Good Year," a popular standard recorded by many singers including Frank Sinatra in 1965. "Peenie Wallie" covers Serge Gainsburg's "Je T'aime Mai Non Plus." "Deeper and Deeper" and "Full Charge" are other instrumental arrangements that include congas. In recordings where the ketta drums are dominant, the hi-hat was still used to mark sections.

[23] In "Peenie Wallie" a guitar plays the lead melodic line. This recording is not to be confused with a remix by Mittoo which was titled "Peanie [*sic*] Wallie."

[24] Mittoo's earlier work at Studio One usually has an upright bass; his later work has an electric bass.

Together," and "Holly Holy."[25] The vocal interpolations establish a strong connection

between the instrumental recordings and their sources.

Structure

Many of Mittoo's instrumental arrangements retained the structure of their sources

such as "Mission Impossible." These instrumentals are usually straight covers, or they are

paraphrases that reused the prerecorded groove of the source. Otherwise his structures consist

of even sections that are usually multiples of 4 bars, such as can be found on "Drum Song"

and "Penetrator."

Improvisations: In many instances his arrangements had an additional section in which

he improvised, which deviated from the main tune. I refer to this section as a "solo" and to the

action as "performing a solo" or "soloing." This is a jazz term that is used to describe sections

of a jazz performance. The "head" may be the theme of a borrowed song, which is played at

the beginning of a performance; this is followed by a series of "solos": they are improvised

passages that deviate from the theme, while using its chord progression. At the end of the

performance the head is usually repeated.[26]

Mittoo's solos are usually short; they are usually between four or eight bars, and

occasionally there may be a longer solo of sixteen bars. In many of his earlier recordings he

improvises once, near the end of the piece. At times he may solo more than once in the piece.

In a few instrumentals there is a single statement of the main theme followed by an extensive

solo; an example of this is in "Evening Time."

Introductions and Endings: Mittoo's introductions may include reused music in one of

two ways. He may use the existing introduction from the borrowed song, or he may use a line

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[25] Vocal samples are also in "World of Love" and "You'll Never Find."
[26] "Head." *The New Grove Dictionary of Jazz*, 2nd ed. *Grove Music Online*. www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

from another song as the introduction. Otherwise, he might simply start the piece with a short drum fill/lick. Occasionally his instrumentals commence with a cascaded or tiered entry; this refers to an introduction in which the riffs are presented one at a time, usually from the bottom up. For example, the introduction of Mittoo's cover of "Too Late to Turn Back Now" starts with a cascaded entry of lines from the accompaniment.

The endings of Mittoo's straight covers remain similar to their sources. His paraphrases are likely to end with an improvised solo; however there are times that the main theme is repeated after the solo. All of these endings are invariably faded out to end the recording.

Time Feel and Tempo

The time signatures/meters of his instrumental recordings were predominately common time. Within common time frameworks Mittoo would also play swing 8^{ths} and swing 16^{ths}. An example of swing 16th notes may be found in an emphatic figure in "Mission Impossible" (Chapter 11).

The time used to play each bar was also measured, and I found that the tempo was stricter when a larger band was present, or when the *ketta* hand drummer played along. With a smaller band, the music usually slowed down over several bars.[27]

Melody and Articulation

When Mittoo improvised he usually applied oppositions to develop his ideas. Passages with stepwise movements were usually followed by a phrase with notes that had large intervals and vice versa as indicated in the chart "Contrasting Elements of Mittoo's Consecutive Phrases" (fig. 6.1).

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[27] This was checked with a metronome.

Mittoo usually alternated his own ideas with the phrases he reused, in which he

usually employed the contrasting elements listed above. For example, in Mittoo's straight

cover of the Beatles' "Eleanor Rigby" he played the melody with single note lines, but at

cadences he played dyads rhythmically; the dyads contrast with the single note lines.

Fig. 6.1

Contrasting Elements Of Mittoo's Consecutive Phrases

		followed by	
1.	conjunct (scalar) movement	→	disjunct (arpeggio) movement
2.	midrange registers for initial statements		higher register to restate (octave replacements)
3.	single lines		chorded/harmonized passages (dyads)
4.	passages with shorter rhythmic patterns		passages with longer rhythmic patterns
5.	legato passages		detached passages

The following graphic (fig. 6.2) demonstrates how Mittoo contrasted elements in the

first phrase of his instrumental cover titled "Elenor [*sic*] Rigby." The curved lines in fig. 6.2

represent the melodic contour of the first two lines of "Elenor Rigby."   The dots ":" represent

the dyads that contrast with the melodic contours.

Fig. 6.2

Example of Contrast in the Lead Melodic Line
of Mittoo's Cover of "Elenor Rigby"
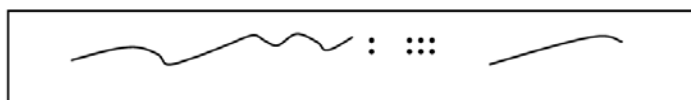
The melodies of his straight covers of songs were more lyrical, such as "Fancy Pants," the

cover of Marvin Gaye's "What's Going On." Mittoo's own ideas within his covers are not

lyrical; they are usually short percussive or scalar phrases that consist of two contrasting

motifs.

Texture

The texture of the accompaniment of Mittoo's rock steady and reggae covers are usually polyphonic. They are riff driven; each instrument plays a "line" which is repeated continuously throughout the recording. The "Graphic Representation of Layers in Mittoo's Arrangements" chart (fig. 6.3) illustrates the archetypical texture of Mittoo's compositions. The chart has two columns; the first presents the layers that are usually present in Mittoo's compositions, and the second column presents a graphic representation of a typical arrangement. The first column shows that his composition has a lead melodic line that is above an accompaniment. The accompaniment is further divided into an auxiliary layer and a groove.

Fig. 6.3 **Graphic Representation of Layers in Mittoo's Arrangements**

Lead melodic line	
Accompaniments: Auxiliary	
Groove (composite representation)	
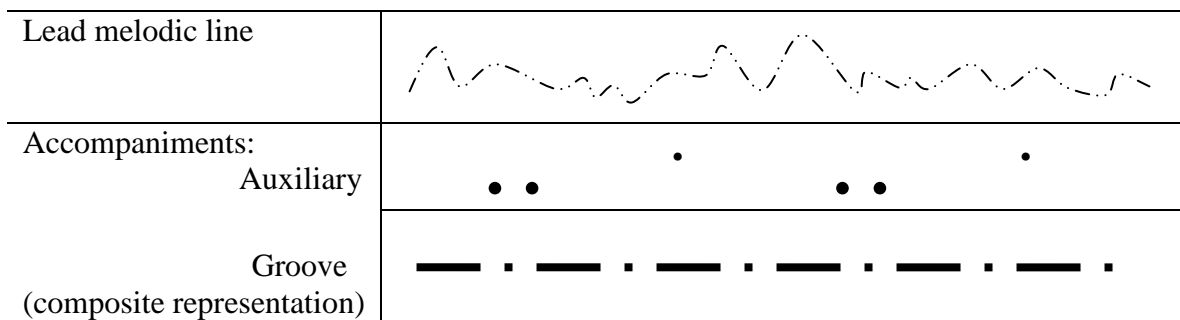
Throughout this study, I refer to the auxiliary layer as an auxiliary or additional accompaniment. As explained in the previous chapter, this layer usually augments the groove. The auxiliary accompaniment may be in the form of echoes, occasional sounds, or antiphony that interacts with the lead melodic line.

Mittoo's auxiliary accompaniments are usually sparse as depicted in the chart (fig. 6.3). However, his Canadian reggae fusion has auxiliary accompaniments that include countermelodies written by other musicians such Rick Wilkins and Roy Smith. Wilkins alludes

to the sparseness in Mittoo's accompaniment in his description of the process of adding the

strings and horns to Mittoo's reggae arrangements:

> Reggae music was easy enough to add strings and horns to. There was enough space and room that you could add extra instruments without taking away from it. Sometime you bring in stuff to add maybe there is just so much going on that you really don't want to add something, you just kind of making it more buttered. (Interview with Wilkins, 2014)[28]

Wilkins suggests that the condition that allows the inclusion of additional string and horn

lines in the accompaniment is "space" in the auxiliary accompaniment as indicated in fig. 6.3.

I would add that it is the sparseness of the auxiliary layer of rock steady and reggae

arrangements that make them so adaptable and ideal for fusions with other genres.

Recording Output

Mittoo's body of work, specifically his instrumental recordings, reflects three stages

in his career. His introduction into the recording industry started at Federal Records in

1962.[29] As a newcomer to Clement Dodd's recording company, there are only a few

instrumental singles for which he is credited between 1963–1965; they include "Killer Diller,"

"Hanging Tree," and "Ska Shuffle" (Keyo 1995; Reel 2003).[30] He is also present on singles as

a sideman with the Studio One house band, under their various aliases during this period.

The leadership of the band changed after the breakup of the Skatalites at the end of

1965, and the responsibilities of the studio shifted to Alphonso and Mittoo. At this point

Mittoo may have had more autonomy as an arranger; he created more instrumental singles

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[28] Telephone interview with Rick Wilkins (August 2014).

[29] Although he was active in the recording industry from 1962, it was only in 1967 that he produced his first album. His first hit was "Ram Jam," but there are a number of singles that were released under his name prior to that.

[30] "Killer Diller" was credited to "Jackie Mittoo and the Skatalites" (N and C Records) as well as "Jackie Mittoo and the Soul Brothers" (Island Records WI- 293). N and C Records is an early label used by Studio One a.k.a. The Jamaica Recording Studio, from 1964 to 1966. The Island Record recording would have been released after the original. The Skatalites disbanded in 1965. Therefore these recordings may have been released circa 1964.

under his name alone and with the house band, such as "Bang Bang," and "Chicken and Booze," as well as an unknown number of singles for singers. His first album, *Jackie Mittoo in London*, was released in 1967 followed by *Evening Time* in 1968. At the end of his tenure at Studio One in 1968, he had released two long playing (LP) albums.

The second stage of his career started when he left Studio One at the end of 1968. It was during this period of settlement in Canada, 1969–1971, that interest in his work seemed to peak in Jamaica. This resulted in the release of three more albums from Studio One: *Keep On Dancing* (1969), *Now* (1970), and *Macka Fat* (1971). In Canada, his new country of residence, he also enjoyed a fair amount of publicity and success because of his flexibility as a performer and as a recording artist. He introduced a new sound into the Canadian "soundscape" with three Canadian albums: *Wishbone* (1971), *Reggae Magic* (1972), and *Let's Put It All Together* (1975). There seems to be a lag between 1972 and 1975;[31] however it was during this time that Mittoo was very busy working as a session musician in Canada, the UK, the USA and Jamaica. He is listed in the credits for singles and albums in supportive roles for a number of singers and bands.

The third stage of Mittoo's career started in 1976, when he formed an association with Bunny "Striker" Lee and Sugar Minott. Lee helped Mittoo remix a number of his instrumental recordings and then produced a number of albums which were compilations of Mittoo's previously released instrumentals.[32] Sugar Minott included Mittoo in a number of his projects in the UK and the USA. It was during this period that Mittoo went on tour with a number of bands including UB40, Musical Youth, and the reunited Skatalites.

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[31] See Appendix E.

[32] Some of the tracks were newly performed and recorded copies of his existing recordings, such as "Drum Song" (1977).

The number of instrumental recordings and albums attributed to Mittoo has continued to grow through a number of posthumous compilations that have been released steadily from 1990 to the present. These albums compile recordings from Studio One, Bunny "Striker" Lee, Neville Lee and other producers that Mittoo worked with. The music included in many of these posthumous compilations are comprised of tracks in which his role ranges from small to significant.

Generating a Discography: Obstacles

Many of the challenges encountered in quantifying and describing Mittoo's body of work are typical of JPM in general. The recording industry emerged from grass roots foundations with certain idiosyncrasies, such as erasing labels, which have impacted acknowledging the artists who were actually involved in a number of JPM recordings. In the very comprehensive JPM discography, *Roots Knotty Roots,* Schoenfeld and Turner warn that "Jamaican record labels can be very deceptive, even misleading and often cannot be used to identify a particular title or artist credit" (Schoenfeld and Turner 2004: xii). There are similar inconsistencies in Mittoo's body of work, such as undefined roles, retitled songs, and reissued albums with new titles.[33] An overview of these inconsistencies is necessary to explain the obstacles in creating a comprehensive discography for Mittoo's body of work. Although the creation of a complete discography for Jackie Mittoo is beyond the scope of this study, there are some observations that I have made concerning his body of work during the course of my research, which may be useful for future research on his discography.

Roles: A number of musicians in The Soul Vendors or The Soul Brothers state that Mittoo was merely a figurehead in some recordings that are now accredited to him on

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[33] These challenges do not diminish the quality of his work, or take away from the feat of recording such a large body of work.

posthumous compilations (Barrow and Dalton 1997: 23). This is especially applicable to the

posthumous compilations by record companies that group pieces together by genre, or other

common features, and then attribute the entire album to Mittoo. In reality he may not have

been the composer of all the tracks. Such is the case of *Last Train to Skaville* which was

released by Soul Jazz Records in 2003. They admit in the liner notes that ascribing the entire

album as Mittoo's work was not entirely accurate:

> This release could just as easily have been called Rolando [*sic*] Alphonso and The
> Soul Brothers or just The Soul Brothers as the group were essentially a collective,
> releasing material under their own name or under a nominal leader (usually Jackie
> Mittoo or Rolando [*sic*] Alphonso). (Liner notes for *Last Train to Skaville*)

Soul Jazz Records can only claim that he played on these tracks. This may be sufficient for the

casual listener; however it poses a challenge for an accurate representation of his work.

However, this trend demonstrates the confidence that record executives have in Mittoo as a

"marketing brand" that will attract interest and sales. [34]

Another challenge is ascertaining Mittoo's role in the performance of the tracks on

some of his albums. An examination of the credits on Mittoo "showcase" albums will reveal

that the piano and organ are at times performed by other musicians, not necessarily by Mittoo.

For example, the credits of Studio One's *Jackie Mittoo-Showcase* state that the keyboards

were played by Pablov Black; Mittoo is only listed as the arranger. Also, in the credits of

Jackie Mittoo Showcase Vol. 3, the piano and organ are performed by Winston Wright; again

Mittoo is only listed as the producer. At times the keyboard and piano parts are shared. For

example, the credits for *In Cold Blood* list both Keith Sterling and Jackie Mittoo on piano,

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[34] A number of the albums that were released posthumously compiled tracks from other albums. For example, Rick Anderson noted that *Champion in the Arena* "includes the entirety of the Jackie Mittoo *Showcase* album plus seven bonus tracks" (Anderson 2003). The problem here is that there are three *Jackie Mittoo: Showcase* albums with different content. The first was released in 1977 on the Abraham label. The second was released on the Sonic Sounds label in 1978; the third was released in 1980 on the Studio One label. Anderson refers to the 1978 *Showcase* album on the Sonic Sounds label which was produced by Neville Lee.

Winston Wright and Jackie Mittoo on organ, and Jackie Mittoo on strings machine. Neville Lee's production, *The Jackie Mittoo Showcase* (1978, Sonic Sounds), credits Winston Wright with the "piano shuffle" and Mittoo with the organ. Mittoo's own production, *Jackie Mittoo: Keyboard King* credits Ansle [*sic*] Collins with the piano and Mittoo with the organ. Therefore when a compilation album such as *Champion in the Arena* reuses one of these showcase albums, the tracks do not necessarily represent Mittoo's performance, only his composition and arrangements. It is comparable to buying a Chopin album and believing that Chopin is the person playing. The credits of the source of the compilation should be checked, if possible, to ascertain if Mittoo is listed as the organist or pianist.

  Reissued albums: A number of Mittoo's reissued albums have inconsistent content and incorrect documentation of the tracks and songs titles. Some albums have different names but similar content and conversely there are albums with similar names but different content. For example, the first release of *Now (*1969) and the album titled *Jackie Mittoo*: *Anthology of Reggae Collectors Series Vol.4* feature identical content. [35] However, the content of the 1969 issue of *Now* differs from its1970 reissue, as well as from the current CD version, the latter of which has five extra tracks.

  Three albums with duplicated content but different titles and artwork on their jackets are *Showcase – Volume 3* (1977)*, The Jackie Mittoo Showcase* (1978), and *The Original Jackie Mittoo* (1980). These three albums have the same set of tracks but in a different order. Then, there are two albums that have similar names but different content: *The Jackie Mittoo Showcase* (1978) and *Jackie Mittoo: Showcase* (1980). The albums were produced by Neville Lee and Studio One respectively.

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[35] The content of these albums may be viewed on *www.downbeat-special.co.*
 http://www.downbeat-special.co.uk/albums.html

Jackie Mittoo: The Keyboard King (1976) presents a special problem of which, once again, Mittoo may not have had control. The lists of tracks on the vinyl label, the CD, and in the liner notes, do not match the tracks as they are lined up on the record.[36] This problem is compounded by the fact that a number of the tracks are retitled remixes. On the album cover there is a picture of Mittoo pulling his hair with a look of frustration, which seems an odd visual to pair with the designation within the album's title "The Keyboard King." It may have been a coincidence, but the picture seems to "comment" on the mistake in the proof reading and copy editing of the label and liner notes of this album.[37] In all likelihood Jackie Mittoo probably had little control over the factory production of his vinyl records and sleeves; nonetheless these errors create a challenge for a discographer.

Finally, ascertaining the exact number of Mittoo's albums has been challenging. Several commercial websites claim to have discographies of Mittoo's music; however, they are really only inventory lists and are therefore incomplete.[38] The most comprehensive list of recordings is on *Discogs.com*; they list eighteen albums. However, when the albums with duplicated content are taken out, there are really just 14 albums released during his lifetime.[39]

Reception

In the course of this research, I noted the responses on social media to the reuse of existing music in Mittoo's work. The changed names of a number of his instrumental recordings have been noticed and discussed by Mittoo's enthusiasts in blogs and other media. Persons have been able to decipher the puzzle of a few of the retitled tracks, such as the following quote from the *Blood and Fire Blog*:

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[36] The mistake is also on the tracks listed on *iTunes.*

[37] A similar error occurred on his album titled *Showcase Vol. 3.*

[38] The main websites are: *Third World Albums, Roots Archives, Allmusic.Com,* and *Discogs.*

[39] See Appendix E for Mittoo's list of albums. There are also a number of posthumous albums.

> I discovered 'The Magician' is by Jackie, and it is simply the same S1 cut of "Autumn Sounds" retitled and included on a later Jackie Mittoo LP. It may have a somewhat different mix though. I haven't compared the two versions side-by-side yet. *(bloodandfire.co)*

I found that the activity of identifying the sources of his covers and retitled songs was generally embraced as a part of the process of collecting and learning about Mittoo's body of work, as well as engaging with other members of his online fan community.

Mittoo enthusiasts also approach identifying the sources and links of Mittoo's music as a communal activity. For example, in Michael Turner's review of *Tribute to Jackie Mittoo* he describes a social gathering for which the objective was to identify the sources of Mittoo's pieces:

> I racked my memory and called friends to help me identify the many familiar or vaguely remembered melodies. By my count there are 10 previously unreleased tracks; this however is just a guess since some new titles are simply renamed older releases, and (even more confusingly) some new tunes appear under names previously associated with other songs. (Turner 1995)[40]

With the help of friends, Turner identifies the sources of instrumentals that were renamed. This strategy is similar to the method used on *whosampled.com*, a website that uses "crowd sourcing" to identify a number of sources that Mittoo used to create his instrumental recordings.

Crowd sourcing is fruitful and the strength of this website is the number of contributors to the site and that it is frequently updated; however, there are weaknesses. First, the covers and samples identified are those that are easily heard; Mittoo's use of existing music is not always easily discernable. Second, some of the sources identified are redundant: they may identify a source that is also by Mittoo. The borrowed tunes that are local songs may have also been arranged by Mittoo; this means that the sources of local songs may also need to

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[40] Turner is probably referring to the track list error in the liner notes for *The Keyboard King*.

be identified to reveal the instrumental's true origins. For example, Turner states that "Fatty Fatty," a local song, is the source of "Gold Mine," an instrumental recording; however, the origin of the melody of "Fatty Fatty" is still not known.[41] Furthermore, Turner fails to recognize the connection between "Gold Mine" and "Ram Jam," which share the same groove.[42] Nonetheless, the strategy of using a group to identify the sources is productive and a good way of building community among Mittoo aficionados. Identifying the origins of Mittoo's covers is likely to remain a central activity of his fans; however it is not always a reliable source of information.

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[41] Many of the songs on Turner's list require further investigation for their sources; many of the entries on his list are of songs that were written after the publication of Mittoo's instrumental.

[42] In the article he incorrectly lists "Ghetto Organ" as a cover of Sound Dimension's "Sidewalk Doctor." The sources that require further probing are: "Every Man is Mi Bredren," "There's A Fire," "Black Out," "Run Come Rally," and "Lover's Train."

CHAPTER 10: STRAIGHT COVERS

This chapter discusses Mittoo's approaches to arranging straight covers. First I will

discuss possible configurations of straight covers. Then I will provide two examples of straight

covers that may be found in Mittoo's body of work.

Fig. 7.1 shows the resources available for creating these types of arrangements. The first

column presents six different types of existing works that would be available for reuse.[1]

Fig. 7.1 **Resources for Straight Covers**

Sources for straight covers	Level of Similarity with the source	Disclosure of the source in title

1. A recorded local song
2. A recorded foreign song
 	
3. A local instrumental recording
4. A foreign instrumental recording
 	
5. A local traditional tune
6. A foreign traditional tune
	Lead melodic line
	  a - duplicated
	  b - modified
	
	Accompaniment
	  a - duplicated
	  b - modified
	  c - new
	
	Structure
	  a - duplicated
	  b - modified
		- Same name
		
		- Allusion
		
		- New title

The second column presents the extent of reuse of existing music in the lead melodic line, the

accompaniment, and the structure. Two reoccurring terms used to describe the "Level of

Similarity" are "duplicated" and "modified." A passage that is <u>duplicated</u> is exactly or nearly

identical to its source; this includes very slight modifications that do not drastically alter the

music. On the other hand, <u>modified </u>refers to changes that are easily noticeable, which transform

the nature of the music. Examples of modifications include a cover that is created with a new

introduction, and/or reusing only the first phrase in the verse, and/or duplicating the refrain and

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[1] Another resource could be Western art music repertoires and instructional music books.

replacing the bridge with a short solo, among other possibilities. The third column indicates possibilities in naming straight covers.

The essential quality that gives the impression of a "straight" cover is a strong melodic link with the borrowed music. This is usually achieved by duplicating all or parts of the lead melodic line. Variety is then achieved by modifying sections of the melody such as the introduction, verse, refrain, and the bridge. Additionally, outcomes for the arrangement of a straight cover are greatly varied by altering the accompaniment and structure as indicated in fig 7.2:

Fig. 7.2 — Theoretically Possible Configurations for a Straight Cover

	Lead melodic line		Accompaniment			Structure	
	duplicated	modified	duplicated	modified	new	duplicated	modified
1.	✓		✓			✓	
2.	✓		✓				✓
3.	✓			✓		✓	
4.	✓			✓			✓
5.	✓				✓	✓	
6.	✓				✓		✓
7.		✓	✓			✓	
8.		✓	✓				✓
9.		✓		✓		✓	
10.		✓		✓			✓
11.		✓			✓	✓	
12.		✓			✓		✓

The "Theoretically Possible Configurations for a Straight Cover" chart (fig. 7.2) outlines an array of configurations for the arrangement of straight covers from just one type of source, such as a local song.[2] The three main columns in fig. 7.2 —lead melodic line, accompaniment and structure— are taken from the categories under the "Level of similarity" column in fig. 7.1. The lead melodic line and structure of the borrowed music may be duplicated or modified. An arrangement of the lead melodic line of a straight cover has to maintain a strong melodic link

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[2] The number of configurations for six types of resources would be 72 (6 x 12).

with its source. Therefore, there are only two choices: (a) to duplicate the lead melody of the source or (b) to modify the lead melody of the source.[3] The sections of the lead melodic line — the introduction, verse, refrain, bridge, and ending— may be modified in any number of ways. This includes using a new introduction; using only the first motif in every phrase of the verse; or reusing the first phrase, but modifying the second phrase of the verse; then duplicating, modifying, or replacing the refrain.

The arrangement of the accompaniment of a straight cover has three possibilities: (a) to duplicate the accompaniment of the source, (b) to use a modified form of the accompaniment, or (c) to use new ideas, as indicated in fig. 7.1. Of course, the creative process is not as systematic as what is presented in this chart. Nonetheless, the chart shows the variety of theoretically possible configurations that an arranger is likely to choose from. There are at least 12 different ways to arrange a straight cover of a local song.

I will provide two examples of how a recorded local song may be reused in an instrumental arrangement, and still be considered a "straight cover" of the song by describing changes to each layer. First, the cover may be created from a recorded local song by modifying the lead melodic line with a new introduction, reusing only the second phrase in the verse, and replacing the refrain. Lines in the auxiliary accompaniment may be omitted and the groove may be replaced with a rock steady or reggae groove. In this case the structure of the cover duplicates its source; therefore this arrangement would be number 11 on the configuration chart (fig. 7.2). To name the new recording, the arranger might create a title that alludes to the title of the borrowed tune, or use an unrelated title.

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[3] Additionally, a short four-measure solo could be inserted at the end of a straight cover.

A second arrangement may use the same local song, however the instrumental arrangement would sound different if the lead melodic line were duplicated, but placed above a remixed prerecorded groove from a different song; this would also retain the structure of the source.[4] This arrangement would be number three on the configuration chart. In this case, the arranger may decide to reuse the title of the borrowed tune because of the degree of similarity between the new recording and its source.

The examples that will be discussed in this chapter are the straight covers of a foreign instrumental recording and of a foreign song. I will examine the degree of similarity that Mittoo's straight covers maintain with their sources with regards to their constituent elements, structure, and title.

The Source: a foreign instrumental—"Who-Dun-It?"
The Cover: "Who Done It?"

Mittoo's straight covers are usually of songs that were successful, and quite often he recorded these hits within a year of the source's release. Such is the case of "Who Done It?" Mittoo's cover of Monk Higgins' 1966 jazz funk instrumental titled "Who-Dun-it?"

Higgins, born Milton Bland, was an American saxophonist and producer. His instrumental recording "Who-Dun-It?" was a national hit that received moderate success on the USA's R&B chart.[5] Mittoo's cover of "Who-Dun-It?" was first released as a single on the Studio One label in 1967. The relatively short time between the release of the original and its cover may

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[4] This could also be classified as a cover with multiple sources.
[5] Higgins' biography in *Oxford Music Online* mentions the success of the recording:

> Higgins began his career as a highly successful producer and arranger in Chicago, first with the One-Derful label complex, then with St. Lawrence, and finally with Chess Records. While at St. Lawrence he recorded a number of appealing instrumentals, notably the national hit 'Who-Dun-It?' (number 30 R&B) and a double-sided local hit, 'Ceatrix Did It'/'Who-Dun-It?'

"Higgins, Monk." *Encyclopedia of Popular Music*, 4th ed. Colin Larkin. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press. (accessed 16 Apr. 2014).

have been the result of trying to stay ahead in a very competitive industry where borrowing was prevalent. There were other pianists and organists, even hornsmen from different studios, who could have recorded a cover of "Who-Dun-It?", but Mittoo completed it first.

The recording was subsequently included on his first album *Jackie Mittoo: in London* also in 1967.[6] The title of the album alludes to the Studio One promotional trip that Mittoo took with Alton Ellis to London in the same year. The instrumental recording remained popular even in 1969, when it moved up the pop charts from number twenty in June 1969, to number seven in September of the same year (*Swing* 1969a, 1969b). "Who Done It?" was reworked and retitled "Hi Finish" in 1970 and included on the album titled *Jackie Mittoo: Now.*[7]

<u>The Elements</u>

At first Mittoo's cover seems very similar to its source. The most obvious variance is the very polished production of the original, versus the more rugged and slower rock steady version by Mittoo. However, there are differences in their titles, instrumental force, melodic content, and texture.

Mittoo usually reuses the title of the foreign sources of his straight covers, especially when the source is likely to be well known. The titles of the two recordings sound the same; however, there is a slight change of the spelling of American vernacular "dun" on the Higgins title, to "done" in Mittoo's cover. The words are homonyms, but the meaning of the phrase "who dun it?" in Jamaican language is different from its American analog.[8] The change to "done" may

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[6] "Who Done It?" is also included on the posthumous album *Tribute to Jackie Mittoo* (1995). A remix of "Who Done It?" is on *Jah Rock Style (2003)*.

[7] There are several albums with the title *Jackie Mittoo*: *Now* that do not all have the same content. This instrumental may be found on the Studio One album (<u>Studio One</u> – CD-9016) with the matrix #64308/2 on the label.

[8] These homonyms have different meanings in Jamaican parlance. The American vernacular "who dun it?" may be interpreted to mean "who did it?" or "who completed it?" However, in Jamaican patois "dun" means "used up." If the spelling of the source were retained, the title would mean "who used it up?" Changing the spelling to "done"

have been a deliberate attempt to correct the meaning; however the correction would have been

indistinguishable in radio announcements. This is evident in the titles that were printed in *Swing,*

where the single was listed as "Who Dunnit" [*sic*] (*Swing* 1969a, 1969b).

Fig. 7.3   **Elements of the Source and Cover of "Who-Dun-It?"**

Title	"Who-Dun-It?"	"Who Done It?"
	Monk Higgins	Jackie Mittoo
Year	1966	1967
Key	F minor pentatonic	F minor with temporary modulation to F major
Tempo	♩= 104	♩= 100
Meter	Common time	Common time
Duration	2:59	2:37
Instrumental force:		
Lead melodic line	Saxophone	Organ
Accompaniment	Organ (continuous after intro)	Horns[9] (only in the introduction)
Groove	Bass (melodic riff) Rhythm guitar (melodic riff) Drum set	Bass (melodic riff) Piano (shuffle) Drum set

Melody	Two contrasting melodies:
	A: long notes and a
	  narrow range
	
	B: short notes; scalar
	  ascending
		One melody:
		A: a rhythmic phrase
		
		B: long notes, narrow range
		(same as Higgins' A)

Accompaniment	Two melodic riffs	One melodic riff

The lead melodic lines of both instrumentals feature the organ; however, Mittoo switches

their roles in his arrangement. In the Higgins recording, the saxophone plays the lead melodic

line, and in his accompaniment the organ interacts with the saxophone with echoes and

antiphony. In the cover, the roles of the organ and the horns are switched. Mittoo plays the lead

melodic line with the organ, while the horn briefly appears in the accompaniment during the

introduction.

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helps to maintain the meaning of the Higgins title of "who completed it?"

[9] In literature on JPM trombones, trumpets, clarinets, and saxophones are all called horns; a musician who plays the horns is called a hornsman.

Higgins' accompaniment includes a countermelody; however, it is recorded at a lower volume in comparison with the other instruments, making it sound as though it is in the distance.[10] The accompaniment in Mittoo's cover has no countermelody; there is only a brief interpolation of the horns during the introduction. Indeed, Mittoo's Studio One instrumentals do not usually include new extended countermelodies.[11]

Mittoo's accompaniments usually consist of the groove and occasionally there are brief interpolations of vocal and environmental sounds; at times there are also instruments that briefly echo (repeat) or create antiphony (call and response) with the lead melodic line.

Ex.1.1
Higgins' bass riff

Ex.1.2
Higgins' guitar riff
(only top voice
shown)

Ex.1.3
Mittoo's duplicated
bass riff
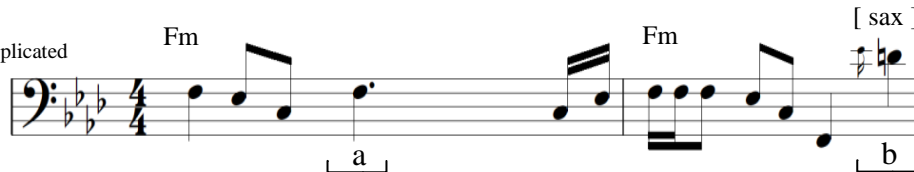
Ex.1.4
Mittoo's modified
bass riff
(rhythmically
elaborated)

The groove in Mittoo's accompaniment is similar to its source, but it is not a duplicate. Higgins' groove has melodic riffs played by a bass (ex.1.1) and a rhythm guitar

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[10] I posit that the organ in Higgins' work is in the auxiliary/additional accompaniment because of its presentation—it is in the background. Although the organ adds to the character of the recording, it is not integral to the melodic line; this is evidenced by the fact that its absence in Mittoo's cover does not significantly impact the resemblance of the two recordings.

[11] However Mittoo's Canadian recordings have countermelodies, written by other musicians.

(ex. 1.2). Mittoo uses only one of these riffs in his rock steady groove, the one played by the

bass (ex. 1.3). This riff is duplicated in the introduction, and then modified in the main

section of Mittoo's cover (ex. 1.4).

The bass riff in Mittoo's cover (ex. 1.3) is modified in two ways that change its

character from its source (ex. 1.1). In "Who Done It," the first presentation of the bass riff has a

timbre that differs from the source. In "Who-Dun-It?" the riff is played by one instrument, the

bass: it is thin, slick, and accompanied by a very pronounced hi-hat which marks every beat in

the bar. In Mittoo's version, the riff (ex. 1.3) is doubled on the piano and bass in the

introduction, which gives it more depth; to use a visual metaphor, the doubling makes the riff

"fatter" in Mittoo's introduction. Modification of the borrowed riff makes it more suitable for

the rock steady groove that is employed in this cover. After the introduction, the riff is then

rhythmically elaborated (a in ex. 1.4); this is doubled by the bass and the lead guitar. The

rhythmic elaboration, which is similar to a shake, starts during the 3rd beat and continues

through the 4th beat (a in ex. 1.4). It helps to establish the rock steady feel by eliminating the

agogic accent that the dotted quarter note gives to the 3rd beat (a in ex. 1.3). Other rock steady

elements in the groove are the piano shuffle, the 2 & 4 back beat drumming[12], as well as a very

rhythmic, but subdued, "flying" hi-hat which seems to mimic the very prominent hi-hat in the

source.[13]

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[12] The back beat is doubled by the snare (could be cross-sticks) and bass drum.

[13] Luke Ehlrich mentions "flying" cymbals in his discussion of drumming styles that developed at specific recording studios in Jamaica:

> [Bunny 'Striker'] Lee's studio band (the Aggrovators) drummer, Carlton Davis a.k.a. Santa, was one of the originators of the "flying cymbal" or "flyers" pattern in reggae: his right hand would play on the half-open hi-hat in a sizzling pattern of sustained afterbeats (offbeats). Actually, the pattern had appeared a few times in rock steady. Coincidentally, Trinidadian calypso drummers also used a similar maneuver, but at a much quicker tempo. (Ehrlich 1982: 52)

In this passage Ehlrich also contemplates the origins of the drumming styles. He names Santa as an originator and finds the resemblance between "flyers" and calypso drumming a coincidence, implying another possible source of

The Structure

A comparison of the introductions of "Who-Dun-It?" and "Who Done It?" demonstrates how modifications can change the character of the cover from its source. The basic structure and length of the two introductions differ. Higgins' introduction has a two-entry cascade; it consists of two melodic riffs that enter one at a time and continue together throughout the recording as the foundation of his groove.[14] The first entry has a tonic accent (a in ex. 1.1);[15] the next entry in Higgins' cascade presents the second riff of the groove (ex. 1.2). The second entry makes the total length of Higgins' introduction eight measures; this is four measures longer than Mittoo's introduction. Mittoo's introduction does not have a cascade, and he only reuses Higgins' first riff in his lead melodic line; this is demonstrated in ex. 1.1 and ex. 1.3. The placement of this duplicated melodic riff (ex. 1.1 and 1.3) establishes a strong link between the two recordings.

Although the melodic riff is duplicated, the introduction of the cover is nuanced by the modification of a tonic accent that is also reused (a in ex. 1.1, and b in ex. 1.3). In the source, a dyad of an F below an E flat, a seventh apart, is played by a rhythm guitar at the end of the first phrase (a in ex. 1.1). The dyad creates a faint, but lingering, emphatic accent that occurs once in the accompaniment of the source. It marks the end of the first entry in Higgins' cascade. Mittoo's cover also has a *tonic* accent, however it is further highlighted with a bright horn that brings it forward to the lead melodic line. The tonic accent (b in ex. 1.3) is expanded

influence. He also mentions its appearance in rock steady; this 1967 recording of "Who Done It?" might be considered one of those instances of the "flyers'" presence in rock steady. However, I would like to suggest that there is a stronger likelihood that the learning process of copying recordings such as "Who-Dun-It?" would have been more of a stylistic influence than a result of calypso coincidences. The style of playing the hi-hat in this example is more likely to be a mimic of the hi-hat in Monk Higgins' "Who-Dun-It?".

[14] A cascaded entry refers to an introduction in which the riffs are presented one at a time, usually from the bottom up. The introduction of Mittoo's cover of "Too Late to Turn Back Now" starts with a cascaded entry.

[15] A *tonic accent* refers to an emphasis caused by a higher pitch, rather than volume. (Matthias, Thiemel. "Accent." *Grove Music Online*. www.oxfordmusiconline.com)

to two notes with a rhythm that shifts the focus from E flat, to the note that follows. The

duration of the E flat is changed to a crushed note that quickly falls to an even more dissonant

D natural, a semitone below.[16] This figure is repeated four bars later, when the phrase is

restated in Mittoo's cover. The figure helps to demarcate the introduction from the rest of the

recording. The dissonant two-note figure also gives Mittoo's introduction a different character

from its source; it feels more bold and daring. Overall, Mittoo's introduction is very similar to

its source, but it is not an exact duplicate of it; there are modifications with regards to the

structure and overall character of the introduction.[17]

Transcriptions and a structural comparison reveal that Mittoo made significant

modifications to the content and structure of the lead melodic line and groove of the main

section of the source. First I will explain the structural comparison chart in detail here, as this

type of chart is used in subsequent chapters of this dissertation. In the structural comparison

chart (fig. 7.4) there are four rows. The first row, "divisions," numbers the sets of measures in

the second row from 1–17. The purpose of this row is to identify the data in the column below.

The numbers in the first row are "divisions" and not "phrases" because the purpose of this line

is to identify data within this chart. Furthermore, the length of phrases in the two recordings is

different. I have used "division" as a neutral term that accommodates variances between the

two pieces. Hence, division 2 shows that in Mittoo's structure, section A has begun, however in

Higgins' structure the introduction continues for another 4 bars.

The sets of measures in the second row indicate duration in the recordings. The length

of the sets was based on the duration of phrases in both recordings; for the most part they were

in units of 4 (with the exception of divisions 12, 15, and 16–17). The third row outlines the

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[16] The tonic accent in Mittoo's version is played like an acciaccatura, otherwise called a crushed note.

[17] However, this is an exception to Studio One's usual practice of creating a new introduction for Mittoo's covers.

structure of Higgins' recording based on the lead melodic line. The dash in division 7 means that there was a "rest" (silence) in the lead melodic line during those measures.

Fig. 7.4 — Structural Comparison Chart for "Who-Dun-It?"

Divisions	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16–17
Sets of Measures	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	2 2	4	4	2 2	8
Higgins' Structure	Intro		A	A	B	B	-	Solo (to the end)								
Mittoo Structure	Intro	A		B / B	B / B	B / B	B / B	-		A		-	solo			B fade

The fourth row outlines the structure of Mittoo's recording based on the lead melodic line. The double rows in divisions 4–7 show that the 8 measures of his B section consists of repeated phrases, which is different from the 8 measures in his A section (division 2 and 3).

The AB Section

Mittoo quickly moves from the four-bar introduction (fig. 7.4) to present his first subject, "A" above a completed groove. However, Mittoo's "A" (ex. 1.5) is not the same as Higgins' "A" (ex. 1.6). Mittoo's very rhythmic "A" phrase consists of a shuffle on the organ (ex. 1.5).[18]

Ex. 1.5 Mittoo's "A" subject (R.H. only)

This type of shuffle is usually placed in the groove of his instrumental recordings; it is similar to what Ehlrich describes as a two-handed shuffle (Ehrlich 1982: 55). It is played very

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[18] Ex. 1.5 is located at 0:19 in the recording of Mittoo's "Who Done It?"

percussively and is reminiscent of how a guitar would be strummed.[19] Mittoo repeats this phrase (ex. 1.5) eight times, which helps to establish the rock steady feel of the recording; however it is not a part of, or continued in, the groove.

Mittoo's second subject, "B" (ex. 1.7), is almost identical to Higgins' first subject "A" (ex. 1.6). However, it is modified in three ways. First he adds an eighth note that approaches the key note from the dominant (a in ex. 1.7).

Ex. 1.6 Higgins' "A" subject
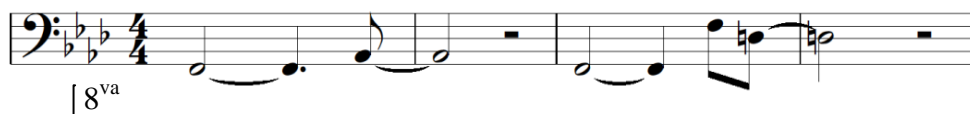
Ex. 1.7 Mittoo's 'B' subject

Second, Mittoo makes this shared theme more prominent by playing it four times on the organ; in the original it is only played twice. The third modification is its timbre; Mittoo uses the organ's lower register with a tremolo for the first three repetitions. This register produces a

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[19] My comparison of the piano shuffle with a guitar strum is not farfetched. Ehlrich notes, in his discussion of reggae arrangements, that at times the piano shuffle replaces the guitar strum:

> On most of the older recordings, the upper mid-ranges of the piano are brought out, but its bass richness and percussive attack have both been cut. Unless the piano afterbeat is purposely featured in place of [the] rhythm guitar the engineer normally positions the volume and Eq of the piano to make it a cushion which buoys up and melds with the sharp sound of the rhythm guitar. The resulting afterbeat sound is one entity, neither piano nor guitar. Instead, it is a fresh sound, starting with the clicking attack of the guitar which instantly becomes the more ethereal, lingering decay of the piano. (Ehrlich 1982: 55)

I agree with Ehrlich that the two parts are acoustically similar, and I will go further to suggest that in this example, Mittoo is actually playing the piano to mimic the effect of a rhythm guitar strum; he also does this with the organ in many of his instrumental recordings. The physical action of playing the piano shuffle seems to mimic the guitar strum. The movement of the right hand and left hand seems to parallel the up-stroke and down-stroke of strumming on a guitar. The sixteenth note (a in ex. 1.5) is comparable to the up-stroke in guitar strumming and the pair of eighth notes (b in ex. 1.5) to the down-strokes in guitar strumming. This technique is one that I have had to learn in my role as a keyboard bassist in a band, and in my own instrumental recordings where all guitar tracks were actually performed on a keyboard. In order to make those guitar parts believable one has to apply a technique that is very different from a "pianistic" style of playing.

timbre that sounds like a growl. On the fourth presentation of this melodic figure, Mittoo plays

it in a higher register. Switching registers, by playing an octave higher or lower, is one way

that Mittoo adds contrast and variety to his performances in most of his recordings.

The first section in Mittoo's cover—ABB—in fig. 7.4 is separated from the rest of the

recording by a "space" of eight measures in the lead melodic line. Within this space, only the

groove is played.[20] This space also occurs in the original recording. Higgins' first section is

also separated by a space; however it is only four measures long and is followed by an

extended saxophone solo in which there is some dialogue with the organ. Mittoo's eight-

measure break is not followed by a solo but by a return to the percussive "A" subject; this may

have been an attempt to bring uniformity to the structure of the arrangement. After Mittoo's

return to "A," a second space of two measures follows; this prepares the way for Mittoo's solo

which lasts for 12 bars. A solo is typical in many of his instrumentals, and it is usually placed

near the end of the recording. After the solo Mittoo repeats "B"—the main theme from the

source—for 10 measures, and then the music fades and ends. This ending differs significantly

from the source; Higgins' extended solo continues until it is faded to end the recording.

Summary: At the beginning of this chapter, I outlined twelve possible configurations of

a straight cover. Mittoo's cover of "Who-Dun-It?" has attributes similar to number 10 on the

configuration chart.

Fig. 7.5   **The Configuration of "Who Done It?"**

Lead melodic line		Accompaniment			Structure	
duplicate	modified	duplicate	modified	new	duplicate	modified
	✓		✓			✓

10.

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[20] This occurs in many of his instrumentals.

Mittoo's straight cover reuses the title of the instrumental, its introduction, and its main theme, which establishes a firm link between these two works. However there are several modifications in the lead melodic line and in the accompaniment. Some of the modifications seem necessary to establish the stylistic elements of rock steady, while others change the character of Mittoo's cover to make it distinct from its source.

Mittoo also demonstrates a certain economy in borrowing; he does not simply repeat the borrowed tune. He starts his cover with a modified introduction that has bolder accents and is half the length of Higgins' introduction. Mittoo then follows this with his own, very rhythmic, "new" subject before reusing the main theme from the source. Mittoo also recycles a phrase in the groove by first duplicating it in the introduction and then modifying it for the rest of the recording. This strategy helps to demarcate the introduction and marks the transition from one section to the next. The result is a cover that sounds the same with nuances and some marked differences. A summary of his arrangement strategies is listed below:

- Small details from the source, such as accents and spaces, are expanded in the cover.
- He simplifies complex melodic figures.
- Spaces in the lead melodic line are used to create distinct sections.
- The accompaniment has a different style from the source.
- He moves ideas from the accompaniment to the lead melodic line.
- New ideas are alternated with duplicated sections from the source.
- The overall structure of the cover is also more symmetrical than its source.
- He includes his own improvisation and creates his own ending.

This discussion of the arrangement of "Who Done It?" demonstrates how Mittoo covers an instrumental recording. His strategies for covering songs are different; this will be presented in the following example.

The Source: a foreign song —"Too Late To Turn Back Now"
The Cover: "Too Late To Turn Back Now"

"Too Late To Turn Back Now" was recorded by Cornelius Brothers and Sister Rose in July 1972. The song was written by Eddie Cornelius and it was the second national hit for this group of musical siblings from Florida.[21] Within a six month period after the release of "Too Late to Turn Back Now," Mittoo recorded and released a straight cover of the song. The cover was included on *Reggae Magic,* Mittoo's first Canadian album for the Canadian Talent Library (CTL) in 1972. This instrumental recording provides an example of his Canadian work.

Canada presented unique challenges for Mittoo; however, strategies that he used in arranging covers of songs such as "Too Late to Turn Back Now" demonstrate how he was able to succeed. In 1972, Mittoo was still relatively new to Canada, a visible minority, and reggae was unknown. Fortunately for Mittoo, the Canadian Radio-Television Commission (CRTC) required more Canadian content on the radio and was actively encouraging artists to record in order to fulfill this quota.[22] With the help of Rick Wilkins and Roy Smith, who

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[21] "Cornelius Brothers and Sister Rose." *Encyclopedia of Popular Music*, 4th ed. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press (accessed April 18, 2014). http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/epm/5706.
[22] Sutherland describes the impact of the Canadian content regulation in his dissertation on Canadian Music Industry Policy.

> Canadian content regulations in radio broadcasting were enacted in 1970 and this development is often seen as far more momentous both for the Canadian music industry and for Canadian cultural policy [than other policies integral to the music industry]. . . . As enacted, beginning in 1971, the regulations required AM radio stations to devote 30% of musical programming to Canadian selections. (Sutherland 2008: 19, 90)

One comment on the impact of this policy demonstrates the great opportunity that was afforded to Mittoo: "The CRTC...has created such a demand for Canadian music that our...industry has opened its studio doors wide to anyone who can hum O Canada." (MacFarlane in Sutherland 2008: 112). An organization that facilitated the recording of Canadian content was the Canadian Talent Library (CTL). Sutherland explains the mandate of the organization:

> The Canadian Talent Library was started in July 1962 by J. Lyman Potts, under the aegis of Standard Broadcasting CFRB in Toronto and CJAD in Montreal. The Canadian Talent Library was perhaps the best example of trying to apply the logic of television programming to radio - that is, to have radio create Canadian recordings itself, without a separate recording industry. The CTL recorded dozens of long playing records by Canadian artists through the 1960s and 1970s. Through much of its early history these consisted of covers of songs already made popular by established American artists. Although a few of its

arranged the orchestral accompaniment for his Canadian recordings, Mittoo applied what

Richard Peterson calls the "hard core, soft shell dialectic," to introduce reggae to

mainstream audiences in Canada.

The "hard core, soft shell" dialectic is one of four categories in Peterson's description

of the process involved in the creation and stasis of culture (Peterson 1997).[23] The dialectic

occurs when music of an established "hard core" genre is adapted with familiar elements—a

soft shell—to suit the taste of listeners of another culture. This creates a "crossover" sound

(Peterson 1997: 229). Mittoo's straight cover of "Too Late to Turn Back Now" exemplifies

this dialectic: the soft shell consists of the overdubbed strings and flute parts which may be

found in the lead melodic line and in its countermelody; the hard core is the reggae/rock

steady rhythms in the groove such as the bass line as transcribed in ex. 1.10.

The Elements

The chart below (fig. 7.6) shows that most of the elements in both recordings are

similar, although Mittoo's cover is slightly slower and therefore longer in duration. Mittoo

plays the lead melodic line using the mid-register of the organ. He adds variety to the melody

by alternating between the organ's tremolo and chorale settings; the change of organ timbre

from chorale to tremolo also marks each section. Mittoo also alternates playing the melody

with single pitches and then dyads of thirds or fourths. In the refrain, the lead melodic line is

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titles were made commercially available, the vast majority of records were intended specifically for radio airplay, not only on Standard's stations but on any station that cared to rent them . . . the Canadian Talent Library made several hundred recordings over the years. For the most part the recordings were for airplay only but a number of them did see commercial release. (Sutherland 2008, 183)

Two of Mittoo's Canadian albums were recorded at the CTL. Mittoo was also contracted on a number of occasions to produce tracks for artists on the CTL label, such as Vic Franklyn.

[23] The categories of Peterson's model include the "hard core, soft shell" dialectic, the generational dialectic, authenticity and institutional mechanisms. Peterson also includes television, radio and personal appearances as major elements in a music industry (Peterson 1997: 232).

performed by the organ and flutes.

Mittoo's accompaniment has a countermelody played by strings, which was arranged by Roy Smith.[24] Smith's string arrangement is very similar to the strings in the source; they provide a countermelody in both works.[25] There is also an emphatic figure in the accompaniment; a guitar signals section breaks with one accented note.

Fig. 7.6   **Elements of the Source and Cover of "Too Late To Turn Back Now"**

	Cornelius Brothers and Sister Rose	Jackie Mittoo
Year	1972	1972
Key	G major	G major
Tempo	♩= 111	♩= 102
Meter	Common time	Common time
Duration	3:12	3:45
Instrumental force:		
Lead	Vocals	Organ, strings and flute
Accompaniment	Strings, piano, vocals	Guitar, strings and flute
Groove	Drum set Bass Percussion Rhythm guitar	Drum set Bass Percussion Rhythm guitar

The groove in Mittoo's cover has two melodic riffs. The first riff is played by the bass; this riff is very rhythmic with repeated notes (ex. 1.10). The second riff (ex. 1.9) is played by the guitar. The guitar riff (ex. 1.9) is an inversion of a riff in the groove of the source (ex. 1.8), however, Mittoo's inversion omits the root from the broken chords (a and b in ex. 1.8).

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[24] Smith is credited in the liner notes for *Reggae Magic* (1972). I could find no other information on him.
[25] Mittoo commented that he wanted to go to the Juilliard School to learn advanced arrangement; he acknowledged his limitations and was open enough to accept help for this and other crossover projects (Meredith 1971: 18).

Ex. 1.8 Cornelius's riff — GM7 ... Am7 ... (a) (b)

Ex. 1.9 Mittoo's guitar riff — GM7 ... C/Am7 ... (a) (b)

The Structure

The sections of Cornelius's "Too Late to Turn Back Now" are as follows: there is an introduction (intro) followed by the verse (AAB), a refrain (C) and a bridge (D), ending with a return to the refrain. In Mittoo's cover the introduction and C sections are lengthened by repetitions (fig. 7.7), which results in Mittoo's arrangement being longer in duration than its source.

Fig. 7.7 Structural Comparison Chart For "Too Late to Turn Back Now"

Divisions	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Sets of measures	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Cornelius' Structure	Intro		: A	A	B	C :	D	C		
Mittoo's Structure	Intro: drum	reggae groove	strings	: A	A	B	C :	C	D	: C :
Breakdown of the sections to show motifs:				ab	ab	cb	dede	dede	fgfg	dede

Mittoo's cascaded entry differs significantly from the Cornelius recording. The introduction in the original recording consists of the groove alone; it starts after a brief drum fill/lick. However, each entry of Mittoo's cascaded introduction demonstrates the 'hard core, soft shell' dialectic by easing the listener into the new style configuration of "Too Late to Turn

Back Now." In Mittoo's cover the drum entry is first, however it is not the typical rock steady or reggae beat, and it seems to give an acknowledging nod to the R&B roots of its source. This drum entry also creates a momentary suspense, as one is not sure which genre to anticipate. Expectations are met in the next entry, four bars later, when the reggae groove—which includes piano, rhythm guitar, organ, and bass—introduces the hard core element of the song.

Ex. 1.10
Mittoo's bass riff
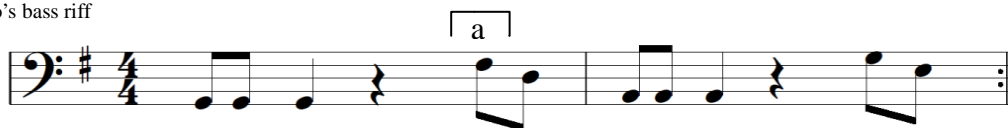
The bass riff in the groove (ex. 1.10) has the typical repeated note pattern and AB form found in other reggae bass riffs.[26] However, four bars later, another element is introduced in the accompaniment, providing yet another twist. The strings, the "soft shell" element, enter with a descending melodic phrase that is similar to a phrase in the introduction of the source. The use of strings such as these distinguishes Mittoo's Canadian work from those created in Jamaica and for Jamaican audiences. The use of a cascade in this introduction is strategic; it creates suspense and interest.

The instrumental cover of a song has unique challenges with regards to the melodic and rhythmic irregularities that can occur in singing. This is especially true of "Too Late to Turn Back Now." Although the structure of the verses in the original recording and cover are similar—AAB—the number of syllables in the verses of the source are not consistent. The words underlined in the lyrics below denote those syllables that are not regular; that is, they are not present in subsequent verses:

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[26] There is a note in the bass riff/ostinato that is not always consistent. At times a "G" is played instead of the F sharp (a in ex.1.10).

My Mama told me
She said, Son, please beware
There's this thing called love
And it's everywhere
She told me, It can break your heart
And leave you in misery
Since I met this little woman
I feel it's happened to me
And I'm tellin' you…

Refrain:
It's too late to turn back now.
I believe, I believe, I believe, I'm falling in love.
It's too late to turn back now.
I believe, I believe, I believe, I'm falling in love.

The pitches and rhythm of the words underlined in the verse above are not duplicated in Mittoo's cover. He simplifies the rhythm of the vocal line by either omitting or standardizing non-reoccurring syllables, with the exception of the first line. Mittoo also creates a standard motif (ex. 1.11) to end each phrase in his cover.

Ex. 1.11   The end of Mittoo's phrases

Mittoo uses this figure (ex. 1.11) in the second half of the "A" phrases instead of duplicating the end of the phrases of the original, which are dissimilar.

Mittoo then adjusts the melody in the "B" phrase by replacing disjunct intervals that are present in the source with notes that move conjunctly. He also alters the refrain of the source; this is represented by "C" in the structural chart above (fig. 7.7). The pitches of the first motif—"d"—are slightly different from the source; however the second part of the phrase— "e"— duplicates the corresponding motif in the source. It is represented by the words: "I believe, I believe, I believe I'm falling in love" in the source.

Summary: Overall, Mittoo maintains many elements of Cornelius's "Too Late to Turn Back Now," such as its title, lead melody, the countermelody, and its structure. This establishes

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a strong link with the source as a straight cover. Mittoo's cover has features similar to number five on the configuration chart in fig. 7.2 at the beginning of this chapter.

Fig. 7.8 **The Configuration of "Too Late To Turn Back Now"**

	Lead melodic line		Accompaniment			Structure	
	duplicate	modified	duplicate	modified	new	duplicate	modified
5.	✓			✓		✓	

The main strategy that Mittoo used in this straight cover of "Too Late to Turn Back Now" was to simplify the vocal line, which had an inconsistent number of syllables in each phrase; this added consistency to the rhythm. Vocal interpolations and/or other expressive vocal gestures in the song impacted the rhythmic and melodic consistency of the phrases in the original recording. Mittoo achieved uniformity in the lead melodic line by using the same melodic motif at the end of each phrase (ex. 1.11). This also helped to bring rhythmic consistency to the vocal line, which varied in the source because of the lyrics. The countermelody in the accompaniment, which was not arranged by Mittoo, is similar to the source. The groove introduced hard core elements, which "translated" the cover into reggae.[27]

Conclusion of the Chapter

This chapter examined straight covers from two types of sources: an instrumental recording and a song. In both examples Mittoo's covers seemed like duplicates of their sources; however, they were both modified, which resulted in covers that were more uniform and unique. The modifications included simplifying complex melodic figures of the instrumental piece and standardizing irregular vocal lines of the song.

Mittoo also modified the lead melodic line of his sources by alternating motifs from the source with his own musical ideas. He did this in the introduction and throughout the main

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[27] One element that is usually typical of Mittoo's covers, but is missing from this instrumental, is a solo.

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section of his cover of the instrumental piece. He extended his sections through repetition and doubling the length of spaces found in the source. In some instances Mittoo highlighted small details in the accompaniment of the source, such as accents. Other modifications included moving motifs from the accompaniment to the lead melodic line, as well as motifs from the lead melodic line to the groove. The grooves of Mittoo's straight covers were usually "translated" to rock steady, or to reggae; in other words, they were performed in a different style than the original recording. However, in his transnational work, he created crossovers with 'soft shell' elements from the host culture. In the case of "Too Late To Turn Back Now," which was produced in Canada, classic pop elements such as strings and flute were added to the accompaniment.[28] Overall, Mittoo's straight covers are not duplicates; they are usually tweaked to achieve internal uniformity and a unique identity.

Of interest are the straight covers he chose to identify and those that were retitled. Most of his straight covers of foreign songs and instrumentals retained the title of the source. However there were a few exceptions, such as his covers of "Norwegian Wood" and "Carry that Weight" by the Beatles, which were titled "Darker Shade of Black" and "Wishbone" respectively. On the other hand, most of his straight covers of local songs are given new titles. The practice of renaming covers is discussed further in the chapter on remixes. The next chapter looks at his arrangement of straight covers with multiple sources.

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[28] The added sweetening in the Canadian recording of "Too Late To Turn Back Now" is more pronounced than the "hard core" elements in the recording.

CHAPTER 11: COVERS WITH MULTIPLE SOURCES

Mittoo revealed that in some of his arrangements he would select lines and motifs from multiple sources and apply them to a new arrangement. He provided the identities of the sources that were used for "Feel Like Jumping" sung by Marcia Griffiths, in an interview with Penny Reel.

> Mittoo: "Coxsone have all the new albums from the US and when they come over I usually listen to them, and if there is a bass line on a record I like, I might get the guitar player to play this, and then take a piano phrase from another tune and use it as the bass riff." Mittoo states that Marcia Griffiths' "Feel Like Jumping" came together in this way. Adapting melody lines from the Marvelett's [*sic*] "Don't Mess With Bill" and the Squire's [*sic*] "Get On Up" for the rhythm section and using a vocal scat from the Maytals' lead singer Toots Hibbert as the blaring opening horn part. (Mittoo in Reel 2003: 7)[1]

The specific technique that Mittoo described is similar to a quodlibet. Quodlibet is a term used in musicology that refers to a composition created from two or more borrowed melodies or lines from existing music.[2]

There are two types of quodlibets: simultaneous and sequential (Burkholder 1995: 371; Maniates et al). A simultaneous quodlibet has borrowed melodies that are played at the same time. The second type of quodlibet is a successive combination, also called a "sequential" quod; these are where "fragments of various tunes appear in succession, whether in the same or a different instrument" (Burkholder 1995: 371). A sequential quodlibet has borrowed melodies that are played one at a time, as in a medley.[3] The source of these tunes may or may not be recognizable.

I am not suggesting that Mittoo formally chose quodlibet as a method of composing.

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[1] "Feel Like Jumping" was subsequently reused in an instrumental titled "Black Out."
[2] The lines are at times placed in counterpoint.
[3] The borrowed lines may be pre-recorded or performed.

A number of Mittoo's instrumental recordings are arranged in a way that matches the description of this composing technique.[4] However, I will use the terms "simultaneous combination" or "sequential combination" to refer to his covers that are created from multiple sources, rather than use terms that are genre specific.

The Sources: "The Wedding March," "The Bridal Chorus," and "Get Me to the Church on Time"

The New Work: "Rock Steady Wedding" from *Evening Time*

"Rock Steady Wedding" (1968) has a sequential combination of borrowed music from three sources.[5] The arrangement incorporates performed samples of two "classical" works: Richard Wagner's "Bridal Chorus" from the opera *Lohengrin* (1850), and Felix Mendelssohn's "Wedding March" from *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1842). The third source is a song: Alan J. Lerner and Frederick Loewe's "Get Me to the Church on Time" from the stage musical (1956) and film version (1964) of *My Fair Lady*.

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[4] There are other terms that refer to works that use multiple samples, such as mash-ups, patchwork, medley, and collage. All of these terms are similar in one way or the other to Mittoo's instrumental recordings with multiple sources. The *Grove Dictionary Of Music* provides definitions of them:

    Mash Up: "A 21st-century popular music genre in which musical works are created by overlaying, juxtaposing, and digitally manipulating samples of two or more preexisting recordings, most commonly by combining the vocal tracks of one song with the instrumental tracks of another" (Hok Cee Wong, *Grove Music Online*)."

    Patchwork: "A melody composed of multiple short segments borrowed from two or more existing melodies, sometimes elided through paraphrase or linked by new material. The term also refers to the technique of creating such a melody or to a piece that uses such a melody. . . . Patchwork differs from medley in using melodic fragments or phrases rather than whole tunes, resulting in a new melody that has its own integrity but contains more than one quotation. Rare in the mid-20th century, patchwork became current again with the introduction of sampling and sequencing, as producers of hip hop and other genres linked elements of two or more existing songs to create a new verse or chorus." (Burkholder. "Patchwork." *Grove Music Online*)

    Medley:" An English term for a succession of well-known tunes strung together, generally without any formal construction." (*Grove Music Online*)

    Collage: "A musical collage is the juxtaposition of multiple quotations, styles or textures so that each element maintains its individuality and the elements are perceived as excerpted from many sources and arranged together, rather than sharing common origins. . . . Collage is distinct from quodlibet, medley, and other traditional procedures in that the diverse elements do not fit smoothly together. . . . Elements in a collage often differ in key, timbre, texture, metre or tempo, and lack of fit is an important factor in preserving the individuality of each and conveying the impression of a diverse assemblage." (Burkholder. "Collage." *Grove Music Online*)

[5] This instrumental recording is on *Evening Time;* it is not included on any other album.

The title of the instrumental, "Rock Steady Wedding," reflects the themes of its sources; they are all about the wedding ceremony. "The Bridal Chorus" and "The Wedding March" are often used as marches in traditional Christian wedding ceremonies.[6] The third source, "Get Me to the Church on Time," is a song from a scene in *My Fair Lady*; it is sung by a drunken groom, who rants about his imminent wedding.

The Elements

In "Rock Steady Wedding," the recognition of the borrowed music as wedding-related is central to the meaning of this instrumental recording. The melodies of the march, chorus, and song are duplicated without paraphrasing. Therefore the chorus and march should be easily recognized by those familiar with Western wedding repertoire. However, the association of the melody of "Get Me to the Church" with a wedding may not be clear to those unfamiliar with the musical. Nonetheless, its inclusion reveals Mittoo's thought process.

The borrowed tunes are all in the lead melodic line of "Rock Steady Wedding" and they are played with what seems to be the tremolo setting of the organ. The tremolo provides a "mechanical vibrato," which has more pitch fluctuation than the chorale setting (Theroux and Kernfeld). The chorale setting produces a tone that is similar to a sine wave frequency.[7] The use of one organ setting for an entire recording is unusual for Mittoo; he usually alternates between the chorale and tremolo settings to provide contrast in his arrangements. It is my conjecture that applying the tremolo throughout this instrumental arrangement was intentional: all the sources are given the same amount of "gravity" to make the marches and

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[6] However, there are some Christian denominations, such as the Lutherans, that do not allow the playing of "The Bridal Chorus" in their churches because of its origins and context in the Opera. http://www.messiahlacrescent.org/2011/04/why-you-do-not-want-wagners-bridal-chorus-in-your-wedding/

[7] The "mechanical" vibrato is due to the rapid pitch fluctuations caused by the spinning horns of the Hammond's Leslie speakers. I played a Hammond in a church band for two years and witnessed the spinning horns and experienced the sonic differences that I have described.

the song, which are from different genres, "equal" within the new work.

The rhythm section plays a rock steady groove that starts after the introduction and continues to the end of the recording. The groove is performed with a drum set, percussion, a bass guitar playing a rhythmic riff, and a guitar that strums. There are no additional accompanying lines, such as countermelodies or other interpolations.

The Structure

"Rock Steady Wedding" starts with the last phrase of Wagner's "Bridal Chorus," also known as "Here Comes the Bride." It is played with the tremolo setting of the organ without any other instrumental accompaniment. It slows down after the fourth measure, giving way to a short drum-fill/lick that heralds the rock steady groove, along with the next borrowed tune in the lead melodic line. Mittoo plays the complete melody of "Get Me to the Church on Time" in the middle register of the organ; it is followed by 4 measures of Mendelssohn's "Wedding March," which are repeated three times. The first presentation is in the middle register and the two other repetitions are an octave higher. At the end of the fourth repetition, the recording fades and ends. The chart below (fig. 8.1) shows the placement of the borrowed tunes in "Rock Steady Wedding." "A" represents the sample from Wagner's chorus, and "C" represents the sample from Mendelssohn's march. The Mendelssohn and Wagner samples are significantly shorter than the tune borrowed from Loewe, which is represented by "B".

Fig. 8.1   The sources used in the arrangement of
"Rock Steady Wedding"

A	B	C
The rock steady groove		
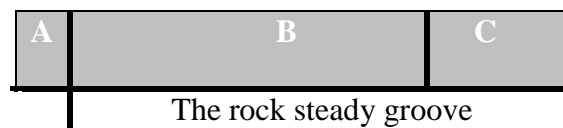
The placement and duration of the borrowed tunes creates a hierarchy within the arrangement. The shorter samples from Wagner and Mendelssohn are functioning as an introduction and coda respectively. The placement of each borrowed tune is also strategic, as Wagner's "Bridal Chorus" is usually used for the processional in a wedding ceremony and Mendelssohn's "Wedding March" is usually a recessional. Therefore the order of the borrowed tunes mimics their placement in Western wedding ceremonies. However, the use of Loewe's drunken song as the focal point of this arrangement makes "Rock Steady Wedding" a burlesque of a wedding ceremony.

Summary: Placement, duration, and shared themes are important factors in the sequential combination of borrowed music in "Rock Steady Wedding." Other covers with sequentially placed borrowed tunes are "Black Organ" and "Memphis Groove." The tunes that are reused in each of these recordings also have similar themes. The tunes that are reused in "Black Organ" have lyrics that are about persecution; they are "Is It Because I'm Black" by Syl Johnson, and "Hypocrite" and "Exodus" by Bob Marley. "Memphis Groove" borrows from local songs with themes about overcoming struggle: "Black Man's Pride" by Alton Ellis (1971) and "The Harder They Come" by Jimmy Cliff (1972).

The Sources: "Ol' Man River" by Kern and Hammerstein and "Lover's Train" by the Freedom Singers
The New Work: "Mission Impossible" [8]

"Mission Impossible" was first released in 1967 as a single; it has a simultaneous combination of borrowed music from "Ol' Man River" and "Lover's Train." "Ol' Man River" is a ballad composed by Jerome Kern and Oscar Hammerstein II for the musical *Show Boat*.

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[8] The instrumental is included on a posthumous album titled *Tribute to Jackie Mittoo* (1995).

The song was performed by baritones Jules Bledsoe and Paul Robeson in the 1927 stage musical and in the 1937 film musical respectively (Friedwald 2002). The other source that Mittoo reused, "Lover's Train," was recorded at Studio One and performed by The Freedom Singers.[9] "Lover's Train" was then included on a compilation album from Studio One titled *Ride Mi Donkey* (1968). The showcase album featured hits from previous years, and it is quite likely that Mittoo was involved in its production.

The borrowed tune and accompaniment are from different genres; however, there is a similarity in their lyrics. They are both about hardship and, at a very superficial level, they refer to a method of transportation. "Ol' Man River" mentions a boat, and in "Lover's Train" the train is a means of escape.[10] The title "Mission Impossible" may have been an allusion to the 1966 American TV show of the same name; however, I would like to suggest that it may also reflect the process involved in executing this arrangement.

The Elements:

For the introduction Mittoo plays the refrain from the lead melodic line over the pre-recorded groove of "Lover's Train," a local song. However, Mittoo does not play the entire melody of "Ol' Man River" in "Mission Impossible." He only uses three motifs.

Fig. 8.2

Reused Motifs from "Ol' Man River"

a	Old man river,	
a[1]	that old man river,	✓
b	he must know something	✓
c	But don't say nothing	✓
d	He just keeps rolling	
d[1]	He keeps on rolling along	

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[9] The Freedom Singers also recorded as Sir Coxsone Singers. According to the profile on *Discogs.com* and the description of the group on a number of records, the name may have been a name for any group of session singers (back up vocalists) at Studio One, in the same way that a number of names were used for all-star bands.
[10] This similarity may have influenced the choice of these two as pairs for this instrumental arrangement.

Mittoo creates the lead melody of this cover with three motifs that are checked in the lines from "Ol' Man River" in fig. 8.2. He does not modify these lines (ex. 2.1– 2.3) in his cover, which is effective, as these motifs are iconic of "Ol' Man River."

Ex. 2.1   The 'a^1' motif

Ex. 2.2   The 'b' motif

Ex. 2.3   The 'c' motif

Fig. 8.3   A Breakdown of the Structure of Mittoo's version of "Ol' Man River"

	A	B	:
The phrases in Mittoo's melody	A	B	:
Motifs used in the melody	a^1 – a^1 – a^1	b – c – new idea – c^{11}	:

Fig. 8.3 displays how Mittoo reuses the motifs from the refrain of "Ol' Man River." There are two columns, A and B, which represent two phrases in his melody. The chart is to be read from left to right. At the right side of the chart there is a double line with dots that represent repeat symbols, indicating that the sequence is repeated. Therefore the complete structure of Mittoo's melody is AB AB. The breakdown of "A" is in the A column of fig. 8.3, and refers to the "a^1" line in fig. 8.2. Likewise, the breakdown of the second phrase of his melody "B" is shown in the B column of fig. 8.3 and refers to the "b" and "c" lines in fig. 8.2.

Mittoo's rendition of "Ol' Man River" possesses a different character from its source. He

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[11] This "c" is not played in the final repeat.

achieves this in four ways. First, Mittoo does not copy the vocal inflections and syllabic irregularities that usually occur in songs. Instead he brings uniformity to this melody by featuring the rhythm of one motif throughout this piece. He uses the rhythm of the second line—"a[1]"— which differs slightly from the first line, "a" (fig. 8.2). The first motif, "a," starts on the first beat of the bar, whereas "a[1]" starts with an upbeat (ex. 2.1). Mittoo's use of the upbeat throughout gives his arrangement a unique and uniform character. Second, the use of multi-registers of the organ also helps to make Mittoo's cover distinct from its source. He plays the melody of "Ol' Man River" with the high register of the organ throughout; this differs from the bass vocals of the original recording.[12] Third, Mittoo also changes the articulation of the melody; phrases that were sung legato in the source are played detached in his cover. Fourth, the instrumental (bed) track of "Lover's Train" serves as the accompaniment of "Mission Impossible." Mittoo does not alter or modify the pre-recorded accompaniment of "Lover's Train," when he reuses it in "Mission Impossible," which impacts the lead melodic line in two ways. The faster tempo of the "Lover's Train" track results in a slight increase of the usual slower tempo of "Ol' Man River." There is also a recurring emphatic figure in the accompaniment that is "imported" along with the pre-recorded groove of "Lover's Train."
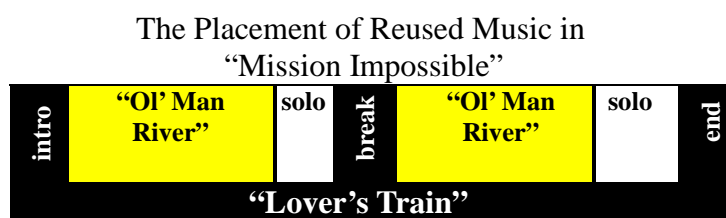
Ex. 2.4   The emphatic figure

The emphatic figure in the accompaniment (ex. 2.4)[13] seems to rise to the lead melodic line in the cover; it is prominent before and after the excerpts from "Ol' Man River." The

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[12] This approach is also taken in other organ renditions of "Ol' Man River" by Jean Musy and Jimmy Smith.
[13] This figure demonstrates Mittoo's use of swing 16[ths].

emphatic figure creates a frame around "Ol' Man River," which completely transforms this tune. A graphic representation of the framing is below (fig. 8.4). The black sections represent the borrowed accompaniment from "Lover's Train"; the vertical black sections—labelled as the intro, break, and end—are the emphatic figures that are imported along with the accompaniment. The grey sections are the performed samples from "Ol' Man River," and the blank sections represent Mittoo's improvisation, a "solo."

Fig. 8.4   The Placement of Reused Music in
                                    "Mission Impossible"

intro	"Ol' Man River"	solo	break	"Ol' Man River"	solo	end
			"Lover's Train"			

The Structure

"Mission Impossible" starts with a 1½ beat drum-fill/lick that leads into a four bar introduction, which features the emphatic figure noted above in ex. 2.4. The emphatic figure (ex. 2.4) in the accompaniment seems to intrude into the lead melodic line; it functions as the introduction, instrumental break, and ending of "Mission Impossible."

Fig. 8.4 demonstrates the impact of the emphatic figure; it creates a frame that limits the duration of the sections, leaving a space of 16 measures between each appearance. Mittoo's objective is to play the complete verse of "Ol' Man River" (fig. 8.4) twice, followed by a quick solo before the emphatic figure returns. To achieve this, Mittoo may have had to calculate the number of measures to allot to playing "Ol' Man River" and his solo. This should have been 12 measures for "Ol' Man River" and 4 measures for his solo.

A transcription of what Mittoo actually plays suggests that playing (or overdubbing) "Ol' Man River" over "Lover's Train" was not straightforward. The chart with the

transcription (fig. 8.5) has three rows. The first row numbers the sets of measures in the second row from 1–13. The second row presents the duration of what Mittoo actually performs/plays for each section. Therefore, the length of the introduction (with the emphatic figure) is 4 measures; it is under column 1. The first "A" phrase has 3 measures, followed by the first "B" phrase for 4 measures in columns 2 and 3 respectively.

Fig. 8.5

Transcription of the Melodic Structure of "Mission Impossible"

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
4	3	4	3	3	4	4	3	3	3	3	4	4
intro	A	B	A	B	solo	break ∗	A	B	A	B	solo	end

Measures performed
Sections

The faded line between the 6th and 7th column in fig. 8.5 indicates that there is no clear break between the end of the "solo" in column 6, and the emphatic figure in column 7. This occurs because Mittoo played the first "B" phrase (column 3) for 4 measures instead of 3 (as in columns 5, 9, and 11). The overplaying of the first "B" as indicated in column 3 results in the use of 13 measures instead of 12 for playing "Ol' Man River," which leaves only 3 measures for the first solo before the emphatic figure returns in the break. However, Mittoo actually plays four measures, and he is still playing his solo when the emphatic figure returns in column 7; there is a slight overlap of his solo into the break.[14] Hence the faded line which signifies that there is no clear break between the solo and the following section. The overplaying is "corrected" when he repeats the AB section. The adjustment is possible, due to the number of repeated motifs in his arrangement (see fig. 8.3). Mittoo reduces the number of repetitions that he plays to 6 measures in the next AB section (columns 8–9). This allows 4 measures for his solo before the impending return of the emphatic figure (column 13), which

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[14] This is marked with an asterisk on the chart.

ends the recording.

Summary: "Mission Impossible" is a combination of two straight covers played simultaneously. Mittoo plays a very light-hearted version of "Ol' Man River" over the pre-recorded accompaniment from "Lover's Train." The challenge in creating this cover is the simultaneous pairing of the borrowed melody in the lead melodic line and a pre-recorded accompaniment, with restrictive emphatic figures. Executing this arrangement is a race against time. The title of this cover—"Mission Impossible"—is therefore quite fitting, as it reflects the difficulty in performing the arrangement. [15]

Another example of a cover in this category is "Gold Mine" (1970).[16] It has multiple sources that are placed simultaneously and a title that seems to comment on its sources. It is my conjecture that the title "Gold Mine" describes the reception of its sources. The arrangement consists of two sources that were successful: "Fatty Fatty" by the Heptones in 1966 and "Love Me Forever" by Carlton and His Shoes in 1968.[17] Mittoo paraphrases "Love Me Forever" in the lead melodic line of "Gold Mine," and it is performed over the groove of

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[15] The dates of "Lover's Train" and "Mission Impossible" conflict; some sources state "Lover's Train" was derived from "Mission Impossible." I challenge this notion. The release date of "Lover's Train" was based on the date of a showcase album in 1968; however, this does not necessarily mean that "Lover's Train" was recorded in 1968. There may be a number of reasons for this. First, the album is a collection of previously released hits, such as "Feel Like Jumping." Second, it was a common practice for recordings to be "put on the shelf" at Studio One, that is, not released immediately. "Lover's Train" does not appear anywhere else as a single, which suggests that it was either on the shelf or that it was a "pre-release" prior to its inclusion in the 1968 showcase album. A "pre-release" is an exclusive single that is created for sound system operators; it would be much more expensive than a single that was mass produced for the general public.

Another factor that indicates that "Lover's Train" was created first is the overplaying of the emphatic figure in "Mission Impossible."

[16] "Gold Mine" was first released as a single in 1970; it was subsequently included in the posthumous compilation *Tribute to Jackie Mittoo* in 1995.

[17] "Fatty Fatty" was a huge sound system hit; however, it was banned from airplay due to its lewd lyrics (Chang and Chen 1998: 105). Mittoo reused the accompaniment of "Fatty Fatty" to create "Ram Jam," which was Mittoo's first hit in 1967 (Katz 2003: 95). "Love Me Forever" was successful and is usually mentioned as the first hit for Carlton and His Shoes in popular literature on JPM (Katz 2003: 149; Barrow and Dalton 2001: 76); the song has been covered by a number of other singers, as is evident on *Discogs.com*. I would like to suggest that the status of these two hits, "Fatty Fatty" and "Love Me Forever," is reflected in the title of the simultaneous cover, "Gold Mine."

"Fatty Fatty." Also Mittoo's first hit, "Ram Jam" also falls in this category. He reuses the theme from the popular 1950s standard "Poinciana," which is played above the borrowed groove of "Fatty Fatty."

Conclusion of the Chapter

Mittoo's statement about reusing lines from different sources in the arrangement of one song was the first indication that this category would be found within his body of work. Covers with multiple sources are built from the same resources as those used for straight covers and paraphrases. However, the ease of identification of the sources used is dependent on a familiarity with their tunes and the extent to which the lines are modified. The lines or motifs that are reused in these covers may be duplicated, which would facilitate identification; or modified, which may obscure the source. The identification of the borrowed tune is at times facilitated by the name of the instrumental recording, which may provide clues with regards to the sources used. The covers with simultaneous and sequential placement of borrowed tunes discussed in this chapter were identified because they are all straight covers of songs that are well known to me. However, covers with multiple sources that have also been paraphrased are more difficult to identify.[18]

The borrowed tunes in these covers with multiple sources have a distinct relationship with each other. In "Rock Steady Wedding," the musical styles of the sources are different; however, they share a common theme: the wedding ceremony. Two of the borrowed tunes are sonic icons of the event and the third source is a song in which the lyrics also speak of a wedding. Additionally, the order of the sequence was also important; the placement of "The Bridal Chorus" at the beginning and "The Wedding March" at the end of the arrangement is

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[18] The inconsistent documentation of the dates of these recordings also makes it difficult to identify them.

similar to their placement in most Western wedding ceremonies.

The sources in "Mission Impossible" have a spatial relationship; framing is a significant factor in its arrangement. Structural analysis shows that the accompaniment frames and dominates the lead melodic line (fig. 8.3). The choice of the source for the lead melodic line may have been crucial, as it needed to be flexible enough to be placed within the spaces between the appearances of a reoccurring emphatic figure. However, playing a borrowed lead melody above a borrowed accompaniment was not without its challenges; careful calculation and performance were required to get them to fit together.

The following chapter looks at types of paraphrases.

CHAPTER 12: PARAPHRASES

A more complex treatment of the cover is the paraphrase, which *The Oxford Dictionary of Music* defines as a process whereby "a pre-existing melody is subjected to rhythmic and melodic ornamentation but is not obscured" (Sherr). A number of Mittoo's instrumentals, such as "Evening Time" (1968), fall under this category. However, as noted previously, it is only possible to make the connection with the original if the source is recognized. Fig. 9.1 shows the possibilities for paraphrased arrangements from each of six resources. Similar to straight covers, paraphrases may be created from local or foreign songs, instrumentals, and traditional tunes.

Fig. 9.1   **Paraphrases: Resources and Elements**

Resources for paraphrases	**Level of Similarity** with its source	**Disclosure** of source in title

1. A recorded local song
2. A recorded foreign song
3. A local instrumental recording
4. A foreign instrumental recording
5. A local traditional tune
6. A foreign traditional tune
	Declared
	Lead melodic line
	    statement of main theme
	Accompaniment
	    new
	
	Undeclared
	Lead melodic line
	    modified
	    new
	Accompaniment
	    - reused rhythm/bed track
	    - borrowed but newly
	      performed at the time
	      of recording
	    - new
		- Same name
		- Allusion
		- New title

A paraphrased cover may be further categorized as declared or undeclared, as indicated in the second column in fig. 9.1. The declared paraphrase starts with a *statement* of the main theme from its source; this is followed by an extensive solo that usually ends

with the restatement of the main theme.[1] Declared paraphrases with the same title as their

sources are the easiest to identify in this group.[2] The difference between declared and

undeclared paraphrases is that the latter does not start with a statement of the main theme

from a borrowed song. Furthermore, there are two types of undeclared paraphrases in

Mittoo's body of work.

Fig. 9.2   **Types of Undeclared Paraphrases
in Mittoo's Body of Work**

	(Type 1) Melody is reused	(Type 2) Groove is reused
The strongest link to the borrowed tune is in the:	lead melodic line	groove (only)
Lead melodic line is:	**borrowed** and paraphrased	new

Accompaniment is:	- new
	   or
	- borrowed from the same source as the lead melodic line[3] and:
	    1. reused from a pre-recorded rhythm/bed track.
	    2. performed at the time of recording.[4]
		borrowed
		- pre-recorded rhythm/bed track
		- but performed

The chart titled "Types of Undeclared Paraphrases in Mittoo's Body of Work" (fig.

9.2) demonstrates how undeclared paraphrases may be further differentiated based on the

location of the borrowed music, which may be in the lead melodic line or in the groove.

The chart has three rows and three columns. The first column has lead-on sentences that

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[1] This is the archetype that is usually performed in jazz.

[2] A declared paraphrase that has a borrowed accompaniment would be classified under covers with multiple sources (quods).

[3] It may be performed above an accompaniment from a different source as the melodic line; however this would be classified under covers with multiple sources (quods).

[4] Lacasse calls these types of borrowings either an *autosonic* sample (from a rhythm/bed track) or an *allosonic* sample (performed at the time of recording) (Lacasse 2000).

are completed with words or phrases in the other columns. The second column describes possible content of an undeclared paraphrase when the melody is dominant. The third column describes the content of an undeclared paraphrase with a reused groove—the groove is the dominant/main link.

In the first type of undeclared paraphrase, the borrowed melody is in the lead melodic line and is modified throughout the piece. The second type of undeclared paraphrase has a new melody that is performed over a borrowed accompaniment or pre-recorded groove, otherwise called a "riddim" in JPM parlance.[5] These "riddims" may be from local songs that Mittoo had previously arranged for singers.[6]

In this chapter I will examine Mittoo's approach to paraphrasing three songs. The first is a declared paraphrase of "Evening Time," a local song; the second is an undeclared paraphrase of a local popular song titled "You Don't Love Me." The third example is a set of paraphrases from another local popular song: "Monkey Man." This set of paraphrases demonstrates Mittoo's exploration of different configurations of paraphrases using one source.

The Source: a local song, "Evening Time"
The Paraphrased Cover: "Evening Time"

"Evening Time" is a symbol of Jamaica's national identity; however it is often misclassified as a folk song. The melody of "Evening Time" was written by Barbara Ferland with lyrics by Louise Bennett-Coverely and Orford St. John for Jamaica's 1949 annual pantomime titled *Bluebeard and Brer Anancy*.[7] The song was also included in the pantomime,

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[5] This is similar to jazz musicians that improvise over a borrowed chord progression.
[6] Mittoo's undeclared paraphrases are usually retitled.
[7] The pantomime is a musical that still opens during the Christmas holidays at the Ward Theatre in Kingston. It is a

when it was staged again in 1957 as *Busha Bluebeard*.[8] This song has endured as a favourite at Jamaican school functions, festivals, cultural activities, and funerals.[9] Although "Evening Time" does not fit the textbook definition of a folk song, because its composers are known, it is still an integral part of Jamaican culture.[10]

Mittoo would have been aware of the origins of this song, as he was nine years old when it was sung in the pantomime. He may have even attended the 1957 Pantomime when the show was staged for audiences of school children throughout the year. Eleven years later, in 1968, Mittoo recorded "Evening Time" at Studio One for the album of the same name. It is not included in any of his other albums or posthumous compilations to date.

The Elements

Fig. 9.3 **Elements of "Evening Time"**

	Barbara Ferland (music) Louise Bennet-Coverely (lyrics)	Jackie Mittoo
Year	1949	1968
Key	Minor then major	G major
Tempo	♩= 73	♩= 76
Meter	Common time	Common time
Instrumental force:		
Lead melodic line	Vocal	Piano
Accompaniment	Not applicable	*Ketta*/congo drum, keyboard
Groove	Not applicable	Bass, rhythm guitars, drum set

longstanding Jamaican tradition.
[8] http://www.ltmpantomime.com/pages/detailed/bluebeard.html
[9] This observation is from my experience as a music teacher in a number of schools and teachers' colleges in Jamaica. Additionally, I have heard this song played at funerals in Jamaica.
[10] The recording provided with this paper is the closest to the performance aesthetic that the song might have had in the pantomime, based on my experience.

The elements listed in the second column of the chart (fig. 9.3) are not from a recording but based on my experience of the song as part of an oral tradition. The lyrics of "Evening Time" depicts a scene in the play in which workers are gathered at the end of a work day. The lyrics of the song start with an earnest cry to stop working; this is met with a resolve to rest in the refrain:

Verse 1:
Come Miss Claire
tek the bankra off yuh head mi dear.
evening breeze a blow,
come dis way Miss Flo.
Help down ya!
Afta yuh nuh beas' a burden ma'
Rest yuh self at ease,
feel the evening breeze.

Refrain:
  Evening time,
  Work is over now is evening time,
  We deh walk pan mountain,
  Deh walk pan mountain,
  Deh walk pan mountain side.
  Mek we cook di bickle pan di way,
  Mek we eat an sing,
  Dance an play ring ding
  Pan di mountain side.

The opposition of tension and release is reflected in the tonality of the song. The verses are in a minor key and the refrain modulates to a major key. The dual tonality of this song parallels the current uses of "Evening Time." It is performed slowly at funerals, for which the evening and the end of the working day serve as metaphors for death, the end of life.[11] On the other hand, at cultural events alively rendition of the song signifies a celebration of Jamaican life.

Mittoo chooses the brighter side of this song for his declared paraphrase. The "head" or initial statement in Mittoo's paraphrase is from the refrain of "Evening Time." He maintains the major key for most of the arrangement with the exception of a few blue notes played by the guitarist and Mittoo towards the end of the recording. He keeps this instrumental version "light" by increasing the tempo and using the piano as the lead instrument. Indeed, this is one of the few instrumental recordings where the organ is not

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[11]The song has two verses; however the second verse is rarely sung.

featured on the lead melodic line.

The accompaniment features two markers of Jamaican culture; the first is a hand drum (*ketta*), on which the drummer improvises throughout. The style of drumming is *burru* drumming; it adds a "native" feel to this arrangement. The second marker of Jamaican culture is an environmental sound that is iconic of crickets (insects) that become very vocal at dusk in the countryside. They are represented by a two-note figure (ex. 3.1) played with a high pitch timbre on the synthesizer. The cricket sound effects are placed intermittently in the "auxiliary" accompaniment.

Ex. 3.1   The two-note figure

These two notes[12] may also be described as a constituent surface figure, a term derived from Sewell:

> They are only a beat or a second long and usually appear only once every measure or two.... They accent the groove as ornaments or decorations and are not looped. Their presence is vital to the unique sonic identity of a track. (Sewell 2013: 54)[13]

This type of interpolation is present in a number of Mittoo's Studio One arrangements.[14] These constituent surface figures are usually of environmental sounds that complement the theme of the song or piece. In "Evening Time," the cricket sound effects along with the *burru* drumming complement the mood of this piece; they reference sonic icons of Jamaica's countryside.

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[12] I have given them approximate pitch values for the purpose of identification; however, they are dead/ghost notes.

[13] Sewell also notes that "...constituent surface samples are layered against the groove, but cannot function independently of the groove" (Sewell 2013: 54).

[14] Other examples of recordings with sound effects are "Lover's Train" and "Black Man's Pride."

The Structure

Fig. 9.4   The Structure of Mittoo's Paraphrase of
"Evening Time"

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Number of measures	4	4	4	3	4	2	4	4	4	4	4	2
Sections	Intro	A	A	solo								A fade

The structure of Mittoo's declared paraphrase of "Evening Time" is an archetype of

the jazz paraphrase. The main theme from the source (the head) is played in its entirety at the

beginning, it is then followed by an extensive solo, after which the main theme is restated at

the end of the piece.

Mittoo starts his paraphrased cover with a 2½ beat drum-fill/lick that heralds the

groove. The groove continues alone for four bars; it functions as the introduction. After the

four-bar introduction, Mittoo plays the main theme of the original song; it is a slightly

modified rendition of the refrain of the source (ex. 3.2).

Ex. 3.2   Extract from the refrain of Ferland's "Evening Time"

Ex. 3.3   Mittoo's modified theme from the refrain of "Evening Time"

Mittoo makes four slight modifications to the refrain. First, he uses repeated eighth notes (a

in ex. 3.3), instead of the ascending notes in the source (a in ex. 3.2). Second, the disjunct

intervals (c in ex. 3.2) are replaced with stepwise movements (b in ex. 3.3). However, these

modifications are small; they do not greatly detract from the overall effect of the passage as being a straight cover of the refrain of "Evening Time."

Mittoo's extensive solo follows the head. It consists of eight phrases that are three or four measures long; they reuse motifs from the verse of "Evening Time." The rhythmic and melodic features of Ferland's verse include patterns of repeated notes (<u>a</u> and <u>d</u> in ex. 3.4), a descending scalar passage (<u>b</u> in ex. 3.4), and semitone intervals (<u>c</u> in ex. 3.4).[15]

Ex. 3.4   Extract from Ferland's verse

Each phrase of Mittoo's solo reuses one of these melodic or rhythmic figures that either highlights or ends on D, the dominant of G. Mittoo also reuses these figures in opposition: rhythmic passages with repeated notes are followed by ascending or descending scalar passages that rise or fall to D.[16] After the eighth phrase Mittoo restates the main theme, which is faded to end the recording. Mittoo's reuse of motifs from Ferland's verses enhances the connections between his solo and its source; this helps to bring unity to his arrangement.

<u>Summary</u>: Mittoo's approach to arranging this declared paraphrase is straightforward. At first, he presents the main theme from the source. This is followed by an extended solo that ends with a restatement of the main theme. The accompaniment consists of a reggae groove, which is enhanced by environmental sounds and *burru* drumming, to add a more native feel to the arrangement.

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[15] The semitone interval could be viewed as an ornamentation of a repeated note.
[16] The scalar, then repeated, note pattern is also in the opening statement (<u>a</u> in ex. 3.3).

The Source: a local cover of Willie Cobbs's "You Don't Love Me"
The Paraphrased Cover: "Loving You"

"Loving You" is the Jamaican progeny of a tune family that started with Bo

Diddley's "She's Fine, She's Mine" (1955). Bo Diddley was an American rock and roll

singer whose songs have been covered by many American and English groups

(McEwen).[17] Diddley's "She's Fine, She's Mine" was covered and retitled "You Don't

Love Me" by Willie Cobbs. The *Encyclopedia of Popular Music* states that the song was a

"minor hit" for Cobbs when it was released on the Vee Jay Records label in 1960; it

eventually became a much-covered standard over time.[18] Subsequent covers of Cobbs's

version of the song retained the title "You Don't Love Me." This song was then covered by

Dawn Penn at Studio One; the rock steady version was arranged by Mittoo.[19] Penn's

version of "You Don't Love Me" is completely reworked with changes in the lead melodic

line and in the accompaniment, which makes it distinct from other covers of "You Don't

Love Me."

"Loving You" provides an example of Mittoo's approach to arranging a cover for a

singer, and then using that cover to create one of his instrumental recordings. "Loving

You" was first issued on *Evening Time* in 1968. It is an undeclared—groove dominant—

paraphrase of Dawn Penn's "You Don't Love Me," which was also arranged by Mittoo at

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[17] Bo Diddley was his stage name, adapted from an instrument called a Diddley Bow. His real name was Otha Ellas Bates (later known as Ellas McDaniel). McEwen comments on Diddley's unique style: "Diddley stood outside the mainstream of rock and roll of the 1950s; he recorded unusual jazz instrumental pieces with weird sound-effects, doo-wop songs, blues, idiosyncratic rock and roll numbers." (McEwen)

[18]"Cobbs, Willie." *Encyclopedia of Popular Music*, 4th ed. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press (accessed April 14, 2014).

[19] Penn was not the first female artist to cover "You Don't Love Me." It was previously covered by a girl band called the Starlets in 1965.

Studio One in 1967.[20] The analysis of this song is presented in two parts; first I will discuss Mittoo's arrangement of the cover for Dawn Penn, the source of which is Willie Cobbs's "You Don't Love Me." I will then discuss Mittoo's instrumental paraphrase of "You Don't Love Me." Examining the song through these two steps will demonstrate his approach to paraphrasing his own arrangements.

Step One: Mittoo's Arrangement of "You Don't Love Me" for Dawn Penn

Changes to the lyrics, instrumental force, tempo (speed), and pulse, make Penn's cover distinct from its source. The official title of Penn's cover is "You Don't Love Me"; however, it is also known as "No, No, No." This alias is derived from a phrase that Penn used to replace the first line of the song "Oh, Oh, Oh," which is sung in previous covers. The vocals share the lead melodic line with the horns, which take the lead during the instrumental break near to the end of the song. During the instrumental break, the piano interjects inversions of the tonic triad in the accompaniment. The bass riff (ex. 3.5) and the guitar strum provide an original groove that helps to translate this cover to rock steady. The new time signature is also a major change to the character of the song: the simple quadruple time of Penn's cover is more relaxed than the tense compound quadruple time of the source.

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[20] In her interviews Penn attributes the arrangement of her hit song to Mittoo, referring to the song as "No, No, No." The following was taken from an online interview with Penn:

> **Dawn Penn:** Jackie Mittoo was the one that arranged how the song was going to sound. It wasn't even like he wrote sheet music. It was like the band would play according to the vibes.
> **Question:** Do you remember the actual session for "No, No, No" and what went down?
> **Dawn Penn:** Yes, I remember the session, of course. A typical session, early in the morning; I start to sing, Jackie start to play and we start work out all the chords. The first, the third and the fifth chords, root of a chord, started putting in nines and sevens to make it fatter and Johnny came around and started playing his bit and the band started getting themselves involved. The recording was one take. (Taylor 2012)

Fig. 9.5 **Elements of "You Don't Love Me"**

	Willie Cobbs	Jackie Mittoo/Penn
Year	1960	1967
Tempo	♩. = 133-140	♩ = 78
Meter	Compound quadruple	Common time
Duration	2:32	3:03
Key	A minor	A minor
Instrumental force:		
Lead melodic line	Vocal, guitar	Vocal
Accompaniment	———	Piano, horns
Groove	Saxophone, guitar, piano, bass,	Rhythm guitar, bass, guiro, drum kit

The tempo of Cobbs's version gradually increases from 133 dotted quarter note beats per minute to 140 beats at the end of the song; this is much faster than Penn's tempo, which is consistently 78 quarter note beats per minute.[21]

The Structure

The structures of Penn's "You Don't Love Me" and Cobbs's "You Don't Love Me" differ significantly. Penn's arrangement commences with the bass line of the rock steady groove (ex. 3.5) as the introduction.

Ex. 3.5 A bass figure serves as the introduction in Penn's cover

This deviates from Cobbs's version, in which the introduction features a phrase that creates antiphony (call and response) between his vocal lines and the accompaniment. The phrase (ex.

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[21] I checked the speed with a metronome.

3.6) is played by the saxophone, guitar, and piano in the introduction and a slight variation of it during the B sections. This phrase—the response—is played before and after each vocal phrase:

Ex. 3.6   The intro and reoccurring "B" phrase in Cobbs's recording

The chart titled "The Structure of Willie Cobbs's "You Don't Love Me" (Fig. 9.6) shows the "A" and "B" phrases that create the call and response in the recording; they are 4 and 5 measures long respectively. The imbalance of sets of 4 then 5 measures makes Cobbs's version seem lopsided.[22]

Fig. 9.6   **The Structure of Willie Cobbs's "You Don't Love Me"**

Number of measures	4	4	5	4	5	4	5	4	5	4	5	4	5	4	5	4	5	4	5
Sections	Intro	A	B	A	B	C	B	A	B	A	B	C	B	A	B	A	B	C	B fade
Chords	I	IV	I	IV	I	V - IV	I	IV	I	IV	I	V - IV	I	IV	I	IV	I	V - IV	I
The "response" is used as the intro	The melody (A and C) is alternated with the response (B).						Instrumental break: no vocals, the melody is played by a guitar						A repeat of the first section with vocals					

In the arrangement for Dawn Penn, Mittoo does not use the phrase (ex. 3.6) that creates the antiphony in Cobbs's "You Don't Love Me." Mittoo removes this phrase, and consequently the antiphony, which eliminates some of the spaces in the song; this contracts the overall structure of the song, as shown in the chart below (fig. 9.7).

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[22] The phrase that creates the antiphony in Cobbs's version is also present in the original tune by Bo Diddley.

Fig. 9.7

**A Comparison of the Structures of
the Cobbs and Penn Recordings**

Cobbs	Sections	intro	A	B	A	B	C	B	A	B	A	B	C	B	A	B	A	B	C etc.
Penn	Sections	new intro	: A	A	B	A :		C		C		A						
	Number of measures	4	6	7	2	6		4		4		4	fade					
	Chords	I	IV-I	IV-I	V	IV-I		IV-I		IV-I		IV-I						
	Description	inst.	vocal					instrumental break				vocal						

As was the case with Cobbs's arrangement, the length of the AB sections in Penn's cover are not in neat units of 4 or 8 measures (fig. 9.7), making the song seem "out of step" at some points. This more compact version of "You Don't Love Me" is then laid on a rock steady groove in common time.

Another significant difference between Cobbs's version and Penn's arrangement is the instrumental break. Cobbs creates the instrumental break by repeating the first section, with the guitar replacing the vocals (fig. 9.6). Mittoo retains the structural placement of the instrumental break in the center of the song as shown in fig. 9.7; however he uses a different melody (ex. 3.7), which is played by the horns:

Ex. 3.7   The new melody for the instrumental break in Mittoo's arrangement

Summary: The shared title, lyrics, and melody make the link between these two songs easily identifiable as a straight cover. However, there are some significant differences between the two, such as the instrumental break, a structural change, the time feel, and the

translation of the groove to rock steady. Nonetheless, Penn's song is a straight cover of Cobbs's "You Don't Love Me." It has attributes similar to number 6 on the configuration chart (fig. 9.8).

Fig. 9.8 **The Configuration of "You Don't Love Me"**

	Lead melodic line		Accompaniment			Structure	
	duplicate	modified	duplicate	modified	new	duplicate	modified
5.	✓				✓		✓

Mittoo's arrangement of "You Don't Love Me" for Dawn Penn then serves as the source for his undeclared instrumental paraphrase titled "Loving You."

Step Two: Mittoo's paraphrase of "You Don't Love Me"

"Loving You" only appears with this title on the album *Evening Time* (1968); it was later retitled "Ghetto Organ" and included in his album titled *Macka Fat* (1971).[23] There is no difference between the two instrumentals; the only change is the title. This is consistent with Mittoo's comment that producers would retitle songs to appeal to certain markets (Clarke 1980: 89). "Ghetto Organ" provides an example of this. This rugged title is included in a number of subsequent posthumous compilations.

There is no initial statement from "You Don't Love Me" in the lead melodic line of "Loving You"; it is an undeclared paraphrase. However, "Loving You" has a strong link with "You Don't Love Me" through its title and the accompaniment.

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[23] It also appeared on a single with Myrna Hague /Jackie Mittoo – "Time After Time" / "Ghetto Organ" Label: Faze – F.F. 05

Fig. 9.9

Elements of "Loving You"

Year	1968
Tempo	M = 76
Meter	Common time
Key	A minor
Instrumental Force:	
Lead melodic line	Organ, Horn
Accompaniment	Piano, organ
Groove: Rhythm/bed track from Penn's recording	Rhythm guitar, bass, guiro, drum kit

Mittoo's title maintains an allusion to its source; the word "love" is common to both titles.

He also reuses the complete prerecorded accompaniment from the source, which consists

of the groove and other tracks that are a part of the accompaniment. Hence, the structure of

Penn's cover and "Loving You" are the same. The major difference between the two pieces

is Mittoo's paraphrase of the melody.

A breakdown of the structure of Penn's melody in the cover helps to reveal how

Mittoo created this undeclared paraphrase. Fig. 9.7 shows the structure of Penn's song—

AABA—which is followed by C, an instrumental break. Penn's melody has two basic

phrases—A and B—which are constructed from three motifs— a, b, and c.

Fig. 9.10   **A Breakdown of the Phrases in "You Don't Love Me"(Penn)**

Phrase	Motif	Lyrics
A:	a	No, no, no,
	a^1	You don't love me
	b	and I know now.
B:	c	'cause you left me, baby,
	a^1	and I've got no
	b	place to go now.

Phrase A consists of "a" and "a¹," which are only slightly different from each other, and then "b", a new idea.[24] Phrase "B" starts with a new idea "c" and returns to "a¹" and "b."

Motifs from Penn's "You Don't Love Me"	**The paraphrased motifs in "Loving You"**

Ex. 3.8   Penn's "a" motif   Mittoo's paraphrase of "a"

Ex. 3.9   Penn's "b" motif   Mittoo's paraphrase of "b"

Ex. 3.10   Penn's "c" motif   Mittoo's paraphrase of "c"

Mittoo reuses all the motifs from Penn's cover; examples 8 to 10 demonstrate how he paraphrases them. Each example presents Penn's motif followed by Mittoo's paraphrase; they are separated by a double line. The check-marks below or above notes in Mittoo's paraphrase indicate those notes that are remnants of the original motif. In each case, his rhythm is markedly different.

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[24] This motif is present in all the covers derived from "She's Fine, She's Mine." Penn adds a passing note (c in ex. 3.8) before the agogic accent. Mittoo also inserts an ornament before the agogic accent (e in ex. 3.8), which is actually consistent with Penn's vocal line.

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Mittoo alters the rhythm of these motifs in two ways. Penn's "a" motif has a syncopation, which Mittoo evens out to 4 sixteenth notes. The "b" motif also has syncopation, which he changes to a triplet. In both cases he follows the motif with a turn. Penn's "c" motif emphasizes "E" (<u>a</u> in ex. 3.10), which is the climax of the melody. Mittoo's retains the climax (<u>c</u> in ex. 3.10), which creates a strong link between "Loving You," Penn's "You Don't Love Me," Cobbs's "You Don't Love Me," and Bo Diddley's 1955 "She's Fine, She's Mine."[25]

Mittoo uses broken chords, broken triads, and solid dyads to build phrases with the three motifs from the source. The first phrase—A—reuses the "a" and "b" motifs. The "B" phrase reuses the "c" and "b" motifs as demonstrated in fig. 9.11.

Fig. 9.11   **Sources Used in the Arrangement of "Loving You"**
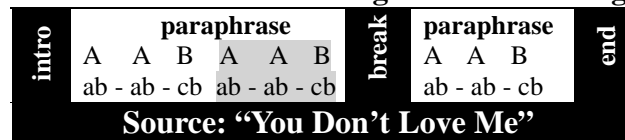
Mittoo expands the "a" motif (<u>b</u> in ex. 3.8) by adding 4 repetitions of a broken triad built from the notes of the motif. The broken triad is represented by "⸫" in fig. 9.12.

Fig. 9.12   **The 'ab' Phrase in "Loving You"**
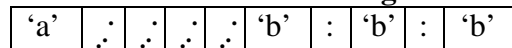
This is followed by the second motif—b— (<u>b</u> in ex. 3.9). He expands this motif by alternating it with dyads built from the notes of the tonic triad; this is represented by " **:** " in fig. 9.12. He alternates between the motif and the dyad 3 or 4 times on the organ and

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[25] He injects figures that contrast with the ideas from the source. He uses the rhythm of the groove with an arpeggio, based on the root leading up to the subdominant. He employs passing notes or a trill around the subdominant, which emphasizes the subdominant. The first is different from the main theme; the second is similar to Penn.

then on the piano. Mittoo repeats the "ab" phrase and moves on to the "cb" phrase (fig. 9.11) which contains the climax of the song (c in ex. 3.10).

Fig. 9.13 **The 'cb' Phrase in "Loving You"**

'c'	.·	.·	.·	·	'b'	:	'b'	:	'b'	:	'b'
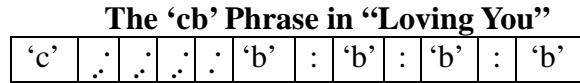
Mittoo's "cb" phrase is similar to his "ab" phrase. The "c" motif is again followed by a broken triad that is repeated 3 or 4 times. The second half of the phrase is the same as the "ab" phrase, where the "b" motif is alternated with a dyad (fig. 9.13) 3 or 4 times. The whole sequence—ab-ab-cb—could also be represented by AAB. It is repeated before arriving at the instrumental break (fig. 9.11). There are slight variances when he repeats the sequence.

The Structure

"Loving You" starts with a broken chord, one note per bar, over the pre-recorded introduction from the source. Mittoo plays his paraphrase above and between the prerecorded accompaniment from the source. The vertical black sections in the diagram (fig. 9.11) are additional accompaniment that is imported with the prerecorded groove from "You Don't Love Me." The prerecorded accompaniment creates a frame that seems to rise to the level of the lead melodic line during the introduction, the instrumental break, and at the end of the piece (fig. 9.11). It creates a frame that determines the length of the sections and limits extensive paraphrasing in the lead melodic line of "Loving You." Mittoo has only 21 bars between the introduction and the instrumental break (fig. 9.11) in which to present his paraphrase.

The instrumental break is a part of the pre-recorded accompaniment. He plays and

then repeats a very rhythmic broken triad over the first half of the instrumental break. In the second half of the instrumental break he echoes the horns in this section (ex. 3.7). Mittoo then repeats the "ab-ab-cb" sequence without the section repeats, and ends by fading the instrumental break when it returns (fig. 9.11). Once again, there are slight variances when he repeats the section; however, Mittoo's use of dyads and broken triads remains prominent.

<u>Summary</u>

"Loving You" provides an example of how Mittoo paraphrases a song that he had previously arranged for a singer. His reconstruction of Penn's cover from Cobbs's version, laid the foundation for "Loving You." I identified seven modifications: (1) Mittoo modifies the structure by removing the sections that create antiphony; (2) he changes the rhythm of the motifs; (3) he reuses and adds passing notes; (4) he adds a rock steady groove; (5) he uses a figure in the bass line as the introduction; (6) there is a new melody in the instrumental break; and (7) he changes the pulse and time feel.

Mittoo then takes the framework of Penn's arrangement to create his paraphrased cover; it is an undeclared paraphrase, which reuses three motifs from its source. His main strategy in the paraphrase is to modify the rhythm of the motifs; he then uses dyads, broken triads and repetition to expand the motif into a phrase. His paraphrase of the melody of Penn's version of "You Don't Love Me" is moderate enough to reveal a link between the two pieces and the shared prerecorded groove facilitates the connection.

The Source: "Monkey Man" (1966)
The Covers: "Dark of the Moon," "Mediator," "Millie Militant," and "The Great
Organ Shuffle"

"Dark of the Moon," "Mediator," "Millie Militant," and "The Great Organ Shuffle," are all paraphrases of "Monkey Man," a local song by Toots and the Maytals (1966). The Maytals—Frederick "Toots" Hibbert, Henry "Raleigh" Gordon, and Nathaniel "Jerry" Mathias—enjoyed great success with this song, both locally and in the UK where it later became a favorite for two tone groups, such as the Specials in 1970 (*Tootsandthemaytals.com*). In that same year Mittoo released "Dark of the Moon" on the Bamboo label (1970). Over time Mittoo revisited this song to create other versions: "Mediator" was released in 1976, while "Millie Militant" and "The Great Organ Shuffle" were both released posthumously in 1995.

This set of paraphrased covers, which I refer to as the "Monkey Man Variations," involved recycling an arrangement by changing elements in the lead melodic line or in the accompaniment. This allowed Mittoo to reuse the same song in different ways (fig. 9.2) as described at the beginning of this chapter. I will describe the arrangement of each piece to demonstrate how Mittoo created his cover by modifying their layers. But first, I will briefly describe the structure of the source.

Structure

"Monkey Man" has a distinct cascaded introduction and groove that lays the foundation for a very simple AB structure that is repeated in the song until it fades at the end.

Fig. 9.14 **Structure of "Monkey Man"**

No. of measures	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	16	8	8
Sections	1st entry	2nd entry	A	B	A^1	B^1	A	B	A^1	B^1	—	A	B
	introduction		main section								break		fade

The "A" phrase in fig. 9.14 represents the refrain of the song, while the "B" phrase is the message of the song. The lyrics of the "A" phrase are either alternately "Aiy, Aiy, Aiy" (represented by "A" in fig. 9.14) or "It's not lie" (represented by "A^1" in fig. 9.14); otherwise the melody of A is the same. The structure within the A and B phrases is call and response. The call is always sung two times and the main response is "Hugging up the big monkey man." The set of paraphrases created from this song is interesting because it demonstrates Mittoo's experiments with configurations from one song.

Fig. 9.15 **The Variations of "Monkey Man"**

	"Dark of the Moon"	"Millie Militant"	"Mediator"
Lead melodic line	New	Undeclared paraphrase	Declared paraphrase
Auxiliary accompaniments	New	New	New
Groove	Same	Different style	Same

The Configurations

Fig. 9.15 shows three arrangements that use "Monkey Man" as the source. The three rows in the chart correspond to three layers in the instrumental arrangements: the lead melodic line, auxiliary accompaniments, and the groove. Mittoo's first cover of "Monkey Man" was "Dark of the Moon," which is an undeclared paraphrase. The lead melodic line and accompaniment are new, and it has a borrowed groove from "Monkey Man," which is performed. The link between "Dark of the Moon" and its source, "Monkey Man," is in the groove of the former.

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"Millie Militant" is an undeclared paraphrase of "Monkey Man." There is no statement of the main theme from the source at the beginning of this paraphrase. Nonetheless, phrases from the melody and bass line from "Monkey Man" are reused in the lead melodic line. The auxiliary accompaniments and groove of "Millie Militant" are new and completely different from its source. The link between "Monkey Man" and "Millie Militant" is therefore in the lead melodic line. However, the timbre of the harmonica as the lead instrument, coupled with the style of the groove, makes the character of this paraphrase unique and distinct from "Dark of the Moon."

"Mediator" is a declared paraphrase of "Monkey Man." Mittoo duplicates the introduction and groove of the source in this cover. He then reuses the B theme from the source, which he alternates with his own ideas in the lead melodic line. This cover has the strongest link with the source, through two layers: the lead melodic line and the groove which are both performed.[26] The last of this group, "The Great Organ Shuffle," reuses the same set of tracks as "Mediator." There is no acoustic remixing; it is simply retitled.[27]

Summary: This set of paraphrased covers demonstrates how Mittoo used a variety of approaches to create different types of instrumental arrangements from one song. The changes occur in the layers of each arrangement as shown in fig. 9.15, which presents a very systematic view of the arrangements and indicates ways in which Mittoo was able to meet his quota at Studio One.

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[26] The track for "Mediator" was incorrectly tagged in the liner notes for *The Keyboard King* (1977) as "A Standing Ovation"; indeed, all the songs are incorrectly labeled on that album.
[27] "Mediator" was also retitled "The Execution."

Conclusion of the Chapter

This chapter presented two types of paraphrases. The first was a declared paraphrase, which is similar to the format of the jazz paraphrase. In the declared paraphrase, the main theme from the source is presented as an initial statement; it is the strongest link to the source of the borrowed music.

The second type of paraphrase was undeclared. Undeclared paraphrases have two subdivisions based on the location of the strongest link with its source. In one type of undeclared paraphrase the lead melodic line had motifs from the source: in that case, the lead melodic line had the strongest link to its source. In the other type of undeclared paraphrase the groove (or bed track) was borrowed: the accompaniment has the strongest link to its source. In both types of undeclared paraphrases there was no initial statement of the main theme from the source in the recording.

The two types of paraphrases are also indicative of two types of tune-family lineages in Mittoo's body of work: tune families based on a shared "groove" or "riddim" as opposed to the more commonly accepted notion of tune families based on a melody. In the first example, "Evening Time," the connection to the source was through its melody; the tune family was perpetuated through the lead melodic line. On the other hand, in "Loving You," Mittoo maintains a strong link with the source by reusing the complete prerecorded groove (rhythm track); the groove was the most prominent tie between "Loving You" and its source, "You Don't Love Me." However, the reused motifs in the paraphrase also served to strengthen the link between "Loving You" and the Bo Diddley tune family.

'Groove dominant' and 'melodic dominant' are two terms that may be used to describe Mittoo's paraphrases. Mittoo's groove dominant paraphrases seem to be a

precursor to the widespread practice of reusing "riddims."[28] Groove dominant families are called "riddim" families in JPM jargon. It is usually described as a 1980s, post "Sleng Teng," phenomenon. However, a close look at Mittoo's body of work shows that this technique was used quite frequently from as early as 1967, in recordings such as "Mission Impossible."

Mittoo frequently reused the groove from songs that he had previously arranged for singers in his instrumental recordings. Examples of his instrumental paraphrases that extend the tune families through a borrowed groove include "Whoa Whoa" from *Macka Fat.* "Whoa Whoa" has a performed groove borrowed from "My Guiding Star" by Horace Andy. The lead melodic line of "Whoa Whoa" also reuses a motif from the auxiliary accompaniment of its source. A second example of a groove or riddim lineage is "Oboe" from *Jackie Mittoo Showcase at Studio One;* it reuses the pre-recorded groove from "Let Me Love You" by Carlton and His Shoes. The lead melodic line of "Oboe" also reuses a motif from the accompaniment of its source. A third example is "Sure Soul" from *Now;* it reuses the prerecorded groove and develops other motifs from the accompaniment of "Got to be Sure" by Horace Andy.[29]

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[28] The origins of contemporary dancehall music otherwise called *ragga* and its subgenres may be traced to a seminal recording of "Under Mi Sleng Teng" in 1985 (Wayne Smith – King Jammy's label). The subsequent recordings and versions of this song set the precedent and established the trend of an independence of voicing from riddim in the production of Jamaican popular music.

[29] Other covers that are similar to this include "Earthquake" from *In Cold Blood* which reuses the bass line of the ska instrumental "Shank I Sheck" by Baba Brooks. The bass lines and rhythms of the groove remain the same; however it is considerably slowed down. A comparison of these two instrumentals demonstrates the evolving process from ska to reggae.

CHAPTER 13: REMIXES

Mittoo revisited and reissued a number of his instrumental recordings after leaving

Studio One. Some reissued recordings were remixes. The *Oxford Dictionary of Music*

defines as a remix:

> A remix is a recording produced by combining sections of existing recorded
> tracks in new patterns and with new material. Remixes are found in many
> different types of popular music, but are most usually associated with club
> dance music. . . . A remix can also be a radical reworking of an original track,
> leaving little of the original recording. (Fulford-Jones)

Fulford-Jones states that remixing involves acoustic remodeling such as adding delay and

other electronic effects, which describes many of Mittoo's reissued recordings. In addition

his remixes also have tracks with at least one newly performed layer. If all the layers of a

reissued recording were newly performed, the recording would technically be a straight

cover or copy, rather than a re-"mix" as defined above. However, I would rather reserve the

term "straight covers" when he reuses music of other musicians. Therefore I have applied

the term remix loosely to include recordings that he reissued that were actually

reconstructions as well as those that were copies of his own work. I have grouped all

categories of his "remixes" into one large category in this chapter to demonstrate his

approaches to reinterpreting or reworking his own instrumental arrangements.

Richard Middleton argues that based on the extent of the reconstruction, some

remixes should be regarded as a new "work" (Middleton 2000b: 66-67). A point that needs

to be highlighted here is that the credit of these remixes goes to the person who does the

mixing; in some cases this was Mittoo, in other cases he was not the "mixer."[1] This is

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[1] Middleton demonstrates this with Bill Laswell's album titled *In A Silent Way*. This album has

pertinent to a number of Mittoo's instrumental recordings and it partly accounts for the steady flow of posthumous compilations of Mittoo's music from producers with whom he worked in the 1970s and 80s.[2] Posthumous albums of Mittoo's instrumentals with tracks that have been remixed and renamed include *Jackie Mittoo: The Keyboard Legend* (1995), *Tribute to Jackie Mittoo* (1995), *Champion in the Arena* (2003), and *Jah Rock Style* (2005), among others.

There are two questions that arise with regards to his remixes that represent two areas of discovery: "How do you listen to them?" and "What do they mean?" In this chapter I will examine the origins of "Drum Song" and discuss the approaches taken to remixing this instrumental recording. I intend to show how the reissued versions of "Drum Song" not only represent his creative efforts, but they carry a personal narrative: they map various points in his life's journey.

The Source: "Viva Tirado" (1966)
The Cover and Remixes: "Drum Song" (1967, 1968, 1975, 1977, 1978)

"Drum Song" is a staple in many compilations and anthologies of Mittoo's work. The first appearance of "Drum Song" was in 1967; it was a single credited to the Soul Vendors.[3] It was then included on Mittoo's second album, *Evening Time,* in 1968. Mittoo revisited "Drum Song" on a number of his albums and it has been included in many

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reconstructions of music by Miles Davis and Bob Marley which Laswell renames "Shhh/Peaceful" and "It's About That Time." Middleton discusses how Laswell uses digital technology to separate sounds from the master track, then reconfigures the instrumental sounds to alter the form of the recording. Middleton argues that Laswell's remix is a new work. To support his findings, Middleton presents an analysis of the structure of the piece and uses notation to show Laswell's reworking of melodic themes as well as his use of timbre.

[2] However, many of these remixes have been renamed, making their identification difficult.

[3] *Evening Time* is also attributed to Jackie Mittoo *and* the Soul Vendors. This is partly the reason that some have said that the music he produced at Studio One was a collective effort, and that Mittoo was only a figurehead. However, the credits on the current reissue of *Evening Time* identify Mittoo as the composer of "Drum Song."

posthumous anthologies of his music.

"Drum Song" may be classified as an undeclared paraphrase of "Viva Tirado" (1962) by Gerald Wilson.[4] Wilson was a jazz trumpeter, composer and bandleader, who was known for his fusion of African American, Mexican, and other Latin music.[5] "Viva Tirado" is described as one of his more popular compositions that eventually became an anthem for the Mexican community in the United States (Wang 2010; Macias 2013).[6] This 1962 Latin jazz tune was also played in clubs in Jamaica by the Mediators in the mid to late 1960s.[7] The Mediators included Roland Alphonso who guided Mittoo in his early days at Studio One.[8] Elements of "Viva Tirado" were then inscribed into the Jamaican soundscape through "Drum Song" (1967).

The Elements

There are two phrases in the lead melodic line of "Drum Song" that seem to be paraphrases of a phrase and a motif from "Viva Tirado." Their similarities create two links between the pieces.

The first link is the main theme in both pieces that accents a set of three notes. In "Viva Tirado," they are B flat − C −B flat (b, c, d in ex. 4.1) and in "Drum Song," they are B− C sharp−B (a, c, e in ex. 4.2). Although the main theme of "Viva Tirado" is in E flat minor and "Drum Song" is in B minor, the intervals between the two sets of notes are the same: in "Viva Tirado," B flat to C is a whole step (ex. 4.1); and in "Drum Song," B to C

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[4] Wilson, Gerald. 1962. "Viva Tirado." *Moment of Truth.* Pacific Jazz, LP. (It was also issued as a Pacific Jazz single, X359). This link was suggested by *WhoSampled.com* Also as a Pacific Jazz single X359

[5] Wilson was married to a Mexican-American and developed an affinity for Mexican and Latin culture; the song was inspired by a bullfighter named Jose Tirado (Macias, 2013: 37).

[6] Wang states that "Viva Tirado" not only became one of his most popular compositions, it also formed the heart of a decades-long, cross-cultural conversation between Los Angeles' African and Mexican-American communities (Wang 2010, 349).

[7] Email communication with a former member of the Mediators.

[8] Telephone interview with Noel Alphonso, son of Roland Alphonso. February 2014.

sharp (ex. 4.2) is a whole step. The accents placed on these three notes in both recordings create a haunting similarity between the two themes. Additionally, in "Drum Song" the phrase is doubled on the organ and horn.[9] This is similar to "Viva Tirado" in which its main theme (ex. 4.1) is doubled on the piano and horn.

Ex. 4.1   Wilson's main theme
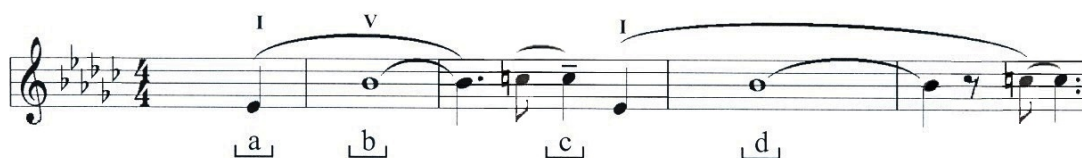
Ex. 4.2   Extract from Mittoo's "A"
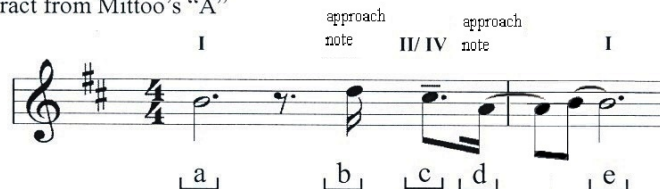
The set of three notes are distinct in the recordings due to their *agogic* and *tonic* accents. The B flat in Wilson and the B in Mittoo's recording have an *agogic* accent; they are longer (in duration) in comparison to the notes around them. The note in the center of Wilson's theme—"C" (c in ex. 4.1)—has a *tonic* accent: it is the highest note (pitch) in the phrase. In Mittoo's theme, the note in the center is C sharp; it has an *agogic* accent (c in ex. 4.2); however it is approached by a note which has a *tonic* accent. The accents placed on these notes make the phrases of the main themes in both recordings sound the same, yet they are dissimilar. Wilson's theme is more disjunct because of the large intervals on the approach to the B flat (a in ex. 4.1) and the large interval from the "C" (c in ex. 4.1) to the E flat below. On the other hand, the notes in Mittoo's theme move conjunctly.

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[9] In the original recording of "Drum Song," the horn and keyboard double on the A and B themes. These instruments only play separately during their solos—the horns first, then the keyboard.

The second link between "Drum Song" and "Viva Tirado" is a rhythmic motif that is used as the second "B" theme in "Drum Song" (ex. 4.3). Mittoo's B theme consists of triplets that descend from the dominant to the tonic. This is similar to a frequently repeated rhythmic motif that consists of groups of three short notes in "Viva Tirado." This rhythmic motif is featured in the introduction and it is most clear at 1:32–1:38 in the recording of "Viva Tirado."

Ex. 4.3   Mittoo's "B" phrase
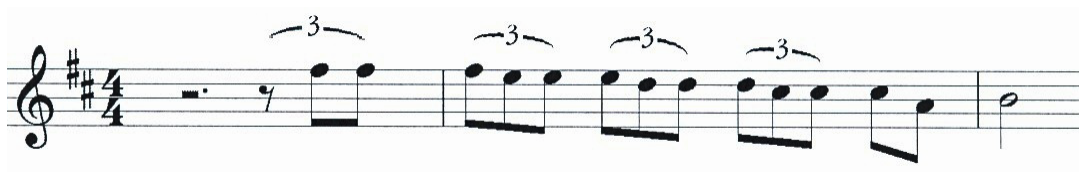
The two ideas taken from "Viva Tirado" are layered on top of a groove that consists of a four-note melodic riff played on the rhythm guitar and is doubled on the bass. Doubling the riff with the bass gives it a sense of depth: that is of being both near and far.[10]

Ex. 4.4   The melodic riff in the groove of "Drum Song"
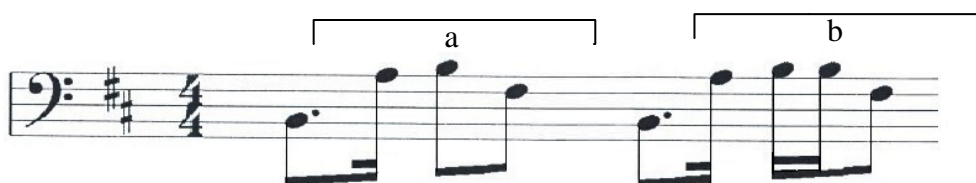
Ex. 4.4 shows two rhythmic patterns that are used in the melodic bass riff in the groove. At the beginning of the recording the second pattern ("b" in ex. 4.4) is used alone, then by the middle of the recording the pattern changes to how it is presented above ("a" then "b" in ex. 4.4). The melodic bass riff contrasts with the hand drummer who solos throughout the piece and helps to move the piece forward; the style of drumming is similar to *burru* drumming.

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[10] This is impacted by the location or placement of the microphone during the recording.

There are other instruments that appear briefly in the accompaniment: a hi-hat marks the beginning of sections, and there are bird sounds interpolated in the 4-measure break before the horn and keyboard solo.

The Structure

The introduction of "Drum Song" starts with a short drum fill/lick followed by four measures of the complete groove.[11]

Fig. 10.1 — **Structure of "Drum Song"**

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Number of measures	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	12	15	4	7 fade
Sections	Intro	:A	A	A	B	B:	-		C	D	A	A

First section (columns 2–6) · Break (column 7) · Solos (columns 8–9) · Return to first section (columns 10–11)

The first phrase (ex. 4.2) is a broad slow melody that starts and ends on the key note; this is repeated four times. The repetition of the key note in this phrase creates tension. The tension, which is created by the repetition of the key note, is like a roller coaster ride that pauses and then starts again, over a persistent loop in the groove that never releases, but is kept moving forward by the *burru* drumming.[12] The tension is resolved by the B section which consists of triplets (ex. 4.3) that descend from the dominant to the tonic; this is done twice. The descending triplets provide resolution from the tension created by the repetitions of the tonic.

Fig. 10.1 shows that after the first section, there is a "space" of four bars (see column 7) where only the groove is played. In this space there is no activity in the lead melodic line, however, sound effects of chirping birds are briefly interpolated. This

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[11] I refer specifically to the version of "Drum Song" on the *Evening Time* album.
[12] The repetitions make "Drum Song" easy to remember, and to identify, even when it is remixed and retitled.

break is followed by a 12 measure solo on the horns, then a 15-measure solo on the

keyboard using a flute-like timbre (fig. 10.1). There is an immediate return to the theme

from the first phrase, which fades after 7 measures (see column 11) to end the recording.

The Remixes and Reconstructions of "Drum Song"

I will discuss the changes in each remix of "Drum Song" in context with Mittoo's

career and demonstrate how they seem to represent his efforts to launch his career,

assimilate into Canadian culture and, later on, to revitalize his career once more.

<u>Remix to Gain Autonomy</u>

Mittoo reused his existing recordings to compile his albums, which helped to

establish him as a solo recording artist, not just a session musician. This is evident in the

1967 and subsequent recordings of "Drum Song." The role that he played in its initial

recording is not as clear cut as many of his other works. "Drum Song" was first published

as a single in 1967 and credited to the Soul Vendors. The vinyl label shows that Mittoo's

name was not marked on the label. In subsequent reissues of *Evening Time,* Mittoo's name

was affixed to the recording. 1967 and 1968 recordings seem similar; however there are

subtle differences in the lead melodic line and in the accompaniment that intimate that the

1968 recording is a newly performed version of the 1967 recording.

In the lead melodic line most elements are the same, however the melodies of

the horn and organ solo of the 1967 and 1968 recordings are clearly different. In the

accompaniment there is an interpolation of birds (sound effects) during the break in the

1967 version, but it is not present in the 1968 remix. Other indicators that the 1968

recording is a performed copy may be found in the groove. In the groove of the 1967

recording, a drum set is a part of the instrumental force; it starts in the "A" section. The drum kit is absent from the 1968 version; however, a hi-hat pattern that marks the end of sections is retained.[13] There is also a guitar that plays a double strum in the second measure of the 1967 version; however, this occurs in the fourth measure of the 1968 version. The subtle nature of these differences may be indicative of an attempt to recreate the first recording. The need to create a copy of the recording may indicate that the master copy could not be repressed or that Mittoo wanted to assert more control over the recording.

The 1968 recording of "Drum Song" is included on the album *Evening Time*. This album gathers together many of Mittoo's previous singles to quickly follow up with a second album in the wake of his 1967 hit "Ram Jam," from his first album titled *Jackie Mittoo: In London*. A second album helped to establish Mittoo as a recording artist. This may have been advantageous for his Canadian immigration application as proof of his profession as a musician and a recording artist.

Remix as Assimilation

Seven years later, in 1975, "Drum Song" was included on Mittoo's third Canadian album titled *Let's Put It All Together*. The album demonstrates Mittoo's effort to assimilate "mainstream" Canadian music in his work. This orchestrated version of "Drum Song" was produced for the Canadian Talent Library (CTL).

The CTL reworking of "Drum Song" is lighter and less intense than previous versions; it is also newly performed. The horns are replaced by strings on the lead melodic line and there is no solo. The accompaniment is more active in this version: the bird sounds

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[13] The tempo of the 1968 is also slightly slower.

are replaced by strings and flutes that provide a countermelody throughout. The drum set returns to the groove of this version, however the congas are subdued. The bass riff is retained in the groove and two additional riffs are added using high pitched timbres on the keyboard. This arrangement of "Drum Song" has the most extreme reconstruction and it is also the shortest in duration (2:22 mins) due to the removal of the solos.

The fusion that is attained in the CTL reworking of "Drum Song" is similar to McCuaig's description of another of Mittoo's Canadian instrumentals, "Someday Soon":

> The overdubs are from a European Classical pop background, recorded by members of the Toronto Symphony Orchestra . . . adding orchestral arrangements to reggae songs was done with the goal of making reggae more palatable for a white audience. The assumption about white audiences preferring 'sweet' reggae is significant and as a result of this assumption, all of Mittoo's Canadian recordings are augmented with orchestral arrangements, to appeal to a 'crossover' audience . . . all of Mittoo's Canadian recordings are a fusion of reggae and classical pop. They are an important first step in getting reggae heard by non-Jamaican Canadians (McCuaig 2012: 147–8)

McCuaig states that the fusion of reggae and classic pop was achieved through orchestral arrangements. However, there is another aspect of the fusion that this CTL version of "Drum Song" demonstrates: fusion is not only achieved by the strings and woodwinds that are "overdubbed," but by those elements that are omitted. The "native" sounds that originally defined this instrumental are subdued or stripped from the original. In the case of "Drum Song," the *burru* drumming and Mittoo's solo were omitted. The stripping of defining characteristics of the piece parallels the personal sacrifice that many immigrant musicians endured in an effort to assimilate into a foreign culture.

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<u>Remix as Comeback</u>

The next appearance of "Drum Song" was a result of Mittoo's collaboration with Bunny "Striker" Lee (Lee in Veal 2007: 121). Lee reports that Mittoo was disgruntled with his career in the mid 1970s; he thought that people had forgotten him (Lee qtd. in Veal 2007:121) Based on Lee's account, Mittoo's decision to "do over" or remix his music was an attempt to re-enter the JPM scene.[14] The first of these remixed albums was *The Keyboard King* in 1976. The liner notes for *In Cold Blood* confirm that *The Keyboard King* was indeed produced and released in quick succession after *Hot Blood*:

> You may well remember Jackie Mittoo from the early sixties for his rhythmistic [*sic*] organ playing style. He left the scene for a short while but returned during late 1976 with *The Keyboard King*. After his last superb album *Hot Blood* from the king of the keyboard. We have yet another *In Cold Blood* for your collection (Liner notes for *In Cold Blood* 1978)

The remixes of "Drum Song" after this point seem to reflect Mittoo's attempt to reconnect with Jamaican audiences.

The first remix of "Drum Song" was in *Show Case Volume 3* (1977); it had newly performed layers. Here Mittoo reuses many of the elements from the 1967 version of "Drum Song": the bird sounds were returned to various places in the accompaniment, also the Rasta/*burru* drumming, and the groove features a prominent drum set. The bass line is slightly different: there is an alternation of one note with two sixteenth notes in its riff, and there is a new phrase at the end; these changes confirm that this is a newly performed "remix." In this version Mittoo's organ dominates the lead melodic line; he does not share it with any other instrument and he plays a new solo that lasts for 26 measures.

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[14] Lee mentions *The Keyboard King*, but his name is not listed as producer on this album. The liner notes only mention Mittoo as the producer.

This recording became the source for subsequent remixes of "Drum Song" produced by Bunny Lee. It was also included in the following albums: *Hot Blood* in 1977, *The Original* in 1978, and *Showcase* in 1978. Lee's remixes include adjusting the speed, changing the placement of the bird calls, highlighting the cymbal crashes and other instruments throughout, removing the congas, subduing the bass line, and highlighting the strum of the rhythm guitar.

Remixes in Disguise

It is not unusual that a remixed track is included on the same album as its source; however it is usually listed with the original title and the appendage "remix," rather than with a new title.[15] However, there are a number of retitled remixes among many of Mittoo's albums released in the mid-1970s and 1980s of his instrumental recordings that were originally produced in the 1960s.[16]

Mittoo may have renamed his instrumental recordings in an attempt to reclaim and assert ownership over works issued at Studio One and with other producers. Indeed, the recovery of royalties is a common complaint among Jamaican musicians. Mittoo is no stranger to this problem; in the UK paper, *Caribbean Times*, Mittoo complains about not getting royalties and credit on a number of works including the "Full Up" rhythm. Having learned the hard way about the consequences of not getting credit on music he worked on, Mittoo puts in print a complaint about not receiving full credit for work done on an

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[15] Renaming songs may seem irregular now, but it was similar to a practice in the early days of sound systems. Records would be played in the dancehall under an assumed name to retain exclusivity by the sound system that played it. Stolzoff explains how this worked in his monograph on dancehall culture:
> To protect their specials, soundmen would scratch off the record labels to remove the name of the artist and title of the song. Then they would rename them with catch [*sic*] titles. Some of these records, such as Willis Jackson's "Later for Gator," which Clement Dodd called "Coxsone's Hop," remained unidentified for more than five years. (Stolzoff 2000: 51)

[16] This practice is even more prevalent in his posthumous releases. For example, "Hairy Mary" from *Now* was renamed "Bloody Mary" in 2004.

album titled *Crossover* (1985) by Winston Reedy:

> No, I was only credited on "Romantic Girls" and I did not receive any for "Ambition." I have also produced his [Winston Reedy] current project, a rendition of Elvis Costello's "Everyday I Write the Book." (Richards 1985)

This article also mentions Mittoo's efforts to "revitalize his old classics in order to copyright his original works, as this was not done when they were first released" (Richards 1985).[17] The article supports the "revitalizing" efforts by promoting an upcoming release of two albums *Hot Milk* and *Legend*.[18] Mittoo explains that the purpose of these albums is to regain the rights to his work:

> The basic idea behind this project is that some of these singers and DJs have made hits from my old rhythms . . . for example Sassafrass' big hit in Jamaica "Pucko Jump" was really "One Step Beyond" . . . it [the *Legend* album] features Dennis Brown on one track as guest vocalist another feature of it is that I play the Yamaha DX7 keyboard. I also experiment with electronics on a couple of tracks. The drums were played by Danny Marshall who also programmed some of the drum tracks on the machine. (Mittoo in Richards 1985)

In the quote above Mittoo mentions "One Step Beyond" from *Evening Time* (1968). Mittoo describes aspects of the remix and reveals his motive for remixing: to reap some benefit from successful songs that were created from his music; possibly in lieu of royalties that were not paid for the use of his music. One way to regain some of the income lost and or to "reap" the full creative and financial potential of a recording is to remix those works under a new name.

The remixes of "Drum Song" usually appear with the original title. An exception is the 1977 remix which was retitled "Brain Mark" on his album *Hot Blood*. This remix was produced by Bunny Lee. There are several digital and performed changes to this rendition that make "Brain Mark" distinct from the other remixes. The organ is the only

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[17] Richards, Winston. c.1985. "Hail Jackie Mittoo: the Keyboard King" in *Caribbean Times*.
[18] To my knowledge, these albums were never released.

instrument featured playing on the lead melodic line; the horns are omitted. In the accompaniment there is a piano that is especially active during the solo section and there is no *burru* drumming. The groove is dominated by the drum set and the bass riff is subdued.

"Brain Mark" has its own introduction that makes ample use of the echo chamber. The structure is similar to the 1977 remix; however the solo, which only lasts for 12 measures, is not the same. The restatement of the main theme follows the solo— this is characteristic in all the versions of "Drum Song" that have a solo. Then the unexpected happens: there is a return to another solo. The return makes this remix unique; however, the solo is quickly faded after three measures to end the recording. The new title, "Brain Mark," reflects the process and extent to which "Drum Song" was reworked. The changes are similar to the 1975 CTL version: this includes the stripping of many of the "native" elements that define "Drum Song" such as the *burru* drumming and the inclusion of other digital elements that show Lee's workmanship as a producer. "Brain Mark" was later retitled "Big Bad Organ" on another posthumous album titled *Drum Song* (2003).[19]

"Brain Mark" is one of many reissued pieces of music in Mittoo's body of work that has been retitled. Indeed there are a number of other instrumental recordings that have been reissued and renamed more than once throughout his career.[20] The challenge is that renaming songs without any obvious system of recording the changes prohibits accurately dating his work and identifying the source of some of his compositions.

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[19] "Drum Song" is given a new introduction and retitled "Big Bad Organ." A drum set replaces the conga drums and there is frequent use of echo and reverb.
[20] These reissued works are just a few that I have found. Appendix F lists other retitled remixed recordings.

Remix versus Variations

Within Mittoo's body of work there are two groups of instrumental recordings that sound alike, and seem to bear some relationship with each other. These groups may be either variations or remixes. When more than one cover is related to one source, the nature of the relationship between subsequent covers may be 'related' remixes (fig. 10.2) or a set of unrelated/independent remixes that I prefer to call a set of variations (fig. 10.3).
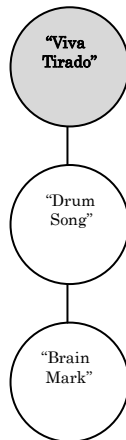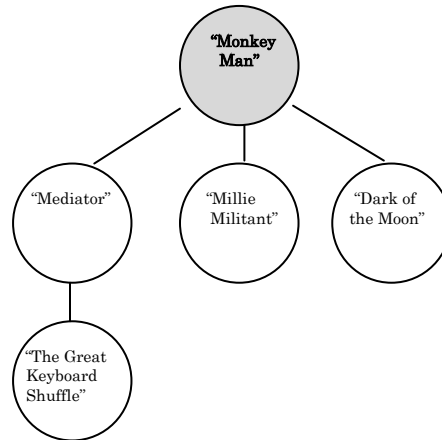
Fig. 10.2   Remixes   Fig. 10.3   Variations

In the case of the remix, there is a vertical relationship between the original recordings, the initial cover, and successive remixes that reuse the previous remix (10. 8.2). However variations differ, each remix has a direct relationship with the original recording (fig. 10.3) rather than being derived from a previous remix. Fig. 10.3 shows that "Mediator," "Millie Millitant," and "Dark of the Moon" are 'unrelated' or 'independent' remixes of "Monkey Man." However, the innovation in "The Great Keyboard Shuffle" (fig. 10.3) is its new name; it is a reissue of "Mediator."

Conclusion of the Chapter

Remixes represent a moderate percentage of Mittoo's total number of instrumentals. There are at least two or three remixes included on many of his albums. The categories of instrumental recordings most frequently remixed are the paraphrases and covers with multiple sources. The group least likely to be remixed is the straight covers of foreign songs with the same name as its tune family.

"Drum Song" is one of Mittoo's more popular instrumentals. Its appeal resides in a haunting melody and in the simplicity of an arrangement that makes it easy to perform. There are six features in this piece that are typical of Mittoo's arrangements:

1. A 1½ beat drum fill/lick to start
2. The use of riffs
3. Doubling of parts
4. The use of oppositions:
   - Passages with longer notes followed by passages with shorter notes. This creates a rhythmic contrast in the groove and on the lyrical level.
   - Scalar movement of the B section contrasts with the small range of the A section on the lyrical level.
   - Two melodic themes; one in the groove and one on the lyrical level.
5. A break or "space" in the lead melodic line that separates the first section of the song from the solo
6. A solo

Identifying the historic placement of his remixes within his repertoire was a necessary part of understanding and discussing his body of work. For example, "Drum Song" also underwent a number of transformations throughout Mittoo's career. Each remix and reworking seemed to help to advance his career. Among the remixes of "Drum Song" there are a variety of styles; one might say "something for everyone." The *burru* drumming in the original versions has a very native, Rastafarian aesthetic. The remixes produced by Bunny Lee highlight the drum set and other acoustic elements which have more of a

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hardcore reggae and dub aesthetic. The CTL remixes enabled a crossover, which would appeal to audiences that otherwise would not identify with JPM. Taken together, all these remixes reflect Mittoo's penchant for reaching out, making connections, and his willingness to change in order to progress his career.

CHAPTER 14: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION OF PART TWO

The research questions for Part Two of this dissertation were:

(1) Which approaches to composing and arranging did Mittoo employ in
response to a very product-oriented industry?

(2) How did he reuse existing music in his instrumentals?

An initial survey of Mittoo's instrumental recordings revealed that the reuse of existing music was the most notable feature of his body of work. The reuse of existing music provided an almost unlimited stock of resources for his instrumental arrangements. Additionally, there is no guide to differentiate Mittoo's original compositions from those created from borrowed music. It was therefore necessary to limit this research to his instrumental recordings that were created from pre-existing music. It would be incorrect to code a work as original only to later discover that it was indeed a cover or otherwise based on an existing work.

A comparison of Mittoo's instrumental recordings with their sources revealed the presence of four types of covers in his body of work: straight covers, covers with multiple sources, paraphrases, and remixes. The objective of this part of the study was to demonstrate his approach to creating each of these four types of covers. Detailed listening and transcriptions clarified such approaches, which in turn demonstrated how he was able to cope with a product-oriented industry.

Straight Covers: My analysis showed that Mittoo's straight covers of instrumentals and songs may seem like exact duplicates of their sources, but this is not the case. He usually made slight modifications in his arrangement of straight covers, within the layers of the

composition and within its structure. There are usually three layers in Mittoo's compositions: the lead melodic line, the groove, and additional accompaniment parts.

Modifications to the lead melodic line included: (1) simplifying the complex and irregular melodic and rhythmic phrases and figures that were reused from the source of the cover. The rhythm and melody of songs may be irregular due to the lyrics and vocal interpolations of singers. (2) In some instances, Mittoo highlighted and expanded small details from the source such as accents and spaces. (3) At times he moved motifs from the accompaniment to the lead melodic line. (4) He also used oppositions when alternating his ideas with phrases from the borrowed tune.

The groove of Mittoo's straight covers would be "translated" to ska, rocksteady, or reggae; in other words, performed within a different stylistic context than the source. However, in his transnational work, he created crossovers with soft-shell elements from genres of the host culture. These included elements of classic pop and funk for many of his recordings produced for the Canadian and UK markets. The additional accompaniment in his covers at times included *burru* drumming and environmental sounds that complemented or matched the theme of the instrumental; however his Canadian productions usually had more intricate countermelodies arranged by other musicians.

Mittoo applied a number of strategies to the structure of his straight covers. His introductions, which are typically four bars in length, may contain a modified melodic phrase from another source.[1] Some recordings also started with a short drum fill/lick. In the main section, or verse, of the instrumentals, Mittoo would alternate motifs and phrases from the source with his original ideas. Quite often there is a space in the lead melodic line; in these

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[1] This is a common practice.

"spaces" only the groove is active. He uses these spaces to create distinct sections. At times he would reuse the complete recorded accompaniment—the bed track—of an existing recording. If the reused bed track had an instrumental break, he would improvise above the instrumental break.[2]

The titles of Mittoo's straight covers were also consistent. With few exceptions, the straight covers that reused "foreign" music usually retained the title of the source. On the other hand, most of his straight covers of local songs were retitled.[3]

Covers with Multiple Sources**:** Mittoo would also create instrumental arrangements by combining reused music from two or more existing works. When multiple sources are used, the sources may have something in common. The common factor is likely to be extra-musical, such as the theme of the songs, the titles of the sources, the function of the songs within the culture, or an experience associated with the songs. The titles of Mittoo's covers with multiple sources are likely to be new and signify the common element of the sources.

These covers are similar to quodlibets that reuse multiple sources either simultaneously, sequentially, or a combination of both. All three types were found among Mittoo's body of work. In covers with simultaneously placed sources, he would pair a pre-recorded groove or bed track with a performed straight cover or paraphrase as the lead melodic line. In his recordings with sequentially placed sources, such as "Rocksteady Wedding," shorter duplicate extracts from two borrowed tunes framed the straight cover of a complete song on the lead melodic line. The shorter samples functioned as an introduction and a coda.

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[2]An instrumental break differs from a "space"; the former usually has a solo on another instrument.

[3] There are a few exceptions, such as "Norwegian Wood," which was retitled "Darker Shade of Black" and "Carry that Weight" which was retitled "Wishbone."

Paraphrases: My research revealed two types of paraphrases in Mittoo's body of work: declared and undeclared. "Evening Time" is an archetype of the declared paraphrase, which is similar to the typical jazz paraphrase. The arrangement started with a statement of the main theme from the source in the lead melodic line; this was followed by an extended solo that ended with a restatement of the main theme. In the case of "Evening Time," Mittoo did not reuse the complete structure of the borrowed tune and the groove was new. This declared paraphrase retained the title of the reused tune.

An undeclared paraphrase does not start with, and may not even reuse, the main theme from the lead melodic line of its source. In many undeclared paraphrases Mittoo reused the complete groove, or bed track, of an existing recording, which resulted in the retention of the structure of the source. The reuse of a pre-recorded groove was not without its problems; it provided a ready-made bed track, but it also imposed limitations on the lead melodic line and prohibited extensive soloing. Mittoo's undeclared paraphrases are usually of songs that he had previously arranged for singers. His undeclared paraphrases were given new titles and have been a challenge to identify.

I have also identified at least one set, or 'family', of paraphrased instrumental recordings among Mittoo's body of work: "Dark of the Moon," "Millie Militant," "Mediator," and "The Great Organ Shuffle." They were not compiled in an album, but were released at various points in his career; I call them the 'Monkey Man Variations.' I found the "Monkey Man" variations very interesting as they demonstrate that Mittoo was not satisfied with just one interpretation of a borrowed tune. He revisited the source over time to explore alternative interpretations and configurations. Additionally, the 'Monkey Man Variations' demonstrates

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that modifying the layers of an existing recording in different ways can be a systematic method of creating covers as indicated in the charts with "Theoretically Possible Configurations." This set of recordings also indicates that there are two types of relationships that a group of his instrumental recordings may have with each other— variations and successive remixes.

Remixes and Reconstructions: Whereas a set of variations shows different ways of interpreting a borrowed tune, a remix is Mittoo's revision of his own work. A distinct feature of his remixes is that they seem to mark significant periods in his career. Remixed recordings and reconstructions of previous recordings were used to assimilate, gain acceptance, and cross over into "mainstream" Canadian and other transnational music scenes. He also seemed to use remixes and reconstructions of his previous recordings in an attempt to get back into the JPM scene and to assert ownership over his intellectual property, such as the arrangements that he had previously created for a number of producers. Overall, Mittoo's remixes helped to advance and re-energize his career.

Further Research

Mittoo's body of work represents only one person's contribution to Jamaica's popular music. It is my hope that as the scholarship on JPM grows, it will be accompanied by a corresponding increase in the study of lesser-known musicians, to better reflect the collaborative processes that made this music significant. Their stories are also important and would provide greater insight into the evolution of Jamaican popular music and the culture of Jamaican musicians in Jamaica and the diaspora.

There is opportunity for scholarship on Mittoo's discography. As I outlined in previous chapters, his body of work is large and complex because he worked in a number of countries and with a number of producers and recording companies without a system of documenting his work. There is urgent need for a discography that goes beyond cataloguing, that only lists dates and matrix numbers, towards annotated entries that distinguish each recording. This will grant access to his music and pave the way for further research.

Mittoo lays claim to all of the bass lines used in Studio One recordings. This is also an interesting area of research. Do these bass lines have anything in common? Are there changes made to his bass lines over time? This is another area of research that has the potential to expand knowledge on JPM.

I would also be interested in research on the practical application of his music in the classroom. Mittoo's instrumental recordings accommodate a variety of skill sets and a number of players, which make his instrumental recordings suitable for the classroom. The skill sets required to play his music range from advanced to basic. Instrumentals that are easier to play include "Drum Song," which I have introduced to my own group piano classes as an ensemble exercise. The sizes of ensembles required to play his work are also suited for the classroom. It accommodates small groups of two to six persons as well as larger ensembles of up to 40, without vocalists.

Finally, I hope this study will broaden the discourse on Jackie Mittoo's body of work by showing other ways of listening to, classifying, and becoming engaged with his music.

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Identity Theories

William James (1890)	**The Material** Includes physical being, material possessions, immediate family members	**The Social** The individual has multiple identities due to involvement in different communities	**The Spiritual** This is the inner or subjective being, psychic faculties or dispositions
Mellone and Drummond (1907)	**Personal Identity** The current identity is an aggregate of past identities	**Social Self** The individual has multiple identities due to expectations/requirements of different communities	**The Ideal Self** "The self we desire to be"
Mead and Morris (1934)	**The Generalized Other** The process of being molded by culture/opinions	**The Elementary Self** The individual has multiple identities due to expectations/requirements of different communities. Each identity is only a part of the picture.	**The Complete Self** This is an aggregate of elementary selves which reflects the complete social process of being molded by various influences.
Burke and Stets (2009)	**The Person** The unique qualities of the individual on display	**The Role** The expectations of a social position	**Group Identities** The individual has multiple identities due to involvement in different communities

  The identity theories of William James (1890), Sydney H. Mellone and Margaret Drummond (1907), George H. Mead and Charles Morris (1934), and Burke and Stets (2009) suggest that the individual has more than one self and identity. James refers to the material, the social, and the spiritual self (James 1890: 598, 670); Mellone and Drummond use the terms personal identity, the social self, and the ideal self (Mellone and Drummond 1907: 441, 446, 447). Mead and Morris make reference to an elementary self, a complete self, and the generalized other (Mead and Morris 1934: loc. 2543). Peter Burke and Jan Stets' recent treatise on identity in *Identity Theory* (2009) proposes that the self is comprised of the person, role, and group (social) identities.[1]

  Based on these theories, the scope and focus of a biography depends on the quality of data and sources on the subject; that is, what and who provides the information for the biography. For example, family members and the subject of the biography may provide information on the material and the spiritual aspect of the self, which is in tandem with James' theory as well as Burke and Stets' theory of identity. Family members and friends from childhood and from different periods of the subject's life may inform on what Mellone and Drummond calls the personal identity. Details of what Mellone and Drummond calls the 'ideal self" are likely to come from the subject's self commentary, whether from interviews, diaries, memoirs and autobiographies, or from other sources. Burke and Stet's role and group identity may be garnered from the associates of a subject, who are able to inform on the condition or identity of the individual in various social groups; this is information that the family members may not have. Access to relevant data is necessary for each aspect of the individual as described in these identity theories. Therefore the quality of data garnered in research will influence the focus and conceptual framework of the biography.

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[1] Burke and Stets' description of "the role" and "group identities" are similar to social identity theories that examine ways in which the individual identifies with social groups. Other social identity theories of note are Tajfel and Turner (1986).

Mittoo's Work Schedule
1974 - 1980

Toronto	
Stage work 1974	Willi Williams joined Mittoo's band; he recalled his time with Mittoo: "I went to Canada about 1974 and met up with Jackie Mittoo and forge a friendship and we start working together. I was the singer for his band, along with Lord Tanamo on hotel gigs." (Williams's qtd. in Peter I).[2]
Studio work 1974 -	Mittoo arranged two songs on Vic Franklyn's album titled *After All is Said and Done*. He is listed as producer and arranger for "My Foolish Heart" and "Moonlight Serenade" on the album. Rick Wilkins arranged the strings for the recordings and he recalled that there were five or six musicians in Jackie's group for Vic Franklyn's recordings (Interview with Wilkins 2014).[3] Mittoo started a label called Stinejac. Willi Williams mentioned that there were around 6 persons who owned the Stinejac label (Williams qtd. in Peter I).
Stage work 1975	Mittoo and Lynn Taitt were still resident musicians at the West Indian Federation Club (WIF) in Toronto in 1975. Taitt revealed that they formed a band named 'Obeah' with Tony Bennett and Everett Sam as vocalist (Keyo, Tallawah.com).
USA	
Stage work 1975	Mittoo performed in Woodstock, New York with Leonard "The Ethiopian" Dillon and members of The Skatalites (Keyo).[4]
Toronto	
Studio work 1975	He released *Let's Put It All Together* on the Canadian Talent Library label.
Stage work	Mittoo staged his first major Canadian concert at Hamilton Place.[5] Vic Franklyn also performed at this concert.[6]

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[2] Peter I . "No Supper Tonight." *Reggae vibes.com*

[3] Wilkins also wrote for one of Mittoo's concerts (Interview with Rick Wilkins 2014).

[4] Keyo, Brian. "A Tribute To Nearlin 'Lynn' Taitt." http://tallawah.com/articles-reviews/lynn-taitt/

[5] This is Mittoo's first major Canadian concert. An article promoting the event notes that Mittoo had released two albums with the Canadian Talent Library and that Mittoo receives moderate airplay on MOR stations. Slack asserts that Mittoo's name is synonymous with reggae in Canada.
Slack, Lyle. c.1976. "Reggae Name May Change - but Not Style." In *The Hamilton Spectator*

[6] Source: programme from the concert.

USA *Studio work* 1976	He recorded with former Skatalites on an album titled *The Legendary Skatalites* (1976).

Toronto
Stage work   1976 -77
	Advertisements for Mittoo's gigs are in the *Globe and Mail* under 'Lounges – middle of the road.' These ads indicate some of the places where Mittoo performed in 1976 and 1977:
	
	       "Jackie Mittoo Quartet: Dr. Livingston's Bristol Place
	       Hotel 950 Dixon Rd.. His performance was described as
	       either "Reggae sounds from a master in African theme
	       surroundings"[7] or "Known to his fans as the king of
	       reggae."[8]
	
	He also performed at the Sutton Place Hotel in Downtown Toronto; their ads stated: "Jackie Mittoo Quartet: Stop 33, Sutton Place Hotel, 955 Bay St. Known as the king of reggae."[9] He was also featured in the ads of WTFM 103.5, for a program called the GTE Hour.[10]

Jamaica *Studio work* 1976/7	*Jackie Mittoo: The Keyboard King* was released in 1976; Mittoo is credited as its producer on the album. Mittoo released *Hot Blood* (1977) produced by Bunny "Striker" Lee.
Studio work 1977	Mittoo returned to Kingston with Carl Harvey to work on Willi Williams' songs (Foster 2006; Katz 2012, 310).[11]
Toronto *Studio work* 1977	He worked with the band, 'Earth, Roots and Water' on their album titled *Innocent Youths* (Heilig 2008, 24).
Jamaica *Studio work* 1978	He recorded two albums. One is produced by Bunny Lee: *In Cold Blood* (1978) and *The Jackie Mittoo: Showcase* (1978)

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[7] *Globe and Mail*, Aug. 18, 1976, p.14

[8] *Globe and Mail*, Oct. 27, 1976, p.16

[9] *Globe and Mail*, Jan 8, 1977, p.37

[10] *New York Times*, Oct. 1, 1976, p. 96.

[11] Chuck Fost*er* interviews Carl Harvey, who discussed Mittoo's involvement in the creation of Harvey's album *Ecstasy of Mankind* in 1977:

    [Harvey was] brought to Jamaica in 1977 by Jackie Mittoo to work on some Willi Williams' tracks,
    Harvey wound up recording lead guitar over an album's worth of existing backing tracks for Bunny
    Lee the night before he returned to Canada…he didn't know it was released as an album in the U.K.
    until the early '80s. (Foster 2006)

	with Neville Lee. Count Shelly of Third World Records also released "Ranking Jack" and "Skanking Jack" on a 12" 'disco mix' (Reel 2003, 1).
Toronto *Studio work* 1979	Mittoo continued to work on Willi Williams' album titled *Messenger Man* at Summer Records in Malton, Ontario (Van Pelt 2003). A music video to support "Rocking Universally" (Summer Records) was recorded; it showed Mittoo working in the studio with Williams.
UK *Studio work* 1979	Mittoo worked with Sugar Minott at Rock Studio in London. Mittoo wrote rhythms for Sugar Minott and Bunny Lee there (Minott qtd. in Hurford 1979). He arranged "Do You Love Me" for Jackie Edwards on the Third World Label.
USA *Stage work* 1980	Mittoo is listed as one of many contributors to the musical play titled *Reggae* by Kendrew Lascelles and Melvin Van Peebles.
Advertising 1980	Mittoo is included in *Billboard's* list of US artists. Dr. Ron Standler of Doc Ron Productions is named as his personal manager (*Billboard* 1980). In the following year he signed a recording contract with Soaring Records (*Billboard* 1981).
Stage work 1980	Junior Dan, a singer, reported that he, Jackie Mittoo, Noel Alphonso and Randy Butler formed a band called The Jatalites. They performed in jazz clubs in Manhattan (Taylor 2010).
Jamaica *Studio work* 1980	Mittoo released a new album called *Showcase*. He also recorded with Ernest Ranglin at Studio One.
Toronto *Awards* 1980	Mittoo received an award for best keyboardist at the Canadian Black Music Awards and was inducted into the Canadian Black Music Hall of Fame in December (Neister 1980).

Mittoo's Work Schedule
1981 - 1985

UK *Studio work* 1981	In May, *NME* reported that Mittoo returned to England with new music to record (Gill 1981).
Stage work	He performed with Rico Rodriguez, Tan Tan, Bob Drumbago, and Hortense Ellis among others at the Paddington Hall in Porchester. The concert was to commemorate Bob Marley Day on May 30 (Reel 1981a).
Studio work 1981 - - - 	In July he produced tracks for the Roots Radics band (Reel 1981b). The record was a discomix.[12] Mittoo released three instrumentals on a three-track record: "These Eyes," "Wall Street," and "Killer Thriller" on Sugar Minott's Black Roots and the Rough Trade label. He recorded the songs at Easy Street Studio in July (*New Musical Express* 1981). In September, Reel reported that Mittoo was working in the studio with the band Chosen Few. In the article Mittoo stated that he preferred Easy Street Studio above other reggae studios in London (Reel 1981c). Mittoo was still in London in December; he produced songs for Jay Tee (Reel 1981d).
UK *Studio work* 1982	He worked with Ruddy Burnett to produce a 12" featuring Janet Kay in January. The song was "You Bring the Sun Out" released on the Black Roots label (Reel 1982a). He also produced more songs for Janet Kay in July and August (Bradshaw 1982).[13]
USA *Stage work* 1982	Mittoo was mentioned among the line up to perform at the Bakersfield Reggae Festival on September 4 in Los Angeles (*Los Angeles Sentinel* 1982).

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[12] A discomix refers to a single on a 12" record. The song is extended with either a dub version following or a deejay version of the same song. In Jamaica the first discomixes also called discos were released in 1976. A compilation of discomixes would be released on a 'showcase' album. ("Discomix." Reggaepedia. http://reggaelicious.pbworks.com/w/page/8799722/discomix)

[13] See also "Reggae Runnings." 1982. *New Musical Express* (Archive: 1952-2000). Aug 14: 34. www.proquest.com (accessed November 11, 2013).

UK *Studio work* 1982	Mittoo returned to London to produce for Sugar Minott in September.[14] Minott stated that Mittoo was "deeply respected as an elder statesman among young reggae hopefuls" (Larkin 1998, 201).
-	While still in London Mittoo worked with Musical Youth to record "Pass the Dutchie;" this became a huge hit (Hawke 2005; Keyo 1995).
Stage work 1983	Mittoo produced "Dim the Light" and "Shower of Rain" for Winston Reedy in February.[15] Simpson asserted that Jackie worked on all of the arrangements for Winston Reedy's *Dim The Light* album. "They did a whole album and *Dim the Light* was in the UK charts." (Simpson 2014)
-	Later in that year Mittoo toured with UB40 to promote *Labour of Love* (Caudieron 1992).
Jamaica *Stage work* 1983	In July, Mittoo performed with the Skatalites for their 20 year reunion at the Blue Monk Kingston Jazz Gallery; the show was recorded and released (McGrath, 1983).[16]
-	He also performed at Reggae Sunsplash '83 (Walker 2005).
UK *Studio work* 1984	Mittoo produced a number of songs in February including "Love Me" and "If You Want My Love" for Fred Waite (Aswad 1984a, 1984b).[17]

[14] Reel, Penny. 1982. "Reggae Runnings: Slatemix." *New Musical Express* (Archive: 1952-2000). Sep 04:36 www.proquest.com (accessed November 11, 2013).

"Station News: Underground." 1982. *New Musical Express* (Archive: 1952-2000). Sep 25: 57 www.proquest.com (accessed November 11, 2013).

[15] Kelly, Danny. 1983. "Moi Winston oh." *New Musical Express* (Archive: 1952-2000). Oct 15,

Reel, Penny. 1983. "Reedy Steady Go." *New Musical Express* (Archive: 1952-2000). Aug 20, www.proquest.com (accessed November 11, 2013).

——"Bristol stomp." *New Musical Express* (Archive: 1952-2000) (Feb 12, 1983): www.proquest.com (accessed November 11, 2013).

[16] See also the liner notes for *Skatalites: Stretching Out* Vol.1 (1986).

[17] Fred Waite is the father of two members of Musical Youth.

USA *Stage work* 1984	In March, he performed with the Skatalites at a night club named 'Love People' in Brooklyn, New York to raise funds for the Alpha Boys School (Wilson 1997).
-	He performed at Wolfgang's Steakhouse with The Soul Defenders on April 18 (Wendt 1984).
UK *Stage work* 1984	Mittoo returned to London to perform with the Skatalites at The Crystal Palace in June (Walker 2005, 145; Larkin 1998, 273-4; Thompson 1986).[18]
Studio work 1984	He was seen working at Easy Street Studio in September (*New Musical Express* 1984b).
-	He produced tracks for Winston Reedy in November (*New Musical Express* 1984c).
-	He ended the year at DEP International Records as house producer for UB40 in November (Kelly 1984).
Ghana *Stage work* 1985 *Studio work* -	Mittoo toured Ghana with Musical Youth. (Keyo 1995) During the tour with Musical Youth he recorded at Black Note Recording Studio in Accra, Ghana with Musical Youth and several African musicians (Keyo 1995).[19]
UK *Studio work* 1985	He worked at UB40's Abattoir studio with Winston Reedy in March (*Melody Maker* 1985).
-	Mittoo produced an album featuring Winston Reedy titled *Crossover* in April at Hillside Studio and Easy Street Studio in London (*New Musical Express* 1985a).
-	He also produced a reggae discomix for Debbie Ryvers in May (*New Musical Express* 1985b).
Stage work 1985	*NME* reports that Mittoo played at the Sydney Arms pub in Islington in June (*New Musical Express* 1985c).
Studio work 1985	He worked in the studio on more tracks for Winston Reedy in September (*New Musical Express* 1985d).

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[18] Mittoo may be seen performing at the 1984 Reggae Sunsplash in London on YouTube
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=l7NsfSWJScU – Reggae Sunsplash at Crystal Palace 1984
[19] The album was finished in Birmingham and released posthumously as *Jackie Mittoo in Africa* (1997) on the Quartz label (Marley R-Kives 2013).

Toronto *Studio work*　1985	In October, Mittoo is back in Toronto where he starts his own label called JAKKI with distribution by Jet Star in the UK. The first release on that label is *Version Studio,* an album that has nine different versions of "Hot Milk" (*New Musical Express* 1985e).

Mittoo's Work Schedule
1986 – 1990

UK *Studio work*　1986 　　　　　　-	Mittoo is still in England at the start of 1986. He produced tracks for Jesse Green in April (Reel and Long 1986). He worked on "Rebel Without a Cause" for Dennis Brown in June (*Melody Maker* 1986). Mittoo also performed on the record as a DJ (*New Musical Express* 1986).
USA *Studio work* 1986 　　　　　　-	Mittoo worked on Jerry Johnson's album titled *For All Seasons* in October at Wackies (Lloyd Barnes) in New York (Oumano 1986). Mittoo worked at the Skengdon Recording Company (SKD studio) in Miami (Keyo 1995).[20]
Tutoring	He tutored the children of Delroy Morgan, their band is known as Morgan Heritage (Katz 2012, 400).[21]
Studio work 1987	Mittoo worked with Ernest Ranglin, Tyrone Downie and Aston 'Family Man' Barrett on an album called *Live On* featuring Little Roy from 1987-89 (Taylor 2011).
JAMAICA *Stage work* 1988	In February, Mittoo performed at a Valentine's Day Show in Kingston.

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[20] Noel Alphonso confirms that Skengdon was a studio in Florida: "It was a nice studio. One time me and Jackie did some work there." (Interview with Alphonso 2014)

[21] The keyboard player in the group, Roy 'Gramps' Morgan states that their father hired musicians to teach the siblings: "…so our father brought in teachers like Jackie Mittoo , Thelonious Monk Jr and Eugene Grey" (Katz 2012, 400).

USA *Studio work* 1988	Mittoo is still working in Florida with SKD records in Miami, as well as on Little Roy's album at the New River Studio in Fort Lauderdale. He also worked "with Jack Ruby on the new record by Foundation, a group just signed to Mango records . . . with Cat Coore and another new artist, Don; on Jack Radix's upcoming album; and on 'Anancy and the Pirates' by another new artist Big Dread." (Tafari 1988)
Studio work 1989	Mittoo's starts working at one of (Lloyd Barnes) Wackies studios in New Jersey. Lloyd Barnes stated that he was working with Mittoo on his album "for about eighteen months straight" before his passing (Barnes qtd. in Hurford and Moore 1996).
Stage work 1989	Mittoo toured with the Skatalites as the opening act on Bunny Wailer's Liberation Tour playing alongside Ken Stewart on keyboards (Keyo 1995).
Japan: *Stage work* 1989	Promoters Herbie Miller and Sonny Ochiai convinced Roland Alphonso, Jackie Mittoo and Lester Sterling to leave Bunny Wailer's Liberation Tour to perform in Shiodome, Tokyo on April 30 with other members of the Skatalites (Keyo 1995).[22]
USA *Studio work* 1990	Lloyd Barnes released *Jackie Mittoo*: *Wild Jockey* on the Bullwackie's label; this is Mittoo's final instrumental album (Larkin 1998, 21; Keyo 1995).
Canada *Stage work* 1990	Mittoo performed with the Skatalites at Concert Hall in Toronto (Dooley 2003:13; McCuaig 2012:103).

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[22] The performance was recorded as *Ska Groove in Japan* on VHS. (Keyo in Tallawah.com)

APPENDIX C

Examples of References to Mittoo's Creative Process in JPM Discourse

Description	Implication
From Mittoo:[23] ". . . if there is a bass line on a record I like, I might get the guitar player to play this"	He takes lines from one track and applies it to a different instrument.
". . . then take a piano phrase from another tune and use it as the bass riff."	The lines or ideas are used as riffs, which may be as small as a motif or a complete phrase. The reference to the use of riffs also indicates that his conceptions are linear rather than vertical and therefore his music is more likely to be polyphonic rather that homophonic in texture.
"Adapting melody lines from the Marvelett's [sic] " Don't Mess With Bill" and the Squire's "Get On Up"	He may use lines from several songs and apply them to only one song.
"using a vocal scat . . . as the blaring opening horn part."	The introduction may also come from different sources including vocal lines.
"We decided to put some instrumental melody lines to some of the rhythm tracks which I had already created for the singers to sing on. Plus some original rhythms tracks."[24]	The reuse of pre-recorded accompaniments.
From Sylvan Morris:[25] "He would play the same bass line but he would play the back to the front, instead of the front to the back."	Borrowed lines are reworked through techniques such as retrograde.
From Fredlocks Elliot[26] ". . . make a song simple for them, so that they can sing with you."	Simplify melodies, standardize rhythms and create uniformity.

[23] (Mittoo in Reel 2003: 7).
[24] (Mittoo in Tafari 1988: 25)
[25] *Studio One Story* (DVD). 2011. Soul Jazz Records.
[26] Telephone interview with Fredlocks. March 2014.

APPENDIX D

Summary of Sewell's Typology of Surface and Structural Samples

Surface	Momentary surface samples	Occurs only once in a track as a dramatic interjection to emphasize a specific musical, formal, or rhetorical point in the track. (Sewell 2013, 49) [27]
	Emphatic surface samples	There are two types. 1. recurrent emphatic surface samples indicate the beginning or end of a specific section within a track, such as the verse or chorus 2. introduction /conclusion surface samples: signals the beginning or end of the track itself. They often have a very different aural character from the rest of the track. (Sewell 2013, 51)
	Constituent surface samples	They are only a beat or a second long and usually appear only once every measure or two. They accent the groove as ornaments or decorations and are not looped. Their presence is vital to the unique sonic identity of a track. (Sewell 2013, 54) [28]
Structural	Percussion only	The drums are the only sampled material in the groove. (Sewell 2013, 36-37) [29]
	Intact structure	Includes every element from the source material; they are looped to form the groove. (Sewell 2013, 29, 37-38)
	Non-percussion	Similar to an intact structural sample, however the drums are not sampled.(Sewell 2013, 40-41) [30]
	Aggregate	Similar to intact structure, however elements are sampled from different sources, whereas all sounds in an intact structure are usually from the same source.(Sewell 2013, 44) [31]

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[27] Sewell explains that "producers add this type of sample to an intact groove. It appears only during this single specific section of the track...they have no regularity in terms of where in a track's form they will fall" (Sewell 2013, 49-51).

[28] She also notes that "...constituent surface samples are layered against the groove, but cannot function independently of the groove" (Sewell 2013, 54).

[29] Sewell goes on further to say that "producers usually increase the harmonic, rhythmic, timbral, or melodic interest of the groove by adding additional sonic layers, such as a newly-performed vibraphone" (Sewell 2013, 37).

[30] She elucidates this point:
> These grooves have drum sounds from one of three sources: First, a live drummer may play a new drum line...Second, a producer may create a drumline using a drum machine ...Third, producers may combine dozens of fragmented samples that are too small to identify the source of each. (Sewell 2013, 40-41)

[31] She expands on this point: "...the component samples in an aggregate structure do not necessarily have to come from different sources however producers layer samples at different times and at different rates to create rhythmic interest or demarcate specific sections of a track" (Sewell 2013, 44).

Mittoo's LPs (1967 – 1990)

Date	Album Title	Location	Record Label	Producer
1967	*In London*	Jamaica	Coxsone Records	C.S. Dodd
1968	*Evening Time*	Jamaica	Studio One	C.S. Dodd
1969	*Keep On Dancing*	Jamaica	Coxsone	C.S. Dodd
1970	*Now*	Jamaica	Studio One/ Bamboo	C.S. Dodd
1971	*Macka Fat*	Jamaica	Studio One	C.S. Dodd
1971	*Wishbone*	Toronto	Summus	Carl Dehaney
1972	*Reggae Magic*	Jamaica	Studio One Pickwick	C.S. Dodd CTL
1975	*Let's Put It All Together*	Toronto	United Artists Records	CTL
1976	*The Keyboard King*	Jamaica	TWS/Weed Beat	J. Mittoo
1976	*In Cold Blood*	Jamaica	Basement Inc.	Bunny "Striker" Lee
1977	*Hot Blood*	UK	Basement Inc.	Bunny Lee & Shelly
1977	*Showcase :Volume 3*	Canada	Abraham/ Jack pot label	Mittoo
1978	*The Jackie Mittoo Showcase*	Jamaica	Sonic Sounds	Neville Lee
1978	*Jackie Mittoo: Anthology Of Reggae Collectors*	US	United Artists Records	C.S. Dodd
1979	*The Original: Jackie Mittoo*	Jamaica	Basement Inc.	Third World Music
1980	*Jackie Mittoo: Showcase*	Jamaica	Studio One	C.S. Dodd
1985	*Jakki: Version Studio*	US	Jakki	J. Mittoo
1990	*Wild Jockey*	US	Wackie's	J. Mittoo

Retitled and Reissued Recordings

Sources	Covers → by Mittoo	Retitled → by Mittoo	Retitled
"54-46" by Toots and the Maytals	"One Step Beyond"	"One Step Forward"	"Henry The Great"
"Je T'aime" by Serge Gainsburg	"Peenie Wallie"	"Peanie Wallie"	"Peace Treaty"
"Who-Dun-It" by Monk Higgins	"Who Done It"	"Hi Finish"	
"Fatty Fatty" by the Heptones	"Ram Jam"	"Jah Rock Style"	"Hot Blood"
————	"Autumn Sound"	"Atom Sound"	"Cathedral Rock"
————	"In Cold Blood"	"Channel One Crash"	
"Norwegian Wood" by The Beatles	"Norwegian Wood"	"Darker Shade of Black"	"Darker Shade"
————	"West Of The Sun"	"North Of The Sun"	
————	"Ska Matic"	"Ska Shuffle"	
"Keep On Moving" by Tanamo [32]	"Totally Together"	"Groovy Spirit"	"Sniper" produced by King Tubby
"Good for Us All" by Jah Stitch	"Thriller"	"A Rocking Sensation"	

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[32] Tanamo's "Keep on Moving" is a cover of "Evil Ways" by Willie Bobo (1967). It was also covered by Santana in 1969.